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# "for The Love Of The Game And The Honour Of The Town": Organized Sport, Local Culture And Middle Class Hegemony In Two Ontario Towns, 1838-1895

Nancy Barbara Bouchier

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**"FOR THE LOVE OF THE GAME AND THE HONOUR OF THE TOWN":  
ORGANIZED SPORT, LOCAL CULTURE AND MIDDLE CLASS HEGEMONY IN  
TWO ONTARIO TOWNS, 1838-1895**

by

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**Submitted in partial fulfilment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy**

**Faculty of Graduate Studies  
The University of Western Ontario  
London, Ontario  
June 1990**

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## Abstract

This study examines sport in two small Ontario towns, Ingersoll and Woodstock, between 1838 and 1895. During this period urbanization and industrialization socially and structurally changed Ontario. Changes in sport illuminate structural changes in class, gender, and age relations.

Before 1850 the towns had both similarities and differences. Their societies were pre-industrial, parochial, and constrained by a subsistence economy. Sport was informal and communal, bound by kinship and neighborhood. Unlike Ingersoll, Woodstock had a group of retired British officers who viewed England's gentry as its reference. They engaged in exclusive gentry sport to express their social station.

By 1853 railway communications ended both towns' inland isolation. Each was transformed into a complex urban-industrial centre. In the process their subsistence class and Woodstock's gentry class declined in importance; a middle class of merchants, professionals, and artisans, and an unskilled wage-earning class arose; and gender, age-group, and social class relationships became more differentiated.

Sport also changed. Gentry sport disappeared with Woodstock's officers and traditional sports gradually yielded to highly regulated team sports. While nominally open to anyone, team sports excluded both workers, who lacked time and financial resources to participate, and females. Inter-urban competition broke down earlier parochialism and sport became increasingly disorderly: rowdiness marked civic holiday celebrations, and gaming, professionalism, and rigged

competition plagued horseracing, Caledonian competition, and team sports.

Faced with rowdiness and disorder, middle class males expressed their newly-felt social prominence by reforming sport through amateurism, muscular Christianity, and institutionally regulating civic holiday celebrations and ongoing competition. They achieved only partial success. Certain groups, such as juveniles, professional athletes, gamblers, and workers, resisted their efforts.

A demon from within also checked their success. If reform led the middle class to embrace amateurism and muscular Christianity, competitiveness led them to marry inter-urban team sport to boosterism. Focusing on winning over playing the game escalated levels of competition, and subsequently professionalism, betting, and player and spectator violence crept back into sport. In the heady atmosphere of nineteenth century urban boosterism, the middle class notion of playing for "the love of the game and the honour of the town" did not comfortably fit.

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## List of Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used throughout the study.

### 1. SPORT ORGANIZATIONS

AAA	Amateur Athletic Association
AAA of C	Amateur Athletic Union of Canada (1884)
CABBP	Canadian Association of Baseball Players (Woodstock, 1864)
CABBP	Canadian Association of Baseball Players (Toronto, 1876)
CLA	Canadian Lacrosse Association (1887)
CWA	Canadian Wheelman's Association (1882)
IAAA	Ingersoll Amateur Athletic Association (1889)
MAAA	Montreal Amateur Athletic Association (1881)
NALA	National Amateur Lacrosse Association (1892)
NLA	National Lacrosse Association (1882)

### 2. OTHER VOLUNTARY AND FRATERNAL ASSOCIATIONS

		type of association
AFAM	Ancient Free and Accepted Masons	Masonic
AOF	Ancient Order of Forresters	Friendly Society
AOUW	Ancient Order of United Workmen	Insurance
B of T	Board of Trade	Civic
COHC	Canadian Order of Home Circles	Insurance
COF	Canadian Order of Forresters	Insurance
COOF	Canadian Order of Odd Fellows	Friendly Society
IOF	Independant Order of Forresters	Friendly Society
IOGT	Independant Order of Good Templars	Temperance
IOOF	Independant Order of Odd Fellows	Friendly Society
K of L	Knights of Labor	Occupational
KOTM	Knights of the Maccabees	Insurance
LTB	Loyal True Blues	Orange Order
OCF	Order of Chosen Friends	Insurance
OFG	Order of Fraternal Guardians	Insurance
OSC	Order of Scottish Clans	Ethnic
RA	Royal Arcanum	Insurance
RTOT	Royal Templars of Temperance	Temperance
SBS	Septinnial Benefit Society	Insurance
SOE	Sons of England	Ethnic
SOS	Sons of Scotland	Ethnic
YMPBA	Young Men's Protestant Benevolent Assn	Orange Order

### 3. OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

<u>AHR</u>	<u>American Historical Review</u>
<u>BJSH</u>	<u>British Journal of Sport History</u>
<u>CGST</u>	<u>Canadian Gentlemen's Journal and Sporting Times</u>
<u>CHR</u>	<u>Canadian Historical Review</u>
<u>CJHS</u>	<u>Canadian Journal of History of Sport [formerly Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education, CJHSPE]</u>
<u>JSH</u>	<u>Journal of Sport History</u>
<u>UHR</u>	<u>Urban History Review</u>

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## CHAPTER ONE Introduction

Sport so permeates contemporary culture that Canadians hardly notice it. Their passion for sports finds expression in language, dress, and mythology. On a given day people of all ages can be seen playing in sandlots, at schools, churches, athletic clubs, and in competitive leagues. Most Canadians credit sport with a capacity to build character, believing that it helps them to vent anger and aggression, and that it teaches cooperation. Faith in these beliefs is not easily shaken, even when events like the recent Ben Johnson scandal present facts to the contrary. Perhaps this is because for many sport provides unique opportunities for blending physical activity, competition, personal achievement, social status, and fun. Sport cements various collective identities and provides heroes and villains. Even those who do not play the game relish watching and analyzing sport's victories and defeats as reported in the press. The modern sports industry, the darling of the modern media, is an industry quite unlike any other: nation-states, large corporations, and schools all promote and sponsor it. International competitions like the Olympics capture the attention of global audiences, reinforce national identities, and provide surrogate battlegrounds for ideological conflict.

This fascination with sport is longstanding. Evidence from a variety of historical sources -- newspapers, diaries, and records from schools and sports clubs -- reveals that sport has always been an important part of Canadian society. Baseball diamonds, sports fields, running tracks, arenas, swimming pools, golf clubs, and other sports facilities are found in the urban landscape of almost every

Canadian city, town, and village. Many of these facilities date from the closing decades of the last century. Considering the Canadian compulsion for sport, and considering the important role that sport plays in Canadian popular culture today, the nineteenth century origin of modern sport is a particularly salient topic.

This study uses both quantitative and qualitative data and a conceptual framework informed by theories of hegemony and cultural symbolism to interpret the social history of sport in two Southwestern Ontario towns between 1838 and 1895. It aims to provide a coherent exploration of sport change and continuity; offer new insights into the relationship between urban community and sport; and show the relationship between sport and class relations, particularly the issue of class dominance, resistance, and mutual accommodation in the context of structural change.

As the study shows, late nineteenth century sport was a cultural construct which affords an ideal entree into the symbolic, economic, social, and political life of small towns. Community members played, organized, and presented sport for themselves as well as for outsiders from distant places. Sport occupied numerous social and symbolic roles. As such, it provided a sort of public manifesto which can be read as a documentary text.

Focusing on civic holiday sports and selected team sports in two non-metropolitan community case studies, this study poses a basic question: by looking at sport as one aspect of cultural production in two small towns, what can be learned about Ontario society during a period of massive structural transformation in the late nineteenth century? More specific problems are: how did the communities and

community sport change between 1838 and 1895? And, what social groups constructed local organized sport?

I. Overview of Sport in Nineteenth Century Ontario Social History

Although few studies to date have documented the rise of organized sport in nineteenth century Ontario, the existing literature suggests that the processes of urbanization and industrialization were intimately associated with its rise generally. It suggests that two different models of sport participation existed during the early nineteenth century when Ontario was primarily a rural subsistence society. The models involved the sports played in subsistence farming communities and towns, and the transplanted British activities played by a small, urban colonial status elite. Strong social and cultural meaning imbued both models.

In the rural folk context, sport existed within the demands of the province's subsistence economy. In frontier settlements, husbands, wives and children lived far from other households. They worked together in household production and made their entertainment activities family and household affairs. In such circumstances work and leisure occurred side by side, characterized by localism, communalism and little age differentiation. Bonds of kinship, family, and sometimes neighborhood thus dominated sport. Sport thrived at local taverns, where townsfolk and rural people converged, as well as at communal work bees, where it followed the day's work. Mutual consensus and tradition determined the game rules and participants used makeshift equipment on whatever land conveniently could serve as a playing-field. The rhythms of seasonal and task, the weather, and hours of daylight prescribed when people played their games.

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In garrison towns like Kingston, Toronto, London and Niagara,<sup>5</sup> some sports fit into this pattern. Many townsfolk played in much the same informal way that their rural counterparts did. Militia Muster Day, the Queen's Birthday (May 24th) and, after 1867, Dominion Day (July 1st), all afforded annual holidays often spent by townspeople in sporting pursuits.

Other town activities, however, possessed a higher social<sup>6</sup> tone. Garrison officers, local elites, and their families, viewed Britain's gentry as a reference group for their activities. In doing so they similarly stressed nonutilitarian attitudes towards life and sport and demanded that sportsmen necessarily be "gentlemen."<sup>7</sup> Through exclusive club cricket, riding to the hunt, and horseracing they emulated the British elite, thereby expressing their own elite status.

The evolution of transportation and communications networks before the railway, the rise of urban places and urban-industrial centres, and the development of a provincial commercial economy, altered the context for work and leisure, and nurtured both growth and changes in sport and society in Ontario.<sup>8</sup> Transportation improvements like the building of canals in the 1820's and 1830's, and the development of toll road and railway networks in the 1840's and 1850's, linked the province's existing inland communities together and spawned the growth of new communities. The creation of telegraph lines and newspapers in the 1840's and 1850's, permitted information to disseminate throughout the province by enabling<sup>9</sup> communications between previously isolated areas.

With these innovations the chasm between rural communities and



urban places lessened. This facilitated ongoing commercial and social interaction between different regions of the province. For example, transportation and communications networks fostered a provincial economy by enabling farmers access to outside markets for their surplus crops. They also stimulated the growth of agricultural and local service center networks which provided urban and rural communities with goods and services. By the early twentieth century, the process was well on its way: populations increasingly shifted from rural to urban places, and factory manufacture slowly replaced local crafts.

Such structural changes also nurtured changes in the family, the primary economic unit of early nineteenth century Ontario. With the advance of a provincial economy and new divisions of labour associated with new production methods, some families, especially those in the province's growing cities, towns and villages, narrowed the range of household production. Family members exchanged their labour outside the household for cash. By doing so they accumulated the purchasing power to replace home-produced goods with factory-produced ones.<sup>13</sup> In household production as in factory production, gender and the nature of the occupational task divided labour.

As male labour moved increasingly out of the household, females broadened their household responsibilities and social territory. Yet because of cultural allocations of men to the "public" sphere and women to the "private" sphere the home was really the only culturally appropriate area in which women's social territory could grow.

Domestic relationships within the family changed in other,

more subtle ways. A middle class concept of motherhood as a "professional, a science, and an exalted calling" emerged.<sup>16</sup> Urban wage earning families became more private, or household-centred and had fewer extended family members, servants, and lodgers than subsistence pioneering families. In this process, which did not reach fruition until the first few decades of the twentieth century, husbands and wives slowly assumed more authority over their own family's affairs, and extended family members and hired help assumed less authority. Since fewer goods were produced within the household, the socio-economic situation of children -- especially teenaged youth -- changed. Parents no longer perceived children as household producers, or economic assets. Instead, they considered them to be consumers, or economic liabilities.

With the decline of the apprenticeship system and rising high school enrollments which nearly doubled in two decades -- from 24,501 to 42,598 in Ontario between 1875 and 1895 -- middle class male children particularly remained dependent on the family longer than had previously been the case.<sup>17</sup> The secondary literature suggests that these children increasingly came under the scrutiny of female adult supervision in schools in which teachers were women, and in the home, as their mothers managed the household while their fathers worked outside of the home for extended periods of each day. This situation prompted fears on the part of social observers that boys were losing male role models and subsequently were becoming feminized.<sup>18</sup> Keenly concerned with this situation parents and social reformers sought what they believed to be appropriate ways for male adolescents to occupy their extra time away from home, while at

the same time exposing male youth to masculine role models. Team sports, socially constructed and popularly considered to be manly, provided one solution to this dilemma.

Overall, the shift from production for use to production for exchange divorced task-oriented labour from the family.<sup>19</sup> This gave new meanings to time, work, and leisure. With the separation of work and leisure time by an externally imposed factory time discipline, and an exaggerated separation of males and females, new activities emerged to fit the urban-industrial environment in individual and gender-specific ways.<sup>20</sup> Yet while the family no longer served as the focus of economic production and leisure activities, family considerations still influenced how people chose to spend their leisure time.

The foundations of the growth and popularity of sport are intricately associated with this process of structural change, family change, the development of discretionary income, and structured leisure time associated with the industrial wage economy. Despite this, the ability to take part in organized sport was still neither universal nor consistent throughout the population. For example, factory workers as a group could not participate in regularized competition until their work hours were lessened by the 1890's. Until then, other occupational groups who had more control over their work and leisure hours, like merchants, bureaucrats, and professionals, had better opportunities to do what they wanted with their leisure time and disposable incomes. Typically they used their leisure and financial resources to create and join voluntary groupings emblematic of their self-consciousness as a distinct social formation in their urban community.<sup>21</sup>

By the 1860's, as commercial and professional elites began to supplant the colony's status elites, middle class men rationalized, organized, and structured, voluntary associations, for example, middle class fraternal lodges, Institutes, and sport clubs.<sup>22</sup> These associations created formal accommodations (private clubs, libraries, and private athletic grounds) where none previously existed. The facilities distanced the activities of association members from those who did not, or could not, join.

The development of communications and transportation networks also promoted the rise of organized sport. Regular mail and telegraphic communication, for example, enabled teams from different towns to contact and challenge each other for matches. By disseminating local news to a wide readership newspapers also promoted sport. Though newspapers existed in Ontario since the early years of the century, only a literate elite had afforded the high subscription for rag newspapers. By the mid-1870's, however, rising literacy rates created new demands on newspapers. This, coupled with the advent of pulpwood newsprint, the use of advertising as a means to defray printing costs, and telegraphic communications bringing down the cost of information, made newspapers more easily accessible to a larger audience.<sup>23</sup> In this situation many newspaper editors found themselves fiercely competing for local readership to survive.<sup>24</sup> Sport reporting helped them capture local attention and readership.

By advertising and promoting challenge matches, editors enhanced the local character and quality of their product and popularized organized sport by ensuring its visibility in the public eye. By the mid-1870's Canadians could turn to specialty magazines

like the Canadian Gentlemen's Journal and Sporting Times to satiate their increasing appetite for sports news. A number of other sport journals like Athletic Life, Canadian Cricket Field, and the Canadian Wheelman entered the market by the mid-1880's. By the end of the century even popular magazines like the Dominion Illustrated News and the Canadian Monthly and National Review turned to sport articles to enhance their product.

Transportation networks encouraged the development of sport by enabling teams from different towns to compete against each other.<sup>25</sup> Until the advance of railways, competition occurred primarily in local ways. If competition between towns did occur, it did so infrequently, because without good roads, the trips between towns by cart or carriage involved a considerable amount of physical discomfort and time.<sup>26</sup> By the 1850's when railway networks connected urban places throughout the province, sport competition reached out beyond community boundaries along the railway lines. These lines permitted teams to travel to other towns with ease, comfort and minimal cost. Railway companies offered excursion rates for teams and their fans which sports clubs quickly capitalized on.<sup>27</sup> Railways shaped competitive networks; the range of places communities competed against were typically bound by shared railway ties. They permitted home team to extend already established economic and political rivalries between towns to sports fields.

Challenge matches characterized much early sports competition. Challenges issued through metropolitan newspapers like the Globe or the New York Times, or through specialty sport magazines like the New York Clipper inspired many contests for money. Several features of the challenge system inhibited its longterm success in providing

for, and promoting sport. Their very nature was sporadic, dependent upon a challenge being made and subject the time-lag associated with publication. Further, so long as betting figured in the picture in one way or another, both the clergy and social reformers found challenge matches to be easy targets for public castigation.

League formation for the purposes of intra-town and inter-town amateur competition established competitive schedules for ongoing match play. <sup>28</sup> By their formation, they enabled competitors and spectators alike to be well informed about upcoming events.

To play in a league a town needed recreational facilities. Local geography and land resources influenced this; sculling, for example, needed a river, lake, or pond. Baseball, cricket, and lacrosse, by contrast, needed suitably groomed playing fields. Without parks or common lands providing an available, ongoing playing space, local competitions could not become regularized, leagues could not be formed, and playing rules like game boundaries could not be standardized.

Although the impetus for the development and organization of sport occurred at the community level, the metropolis acted in a leadership capacity for the establishment of inter-urban leagues and organizations which governed sports. To compete regularly in league competition, teams had to possess similar equipment and playing facilities and had to concede to codified rules which determined the nature and structure of play. By the late 1880's national sport agencies governed many organized sports (see APPENDIX A). They established league constitutions, game rules, and bylaws. With very few exceptions, they were located in, headed and dominated by,

Montreal and Toronto.

Although the metropole dominated sport organizations, lower levels of the urban hierarchy also shaped inter-urban sport. League participation often expressed a community's functional level in the urban hierarchy; similarly sized towns and cities connected by rail lines typically competed against each other. Since sport boosted urban community identities, communities played against their most obvious rivals -- other communities at the same functional level in the hierarchy. A few outstanding teams, however, broke through this pattern and competed with whomever offered them the best competition, regardless of community size.

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The result of the social and structural transformation described above was a new urban form of sport which reflected and fit into the contours of urban life and leisure. In fact, it was inexorably interwoven with the collective identity of the corporate urban community. This urban sport differed from other sport forms in several important ways. It was heavily institutionalized and morally sanctioned in schoolrooms and from the pulpits of Protestant churches alike; it emphasized physical skill and stamina through goal-oriented competitions; and it was much more complex and organized than any precursor.

Every element reinforced the others. Intricate league networks, public facilities, and sport governing bodies were essential for organized sport to become readily available, and for it to spread out beyond boundaries of locality. The clearly articulated ideology of sport embellished in the notion that "games-build-character" resulted in organized sports being sanctioned by

educational institutions, civic leaders, and Protestant clergymen alike. They viewed what were known as muscular Christian sports to be inherently appropriate to test certain social skills believed to be acquired through competition. New sports and types of sport competition, in turn, gained publicity. Further, the erection of public and private playing fields for competition made them increasingly accessible to the general public.

In his Canada Learns to Play Metcalfe views amateurism, a variation of the muscular Christian theme, as a form of social reproduction squarely rooted in the English social class system. This study builds on his interpretation.

The philosophical basis of amateurism originated in the patterns of social reproduction which characterized the English aristocracy in the eighteenth century. These patterns, although never formally enunciated or codified, were encoded in a value system taught through families, schools, peer groups, and institutions like the military. Apart from their financial wealth, what differentiated the elite from others was the series of attitudes and practices signifying that an individual member was a "gentleman." Sports like the hunt, steeplechasing, and cricket were central to a gentleman's lifestyle: they were vehicles for symbolically articulating and publicly displaying social class ties and ensuring social distance. Aristocratic sportsmen adhered to the spirit, rather than the letter of the law, because gentlemanliness involved the acceptance of a individual's responsibility for his own actions. Referees and game officials were therefore unnecessary. To question a gentleman's behaviour was to impugn his honour, because the gentlemanly code supposedly displayed valued character traits which were above



reproach; for example, self-sacrifice, courage, manliness, and a fearless acceptance of pain. So long as sport existed within this closed social system, its basic tenets did not require codification. This created "an exclusiveness that practically guaranteed that outsiders would be unable to gain access."<sup>32</sup>

This scenario, however, did not survive social and structural changes in England during the early nineteenth century. Armed with a changed, more rationalized concept of time associated with industrial manufacturing, and possessing disposable incomes, first the middle and then the working classes increasingly had the time and financial resources to participate in sport. This threatened the sanctity of elite playing fields and sports traditions where structural constraints had heretofore ensured social exclusivity. The elite responded to this onslaught by formally codifying what had heretofore been simply class practice to reestablish social distance.

Many scholars concur with this interpretation. Mangan and Brown show that the emphasis placed on muscular Christian sports in the reformed British public school system replaced the antiutilitarian approach to sport heretofore taken by the elite. Durning and Gruneau suggest further that the muscular Christian precepts of the "games-build-character" approach to sport popularized by the public schools indicated a mutual accommodation between declining aristocratic interests and a rising industrial bourgeoisie.<sup>33</sup>

Public school sports played under the watchful eye of men like Dr. Thomas Arnold at the Rugby school were designed to instill valued character traits like team work, self-sacrifice, courage, manliness,

and achievement. School masters believed that these traits were transferable to other real life situations. <sup>34</sup> Popular novels of the day like Charles Kingsley's Westward Ho! (1855) and Two Years Ago (1857), as well as Thomas Hughes' tremendously popular Tom Brown's Schooldays (1857) brought these beliefs to life.

Muscular Christianity viewed sport as a means to the end of character building and not an end in itself. This social reform orientation undercut opposition to sport. Muscular Christianity gave sport a social reform agenda which superseded pervasive ascetic pietist influenced objections to sports on the grounds that they were useless, immoral, and socially improper. <sup>35</sup> Even though the Protestant clergy, educationalists, and social observers had heretofore encouraged moderate physical activity as a means of keeping the body and mind refreshed for work, they were still suspicious of the fun and frivolity that typically <sup>36</sup> characterized sport. Higher motives were thus essential for sport's transition from rowdy idle diversion to socially-sanctioned, morally uplifting, and respectable response to the social and physical changes of an increasingly industrialized society.

Muscular Christianity was thus a timely social gospel which strove to elevate the moral imperative of sport at a time when the damaging effects of industrialization and urbanization on health were becoming increasingly apparent to social reformers, the clergy, and educators. <sup>37</sup> According to Redmond, its social construction attempted "to reconcile the centuries-old Christian faith with the new realities of the modern world to the apparent satisfaction of Victorian and Edwardian consciences." <sup>38</sup> In essence, its rise marked the transition of traditionally ascetic Protestantism toward a moral

athleticism: Church leaders and religious institutions emerged as patrons, rather than critics, of sport.<sup>39</sup>

Muscular Christianity is a nebulous concept which can be considered akin to the ancient Greek ethos mens sano in corpore sano (a phrase frequently voiced by many of its proselytizers). Even so, it differed from the Greek ideal in its emphasis that a healthy body and mental and spiritual well-being were decided objectives for any Christian, and that sport and sports competition were ideal for testing Christianity-in-action.

Organized amateur sport embraced this ideal. Yet as amateurism was transmitted to Canada through the military and the Canadian private school and university systems, Canadians received merely a concept without a context. In the closed English social system amateurism was, at its outset, specifically designed to exclude people on the basis of social class. In the words of Guttman, it was "an instrument of class warfare."<sup>40</sup> By the nature of the system, people who worked with their hands simply could not become, or hope to become, amateurs. Although the cricket teams of the elite did play against their social lessers, what transpired on athletic playing fields did not equate with social equality. To ensure social segregation, cricket team members were formally termed either "gentlemen" (amateur) or "players" (professionals). No one could mistake the two. Like other members of the service class, players used separate club entrances and dressed in separate changing rooms.<sup>41</sup>

In Canada things were conducted slightly differently because Canadian society possessed an inchoate gentry. From the time that

Canadian sports clubs first embraced the amateur ideal in the 1870's, Canadian sport organizers repudiated the absolute class exclusivity of English amateur definitions. This left the Canadians with a well developed ideology without a comparable social context. The Canadian approach to amateurism thus created a very strange melange. Rather than basing amateur status strictly on social class standing, Canadian amateurism was based upon occupation and the ideology of sport as a vehicle for cultivating social characteristics necessary for breeding "gentlemen." According to the first Canadian amateur definition, devised by the Montreal Pedestrian Club (1873), an amateur was:

...one who has never competed in any open competition or for public money, or for admission money, or with professionals for a prize, public money or admission money nor has ever, at any period of his life taught or assisted in the pursuit of Athletic exercises as a means of livelihood or is a laborer or an Indian.<sup>42</sup>

Although not identical to the English class-based version of amateurism, this definition worked to the same end.<sup>43</sup> It explicitly discriminated on the basis of occupation, wealth, and race.

Through rationality and respectability in sport, amateurism's version of the "muscular Christian servant" in the concept of the "gentleman-amateur" is also implicitly discriminatory.<sup>44</sup> By stressing certain valued character traits, amateur sport buttressed middle class hegemony by transmitting and inculcating characteristics which it deemed useful: self-improvement, piety, temperance, and respectability. To this end amateurism denigrated traditional sports as useless and socially improper idle diversion, and elevated the rational approach to sports and recreation as being the true and legitimate expression of sport.<sup>45</sup> The social exclusivity of sports clubs and associations reinforced discrimination. The club practice

of blackballing prospective members and the structuring of competition during times when most workers could not attend worked to the same discriminatory end.

Amateurism, at best, is a paradox-riddled version of sport. On the one hand, it upholds the illusion of being meritocratic. In fact, the moral claim of equality of opportunity remains today organized sport's proudest claim. On the other hand, the principles which undergird this vision of sport were by their very nature highly exclusionary. Few saw, or since have seen, the paradox.

The middle class also structured organized sport to be compatible with the techniques for economic success and survival necessary to industrial-capitalism. The industrial capitalist meritocratic system demanded cooperation, team work, a division of labour, task specialization, and scientific management. <sup>46</sup> Muscular Christianity aimed to cultivate the rationalism, team work, and decision making skills essential to middle class success. Beyond this, sport league structuring along age and ability groupings, as well as the generalized gender-based segregation implicit in organized sport reinforced structural elements of the industrial-capitalist system. Through league competition many amateur athletes became sport specialists whose skills were cultivated under the watchful eye of coaches and trainers. Sports records carefully documented their achievements and prompted them on to higher levels.

By the turn of the century instead of being intensely local and existing on an ad hoc basis, organized amateur sport stretched beyond community boundaries to afford ongoing and regularized competition between urban places through leagues. Sports leagues

permitted teams to represent their community, their factory, school, and church, and allowed for the fame of outstanding local athletes to spread beyond local boundaries. Increased per capita consumption, and a high degree of organizational visibility also increased the local popularity of urban sport. Yet even with its popular advance, organized amateur sport did not destroy old local, communal, and ethnic sport. These residuals, effectively formed in the past, remain significant today.

Whereas informal communal activities typically included both males and females, organized amateur urban sport clubs were created by, and for, men.<sup>47</sup> This emulated the distinction between the public and private spheres of life where male activities were culturally prescribed to the former, and female activities to the latter. In doing so organized sport reinforced and emphasized cultural notions of masculinity by inculcating and publicly displaying what were understood to be "manly" qualities -- physical courage, strength, stamina, will power, and self-control.<sup>48</sup> Since these qualities were thought to be antithetical to femininity and therefore irrelevant for females, organized sports erected an effective philosophical barrier against female participation, thereby reinforcing female subordination to males.<sup>49</sup> Biological arguments posed by medical men predicated upon women's supposed physical frailty supported this barrier. In turn, this gave scientific support to the notion of a woman's proper sphere.

Only after the First World War did females gain a widespread public role in sport outside the confines of the educational sys<sup>50</sup>

1. Before this time, their involvement was sporadic,

conditional, and specific to certain sports. Female involvement in tennis and cycling nevertheless challenged existing conventions. These sports helped to emancipate females by revolutionizing dress standards, as in the case of bloomers and bicycle skirts worn by lady cyclists. Apart from spectatorship, the greatest opportunities for female participation lay in middle class womens colleges and girls private schools in which inhouse competition loosened social restraints on physical activity. <sup>51</sup> These activities, while broadening female physical spheres, were class-specific and they occurred in private rather than public places (like school grounds).

Female activities thus remained segregated from male activities. Females participating in male sports, although breaking through gender confines, symbolically were competing against the opposite sex. Sharp ridicule faced female players. This made lady-like behaviour both on and off the games field imperative for sportswomen. They played in heavily circumscribed and monitored physical activities, and wore restrictive clothing emphasizing their femininity. Sport, therefore, reinforced culturally appropriate spheres of action for males and females, as well as cultural roles for men and women.

Sport participation also varied according to the type of family one came from and the nature of one's family obligations. Sport clubs and teams offered a surrogate family for school age males from middle-class families who had few obligations during the holiday term, and for single men working in urban occupations. <sup>52</sup> Without wives and children to support, these males had fewer restraints -- physical and financial -- on their leisure time activities. Sport clubs and teams provided them with a bachelor subculture. They

offered those who possessed the necessary leisure time for involvement rational activities devoid of what moral reformers saw as the immorality and intemperance associated with taverns and streetcorners.<sup>53</sup> They also afforded physical activity to those with sedentary non-manual occupations.

Integrally related to gender and family considerations, financial and social class considerations shaped how people engaged in sport. To participate in leagues, people had to be able to afford the financial costs associated with sports. Sports equipment and clothing, club and league registration fees, transportation costs to game sites, and gate fees for spectators were, depending upon the sport, sometimes expensive. Regularly employed people with well paying jobs could best afford these costs. For others without independent sources of wealth, or regular well paying jobs, the costs proved prohibitive -- an exception to this being the case of professionals whose livelihoods wages were actually earned through competing and/or sport related betting.

Along these lines sport competition scheduled for weekday afternoons or other times typically designated as part of a labourer's work week further limited the sport activity of some people. Work itself fundamentally constrained working class recreation. For workers, work-week hours initially afforded few leisure opportunities, at a time when most sport competitions occurred on weekdays. Further, Sabbatarian Legislation (such as the 1845 Lord's Day Act) precluded working class participation in sport competition during factory workers' free day from work. The shift from rural family-based production to urban-industrial factory



production initially lessened leisure opportunities for the working classes since their work hours were prescribed by their employers, not by themselves, and since no limitations restricted the number of hours of work per day that their employers demanded of them.

Industrial workers, whose work-time was immutable and supervised, lost the right to leisure retained by their rural counterparts whose self-directed hours of work enabled them flexibility in both their work and leisure time.<sup>54</sup>

By the final years of the century, early closings, better work conditions, and challenges to the restriction of Sunday sports, enabled workers to create and join their own sports clubs. In industrial centres particularly, sport eventually became accessible to workers -- its popularity marked by proliferating working class teams, associated with schools, churches, factories, and even streets.

## II. Conceptual Issues and Limitations in the Related Literature

Despite its past and present popularity serious scholars only began to view sport seriously in the past two decades. This attention coincided with what Berger calls the "virtual revolution in historical writing about Canada" when, in the late 1960's, many historians shifted their gaze from national history and political biography to consider issues of region, gender, class, and ethnicity.<sup>55</sup> Wise's "Sport and Class Values in Old Ontario and Quebec,"<sup>56</sup> is a case in point. Although brief, it identifies sport's tremendous popularity in the late nineteenth century. It strongly suggests that economics, ethnicity, and social class influenced the social construction and playing of sport during that time. Some

Canadian historians have also focused specifically upon sport and  
 society,<sup>57</sup> while others have integrated treatments of sport into  
 larger social histories.<sup>58</sup> They have built upon the scholarly  
 literature produced in the past two decades by physical educators who  
 have chronicled various aspects of Canada's sport history.<sup>59</sup> Canadian  
 sport history also benefits greatly by the American, British,  
 Australian, and European sport literature, much of which variously  
 identify the historical relationships between sport, community, and  
 class.<sup>60</sup>

What little has been done on nineteenth century Canada focuses  
 disproportionately on developments in large cities.<sup>61</sup> This  
 overwhelming fascination with what happened at the apex of the urban  
 hierarchy is not peculiar to studies of sport. Rarely have the small  
 cities, towns and villages, where most nineteenth century Canadians  
 lived, been given due consideration in Canadian historiography. This  
 situation seriously impedes our ability to understand the topic and  
 represents the largest void in the literature on nineteenth century  
 Canadian sport. By disregarding small urban places scholars  
 implicitly perpetuate an unproven assumption that sport change  
 occurring in large cities set the tone and direction for the  
 development of sport nationally. This denies small urban places  
 their place in the greater scheme of things by failing to view them  
 as important sites for their own social and structural processes.

Scholars often fail to consider the possible alternative  
 meanings that sport held in small towns or identify the similarities  
 or explain the differences between the sport of small and of large  
 urban places.<sup>62</sup> Both Ingersoll and Woodstock emulated the

metropolitan pattern when they created local Amateur Athletic Associations: they looked to the Montreal Amateur Athletic Association for institutional leadership, they copied its internal organizational structure, and they copied the ways in which it sanctioned and legitimized amateur athletics. Even so, the two small towns had their own pressing local issues shaping the form and function of local amateur athletics. The Ingersoll and Woodstock Associations were created with tremendous town council support, partly in response to local demands for a community-based organization to provide sporting and social entertainments for the Queen's Birthday and Dominion Day holiday celebrations. To assert that the metropolis dictated to its hinterland in sport thus underestimates the relationship between metropolis and hinterland. It undermines rather than underscores the importance of locality in the historical process.

Generally other elements of the urban-sport-class-community relationship have received a much more balanced treatment in the literature. The intricate relationship between sport and social class has been perhaps the most fruitful site for investigation. The works of Canadian scholars Gruneau, Beaton-Parratt, Metcalfe, and Simpson, as well as American and British scholars Adelman, Hardy, Willis and Whettan, and Speak, all keenly illustrate the nature and extent of class-based participation and/or discrimination in sport. Even though the authors use different definitions of social class and social class group, their work establishes the tremendous class implications for sport involvement, and variously cites empirical evidence in support of this posture. Some, for example, study the ways in which craftsmen, artisans, and working-class activists

organized their leisure time and sporting pursuits. Others focus specifically upon the middle classes, identifying the middle class value system inherent in the reform thrust of such organized sport.

This genre of scholarship is responsible for an ongoing debate in the field of sport history centering on the social construction of sport as a means of middle class social control. Generally valid criticism has been directed at such studies because they imply that social control and domination were, or even could be, achieved without resistance by other social groupings. Criticism of this nature is also reflected in some of the sport history literature because the social control approach portrays a conniving, homologous, middle class block subordinating and controlling a pliable working class. In doing so it perpetuates an unproven assumption that workers did not possess a class consciousness and that they passively accepted their exclusion from middle class sport clubs and agencies.

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Gruneau, Metcalfe and others have recently turned to Gramsci's theory of hegemony to address the problem of class conflict and Canadian sport because it emphasizes the power of ideas in how social and political groups maintain power and hold popular support and because it anticipates and accounts for an antithetical, sustained resistance of the subordinated groups. Hegemony holds that consent and force coexist, and that the power of ideas is as important as force in the maintenance of social and political order. As an analytical tool it avoids the material determinism of traditional Marxism by recognizing the vital role of the superstructure configuration in the perpetuation of the dominant industrial-capitalist system. In doing so it accounts for

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intellectual, moral, and cultural leadership in the dominant representation of social order. It highlights the dominance of certain social groups over others exerted by a particular world view. Yet because no dominant social order ever completely controls another, hegemony is an ongoing process, subject to a variety of forms of resistance.

As an analytic tool hegemony relates the development of sport to both the economic and cultural elements of society. Amateur sport, for example, an element of the the hegemonic process, provides a vehicle in the transmission of dominant attitudes and values. Hegemony helps us to interpret the middle class amateur sports movement as a mechanism for internalizing dominant values in players (i.e., the "games-build-character" approach). At the same time amateur agencies, which institutionalized middle class preferences in sports, were vehicles for asserting their view of the world as the natural and only legitimate one.

Two other features of this theory are attractive to historians of sport. First, hegemony anticipates that subordinated groups were not just merely passive absorbers of middle class culture. Through hegemony, for example, we can see that workers carried on alternative traditions, or a counter hegemony. They resisted, or changed, reshaped, or accommodated the amateurism to suit their own needs and ends. And, second, by extension, these alternative styles, practices, and traditions, are never entirely eliminated. Therefore on the margins of the dominant institutionalized practices that define "legitimate" sport remain residual <sup>70</sup> elements significant to some social groupings. By turning to hegemony scholars do not overlook social and cultural continuities.

Although interpretations of sport history informed by this approach have led recent scholarship toward a fuller understanding of the social class dynamics of sport participation, recent studies still tend to use imprecise terminology and lack systematic testing. That being said, the issues raised by this approach are also valuable because the usefulness of hegemony is not limited to social class analyses of sport. Hegemony is equally valuable for addressing broader cultural issues, for example, gender-based cultural presumptions implicit in the ideology of amateurism endemic in much of organized sport.

In the last two decades this relationship between gender and sport participation has interested sociologists, philosophers, and historians of sport alike. For them, sport offers a particularly good avenue for exploring the dominant male patriarchal system in past and present societies. One reason for this situation is the intimate relationship between sport and masculinity. Some, in fact, argue that sport itself possesses<sup>71</sup> a masculine gender.

Feminist historians of sport have examined the relationship between sport and gender in several ways. In some instances their works are rooted a descriptive-narrative style. In other instances they work from a heavily theoretical perspective largely without systematic attention or empirical evidence. For example, the first group includes Pitters-Casswell and Smith, who detail the extent of Ontario and Nova Scotian women's participation in sport prior to World War I, and describe the limitations of women's sport.<sup>72</sup> Others, like Kenny and Hall, and Twin describe and compare at great length the range of women's sporting activities from the late

nineteenth century until the present day.<sup>73</sup> The second group operate from a more analytic perspective and include Lenskyj, McCrone, and Vertinsky. Each identify the biological arguments -- posed by medical men and supported though the dominant culture -- posed to prohibit women's sport participation, and the ways in which women gradually broke through these constraints to embrace sp... in their own lives and on their own terms.<sup>74</sup> Along the same line Hargreaves uses a Marxist-feminist perspective to grapple with this same issue.<sup>75</sup>

A growing literature also deals with the relationship between masculinity and sport. For example, Mott's work on manly men, Maguire's work on images of manliness, and essays by Park, Rader, and Mangan in Manliness and Morality each discusses issues of gender by focussing predominately upon the masculine implications of sport involvement for men.<sup>76</sup> By documenting an evolving standard of masculinity emanating from changing family relationships, the area of family history has also broadened this picture. The works of Rotundo and MacLeod are valuable in this respect because they illustrate how family structures, and gender relations within them, can be viewed as a context for all leisure -- and hence sport -- behaviours.<sup>77</sup> Even so, for the most part scholarship on gender tends towards isolationism -- studying one side of the issue (women and sport), or the other side (men in sport), but rarely is the barrier between these two approaches broken down.

### III. Scope of the Study

This study builds upon the general literature by examining organized sport in two small urban communities in the period between

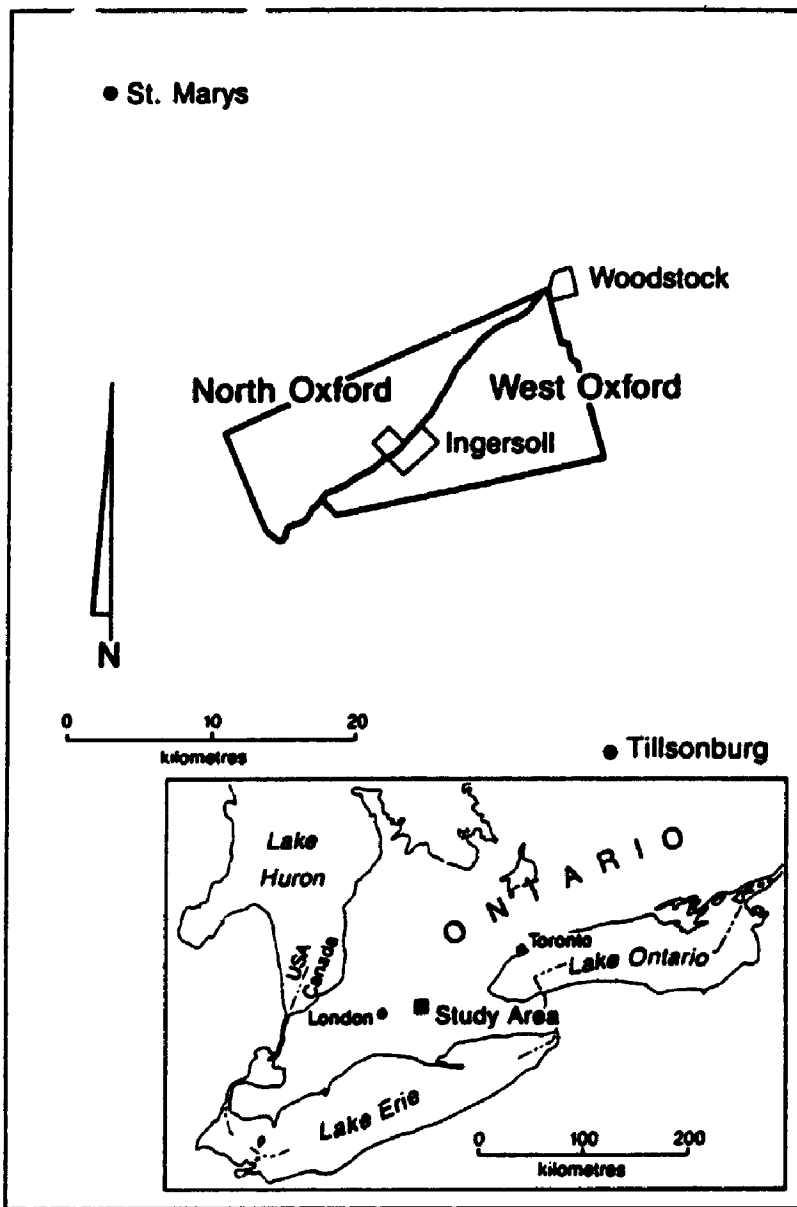
1838 and 1895. It analyses civic holiday sport and three selected male organized amateur team sports -- cricket, baseball, and lacrosse -- to show the relationship between sport and society during a period of massive structural change.

The community case study strategy adopted for this study has two clear advantages for elaborating Canada's sporting history. First, although no single Canadian community is "representative" of the province or nation, a community study can broaden perspectives drawn from national and provincial level studies. For example, although broad overviews are necessary, national studies miss local variation which local studies can capture. Further, local level studies allow for the use of individual level data which, in turn, enables certain issues, such as class relationships in sport, to be addressed with more precision because national level studies often rely on aggregate level data or local level data selected only from metropolitan centres. Second, because small towns and villages are manageable units of analysis, they enable a examination and documentation of the immediate environment in many Canadian urbanites lived out their lives. Local manuscript censuses, directories, parish registers, tax rolls, and membership lists of voluntary associations contain valuable demographic, occupational, and family information about people involved in sport. This information cannot be captured at the national level. APPENDICES B and C outline the newspaper sources used, and the way in which local level study data are collected, collated, classified and presented.

For the sake of expedience and to keep the work manageable only two towns are studied. Seen on Figure 1 they are Oxford County's



FIGURE 1  
Map of the Study Area



county seat, Woodstock, and its neighbor, Ingersoll. Both are situated in the Southwestern region of Ontario near the American border, the Great Lakes - St. Lawrence waterway system, and Toronto. Early settlers, particularly Americans, easily gained access to this region. Once settled, they possessed good arable land and waterways to help them to make the transition from subsistence to commercial farming. <sup>78</sup> By the 1850's transportation and communications networks connected the region's hitherto isolated inland areas, and led to the growth of new urban communities situated on road and rail lines.

Although Southwestern Ontario lagged behind Central Ontario in absolute population numbers, it possessed more village and towns than any other region in the province. <sup>79</sup> Sport flourished in this region during the period under study -- for example, sport historians consider Southwestern Ontario to be the cradle of organized Canadian baseball. Inter-urban competitions in baseball and in other sports like curling and lacrosse increased exponentially with the advance of railway communications linking the region's cities, towns, and villages to each other.

A comparison of the development of sport between two small towns permits some generalizations about the growth of urban sport in Ontario to be made, and some broad trends in the growth and popularity of sport to be documented. The period under investigation captures this sport growth from early settlement, when Ingersoll and Woodstock's isolated inland societies fostered two models of sport, through the railway age, when transportation and communications developments spurred the advent of interurban sport competition. It ends at the close of the century when amateur leagues emerged as the accepted and standard means for sport competition.

To understand the development and growth of sport as discussed throughout this study, the term "sport" must be clarified. Most people intuitively know what sport is and could easily name a variety of sports that they are familiar with, if requested to do so. We would consider baseball, tennis, and football to be sports but not cards, checkers, and chess, ostensibly because the latter do not possess key ingredients for our definition of sport -- physical skill and prowess.

To maintain a manageable framework, this study uses the term sport in this simple, generic sense. This is done because although sport philosophers and sociologists have repeatedly attempted to define sport and categorize its characteristics, they have come to no consensus in the matter. According to Meier most analysts' efforts do not stray far from the popular perception of sport as a competitive game-form which demands physical skill and prowess.<sup>80</sup>

Even so, as a cultural construct sport means different things in different cultures. For example, Westerners have a difficult time taking Japanese sumo wrestling seriously though people in Japan obviously feel quite differently about the matter. Cultural considerations also hold true when considering the dimension of time: the sacred Olympic games of the Ancient Greeks differ profoundly in meaning and structure from the secular tradition of the Modern Olympics. Anthropologists and sociologists alike remind us that because of the variety of forms that sport has taken throughout history, and takes to the present day, that sport itself tells us much about past and present societies.

By merely looking at the changes in the popular use of the term sport we see that in the course of just over one hundred years the

term itself and the activities Canadians associate with the term have changed tremendously. This point can be made quite simply by contrasting past and present dictionary definitions of sport. According to the 1861 Oxford English Dictionary the popular use of the term denote "merriment" and "diversions of the field," that is, hunting and gaming. This usage differs very little from what Shakespeare meant when he employed sport imagery in his plays early in the seventeenth century. <sup>81</sup> By contrast, today's Oxford English Dictionary definition adds to the above activities like cricket, football, racing, and athletics, making the dictionary definition seem to be behind the times: few Canadians today associate sport with merriment or hunting. Rather, we think of sports as a variety of competitive individual and team activities played on specified playing-fields which are regulated by officials, and which are played according to understood rules.

Understanding sport in a cultural context thus necessitates broader considerations than merely knowing that sports are games requiring the presence of physical skill and prowess. On the simplest level many argue that participation in sport stems from what Huizinga in Homo Ludens characterizes as "the play element in man." <sup>82</sup> This impulse transcends temporal and spatial considerations. It is in this impulse for fun, merriment, and personal expression that sport derives its origins as a form of social behaviour in different societies. Certainly past usages of the term sport associated with merriment embrace this notion.

At the same time, however, participation in sport involves bringing a certain attitude to an activity. Thus attitudes and values

found in various societies affect the shapes that sport takes in them. For example, today trophies and prizes constitute a reward system for sport competition which is very compatible with our dominant capitalist system. In the late nineteenth century this system was emulated in sport through bureaucratization and the codification and formal organization of sport governing agencies and in the establishment of age and skill-specific sport leagues.

Another related reward system developed during this period was praise in the press and the encouragement from pulpits that players received. This praise was echoed by families, peer groups, and educational institutions. A player's courage, competitive instincts, co-operation with others, and gentlemanliness on the playing field were deemed to be admirable. Organized amateur sport was a mechanism for internalizing values compatible with the dominant industrial-capitalist system.

To understand the history of sport in its social and cultural contexts, and to pinpoint the changes experienced by sport during the late nineteenth century, the transformation of Ontario sport and society must be identified and documented. Seeing how this influenced, and interacted with, changes in the types of sport found in two towns enables us to grasp the skills, attitudes and values thought to be inherent in, and perpetuated through, sport. By examining reasons why this seemed to be the case, we can grasp the ways in which sport related to the total culture of which it was but a part. This also indicates how people in Ontario viewed themselves, and how they reacted to perceived strengths and weaknesses of their society, and, more particularly, the dynamics of class-based antagonism. As Wise argues, sport emerged during the period of time

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under study "as part and parcel of our social development."

The scope of this study precludes a complete treatment of all sports. Even so, what is omitted from the analysis warrants discussion insofar as it sheds light on the thrust of central argument as it is carried through each Chapter. The omissions relate to three broad issues: the selection of sports under study; the absence of women; and, finally, the relationship between organized sport and an evolving urban entertainment industry.

Because the rise of organized competitive sport in Ingersoll and Woodstock is the subject of this study, informal sports and forms of sport are treated generally or have been omitted. However (the cases of cockfighting and pugilism, for example), certain "rowdy" sports are discussed in some depth because they represent the antithesis of organized amateur sport. Further, they provide the necessary background for assessing what sport organizers were intending to accomplish when they promoted amateurism as the single so-called respectable and legitimate expression of sport.

Owing to the vibrancy and extent of the organized sports explosion in late nineteenth century Ingersoll and Woodstock, time and space limitations render it impractical, if not virtually impossible, to devote equal attention to all organized sports. Only the competitive teams sports of cricket, baseball, and lacrosse have Chapters entirely devoted to them. This is done for four reasons. First, each of these three sports clearly embrace the muscular Christian "games-build-character" idea endemic in the ideology of amateurism which pervaded much organized sport. Second, they provide an almost ideal avenue for elucidating the relationship between

society and sport in the context of the changing urban community since each survived for a long time on the local sports scene. Third, these three sports constitute the earliest expressions of organized interurban summertime sports competition. Related to this point, the particular cases of baseball and lacrosse reveal the developing association between urban identity, the notion of a "home team," and the internal dynamics of representative sport.

Finally, contemporaries and later historians have popularly labelled these three sports as having certain ingrained national character and social class qualities: cricket has been termed the "English" sport of the elite; baseball, the "American" game of the masses; and lacrosse, the indigenously "Canadian" game of the respectable middle classes. This provides ample opportunity for identifying the nationalistic and social class hegemonic imperatives of organized team sport. At the time sport proselytizers' comparisons between the three abounded. Each was a variation on the same bat-stick-ball theme and each was played during the same season. When, in 1870, the Hamilton Spectator wrote: "cricket is for elders, lacrosse for younger socialites, but baseball, an imported game, is just a sandlot sport usually played by undesirables," it was expressing a variation of the comparative view.<sup>84</sup>

Such opinions regarding the appropriateness of each of the three sports amongst certain segments of the population were quite commonly found in the press, in sport periodicals, and in writings on sport. When well known cricket propogandist and sometime Woodstock resident T.C. Patteson lamented during one phase or cricket stagnation, "...here [cricket] is starved. Whence shall come the

cricket Croesus who will have the pluck and the go and the ability to fan the flickering flame?", he was alluding specifically to popular perceptions of cricket as a sport of the colonial status elite. He hoped to appeal to that certain segment of the population. When, in 1869, the New York Clipper remarked on baseball's increasing popularity in Ontario's villages, towns, and cities that, "the American National Game is spreading in this section of the Queen's domain, and will, ere long, completely obliterate the 'ould Henglish [sic] game of cricket," the paper was making a sly jab at the social snobbery associated with the English game. And, finally, when lacrosse propogandist W. George Beers wrote that in lacrosse, "there are none of the debasing accompaniments, the bar-room associations of other games; [and] there is no beastly snobbishness about it," he was referring to the roles that baseball and cricket occupied in both working and elite class cultures. To what extend do these comparisons reflect the realities of the social construction of each of the three in Ingersoll and Woodstock? Chapters Five through Seven explore aspects of each sport that were significant in the social and cultural life in both towns.

This study's next most obvious omission is the lack of an in depth analysis of Ingersoll and Woodstock sportswomen. Even though women's sport activities are mentioned in this Chapter and at various points throughout this study, females are for the most part neglected. This is not meant to imply that sportswomen did not exist, nor is it intended to denigrate female sporting experiences, nor does it reveal by any means that the author presumes female sport to be less important than male sport.

This omission is a byproduct of this study's particular focus



in three interrelated ways. Firstly, organized sport was unmistakably constructed by, and for, males. In fact, the intimate relationship between sport and masculinity exists at the very core of the cultural construction of sport and consequently renders sport, arguably next to organized religion and science, as one of the most powerful agents of male hegemony. Secondly, females were non-existent in Ingersoll and Woodstock competitive sports clubs and in organized civic politics. Nor was it deemed desirable in the dominant culture that they be so. This is not surprising in the least: it simply reinforces the pervasive gender-based separation of public and private spheres endemic in nineteenth century society. Sport clubs never institutionally codified gender-based discrimination presumably for the simple reason that the need to do so never occurred to them. Thirdly, even though there are numerous reasons to assume that girls and women from all social classes took part in a variety of sporting activities, the records of their activities are lost in traditional historical sources. A comprehensive analysis of the special meanings that sport in general, and organized sport in particular, held for females remains to be written. Innovative sources, techniques, and an application of a feminist epistemology not found in this study are essential to overcome these barriers.

The final obvious omission in this study is related to the issue of the economics of leisure. With the exceptions of civic holiday sport, interurban amateur club competitions, and factory baseball discussed in various Chapters, only brief consideration is given to the rise of organized sport as a byproduct of a burgeoning late nineteenth century mass entertainment industry.

The possibility of either Ingersoll or Woodstock successfully sustaining the livelihoods of sport entrepreneurs appears to have been negated by limited population and economic resources until at least the First World War. This is evidenced in two important ways. First, sports entrepreneurs who ran sports and sports facilities tended to be transients whose stay in town lasted so long as their short-lived business ventures. Second, baseball and lacrosse clubs vehemently reasserted amateur principles whenever their drive to win led them to covertly break amateur rules. Ultimately they could not afford the "under the table payments" essential for keeping a winning team (an illustration of at least one subtle paradox of the amateur movement).

Only rarely, the case of Woodstock horse racing, for example, did either town come close to providing sport as a regular entertainment forum run by sport entrepreneurs. Even then this was more a byproduct of the internationally renowned horse stables owned by Woodstonians Charles Boyle and John Forbes, and the influence that these men had in the local driving park association, than any impulse emanating from the town itself. In fact, though Woodstock held the Queen's Plate in 1875, the town was never again the site of any major horse derby after this prestigious event found a permanent residence in Toronto in 1882. Though thoroughbred horses were bred, raised, and trained in Woodstock, they spent their racing careers in the large urban centres like New York, Louisville, Montreal, and Toronto. In much the same vein, although certain Ingersoll and Woodstock hometown boys gained national and international renown through their athletic achievements (Tip O'Neil, for example, is recognized by both the American and Canadian baseball Halls of Fame), they always found their fame and fortune in the American -- not Canadian -- sport marketplace.

The broad contours of the interrelationship between sport and the establishment of a middle class hegemony are outlined in Chapters Two through Eight. Chapter Two provides the local context for the study. It outlines urban and industrial growth and its general relationship to sport in Ingersoll and Woodstock. Through the two towns' markedly different early settlement histories it identifies the two models of early nineteenth century sports participation that existed in Ingersoll and Woodstock. In Ingersoll sport existed within the demands of a subsistence economy, vitally bound by the bonds of kinship, family, and neighborhood. Woodstock, by contrast, exhibited a bifurcated pattern of sport behaviour owing to the presence of an elite group of retired English military and naval officers. For its humbler folk, informal, communal sport predominated. The gentry families, on the other hand, engaged in much more differentiated, exclusive, rather than inclusive, and formal sport activities. They and their friends and families viewed England's aristocracy as a reference group for their social and sporting activities.

The advent of railway communications in the mid-1850's, however, broke the isolation of the inland towns. Their transformation from pre-industrial pioneer settlements to complex urban-industrial towns developed the essential framework for the rise of organized sport. This heralded an era in which they developed into self-conscious and self-confident urban communities led by a potent minority socially and politically active middle class bureaucrats, professionals, and merchants. The remaining Chapters show how these men shaped organized urban sport to present and assert their own particular world view.

Chapter Three illustrates the hegemonic process in action. It focuses on civic holiday celebrations as a means of looking at social relationships and values in the community. The civic holiday celebrations invariably included sport. A homogenous and tightly-knit group of middle class men used civic holiday celebrations to promote their particular world view. To reinforce their vision as being inherently natural and legitimate these holiday organizers used the celebrations to project community pride, solidarity, and continuity. Through parades and sport they created images of a proud, cohesive urban citizenry granted peace and happy lives through good local government and beneficent civic leaders.

The men who created the sports clubs which sponsored the holidays, particularly the Amateur Athletic Associations, institutionalized through them a particularly middle class view of the world. They sought to control the creation of public performances by relegating traditional parades and sports to a perjorative category of useless and socially improper rowdy idle diversions, while at the same time elevating respectability through their muscular Christian ethos, their organized team sports, and their concept of amateurism to the status of being the true and legitimate expression of society.

In their quest for respectability they eschewed and actively marginalized genres of past parade and sports traditions because in the social environment of the industrial capitalist era traditional activities increasingly became sources of social disorder rather than social order. Yet as the Callathumpian and Torchlight processions show, rowdy rituals were neither easily nor ever totally destroyed. The push and pull of social antagonism is central to the creation of

local amateur athletic associations which were empowered by town councils to run the community's holiday events.

Chapter Four shows how the middle class consolidated its hegemony through institutionalizing its preferences in sport. It focuses on the Ingersoll and Woodstock Amateur Athletic Associations which conducted civic holiday celebrations and regulated organized amateur sports competitions in the two towns on an everyday basis. The demographic characteristics of the men who were responsible for structuring and maintaining these organizations shows the close relationship between social class and AAA membership. Unskilled workers were entirely absent from them. AAA organizers, with very few exceptions, were Canadian-born middle class Protestant men tremendously active in the political, economic, and social life of the community.

Through the AAAs middle class men impressed their view of sport and society upon others. Their commitment to respectability, self-improvement, temperance, and piety evidenced in the outward manifestations of their corporate class consciousness found its way into the structuring of organized sport. Their hegemony was an ongoing process, subject to implicit and explicit forms of resistance. Their efforts to define legitimate sport for others, and to sublimate and marginalize alternate traditions, however, were constantly at issue. If workers and others adopted or watched amateur team sports they often did in their own way and for their own reasons.

Chapters Five through Seven focus upon the paradox of amateur sport through specific cases of the local evolution of organized team ball sports (cricket, baseball, and lacrosse). The middle class's very reliance upon the ideology of amateurism, an ideology whose most

basic premise denied the ultimate importance of victory, repeatedly created for sports organizers a tremendous paradox. If the social construction of local sport emphasized the notion that sports teams represented the town, and that playing field victories were, in effect, the town's victory, then the moral underpinnings of the amateur code would be constantly at issue as towns and their teams persistently sought victory.

Chapter Five identifies how cricket was incompletely transferred from English to Canadian society: in Canada it emerged as a socially bifurcated, rather than integrated sport. Although in England cricket crossed class boundaries, in Canada the provincial-level network of status elites and the local-level network of English immigrants of humbler social origins existed independently of each other. Provincial-level elites, like Woodstock's half-pay officers, used cricket as a handmaiden of Imperial culture. For them cricket created a type of cement which strengthened the bonds of metropolis and hinterland, and reinforced local status distinctions. Because they used cricket for social exclusion purposes, and because they institutionalized the game only through elite institutions (i.e., private schools), they ignored the social integration essence of the English county cricket tradition. Owing to its popularity amongst English immigrants who had been brought up with county cricket, the sport never died out at the local-level. Yet the ethnic impulse without a corresponding English social tradition apparently was insufficient for the game to thrive in Canada. Cricket became a cultural residual, an anachronistic sports practice outside the Canadian dominant order which nevertheless held significance to

certain social groupings.

Although cricket superbly embodied muscular Christian principles, the new middle class chose not to use it in their social reform agenda. This likely occurred because in Canada the provincial-level game was the most highly visible of the bifurcated forms. Since it was deeply embedded in a Tory enclave its promotion, by extension, would be at odds with the middle class efforts to socially and culturally define itself through sports. Since they did not incorporate cricket into their Amateur Athletic Associations, it played a marginal, if any, role in the mechanics of urban boosterism.

Chapter Six considers the case of baseball, the first organized team sport embracing the "games-build-character" ideal to highlight civic holiday celebrations. Even though it is popularly conceived of as the "American National Pastime," baseball held a lengthy and resilient history in Upper Canadian and Oxford County social traditions. Under Woodstonian leadership local variations of bat, ball, and base games found throughout the province gave way to the standardized New York (Cartwright) game. The early baseball clubs of the 1860's were predominantly artisans' associations which began to control the social environment of the game.

By the early 1870's baseball was ripe for reformers' efforts. Local gentleman-amateur ball clubs organized by a small group of politically prominent and socially active group of middle class men aimed to fully transform baseball from a rowdy unstructured game into a respectable formally organized representative urban team sport. Although organized amateur baseball bore hallmarks of the "games-build-character" approach to sport, and although baseball clubs were incorporated into the AAAs, no single group ever monopolized the game

and no single institution successfully governed and regulated baseball competition. Without such an institution defining the range of "legitimate" practices and meanings associated with the sport, baseball could never be totally controlled by middle class reformers. Their hegemony was constantly challenged by workers, professional athletes, spectators, and gamblers who in each case tried to shape baseball to meet their own ends.

Chapter Seven explores lacrosse, the holiday sport that bore the most clearly articulated and heavily institutionalized version of the "games-build-character" approach. Lacrosse proselytizers promoted this rational recreation hoping to instill a sense of Canadian nationalism in players and to cultivate manliness and respectability in youth in the face of grave concerns over moral and physical welfare of the nation's male youth.

Embraced by middle class sport organizers, local social reformers, religious leaders, and educators, amateur lacrosse contributed significantly to a middle class hegemony. It led the way in the local acceptance of organized sport: its local promotion among youth in both educational and social settings signified that from the mid-1870's on Ingersoll and Woodstock society accepted organized sport as an important aspect of daily life.

With its tremendous popularity in the late 1870's and early 1880's, and its increasing association with urban boosterism, the gap between ideation and behaviour widened significantly as the pressures for victory led to player and spectator transgressions: violence on the field and betting in the stands. This fast-paced game consequently never lived up to expectations of it as a truly national game. Often



it was manifest as the antithesis -- rather than the thesis -- of the vision of youth and sport expounded by social and sport reformers.

The paradox of middle class amateurism, along with amateur code's meritocratic illusion, are organized sport's most resilient legacies. The notions of "love of the game" and "the honour of the town" inherent in the rise of representative amateur team sports were, in themselves, representative only of the views of a handful of middle class men whose logic was, at best, ill-founded. In neither Ingersoll nor Woodstock did these two notions comfortably fit together: the cultivation of one necessarily undermined that of the other.

## FOOTNOTES

1. For a survey of Canadian sport history literature see Don Morrow, "Canadian Sport History: A Critical Essay," JSH 10 (1) (September, 1983), 67-79. Standard texts on Canadian sport history are Alan Metcalfe, Canada Learns to Play: The Emergence of Organized Sport, 1807-1914 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987); Don Morrow, A Concise History of Sport in Canada (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1989); Morris Mott, Sports in Canada. Historical Readings. (Toronto: Copp-Clark, 1989); Maxwell L. Howell and Nancy Howell, Sport and Games in Canadian Life, 1700 to the Present (Toronto: Macmillan, 1969), and Maxwell L. Howell and Reet Howell, History of Sport in Canada (Champaign: Stipes Pub. Co., 1981). The Howell surveys rely heavily upon the following Ph.D. dissertations written at the University of Alberta: Peter L. Lindsay, "A History of Sport in Canada, 1807-1867" (1969); Allan E. Cox, "Sport in Canada, 1868-1900" (1969); and Kevin G. Jones, "Sport in Canada, 1900-1920" (1970). Other Canadian sources include: William Perkins Bull, From Rattlesnake Hunt to Hockey: The Story of Sports and Sportsmen of the County of Peel (Toronto: George J. McLeod Ltd., 1934); S.A. Davidson, "A History of Sports and Games in Eastern Canada Prior to WWI" (Ed.D. diss., Columbia University, 1951); Robert D. Day, "The British Army and Sport in Canada: Case Studies of the Garrisons Halifax, Montreal and Kingston to 1871" (Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, 1981); Douglas Fisher and Syd Wise, Canada's Sporting Heroes (Don Mills: General Publishing Co., 1974); Ian F. Jobling "Sport in Nineteenth Century Canada. The Effects of Technological Change on its Development" (Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, 1970); Keith L. Lansley, "The Amateur Athletic Union of Canada and Changing Concepts of Amateurism" (Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, 1971); Leslie Donald Morrow. A Sporting Evolution. The MAAA 1881-1981 (Montreal: MAAA, 1981); John W. Purcell, "English Sport and Canadian Culture in Toronto, 1867-1911" (M.A. thesis, University of Windsor, 1974); H. Roxborough, "The Beginnings of Organized Sport in Canada," Canada (1974-1975): 30-43 and One Hundred Not Out: The Story of Nineteenth Century Canadian Sport (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1966); Barbara Schrodtt, Rich Baka, and Gerald Redmond, Sport Canadiana (Edmonton: Executive Sport Publications Ltd., 1980); J. Weiler, "Organized Sport" in Michael Cross ed., The Workingman in the Nineteenth Century (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1974); and Jack Batten, "Sport" in J.M.S. Careless and R.C. Brown (eds.) The Canadians (Toronto: Macmillan, 1967), 606-620.
2. Richard Gruneau, Class Sports and Social Development (Amherst, Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 1983), 96.
3. See Keith Thomas, "Work and Leisure in PreIndustrial Society," Past and Present 29 (December, 1964), 50-62.
4. 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); Edwin C. Guillet, Pioneer Days in Upper Canada. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1933), 141-216; John Howson Esq., Sketches of Upper Canada (1821; reprint Toronto: Coles

Canadiana, 1980), Letter XV.

5. Guillet, Pioneer Days Chapter X. Also see Edwin C. Guillet, Early Life in Upper Canada (Toronto: Ontario Publishing Co., 1933), 295-310.

6. Gruneau, Class Sports and Social Development, 97.

7. Ibid. On Garrison officers and sport see: Day, "The British Army and Sport in Canada" and Peter Lindsay, "The Impact of the Military Garrisons on the Development of Sport in British North America," Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education [hereafter CJHSPE] (1) (May, 1970), 33-44.

8. The following definitions are used in this study: urbanization - the spatial reallocating of surpluses both human and production into nodal concentrations hierarchically arranged; industrialization - the application of inanimate energy sources and machinery to production; infrastructural integration - the merging of self-contained island communities into larger provincial and national societies. For an overview of these processes, see J. Smucker, Industrialization in Canada (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1980), Chapter 4. For definitions as used in this study see The Landon Project Annual Report, 1976-1977 (London: University of Western Ontario, 1977), 10.

9. G.P. de T. Glazebrook, A History of Transportation in Canada, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964); Edwin C Guillet, Pioneer Travel in Upper Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1933); Nancy B. Bouchier, "A Broad Clear Track in Good Order: The Bytown and Nepean Road Company, Richmond Toll Road, 1851-1875," Ontario History LXXVI 2 (June, 1984), 103-127; P. Rutherford, The Making of the Canadian Media (Toronto: McGraw Hill Ryerson & Co., 1978) and A Victorian and Edwardian Authority: the Daily Press in late Nineteenth Century Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982).

10. See James J. Talman, "The Impact of the Railway on a Pioneer Community," Canadian Historical Association Annual Report (1955), 1-12; J. Spelt, Urban Development in South-Central Ontario (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972 ed.), 150-186.

11. See Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F.J. Artibise, The Canadian City, Essays in Urban History (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1966); J.M.S. Careless, The Rise of Cities before 1914 (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1878), "Urban Development in Canada," Urban History Review (7) (1974), 14-19; "Metropolitanism and Region: The Interplay between City and Region in Canadian History Before 1914," Journal of Urban History (1978), 98-118.

12. See Louise A. Tilley and J.W. Scott, Women, Work and Family (New York: Holt Rhinehart and Winston 1978).

13. See Margaret Conrad, "'Sundays Always Make Me Think of Home': Time and Place in Canadian Women's History," in Veronica Strong-Boag

- and Anita Clair Fellman eds., Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1986), 67-81; Tamara K. Harevan, Family Time and Industrial Time. The Relationship between the Family and Work in a New England Industrial Community (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982).
14. See Leo A. Johnson, "The Political Economy of Ontario Women in the Nineteenth Century," in Janice Acton et.al. (eds.) Women and Work, Ontario 1850-1930 (Toronto: Women's Press, 1974), 13-32; Paula Bourne ed., Women's Paid and Unpaid Work: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1983); Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood, 1820-1860," American Quarterly 18 (1966): 151-174; and Nancy F. Cott, The Bonds of Womanhood: Women's Sphere in New England, 1870-1835 (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1977).
15. See Daniel Scott Smith, "Family Limitation, Sexual Control, and Domestic Feminism in Victorian America," in Nancy F. Cott, A Heritage of Her Own (New York: Simon and Shuster, 1979), 222-223.
16. Ibid.
17. M.C. Urquhart and K.A.H. Buckley, Historical Statistics of Canada (Toronto: Macmillan, 1965), 591.
18. E. Anthony Rotundo, "Body and Soul: Changing Ideals of American Middle Class Manhood, 1700-1920," Journal of Social History 16 (1983), 23-38.
19. Conrad, "'Sundays Always Make Me Think of Home'"; Harevan, Family Time and Industrial Time; Fritz Redlich, "Leisure Time Activities: A Historical, Sociological and Economic Analysis," Explorations in Entrepreneurial History 5 (1965-1966), 3-24; Thomas, "Work and Leisure in PreIndustrial Society"; E.P. Thompson, "Time, Work Discipline and Industrial Capitalism," Past and Present 38 (December, 1967), 56-97; John Myerscough, "The Recent History of the Use of Leisure Time," in Ian Appelton ed., Leisure Research and Policy (Edinburgh: Scottish Academy Press, 1974).
20. Allan Pred, "Production, Family and Free-time Projects: a time-geographic perspective on the individual and social change in nineteenth century United States Cities," Journal of Historical Geography 7 (1981), 3-36.
21. James Walvin, Leisure and Society (New York: Longmans, 1979), 10. For the range and variety of nineteenth century voluntary see George N. Emery, "Voluntary Association Records and the Study of Southwestern Ontario's Past," in The Landon Project, Annual Report 1976-1977 (London: The University of Western Ontario, 1977), 319-334; Stephen Hardy offers a good analysis of sport histories using the voluntary association theme in "The City and American Sport, 1820-1920," Exercise and Sport Sciences Review 9 (1981), 183-219; also see Benjamin Rader, "The Quest for Subcommunities and the Rise of American Sport," American Quarterly 29 (Fall, 1977), 355-369.

22. See R. Wayne Simpson, "The Elite and Sport Club Membership in Toronto, 1827-1881" (Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, 1987); Jack Watson, "The Private Athletic club and Games and Sports the United States" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1956).
23. Trevor Dick, "Canadian Newsprint, 1913-1930. National Policies and the North American Economy," Journal of Economic History XLII 3 (September, 1982), 659-687.
24. John R. Betts, "Sporting Journalism in Nineteenth Century America," American Quarterly 5 (1)(1953), 39-56; Jack W. Berryman, "The Tenuous Attempts of Americans to Catch-up with John Bull: Specialty Magazines and Sporting Journalism, 1800-1835," CJHSPE X (1) (May, 1979), 33-61; Robert D. Day, "Sport in Poetry: A Nineteenth Century Newspaper Study of Chatham, Ontario Journals," CJHSPE X (1) (May, 1979), 62-82.
25. Jobling, "Sport in Nineteenth Century Canada"; John R. Betts, "Technological Revolution and the Rise of Sport, 1850-1900," Mississippi Valley Historical Review 40 (September, 1953), 231-256.
26. James J. Talman, "Travel in Ontario before the Coming of the Railway," Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records XX-IX, 85-102.
27. Trevor Williams, "Cheap Rates, Special Trains and Canadian Sport in the 1850's," CJHSPE XII 2 (December, 1981), 84-93; Ian F. Jobling, "Urbanization and Sport in Canada, 1967-1900," in Canadian Sport, Sociological Perspectives (Don Mills: Addison-Wesley Ltd., 1976); Trevor Williams, "Cheap Rates, Special Trains and Canadian Sport in the 1850's" CJHSPE, XII (2) (December, 1981), 84-93; Wilma J. Pesavento, "Sport and Recreation in the Pullman Experiment, 1880-1900," JSH 9 (2) (Summer, 1982), 38-62.
28. Certain scholars have used the creation of leagues to indicate the end of the transition from premodern to modern sport. See Christine Burr, "The Process of Evolution of Competitive Sport. A Study of Senior Lacrosse in Canada, 1844-1914" (M.A. thesis, The University of Western Ontario, 1986); Alan Metcalfe, "Sport and Athletics: A Myth or Reality. A Case Study of the History of Lacrosse, 1840-1890," Proceedings of the Third Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education (Halifax: Dalhousie University, 1974); Melvin L. Adelman, A Sporting Time. New York and the Rise of Modern Athletics (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986); and Tony Mason, Association Football and English Society, 1863-1915 (Sussex: Harvester Press, 1980).
29. For a chronology of the evolution of these agencies see Gerald Redmond, "Some Aspects of Organized Sport and Leisure in Nineteenth Century Canada," in Morris Mott, ed. Sports in Canada. Historical Readings (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1989), 81-106; on the Montreal dominance of national associations see Don Morrow, "The Powerhouse of Canadian Sport: The Montreal Amateur Athletic Association, Inception to 1909," JSH 8 (3) (Winter, 1981), 30-39. Adelman also makes a similar case for New York's dominance in American sport

between 1820 and 1870. See Adelman, A Sporting Time.

30. The London Tecumseh baseball team of the mid-1870's is a noteworthy example. This professional team played in the International Association. For the relationship between sport and urban boosterism, see Morris Mott, "One Town's Team: Souris and its Lacrosse Club, 1887-1906," Manitoba History 1 (1) (1980), 10-16; Carl Betke, "Sports Promotion in the Western Canadian City: The Example of Early Edmonton," Urban History Review 12 (2)(1983), 47-56; Frank Abbott, "Cold Cash and Ice Palaces: The Quebec Winter Carnival of 1894," Canadian Historical Review 69 (2)(1988), 167-202.

31. Macalfe, Canada Learns to Play.

32. Ibid., 120.

33. Eric Dunning, "Industrialization and the Incipient Modernization of Football," Stadion 1(1)(1975), 103-39. Although in general agreement with Dunning's analysis, Gruneau believes that Dunning overstates his case. He argues that "they helped to avert class conflict, not by instilling values of 'self-help' and the entrepreneurial ethos into the sons of aristocrats, but rather by educating the young bourgeoisie in a sense of gentlemanly propriety which would subvert their individualistic tendencies and integrate them into a broader, more organic commitment to the collectivity." See Class, Sports and Social Development, 103.

34. See J.A. Mangan, Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), and The Games Ethic and Imperialism. Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideal (Markham, Ontario: Viking Press, 1986); and David W. Brown, "Athleticism in Selected Canadian Private Schools," and "Social Darwinism and Canadian Private Schooling to 1918," CJHSPE XVI (1)(May, 1985), 27-37; Bruce Haley, "Sport and the Victorian World," Western Humanities Review 22 (Spring, 1968), 115-125.

35. Redmond, "Some Aspects of Organized Sports."

36. See John A. Lucas and Ronald A. Smith, Saga of American Sport (Philadelphia: Lea and Febiger, 1978), Part I; Benjamin Rader, American Sports, from the Age of Folk Games to the Age of Spectators (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1983); Dennis Brailsford, "Puritanism and Sport in Seventeenth Century England," Stadion 1 (2)(1975), 316-330; J. Thomas Jable, "Pennsylvania's Early Blue Laws: A Quaker Experiment in the Suppression of Sport and Amusements," JSH 1 (Fall, 1974), 107-121; Idem., "The English Puritans - Suppression of Sports and Amusements," CJHSPE 7 (May, 1976), 33-40; Peter Wagner, "Puritan Attitudes Towards Physical Recreation in 17th Century New England," JSH 3 (Summer, 1976), 139-151; Nancy Struna, "Puritans and Sports: The Irretrievable Tide of Change," JSH 4 (Spring, 1977), 1-21.

37. Gruneau, Class, Sports and Social Development, 108-117.

38. Redmond, "Some Aspects of Organized Sports", 98.

39. See David Howell and Peter Lindsay, "The Social Gospel and the Young Boy Problem, 1895-1925," CJHS XVII (May, 1986), 75-87; C.H. Hopkins, History of the YMCA in North America (New York: Associated Press, 1951).
40. Allan Guttman, From Ritual to Record. The Nature of Modern Sports (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), 31.
41. See W.F. Mandle, "The Professional Cricketer in England in the Nineteenth Century," Labour History 23 (1972), 1-16; Keith A.P. Sandiford, "Cricket Crowds During the Victorian Age," JSH 9 (Winter, 1982), 5-22; Lincoln Allison, "Batsman and Bowler, the Key Relation in Victorian England," JSH 7(2)(Summer, 1980), 5-21.
42. As cited in Don Morrow, "A Case Study in Amateur Conflict: The Athletic War in Canada," British Journal of Sports History 3(2)(September, 1986), 174.
43. Ibid.
44. See Metcalfe, Canada Learns to Play, Chapter 4.
45. Ibid., see also Richard Gruneau, "Modernization or Hegemony: Two Views on Sport and Social Development," in Not Just a Game, 5-32; and Metcalfe, "The Growth of Organized Sport and the Development of Amateurism in Canada, 1807-1914," in Not Just a Game, 33-49.
46. Harry Braverman, Labour and Monopoly Capital. The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1974); Steven M. Gelber, "Working at Playing: Workplace and the Rise of Baseball," Journal of Social History 16 (4)(1983), 3-22; R. Beamish, "Sport and the Logic of Capitalism," in H. Cantelon and R.S. Gruneau eds., Sport, Culture and the Modern State (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982),
47. For an analysis of the gender-based epistemological underpinnings of sport refer to M. Ann Hall, Sport and Gender: A Feminist Perspective on the Sociology of Sport (Calgary: CAPHER Sociology of Sport Monograph, 1978); Idem., "Rarely Have We Asked Why: Reflections on Canadian Women's Experience in Sport," Atlantis 6 (1), 51-60.
48. See Morris Mott, "The British Protestant Pioneers and the Establishment of Manly Sports in Manitoba, 1870-1886," JSH 7 (Winter, 1980), 57-70; Idem., "One Solution to the Urban Crisis, Manly Sports and Winnipeggers, 1900-1914," Urban History Review XII 2 (October, 1983), 57-70; E. Anthony Rotundo, "Body and Soul: Changing Ideals of American Middle Class Manhood, 1700-1920," Journal of Social History 16 (1983), 23-38; Bruce E Haley, "Sports and the Victorian World"; and Peter Stearn, Be a Man! Males and Masculinity in Modern Society (New York: Holmes Meier, 1979), 101-102. On women see Jennifer A. Hargreaves, "Playing Like Gentlemen While Behaving Like Ladies: Contradictory Features of the Formative Years of Women's Sport," Proceedings of the British Society for Sports History. (Chester, England 1984); Reet Howell ed., Her Story in Sport (New

York: Leisure Press, 1982).

49. See Hargreaves, *Ibid.*; J.A. Mangan and Roberta J. Park, eds. From Fair Sex to Feminism: Sport and the Socialization of Women in the Industrial and Post-Industrial Eras (London: Frank Cass, 1987); Kathleen McCrone, Sport and the Physical Emancipation of English Women, 1870-1914 (Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1988); Michael Smith, "Graceful Athleticism or Robust Womanhood: The Sporting Culture of Women in Victorian Nova Scotia," Journal of Canadian Studies 12 (1&2)(Spring/Summer, 1988), 121-137; Catriona Parratt, "Athletic 'Womanhood': Exploring Sources for Female Sport in Victorian and Edwardian England" JSH 16 (2)(Summer, 1989), 140-150; Helen Lenskyj, Out of Bounds. Women, Sport and Sexuality (Toronto: Women's Press, 1986); Carrol Smith-Rosenberg and Charles Rosenberg, "The Female Animal. Medical and Biological Views of Women and her Role in Nineteenth Century America," Journal of American History, 60 (2) (September, 1973), 332-356.

50. Marion Pitters-Casswell, "Womens Participation in Sporting Activities as an Indicator of a Feminist Movement in Canada, 1867-1914," Proceedings of the Third Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport (Halifax: Dalhousie University, 1974); M. Ann Hall, "Womens Sport in Canada Prior to 1914," Proceedings of the First Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1970), 69-89; Smith, "Graceful Athleticism and Robust Womanhood."

51. Kathleen McCrone, Sport and the Physical Emancipation of Women; *Idem.*, "Play Up! Play Up! And Play the Game! Sport at the Late Victorian Girl's Public School," Journal of British Studies XXIII 2 (Spring, 1984), 106-134.

52. Dale Somers, The Rise of Sport in New Orleans, 1850-1900 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press, 1972); Rader, "The Rise of Subcommunities"; Adelman, A Sporting Time.

53. See Stephen Hardy, "Parks for the People: Reforming the Boston Park System, 1870-1915," JSH 7 (Winter, 1980), 5-24; Dale Somers, The Rise of Sport in New Orleans; Roy Rosenzweig, "Middle Class Parks and Working Class Play: The Struggle over Recreational Space in Worcester, Massachusetts, 1870-1910," Radical History Review 21 (Fall, 1979), 31-46; Benjamin Rader claims that "[i]n most cases bachelors suffered fewer social restraints than married men. Without ties to wives or traditional homes, many of them sought friendship and excitement at the brothels, gambling halls, billiard rooms, cockpits, boxing rings, or the race tracks." See Rader, American Sports, 34; Dale Somers argues the same point in The Rise of Sport in New Orleans, 52-53. For treatments of how sport clubs functioned as a bachelor subculture see Bruce Haley, The Healthy Body and Victoria Culture (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978); J.A. Mangan, Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School; Stearn, Be A Man!; Rader, "The Quest for Subcommunities". The distaff side of homosocial bonding and shifting emotional dimensions and sexual alliances in families see Carol Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth



Century America," Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, (Autumn, 1975), 1-29.

54. John Weiler, "The Idea of Sport in Late Victorian Canada," in Michael Cross, The Workingman in the Nineteenth Century (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1974), 229-232; R. J. Davis, "Patterns of Physical Recreation in Different Types of Urban Community in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century With Particular Reference of the West Midlands of England," Unpublished paper presented to the XI HISPA Congress, Glasgow, 1985; Roy Rosenzweig, Eight Hours for What We Will. Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870-1920 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

55. Carl Berger, "Introduction," in Contemporary Approaches to Canadian History (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1987), 1-3.

56. Wise, "Sport and Class Values."

57. See Mott, "Canadian Sports History: Some Comments to Urban Historians"; Idem., "One Solution to the Urban Crisis: Manly Sports and Winnipeggers, 1900-1914" in Urban History Review XII (2)(October, 1983), 25-29, 50-70; Betke, "Sports Promotion in the Western Canadian City"; Weiler "The Idea of Sport in Late Victorian Canada"; and Robert F. Harney, "Homo Ludens and Ethnicity," Polyphony 7(1)(Spring/Summer 1985), 1-12.

58. For a good historiographical survey of recent efforts to integrate sport history and social history, see Mott, Sports in Canada, 1-13.

59. For example, Lindsay, "A History of Sport in Canada, 1807-1867"; Cox, "Sport in Canada, 1868-1900"; Jones, "Sport in Canada, 1900-1920". Other works by physical educators include Day, "The British Army and Sport in Canada"; Jobling, "Sport in Nineteenth Century Canada"; Keith L. Lansley, "The Amateur Athletic Union of Canada and Changing Concepts of Amateurism" (Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta 1971); John W. Purcell, "English Sport and Canadian Culture in Toronto, 1867-1911" (M.A. thesis, University of Windsor, 1974); Schrodtt et. al., Sport Canadiana.

60. Four primarily English-speaking journals established during the last decade and a half are presently devoted to the history of sport. They are: The Journal of Sport History [JSH], The Canadian Journal of History of Sport [CJHS] (formerly The Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education [CJHSPE]), The International Journal of Sport History (formerly The British Journal of Sports History), and Stadion. Recent issues devoted to sport historiography include: "The Promise of Sport History: Progress and Prospects," JSH 10 (1) (September, 1983); "Perspectives on Sports and Urban Studies," Urban History Review XII (2) (1983); and Victorian Studies 22, 1977. A few of the very good review essays on sport include Melvin L. Adelman, Maryland Historian, 4 (Fall, 1973), 123-134; Idem., "Academics and Athletics: a Decade of Progress," JSH 10 (1) (September, 1983), 80-106; Peter Bailey, "Review Article: Sport and the Victorian City," Urban History Review XII (1983), 71-76; J.W. Berryman, "Sport

History as Social History," Quest, 20 (September, 1973), 65-72; Allen Guttman "Commentary: Who's on First? or Books on the History of American Sports," Journal of American History 66 (September, 1979), 348-354; Steven Hardy, "The City and the Rise of American Sport"; Bruce Haley, "Sports and the Victorian World"; Benjamin Rader, "Modern Sports: In Search of Interpretations," JSH 13 (Winter, 1979), 307-321; and Steven A. Riess, "Sport and the American Dream: A Review Essay," Journal of Social History 14 (December, 1980), 295-301. Victorian Studies devoted its entire Autumn 1977 issue to leisure. Other literature published in the last decade and a half predominantly stems from Britain. A good, but now dated, review is P. Bailey, "A Mingled Mass of Perfectly Legitimate Pleasures The Victorian Middle Class and the Problem of Leisure," Victorian Studies 21 (Autumn, 1977), 7-28; William J. Baker, "The Leisure Revolution in Victorian England: A Review of Recent Literature," JSH 6 (Winter, 1979), 76-87; and David Cannadine, "The Theory and Practice of the English Leisured Classes," Historical Journal 21 (June, 1978), 445-467.

61. Two exceptions, both unpublished M.A. studies, are Robert D. Day, "From Impulse to Addiction: Sport in Chatham, Ontario 1790-1895" (M.A. thesis, London: University of Western Ontario, 1979); and Havi Echenberg, "Sport as a Social Response to Urbanization: A Case Study - London, Ontario, 1850-1900" (M.A. thesis, London: University of Western Ontario, 1979). Studies of Windsor, Sarnia, and Edmonton, however, while focussing on non-metropolitan places, still tend to look at cities that were relatively large by nineteenth century Canadian standards and are typically unsystematic in their approach.

62. For example, current wisdom regarding Canadian AAAs, particularly the MAAA, makes no connection between the Associations' founding and urban boosterism, even though this connection was a tremendous impetus for the founding of the IAAA and WAAA.

63. Discussed below in Chapter Three.

64. Gruneau, Sport, Class and Social Development; Catriona Beaton Parratt, "Sport and Hegemony: Windsor c.1895 to 1929" (M.A. thesis, University of Windsor, 1984); Alan Metcalfe, "The Evolution of Physical Recreation in Montreal 1840-1895," Social History/Histoire Sociale (1978), 144-166; Simpson, "The Elite and Sport Club Membership"; Adelman, A Sporting Time; Stephen Hardy, How Boston Played: Sport, Recreation and Community, 1865-1915 (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1982); Idem., "The City and American Sport"; Joe D. Willis and Richard D. Whettan, "Social Stratification in New York City's Athletic Clubs, 1865-New York Athletic Clubs: a Preliminary analysis of the Impact of the Club in American Sport in Late Nineteenth Century America," CJHSPE 7 (May, 1976), 41-53; and Michael A. Speak, "The Social Anatomy of Participation in Sport in Lancaster, 1840-1870," Unpublished paper presented to the XI HISPA Congress, Glasgow, 1985.

65. See Rosenzweig, Eight Hours for What We Will; Hardy, "The City and American Sport."

66. For examples of this trend see R. Wiebe, *Ibid.*; D. Cavallo, "Social Reform and the Movement to Organize Children's Play during the Progressive Era," History of Childhood Quarterly, 3 (Spring, 1976), 509-522; and Don Kirshner, "The Perils of Pleasure: Commercial Recreation, Social Disorder and Moral Reform in the Progressive Era," American Studies 21 (Fall, 1980), 27-42. For critiques of this trend see Gareth Stedman-Jones, "Class expression versus Social Control? A Critique of Recent Trends in the Social History of Leisure," in *Idem.*, Languages of Class: Studies in English Working Class History, 1832-1982 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982). For debate on social control theory in history see William A. Murashin, "The Social Control Theory in American History A Critique," J Social History 9 (Summer, 1976), 5-29; Richard Fox, "Beyond Social Control: Institutions of disorder in Bourgeois society," History of Education Quarterly 16 (Summer, 1976), 203-207; and Joseph F. Kett, "On Revisionism," History of Education Quarterly 19 (Summer 1979), 229-235.

67. Beaton-Parratt, "Sport and Hegemony"; Alan Metcalfe, "Sport and Hegemony: Insights from Canada," Unpublished paper presented to the XI HISPA Congress, Glasgow, 1985; John Hargreaves, "Sport and Hegemony, some theoretical problems," in Hart Cantelon and Richard Gruneau eds., Sports, Culture and the Modern State (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 103-139; Gruneau, Class Sports, and Social Development; *Idem.*, "Modernization or Hegemony: Two Views on Sport and Social Development" in Jean Harvey and Hart Cantelon eds., Not Just a Game: Essays in Canadian Sports Sociology (Ottawa: Ottawa University Press, 1988), 9-32; Alan Ingham, "Culture and the Modern State" in *Ibid.*, 199-208.

68. T.J. Jackson Lears, "The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities," American Historical Review 90 (3)(June, 1985), 567-593. Lears offers a good analysis of the potential uses of Gramsci's in North American social history. See also James Joll, Gramsci (Glasgow: Fontana, 1977); Quintin Hoare ed., and John Mathews trans., Antonio Gramsci. Selections from Political Writings. 1916-1920 (Britain: Camelot Press, 1978), and Selections from Political Writings. 1921-1926 (Britain: Camelot Press, 1979).

69. Hegemony is characterized by Gramsci as "...the spontaneous consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group; this consent is "historically" caused by the prestige (and consequent confidence) which the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production." (p.80) Quinton Hoare and Geoffrey Howell Smith eds., Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci (New York:International Publishers, 1985).

70. The term "residual" is used in this study to mean "sports practices, styles, and beliefs effectively formed in the past which remain highly significant today." See Gruneau, "Modernization or Hegemony", 31.

71. See Hall, Sport and Gender; *Idem.*, "Rarely have we Asked Why"; J.A. Mangan and James Walvin eds., Manliness and Morality: Middle

Class Masculinity in Britain and America.

72. Pitters-Casswell, "Women's Participation in Sporting Activities"; Smith, "Graceful Athleticism or Robust Womanhood."

73. Karen Kenney, "The Realm of Sports and the Athletic Woman, 1850-1900," in Reet Howell ed., Her Story in Sport: A Historical Anthology of Women in Sports (New York: Leisure Press, 1981), 107-140.

74. Helen Lenskyj, "The Role of Physical Education in the Socialization of Girls in Ontario, 1890-1930" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1983); Idem., Out of Bounds. Women, Sport and Sexuality (Toronto: The Women's Press, 1986); Stephanie Twin, Out of the Bleachers: Writings on Women and Sport (New York: The Feminist Press, 1979).

75. Hargreaves, "Playing Like Gentlemen While Behaving Like Ladies."

76. Mott, "The British Protestant Pioneers and the Establishment of Manly Sports in Manitoba"; Idem., "One Solution to the Urban Crisis, Manly Sports and Winnipeggers"; Ian Maguire, "Images of Manliness" in Mangan and Walvin, Manliness and Morality, 265-287.

77. David I. MacLeod, "A Live Vaccine. The Y.M.C.A. and Male Adolescence in the United States and Canada," Social History/Histoire Sociale 11 (21)(1978), 55-24; Idem., Building Character in the American Boy. The Boy Scouts, Y.M.C.A., and their Forerunners, 1870-1920 (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983); Rotundo, "Body and Soul: Changing Ideals of American Middle Class Manhood."

78. For a historical perspective of the region see Fred Landon, Western Ontario and the American Frontier (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1941); The Landon Project, Annual Report, 1976-1977, 39-43. For a geographic perspective of the region, see L. J. Chapman and D. F. Putham, the Physiography of Southern Ontario. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966).

79. New Railway Map of the Province of Ontario, 1888 in R. Louis-Gentilcore and C. Grant Head, Ontario History in Maps (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 193.

80. Klaus Meier, "On the Inadequacies of Sociological Definitions of Sport," International Review of Sport Sociology 2 (16) (1981), 79-102; Jay J. Coakley Sport in Society Issues and Controversies. (Toronto: C.V. Mosby Co., 1982 ed.), 13.

81. Donald Morrow, "Sport Imagery in Shakespearean Plays," Proceedings of the X Hispa Congress (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1983), 187-199.

82. Johan Huizinga, Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play Element in Culture (1952, Boston: Boston Press, 1955 ed.).

83. Wise, "Sport and Class Values."

84. As cited in Roxborough, One Hundred Not Out, 39.
85. T.C. [Patteson], "Reminiscences," in J.E. Hall and R.H. McCullough, Sixty Years of Canadian Cricket (Toronto: Bryant Publishing Co., 1895), 257.
86. New York Clipper 4 September 1869.
87. W. George Beers, Lacrosse. The National Game of Canada (Montreal: Dawson Press, 1869), 35.

CHAPTER TWO  
Urban and Industrial Growth and Sport  
in Ingersoll and Woodstock

Ingersoll and Woodstock developed very different societies before the Great Western Railway broke down their inland isolation in 1853. On the one hand, Ingersoll was settled primarily by American immigrants after the War of 1812-1814. Its social and economic development was constrained by the largely subsistence agriculture of its hinterland area. Woodstock, on the other hand, was founded in the 1830's by a group of retired English naval and military officers whom the colonial government had lured to the area to check the spread of reform political support. Although Woodstock subsequently attracted settlers of humbler origin, its gentry class provided it with a high social tone which was entirely lacking in Ingersoll. The officers and their families brought to Woodstock the values of genteel country life. At the same time, with their wealth from old country estates and naval and military pensions, they possessed the resources to support their social pretensions. Unlike families in Ingersoll and humbler families in Woodstock, they were not dependent on the meager resources of the local subsistence economy.

Predictably different models of sport participation developed in the towns before 1853. Informal communal sport predominated in Ingersoll, where inhabitants were constrained by the subsistence economy. Communal consensus and tradition shaped the game rules, and the participants used makeshift equipment on whatever land conveniently served for the playing field. The seasonal cycle, weather, hours of daylight, and community holidays determined when the games were played. By contrast, Woodstock evidenced a bifurcated

pattern of sport behaviour. For its humber folk, informal, communal sport predominated, for the same reasons noted for Ingersoll. The gentry families, on the other hand, engaged in formal, exclusive sport. Through English country sports such as cricket, riding to the hunt, and steeple chasing, they expressed a non-utilitarian attitude to life and secured social distance from others.

Following Canada's political reforms of the late 1840's and the development of railway communications in the early 1850's, however, Ingersoll and Woodstock became increasingly similar as capitalist economic development changed both towns. This was marked by settlers shifting from subsistence to commercial farming and the rise of a wage-earning working class in both towns. As well, Woodstock's officer elite slipped in importance and a new middle class, nourished by a vigorous capitalist exchange economy, came to dominate both towns. At the same time, the towns remained comparable in population size and industrial capacity. Distinctly smaller than the nearby regional metropolis of London, yet large enough to dominate rural areas, hamlets, and villages around them, Ingersoll and Woodstock found in each other their greatest social, economic, and political rival.

In sport as in socioeconomic structures, the towns became more similar than different after 1853. With the demise of the Woodstock officer elite, for example, that town lost its distinctive status tradition. In the interplay of culture and socioeconomic change Ingersoll and Woodstock each developed an essential framework for the rise of organized sport. Structural change, family change, the development of discretionary income, and the rise of structured leisure time each are intricately associated with organized sport's

growth and popularity. The new urban merchants, bureaucrats, and professional men led the movement. They created voluntary associations which reflected their own particular world-view. This view, informed by the quest for respectability, was rationalized, organized and structured, channeled and directed.

Middle class men created new urban sports which fit the contours of their own urban life and leisure while structural constraints, both time and financial, rendered the sports virtually inaccessible for factory workers. New sports forms differed from past ones in their emphasis upon physical skill and stamina, organizational complexity, firm ideological grounding, and in their close relationship to urban boosterism. Instead of being intensely local and communal, they stretched beyond community boundaries and afforded ongoing and regularized competition between urban places, factories, work sites, schools, churches, and even streets.

## I. Before the Railway

### A. Early History of the Towns and their Societies

Both Ingersoll and Woodstock were centrally situated in Southwestern Ontario on the upper branch of the Thames River. This region, particularly in the Brock District, developed more slowly than other areas of Upper Canada until after the War of 1812. After the war the area's abundant fertile land in close proximity to the American border and the Great Lakes - St. Lawrence waterway system attracted settlement. Road communications, though primitive, facilitated inland travel. Two overland trails connected Oxford County to east-west connections, and to the south to Lake Erie. Settlers with an eye for good land found the physiography of centrally-



situated Oxford County ideal: it held an excellent quality of soil, good drainage, and a plentiful water supply from the Thames River and its streams.<sup>2</sup> Hardwood and softwood forests covered the area's rolling hills.

Although largely settled in the early part of the nineteenth century Ingersoll's early roots reached back to the previous century. In 1793 wealthy Massachusetts promoter Thomas Ingersoll and a handful of businessmen received 64,000 acres in Oxford Township granted from Simcoe's inland colonization program.<sup>3</sup> The proprietary agreement required Ingersoll to settle forty families in the area and fulfill road building requirements. The area was largely uninhabited apart from the small settlement of Beachville which in the early 1790's possessed a mill site and postal service.<sup>4</sup> Despite his creating a small community, government authorities rescinded Ingersoll's grant shortly after Simcoe's return to England. Ingersoll's petition to recoup his sizable losses in the venture in 1797 fell on deaf ears. Frustrated by the experience, and disappointed by what he believed to be the work of "some evil-minded person [who] reported to the Home Government that Governor Simcoe was likely to injure the country by encouraging Americans to settle here," Ingersoll abandoned his fledgling settlement sometime in 1804-5 and relocated to the Port Credit area.<sup>5</sup> His complaint regarding anti-American sentiment was a portent of events to come in the late 1830's in politically troubled Brock District.

Soon after the War of 1812-1815 two of Ingersoll's sons returned to the struggling community. They quickly capitalized on the commercial potential of the area with its natural mill site by

harnessing water power for industry and venturing into small-scale commerce. They established a grist mill and saw mill, a blacksmith shop, an ashery, a general store, and a distillery. During the 1820's local developments included the introduction of regular stage coach service, the establishment of a County Post Office, and the construction of a log school house. In the mid-1830's local road improvements to the Old Stage Road, and the establishment of a Land Registry Office consolidated the village's strong ties with its agricultural hinterland. During this period Ingersoll and Oxford County's pioneering homesteads contributed to each other's growth.

Informal and communal social institutions solidified and perpetuated the social identities of Ingersoll villagers and their rural counterparts. With few communications with the outside world, people were isolated. In such a world kinship, neighborhood, and shared experiences promoted social bonding. Local inhabitants looked forward to whatever opportunities existed for social interaction.

Pioneering conditions in Ingersoll's isolated rural countryside, for example, made Sabbath worship important for social intercourse as well as for religious observance. As early as 1828, before the establishment of permanent churches, itinerant Methodist preachers visited the village during their circuit travels. They arrived on horseback every two or three weeks to preach to a schoolhouse or barn packed with people dressed in their Sunday best, eager for the opportunity to speak to kin and neighbor. Their topics of conversation, as recorded by social observer Anna Jameson who visited Oxford County, reveal matters of concern to them: marriages and births, letters from England, crops and clearings, lumber, price of wheat, road mending, deer shooting, log burning, and

10  
so forth.

Wayside inns and taverns also provided informal places for social interaction. At least thirty taverns dotted the 70 miles between Brantford and London. They were arenas for social and political discourse. Over a pint of locally brewed ale, rural and urban dwellers discussed pertinent local issues. Topics like the weather, harvest prospects, the results of sports events, local political concerns involving bad roads, land speculation, political patronage, and reform doubtless occupied the neighborly  
12  
gossip.

Woodstock was founded a dozen or so miles to the north east of Ingersoll partly in response to the growth and prosperity of Ingersoll and its environs, and the political posturing of Oxford County inhabitants. Woodstock became Ingersoll's keenest political, economic, and social rival. Whereas Ingersoll possessed a communal inclusive society, Woodstock possessed a much more differentiated, formal and exclusive one.

Military considerations played a key role in Woodstock's early settlement history. In 1793 John Graves Simcoe viewed its site to be an ideal location for settlement in his provincial scheme. Woodstock's inland location was at a safe distance from the border between Upper Canada and the newly-formed American States. Though some early settlement existed in the area, the actual plans for the town  
13  
lay dormant until the politically turbulent 1830's. At that time acute concern about the reform politics of non-Loyalist settlers, particularly in the Norwich Quaker settlement and in the Brantford and London areas prompted government intervention. Lieutenant Governor

Sir John Colborne consciously adopted a strategy of "combating the influence of settlers from the United States" by inducing the "right sort of men," namely British immigrants loyal to the Crown and supporters of the provincial Tory elite, to settle politically troubled regions of the province to assuage the spread of reform ideas.<sup>14</sup> In doing so, the authorities sought to create a network of communities of cooperative men who could exert considerable influence in local and regional affairs.<sup>15</sup> Coercion and example rather than cannon balls were to accomplish this task.

In the case of Woodstock the authorities persuaded a group of retired British naval and military officers to settle in the troubled Blandford Township. This began in 1831-32 when a retired colonel and naval captain settled in the area, though the real impetus for the settlement began with naval Captain Andrew Drew's arrival in the provincial capital as the agent for Rear Admiral Henry Vansittart.<sup>16</sup> Vansittart of Bisham Abbey, Berkshire, the fifth son of a long-standing Parliamentarian, wished to secure the future of his own younger sons by establishing a landed estate in Upper Canada.<sup>17</sup> Other younger sons of the gentry, typically faced with limited economic and social prospects in Britain, similarly found merit in the opportunities presented to them by colonial officials.

Excited by the prospect of his heading a quasi-military settlement of half-pay officers in the troubled London District, the authorities successfully courted Vansittart through Drew. As hoped, other retired officers followed suit.<sup>18</sup> This established a de facto military and naval presence in Woodstock, despite the lack of a de jure garrison. Militarily the retired officers ranked with the best

that any colonial garrison had to offer: from militia lieutenants to a colonel, and even higher still with a naval commander and a rear admiral. Their military rank automatically entitled them to sizable land grants.<sup>19</sup> Their combined capital stimulated a local economy and established a market town. Their presence generated a demand for labouring subordinates, particularly skilled artisans and labourers, who "gathered the shekels that they scattered."<sup>20</sup> The half-pay officers possessed the social, financial, and educational requisites essential to check the spread of reform ideas. They set the tone for Woodstock's elite whose numbers swelled through the inclusion of family, friends, and social peers.

Some of the retired officers possessed access to colonial political and social networks. This gave them short-cuts through an otherwise inflexible bureaucracy, and, most important in an age of unreformed politics, plum appointments like the local Magistracy (which a handful of men dominated within months of their arrival in 1833).<sup>21</sup> In 1839 Woodstock became the District Town. This provided for the officers' control of district political organization, administration, and justice.<sup>22</sup>

To other elite groups in the province the Woodstock group logically merited this patronage. Many retired officers had family ties with England's gentry, bore impressive letters of introduction from the Colonial Office, possessed capital, university educations, and the right social connections in Upper Canada.

Although largely homogenous, the Woodstock elite did have their differences. Not everyone was as politically well connected as the Admiral, or even Peter Boyle de Blaquiére, who became first Chancellor of the University of Toronto. Strong personal antipathies

existed between certain members. Admiral Vansittart and Andrew Drew hated each other. On at least one occasion members of the elite acted out their intense personal animosities on the duelling ground.<sup>23</sup>

Even so, the Woodstock elite tended to share and confirm the inherently conservative ideology maintained by other Tory elite groups in the province. Both groups used England's aristocracy as a reference for their own social and leisure activities, and, in doing so, reinforced their own local elite status. In this they expressed what they believed to be their own superiority in a natural social hierarchy.<sup>24</sup> The Woodstock elite "held their heads high, thinking much of 'family': tolerant of the 'lower orders' and devoting much of their time to sport and amusement."<sup>25</sup> According to local sources, they disdained business and manufacturing enterprises, and chose to invest their money "freely in the improvement of their estates and in the enjoyments of life."<sup>26</sup>

The Woodstock elite's social traditions reveal their nonutilitarian attitudes toward life and leisure. Akin to Thorstein Veblen's "leisure class," they participated in lavish and conspicuous consumption and in the formation of a local estate culture in the backwoods of Upper Canada. They possessed great mansions, splendid libraries, large retinues of servants, carriages emblazoned with heraldic shields, and impressive stables even by contemporary standards. Few entered their small, yet powerful social enclave enmeshed with intermarriage, Anglo-ethnic bonding, and a common Church of England affiliation.<sup>27</sup>

Their very presence and lifestyle, however, belied the significant political and social tensions motivating the efforts made

to induce the half-pay officers to settle in Oxford County in the  
<sup>28</sup>  
 first place. Their intransigence over land claims, religion, and  
 political appointments exacerbated the tenuous relationship between  
 themselves and Oxford County's numerous and increasingly vocal  
 political reformers. They felt socially and politically superior to  
 the local populace though they generally treated them with  
<sup>29</sup>  
 paternalistic civility.

The Duncombe Revolt, as it occurred in Oxford County in 1837,  
<sup>30</sup>  
 attests to the severity of the political frictions. Fifteen months  
 before the event over 300 concerned Woodstonians sent the Lieutenant-  
 Governor a Loyal Address. They pledged to "make any sacrifice should  
 the urgency of the case demand it, to preserve inviolate the  
<sup>31</sup>  
 Constitution." During the rebellion crisis they kept their word.  
 Half-pay officers headed locally raised contingents during the  
 insurrections and they turned to their institutional appendage, Old  
<sup>32</sup>  
 St. Paul's Church, to imprison captured rebels. This rectory  
 symbolized all that the elite stood for: it was one of forty-four  
 endowed in the province in 1836 owing to the Rev. Bettridge's  
<sup>33</sup>  
 personal appeal to his former Commandant Sir John Colborne. Known  
 for his profound religious intolerance, Bettridge considered members  
 of the Church of Scotland heretics not worthy of the Clergy Reserves.  
 St. Paul's itself was a powerful matrix of the elite's social  
 power. Even the building's seating pattern marked social rank in the  
 community in a hierarchical fashion. Parishoners paid premium pew  
<sup>34</sup>  
 rents for the choice seats located closest to the Altar.

Oxford County's earliest newspapers, published in Woodstock,  
 were an institutional appendage of the literate ex-officer elite  
 inasmuch as the officers primarily comprised their market, and, in the

case of at least one paper, one member actually owned it. By 1851 Woodstock had at least four weeklies catering to local politics and interest.<sup>35</sup> These papers provide a rich source of information on the early history of Woodstock and the half-pay officers' social activities. Only in the early 1850's, when the Ingersoll Chronicle began publication, did Woodstock's newspapers lose their grip on Oxford County information dissemination.

During the 1840's and 1850's changes in Woodstock politics and society undermined the Tory elite's local political and social presence. From the time of their arrival the retired officers strove to politically and socially subordinate local settlers, who, in turn, actively resisted their efforts. In the 1840's this climate changed somewhat after the achievement of Responsible Government in 1849. This long standing platform of the province's political reformers rendered the executive council collectively dependent upon the votes<sup>36</sup> of the elected legislature. This, along with the movement toward county reorganization in 1841 and in the 1849 Municipal Act, removed some of the Woodstock elite's single-handed domination of local politics. The Act, for example, required certain public offices to be elected, rather than appointed. Combined, these changes undermined the Tory patronage system from which the Woodstock elite operated.

Coincident with these changes came the deaths of several of the elite's leading members, old men by then, and with them went "their peculiar brand of [Tory] politics."<sup>37</sup> Some remaining members of the elite left the area for England and other places in the Empire, "localities better suited to their tastes." This ended the social



experiment of transplanting a landed gentry to the backwoods frontier  
38  
of Oxford County.

Some who remained in the new era of decentralized politics shifted their sights and energies towards local improvement,  
39  
particularly local railway development. In this pursuit they allied with former political foes, notably reformer Francis Hincks, the Premier of Canada in 1852 and perhaps the province's greatest  
40  
railway promoter of the day. In pursuing outright commercialism they stepped outside their squire and parson concept of society and stimulated a loose rapprochement between themselves and the province's  
41  
rising group of urban mercantile men.

In the new age of railways, urban growth, and incipient industrialization, new political alliances led the remaining members of the old Woodstock elite into a new emerging social order based upon sources of wealth and power which they did not monopolize. This order consisted of what the Globe recalled in 1878 as "a race of thrifty, industrious, money-getting men, w: . . . as more in unison with the  
42  
place and time." These new men were the rising middle class of merchants, bureaucrats, and professionals whose services were increasingly demanded by a growing urban population. They were as much concerned with efficiency, morality, self-improvement, neighborhood, and the purposive use of spare time as the old provincial elite had been with lavish and conspicuous consumption and their pursuit of a leisured estate culture.

B. Sports Before the Railway Era

i. Communal, Informal Sport in Ingersoll and Woodstock Subsistence Societies

Before the coming of the railway in 1853, informal communal

sports predominated in Ingersoll and amongst those settlers excluded from the estate culture of the leisured officer elite in Woodstock. Settlers arriving from the United States and Britain brought with them the strongly local versions of games and sports learned in their youth from which they went on to develop their own peculiar versions.<sup>43</sup> Eventually, the games became firmly rooted in local traditions. Communal consensus and oral tradition shaped the game rules, and participants used make-shift equipment on whatever land was available for a playing field.

Early social institutions encouraged sport. Ingersoll and Woodstock agricultural societies founded in the 1830's and 1840's featured sports events like horserace and ploughing matches at annual fairs.<sup>44</sup> These events combined sporting competition with utilitarian concerns such as improved stock breeding and the development of farming skills. Informal wagers between participants and spectators livened up the contests considerably.

Communal work bees also show the interrelationship between the subsistence agricultural society and sport. Bees were "neighborly gatherings for any industrious purpose - a friendly clubbing of labour, assisted by an abundance of good cheer."<sup>45</sup> They enabled subsistence farmers to recruit labour from outside the family to get large jobs done. Alex Matheson Sutherland's notebook reveals the importance of bees to Ingersoll area farms and local society. During the days of his youth bees promoted local social interaction and provided much needed labour. He writes:

Few thought of doing a work of any magnitude except by a Bee. If one wanted several acres cut down, or the same trees cut up and gathered into heaps to be burned, he made a Bee. If he got behind in his spring ploughing, he made a Bee. If one

wanted a heap of apples pared and cored he made a Bee. His corn was husked by a Bee. It was found that a lot of work was done quickly, and that not all but these Bees brought the people together, kept them neighborly, cheerful and unselfish. The young people all liked such occasions for the bees nearly always would up with a dance.<sup>46</sup>

These meetings also provided tremendous opportunities for sport. After the job was completed people congregated for food and drink and for conversation, dancing, and sports. Though direct historical evidence for the area is lacking, studies of similar typed areas show that people likely pitted themselves against each other in gymnastic feats, trials of strength, wrestling, and ball games, as well as track and field activities like running, jumping, putting the stone, and throwing the hammer.<sup>47</sup> Little distinction existed between sports participants and spectators. Flexibility characterized the contests. Mutual consensus and tradition informed the rules of competition. Participants used makeshift equipment (bales of hay as lifting weights, nearby logs and stones as throwing objects), and their activity depended upon what sort of land they had for a playing field. Bad weather and darkness brought an end to their games-playing.

Celebrations on the annual Queen's Birthday and Militia Muster Day holidays (May 24th and June 4th) drew Ingersoll and Woodstock villagers together with their rural counterparts. They combined the celebration of Queen and Country with a sense of harmonious relations between the villages and their hinterlands. They rarely, if ever, occurred without sport. The chief event of the Militia Muster day celebrations on June 4, 1838, in Beachville, a small village equidistant between Ingersoll and Woodstock, for example, consisted of a baseball match between area youth whose ages ranged from 15 to 24

years. Since sporting goods were not mass produced at the time players used rudimentary locally-made items: the club (bat) was "made of the best cedar, blocked out with an ax and finished on a shaving horse," and the ball consisted of "double twisted woolen yarn covered with good, honest calfskin sewed with waxed ends" by the local

49

shoemaker. The rules for the contest, similar to known versions of baseball found in Massachusetts, New York, and Philadelphia, were modified to fit local conditions. Mutual consensus, informed by an oral tradition maintained by local old-timers, provided the basis for agreement on the duration of the game and the number of players involved.

Like the civic holidays, Ingersoll and Woodstock wayside inns and taverns provided places for social interaction and for sport.<sup>50</sup> Despite legislation to the contrary, cockfighting and pugilism thrived in their shadow. So too did horseracing, which eventually was banned within town limits.

Since they often owned hostellries many innkeepers were keenly interested in horse breeding. To them a horse's speed was a good indicator of a well bred horse. To identify potential breeding stock, and to put horses to the test, innkeepers often arranged and backed horseraces for sizable sums. In Ingersoll the strong affiliation between innkeepers and sport is reflected in the Innkeepers Purse<sup>51</sup> event at turf meetings which lasted well into the late 1860's.

ii. Exclusive, formal sport: Woodstock's "Aristocrats"

The half-pay officers and their families brought to Woodstock the values of genteel English country life. With their wealth from old country estates and naval pensions, they possessed the resources

to support their social pretensions. They included only those whom they viewed to be their social peers in their social and sporting activities. They ensured social segregation by relying upon privately owned facilities and lands. Guest lists for their sleighing parties and balls held at their estates were limited to military men from London and Hamilton.

Occasionally they entertained the province's highest society. In 1849 in the wake of the Montreal riots over the Rebellion Losses Bill, Lord Elgin dropped in at the Vansittart Estate on his way to London. Some time later Governor Sir Edmund Head visited his intimate friend and former college classmate Edmund Deedes.<sup>52</sup> He sat in the Deedes' family pew during Sunday service at Old St. Paul's Church.<sup>53</sup>

The retired officers used their sporting pursuits -- riding to the hunt, steeplechasing, hunting parties, and cricket -- to assert their presence in Oxford County.<sup>54</sup> At a banquet held in his honour J.G. Vansittart wished his celebrators to "recall to their minds their senses of their native land, and stir up within them glowing sensations."<sup>55</sup> This was to be accomplished by appealing to the high regard with which they held sport: "He went on to descant on the pleasures of the race course, the cricket ground, and the stag hunt, and wound up by proposing [a toast to] 'The English Sports'." According to the Long Point Advocate, "an uproarious cheering ensued,"<sup>56</sup> with everyone "leaving perfectly satisfied."

Sport was central to the elite's lifestyle. Their derbies "were gala days of the year [for which] crowds flocked in from all parts."<sup>57</sup> Handbills advertised the annual steeplechase's two courses. Very shortly after they settled in the Woodstock area they formed one of the earliest and most noted cricket clubs in the colony. The club,

along with their other institutional appendages of a more paternal and philanthropic nature -- their Subscription Library, their Agricultural and Horticultural Societies, Goodwin's Subscription Schoolhouse, and St. Paul's Anglican Church -- was duly noted in contemporary Gazetteers as a strong selling feature of the rapidly growing small community.<sup>58</sup>

This Tory elite did not continue its social and sporting form after the local political reform in the late 1840's removed some of their single-handed domination of local politics and society. Those members who had not died or left town by the early 1850's stepped outside their squire and parson concept of society and stimulated a loose rapprochement between themselves and the new social order whose sources of wealth and power they did not monopolize. This shift heralded the end of an era for Woodstock sport: an end lamented by other Tory elites in the province. In 1858 the Canadian Cricketer's Guide wrote:

it pains us deeply to be compelled to state that the Woodstock club has dwindled into obscurity... it seems strange that cricket should be entirely abandoned to the more absorbing claims of railways and politics.<sup>59</sup>

The new men whom the old Tory elite allied with were the rising urban class of merchants, bureaucrats, and professionals. Their services were increasingly demanded by a growing urban population. They concerned themselves with efficiency, morality, self-improvement, neighborhood, and the purposive use of spare time. The Tory elite had been concerned with lavish and conspicuous consumption. As the sports of the retired officers had reflected the world view of the Tory elite, the rising middle class created sports which reflected their own particular world view.

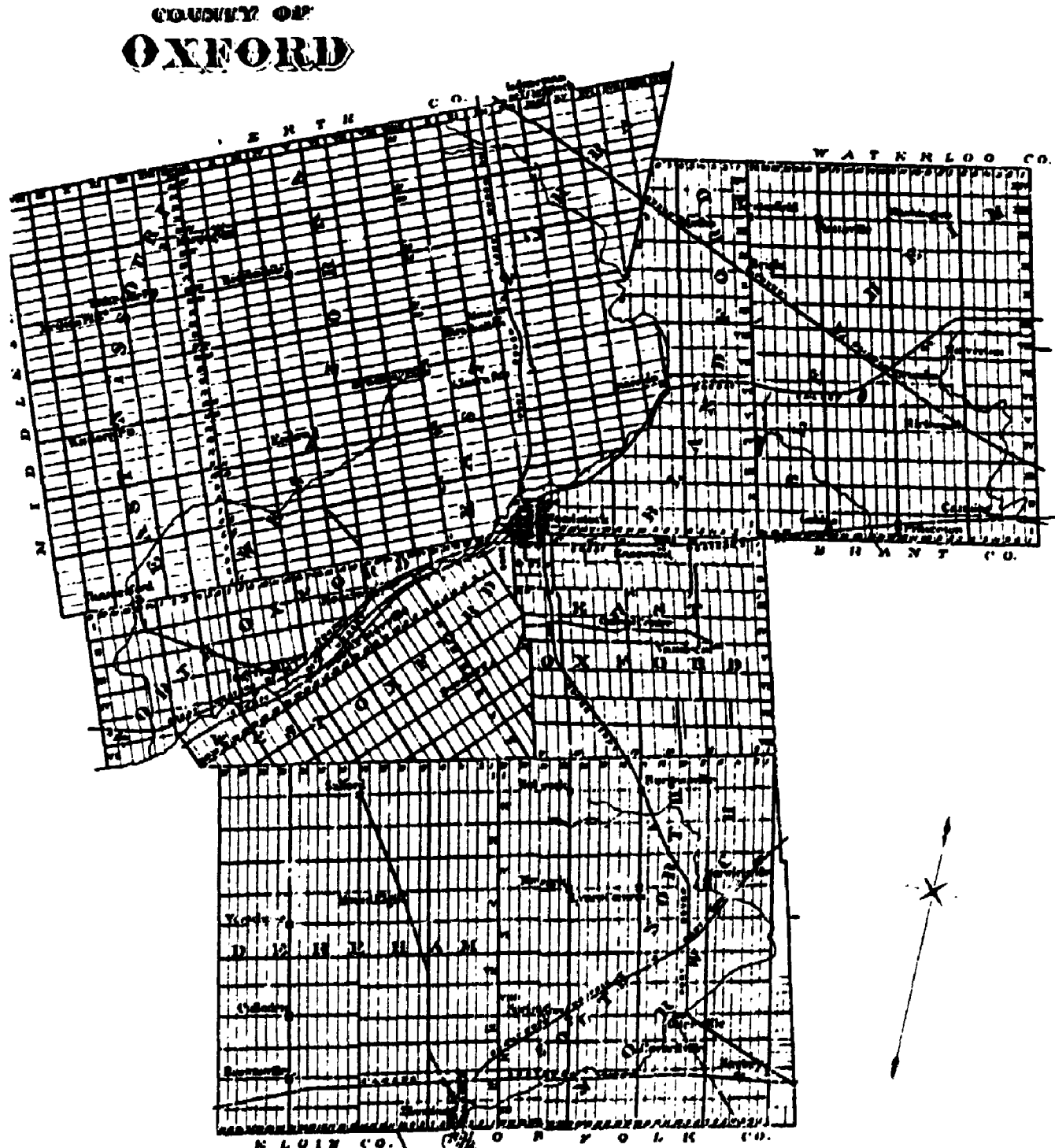
## II. The Railway Years

In 1853 the Great Western Railway ended Ingersoll and Woodstock's inland isolation by linking them to provincial and continental rail and water export networks. Subsequent industrial capitalist development transformed both villages and made them increasingly similar in areas of urban geography, political culture, economic development, social practice, and, most importantly, sport.

Railways were tremendously important to Ingersoll and Woodstock's growth and development during the nineteenth century. Railway communications opened them up to a whole new world characterized by the easy flow of goods, services, people, and ideas. By 1858 the Great Western linked both towns to Toronto, Hamilton, Niagara, London, Sarnia, and Windsor, as well as to Lakes Ontario, Erie, St. Clair, and Huron. With these channels of commerce and communication brought by the railway both towns, like many other communities in the province, experienced a period of dynamic growth.

Yet as long as only one railway served the towns, railway monopoly led to higher rates than competitive centres like London. For this reason Ingersoll and Woodstock businessmen aggressively pursued a second railway to attain lower prices than competitors. To this end town councils enacted local bylaws taking stock in area railway ventures (see Figure 2). For example, in 1875 Woodstock successfully negotiated access to the Port Dover and Lake Erie Railway, giving the town direct access to Stratford and its network of railway connections.<sup>61</sup>

FIGURE 2  
Map of Oxford County Railway Connections  
1876



\*Source: Page and Smith, Historical Atlas of Oxford and Brant Counties, 1875-1876. Toronto: Page and Smith, 1876



years later Ingersoll was linked to the Toronto to St. Thomas rail network, and down to Port Stanley via the Credit Valley line.

The early effects of railway communications on industry in Ingersoll were more immediately apparent than was the case in Woodstock.<sup>60</sup> By the mid-1860's, for example, Ingersoll area residents shifted from wheat to dairy production and the town emerged the centre of a national cheese production factory system.<sup>62</sup> Rail connections provided for the transport of local export cheese, lumber and wheat to British, European, and American markets.<sup>63</sup> By 1870 Ingersoll had the decided industrial edge on its rival ranking sixteenth to Woodstock's twenty-first place amongst the top forty-five industrial workforces in urban Ontario.<sup>64</sup> APPENDIX D summarizes the urban growth and local services in Ingersoll and Woodstock during the railway years.

As the Table below shows, by provincial population size standards, neither Woodstock nor Ingersoll were exceptional.

TABLE I  
Number of Ontario Urban Municipalities by Population Size,  
with the Placement of Ingersoll and Woodstock, 1851-1901

(I)= Ingersoll (W)=Woodstock

year	n. municipalities						tot.
	>1000	1000-2499	2500-4999	5000-9999	10000-24999	25000+	
1851	2	21 (I)(W)	7	2	2	1	35
1861	21	34	15 (I)(W)	4	4	1	79
1871	28	45	24 (I)(W)	7	3	2	109
1881	61	78	35 (I)	14 (W)	2	3	193
1891	72	96	38 (I)	15 (W)	5	4	230
1901	82	103	40 (I)	18 (W)	6	4	253

Sources: Bloomfield; Canada Census Reports, 1851-1891

Though by 1901 Woodstock was to become a city while Ingersoll remained a mere town, it never rivalled nearby London as a regional distribution centre, or in terms of population, size, level of services, or industrial development. Thus between 1853 and 1900,

FIGURE 3

Stylized View of Woodstock's Railway Connections

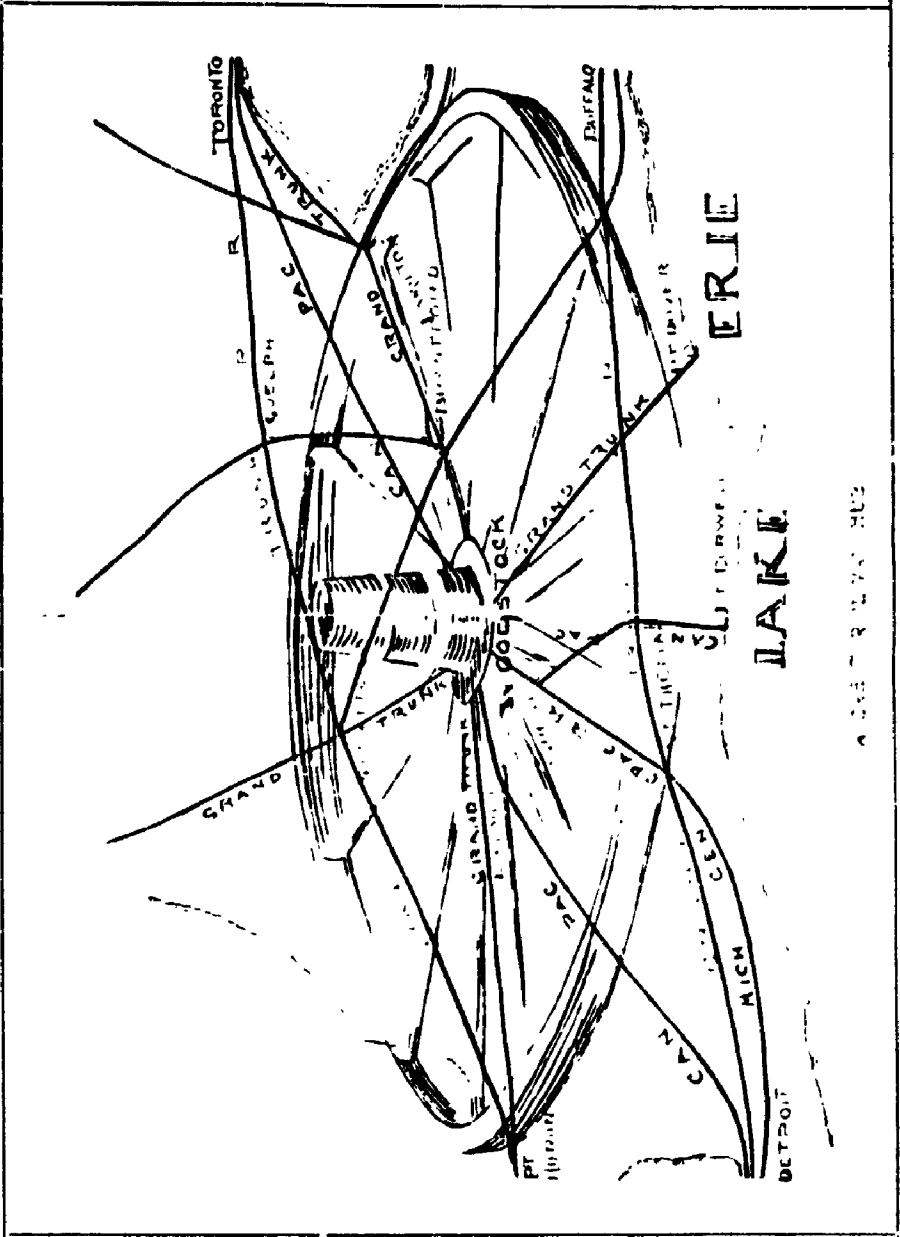
# Express Industrial Number

Issued by the WOODSTOCK EXPRESS PRINTING COMPANY, Limited, Woodstock, Ontario, Feb., 1946.

## WOODSTOCK

The Business Hub of the District

Man Railway Lines of Railways  
Landing Manufactures Exports  
For and War



A GREAT RAILWAY HUB

Ingersoll and Woodstock alike were virtually locked into a middling status in the province's evolving urban hierarchy. During this time they were each others keenest competitor.

Railways heightened townspeople's sense of being integrated into a larger urban scheme. The centrepiece for Woodstock's Express Industrial Number special newspaper edition, for example, had a stylized view of Woodstock as the hub of a great wheel of railway lines spanning Southwestern Ontario (Figure 3). Such a grandiose image notwithstanding, rail links to other parts of the province made Ingersoll and Woodstock each only one of over a hundred similar small communities.

Whether in urban reform, industrial manufacturing, social agencies, or sport, civic leaders boosted their town. They used civic holiday celebrations, for example, as public manifestos to celebrate the town. They also used gazetteers, directories and newspaper special editions to the same end, exploiting them to paint rosy-coloured portraits by focussing upon what they deemed to be important features of the town -- industry, business and consumer interest, neighborhood, and morality. Through the local press they regularly pointed out local building developments. Photographs of the town's imposing two and three story brick shops, stately homes, gymnasiums and other sports facilities graced the pages of special editions to testify to the advanced state of local urban development.

Ingersoll's and Woodstock's civic leaders also redesigned parklands to boost the town. Although parklands were always present in the towns their form and intended function changed through time as the towns grew in physical size and stature. Early in Ingersoll and

TABLE II  
Chronological Development of Sports Facilities  
1834-1895

INGERSOLL		WOODSTOCK	
date	private	date	private
1834	(county ag. assn)	1836	(town purchase 1873)
1860		1860	
nd	IAAA	1884	x (WAAA)
1868	x (John A. Meyer)	1884	x (WAAA)
1869	x (IAAA)	1884	x (WAAA)
1876	x (Geo. Bryce)	1884	x (WAAA)
1889	x	1838	x
1857		nd	
1894	x (joint stock co.)	1867	x
1887	x	1867	x (WAAA)
1886	x (IAAA)	unknown	x
1889	x (IAAA)	unknown	x
1864	x (joint stock co.)	1871	
1879	x (joint stock co.)	nd	
1871		1884	x (Chas. Pyme)
1879	x	1884	x (WAAA)
1884	x	unknown	
1889	x (IAAA)	unknown	
1882	x	1871	
1874	x (Jas. Wight)	nd	
-		1884	x (WAAA)
1867	x (joint stock co.)	nd	
1889	x (IAAA)	1884	x

\*Source: Ingersoll Chronicle sport data base and Woodstock Sentinel sport data base.

Woodstock's history, for example, the urban inhabitants who raised poultry and livestock used park (commons) lands as pastures for their animals.<sup>67</sup> This inhibited rather than promoted organized sport since people intending to use the land continuously had to rid it of horses and cattle and, further, they had to deal with the unappealing situation of feces-covered playing fields.

Eventually rising local population figures, coupled with public health concerns over hygiene and persilence, increasing urban land values, and, importantly, the necessity for suitable recreation sites led to the rise of public parks as ground for leisure and play.<sup>68</sup> Urban rivalry hastened this transition when agricultural use of commons lands, once considered an asset, increasingly became a social embarrassment -- a sign of backwardness. In 1875 the Chronicle appealed to town pride over the issue of Woodstock gaining the edge in parks development.<sup>69</sup> The town was determined not to be surpassed. Within a dozen years the Ingersoll press bragged that with the passing of the local early closing bylaw the park was "the liveliest place in town."<sup>70</sup>

As redesigned for active and passive recreation parks became the home of sport and the site for civic holiday celebrations. They possessed all the necessary accoutrements: ball diamonds, playing fields, spectator stands, fences, refreshment booths, and bandstands. Table II reveals that by the turn of the century both towns offered a vast array of public and private sports facilities.

Newspaper editorials, public speeches, and written reminiscences by civic leaders also boosted the towns. Such preening as this was commonplace throughout the province during the railway years. Woodstock, for example, was puffed up by being given at

various times different names. At first the local press termed it "The Aristocratic Town." This harkened back to the town's early history and revealed the pretensions of grandeur Woodstonians shouldered. Later, referring to its role as the market for Oxford County's agricultural produce, they called it "The Garden of Ontario." Finally, in 1901, when it achieved city status, the town council selected the moniker "The Industrial City" for Woodstock.<sup>71</sup>

Occasionally Ingersoll was advertised more aggressively. In 1866 local cheese manufacturers produced "the world's largest cheese." They shipped their 7,300 pound curiosity, the "Mammoth Cheese," to expositions at Saratoga, New York and London, England.

Railway lines cemented the ties between urban identity and sport by giving teams competitive opportunities against other urban places. Railway companies encouraged competition through excursion rates which allowed for teams to travel with ease, comfort, and speed -- at a minimal financial cost. In 1871 the Great Western advertised its rail reductions in Woodstock, offering cheap rates "to all clubs - cricket, baseball, lacrosse, et hoc genus omne," wishing "to take advantage of them when leaving town to play a match."<sup>72</sup> Aided by the club discount offered by GWR manager Thomas Swinyard, Ingersoll's Victoria baseball club managed a seven city tour in 1868 for the price of one fare plus .25 cents.<sup>73</sup> By the mid-1870's organized interurban leagues for baseball, lacrosse, and curling received discount rates.<sup>74</sup>

Woodstock did well in interurban sport competition. Its exploits were avidly chronicled in sport specialty magazines like the Canadian Wheelman and the Canadian Gentleman's Journal and Sporting Times as well as the New York Clipper and Philadelphia's Sporting

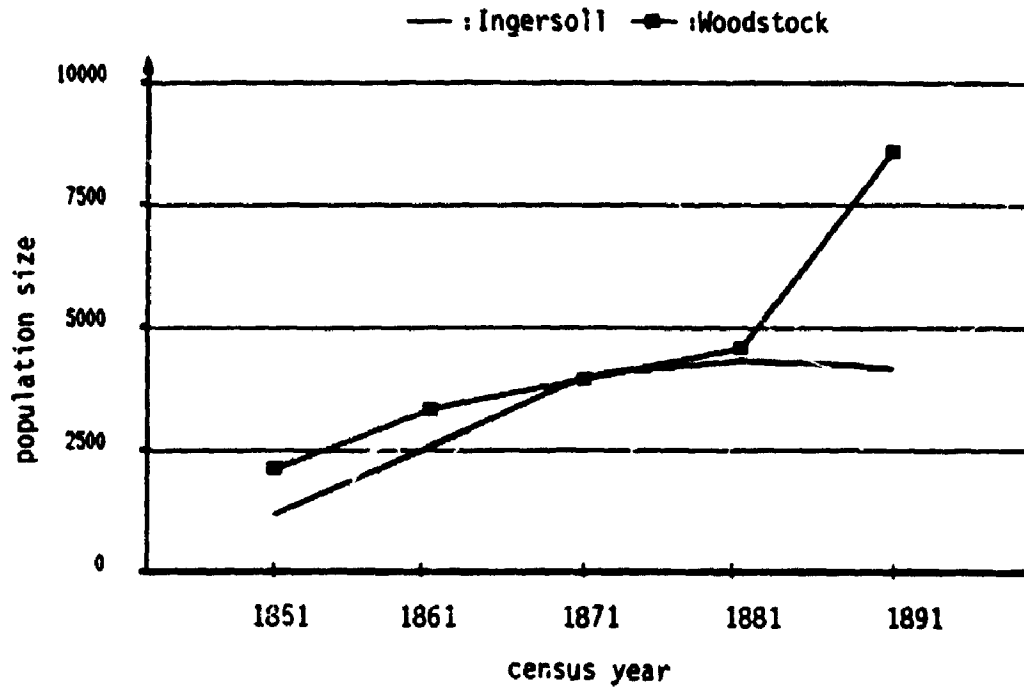
Life. In the 1860's it was hailed the Canadian baseball town. In horseracing it was the site of the 1875 Queen's Plate. By the mid-1880's the Woodstock Amateur Athletic Association (WAAA) hosted the Canadian National Bicycle Championships. Cyclists and bicycle clubs from Montreal, Toronto, Ottawa, Hamilton and other places used the railway to transport their wheels to Woodstock for Dominion Day cycle parades and competition. Touring clubs always found accommodation at Woodstock's Commercial Hotel, the local headquarters of the Canadian <sup>75</sup>Wheelsman's Association. Railways and excursion rates made these accomplishments possible.

Above all else the railway years heralded an era of population growth, urban and industrial expansion in Ingersoll and Woodstock. As the graph in Figure 4 shows, both populations quadrupled between 1851 and 1901. This growth occurred unevenly. Between 1861 and 1871 <sup>76</sup>Ingersoll's population grew at more than twice Woodstock's rate. By 1881, however, the situation reversed: Woodstock took a lead in the population race that it has never relinquished.

One might assume that this population expansion would have contributed significantly to the rise of organized sport by creating a threshold number of people who possessed disposable incomes, discretionary leisure time, and the predisposition to play. Yet such a view is misleading. It suggests that the absolute size of a population is the critical factor when, in fact, data presented in Chapters Five through Seven show that sports participants came from a target group, specifically males aged 15 to 29 years of age who were Canadian-born <sup>77</sup>Protestants from middle class homes.

The graphs in Figure 5 show that between 1851 and 1891 those found within the target group's age range, that is, between 15 and 29

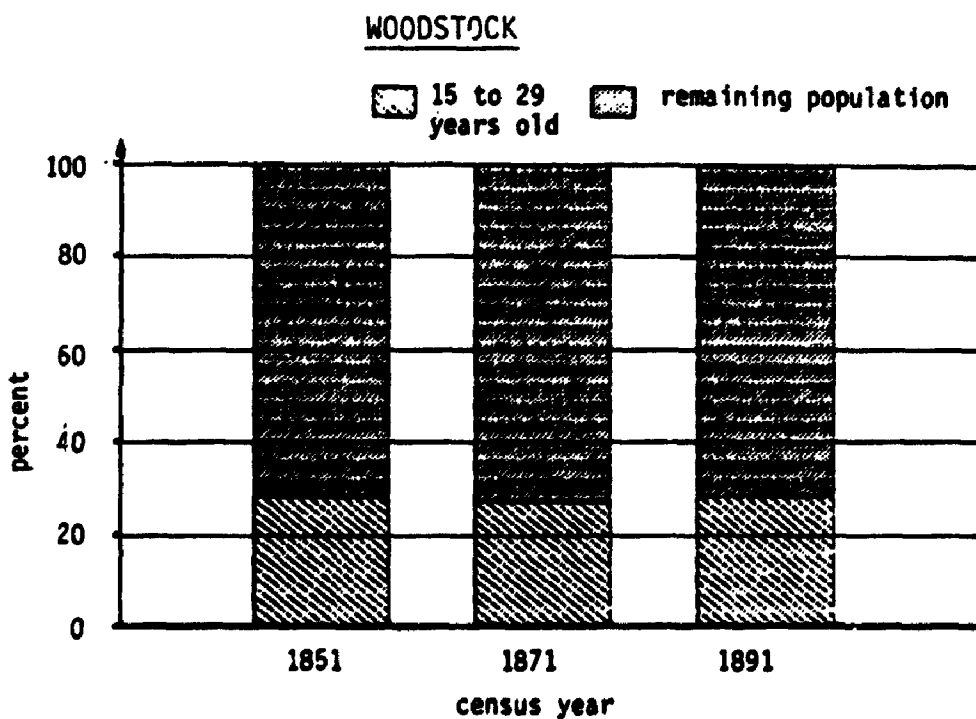
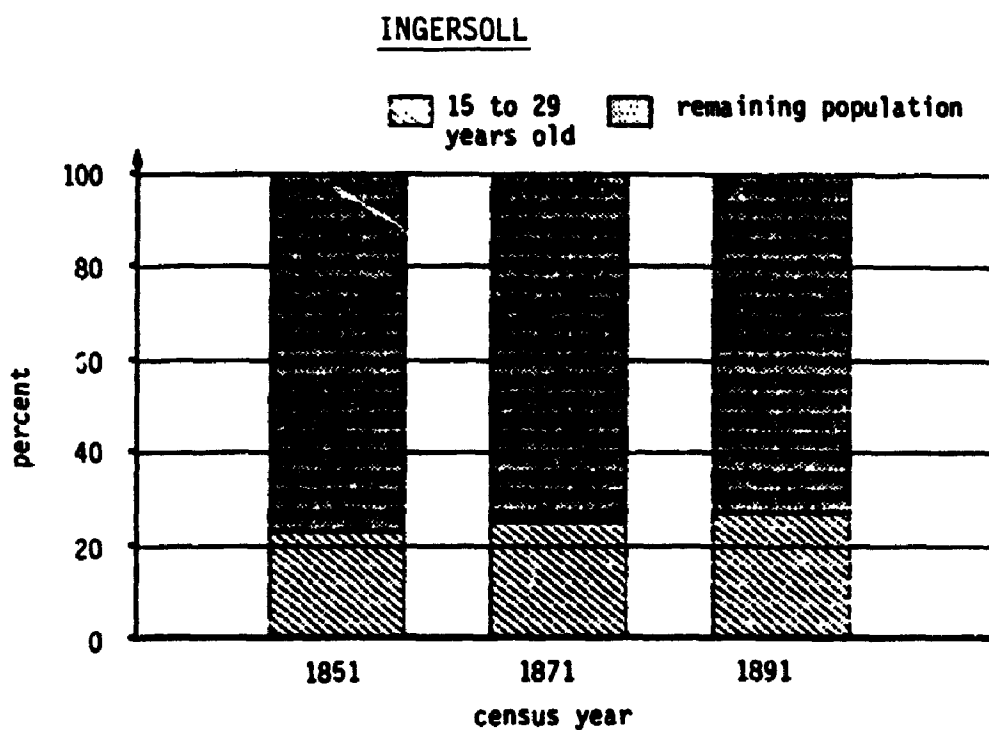
FIGURE 4  
Ingersoll and Woodstock  
Decennial Populations, 1851-1891



\*Source: Ingersoll and Woodstock Manuscript Census Returns: 1851-1891



FIGURE 5  
Age Breakdown of Ingersoll and Woodstock  
Male Decennial Populations, 1851-1891



\*Source: Ingersoll and Woodstock Manuscript Census Returns. Ingersoll male population 1851 (623) 1871 (1,978) 1891 (1,989). Woodstock male population 1851 (1,097) 1871 (3,964) 1891 (4,167)

years, accounted for only about one-quarter of the male population. Only in curling and recreational clubs for cycling, lawn tennis, and croquet, which bore decidedly social, rather than competitive, orientations, were organized sports clubs composed of males outside this target group.

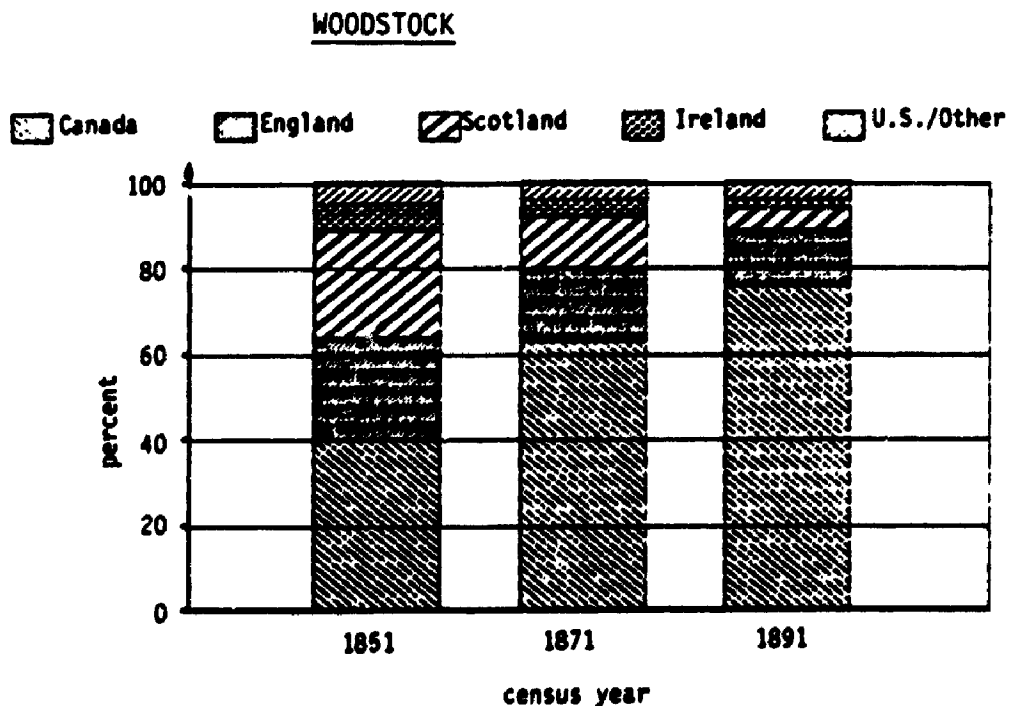
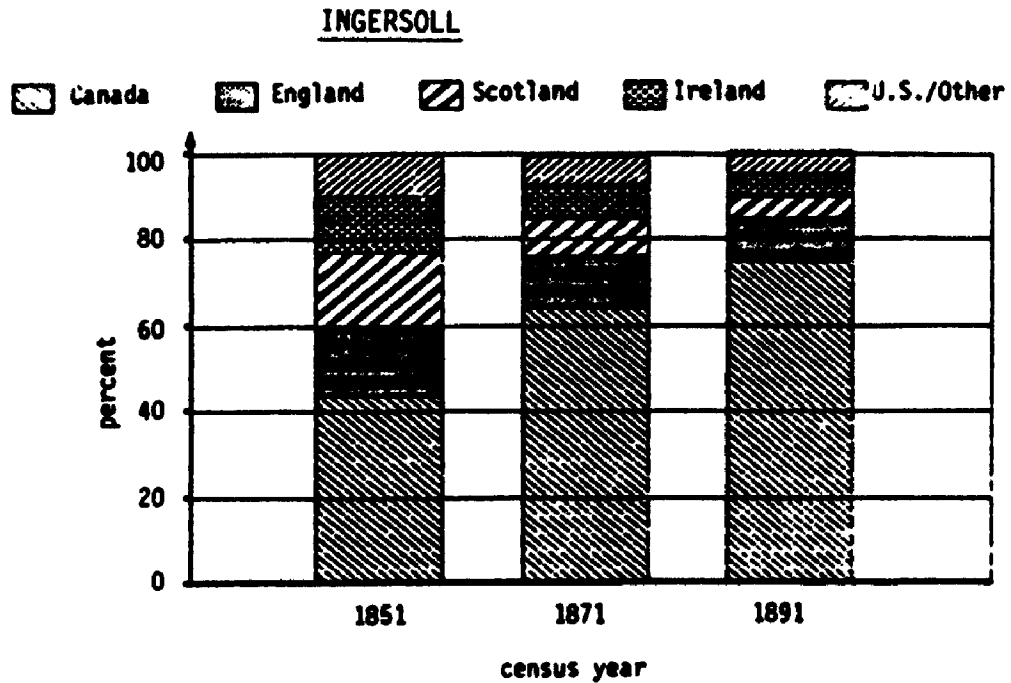
While raw population size numbers made the creation of a threshold population a possibility for sport participation, time was also a factor in the relationship between the target group's age composition and organized sport. The earliest sport clubs in Ingersoll and Woodstock during the railway era were organized by, and comprised of, single and married men in their early twenties to mid-thirties. These clubs had a predominately social, rather than competitive, focus. As opportunities for competition increasingly spread beyond local boundaries during the 1870's, and as competition increasingly emphasized winning, clubs sought out the most skilled and agile players. These players were commonly young men whose ages ranged from nineteen to twenty-five years old. Teams composed of youths whose ages ranged from fifteen to about nineteen became "breeding" grounds, or farm teams, for senior teams. At the same time, as organized sports became increasingly organized and imbued with a moral reform imperative implicit in amateurism (with its requisites for gentlemanly play and its firm sanctions against behavioural transgressions), adult sports organizers used amateur sport as a way to indoctrinate youth into the dominant order while at the same time keep them off the streets. This reform imperative, for example, lay at the heart of the local adoption of organized lacrosse in the early 1870's and in the adoption of competitive school sports in the 1880's.

The data presented in the graphs in Figure 6 show that proportion of people born in Canada outstripped any other place of birth, therefore it was not unusual that the target group of sport participants were predominantly Canadian-born. The slight differences in each town's ethnic base did little to alter this profile. Irish and American-born groups were proportionately larger in Ingersoll than in Woodstock, and Woodstock always possessed a larger proportion of English-born than Ingersoll. The graphs show that during the last decades of the century the Canadian-born population of both towns almost doubled. Despite this people still maintained strong identifications with the land and culture of their forebearers. During the 1880's and 1890's -- when roughly three-quarters of the local populations were Canadian-born -- at least a half a dozen fraternal orders and voluntary associations catered to ethnic ties. <sup>78</sup>

These organizations kept the language, customs, food, and, most importantly, the sports of their homeland alive, therefore ethnic traditions fueled sports participation. Though it suffered periods of relapse, for example, cricket never totally died out in Ingersoll and Woodstock owing to English ethnic ties. Further, though neither town was home to many Scots, a strong Scottish presence was felt owing to Protestant Scottish Highland settlements in nearby Zorra. <sup>79</sup> Throughout the century Scottish sports, particularly curling, and, by the turn of the century, golf, were highly popular. Each year two events highlighted the Scots' social calendar: the annual Robbie Burns supper commemorating the birth of the great Scottish baird, and the Caledonian Games. As local records note, in 1848 Woodstock's Caledonian Society existed to "perpetuate in Canada the manly sports and exercises of their homeland." <sup>80</sup> To this end they hosted Scottish

FIGURE 6

Place of Birth of Ingersoll and Woodstock  
Male Decennial Populations, 1851-1891



\*Source: Ingersoll and Woodstock Manuscript Census Returns, 1851-1891.  
 Ingersoll male population 1851 (623) 1871 (1,987) 1881 (1,989)  
 Woodstock male population 1851 (1,098) 1871 (3,964) 1891 (4,167)

games during September agricultural fairs and on civic holidays. On  
 81  
 those occasions many wore Highland costumes. During the late 1870's  
 and early 1880's, Caledonian games highlighted local civic holiday  
 celebrations.

Scottish culture and the actual place of birth of inhabitants  
 notwithstanding, when the matter is viewed impressionistically  
 Ingersoll seems much more like an American town and Woodstock an  
 English country village. Each town's early settlement history plays  
 its own role in shaping these impressions.

Even though by 1851 Ingersoll's population reflected very few  
 American-born inhabitants, the town's early settlement history worked  
 to shape a subtly democratic mentalité. American roots were not  
 easily shaken. Perhaps nor did people desire them to be. During the  
 late 1850's and 1860's Ingersoll was a Canadian station for the  
 American underground railway. The town's strong ties with its  
 southern cousins can be seen in the warm welcome American visitors  
 82  
 like abolitionist John Brown received.

By contrast Woodstock played host to the Prince of Wales and a  
 83  
 bevy of British military men and provincial officials. Though the  
 retired officer elite had long since been absent from Woodstock's  
 social, political, and sporting scene their legacy remained. This is  
 evident in Woodstock's ongoing identification with the half-pay  
 officers and their noble sports.

While Woodstonians eagerly adopted the muscular Christian  
 sports which grew out of the English public schools, Ingersoll was  
 slightly slower to adopt the tradition and appears to have followed  
 84  
 the slightly larger town's lead. By 1889 both towns boasted one of

the handful of the Amateur Athletic Associations (AAAs) in the province. Yet in its sport and society Woodstock seems to have upheld pretensions of high culture; Ingersoll seems to have been more rooted in the common man.

Religion as well as ethnicity affected both society and sport in Ingersoll and Woodstock for almost without exception throughout this study, Roman Catholics were either entirely absent from Ingersoll and Woodstock sport clubs, or they were represented by only one or two individuals. Religion, itself, played a significant role in community social class formation. Data from the 1851, 1871 and 1891 manuscript censuses summarized on the graphs in Figure 7, reveal that excepting the Woodstock 1891 population, the working classes<sup>86</sup> consisted largely of Roman Catholics rather than Protestants. Although Ingersoll sports clubs held a slightly broader socio-economic background than in Woodstock, this was a matter of degree and not kind. For the most part organized sport was a decidedly middle class creation from which both Roman Catholics and unskilled members of the working class<sup>87</sup> were almost entirely absent.

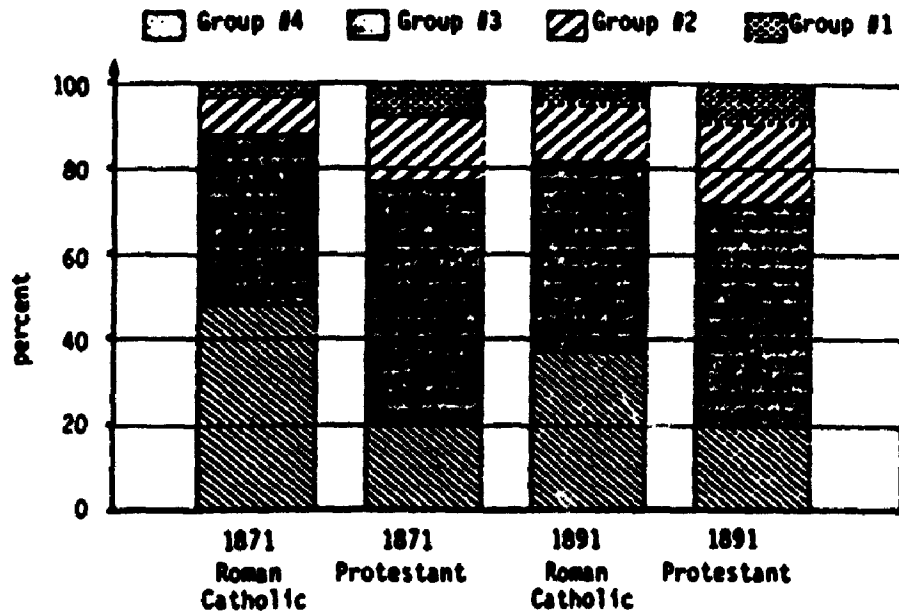
To understand the presentation of social class data see APPENDIX C which fully outlines the measures taken in classifying occupational data and the use of occupation as a surrogate measure for social class throughout this study. Generally, this study classifies historical actors' occupations into four occupational groups.

Of the four Groups, this study speaks about Group #4, the manual labour sector of the working class, with the most precision. Nearly without exception, manual labourers held no role in either playing in, or organizing, urban sports clubs. Their almost total absence is the most noteworthy feature of the demographic profiles of

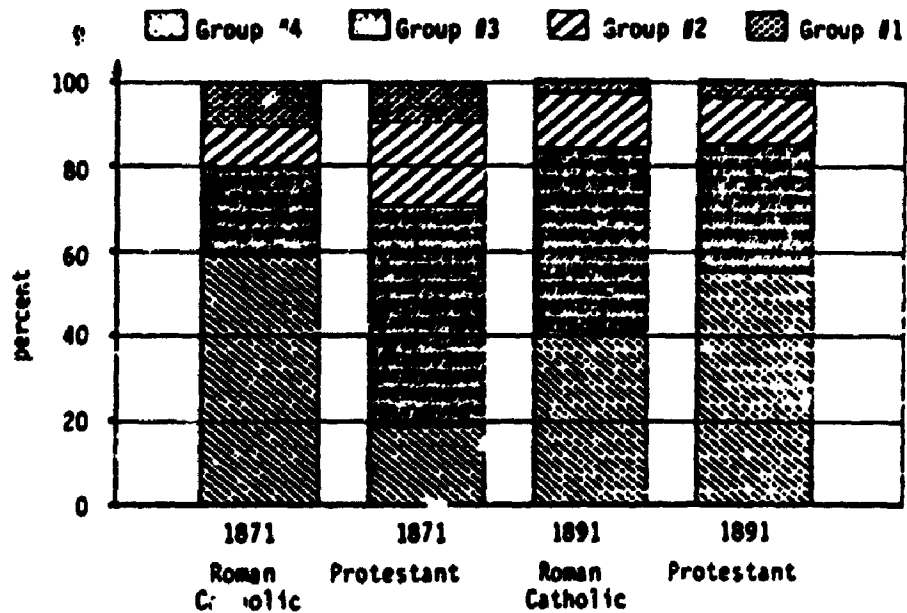
FIGURE 7

Religious Background by Social Class  
of Ingersoll and Woodstock Male Decennial  
Populations, 1851 - 1891

INGERSOLL



WOODSTOCK



religious denomination by census

\*Source: Ingersoll and Woodstock Manuscript Census Returns, 1871, 1891  
Ingersoll male population 1871 (1,978) 1891 (1,989) Woodstock male population  
1871 (3,964) 1891 (4,167)

sports participants and organizers. In this context it is hardly surprizing therefore that Roman Catholics were similarly absent from organized sports participation since they were clustered in the working class.

Of the other three occupational Groups the lines of distinction are somewhat more blurred. Groups #1 through #3 (non-manual skilled, non-manual unskilled, and manual skilled sectors) are used to loosely represent the occupational sectors from which the middle class was recruited. As the Figures throughout the study show, almost all organized sport players and organizers were found in these three categories. The purpose of the categories is to show internal differentiation among the population from which the middle class is recruited.

From a strictly structural standpoint the growth of the middle classes in Ingersoll and Woodstock stemmed from the development of complex local economies integrated into a broader regional and provincial one. Table III shows through time the Group #2 middle class increased in absolute size. Between 1851 and 1891 the proportion of these middle class men in the workforce of both both towns doubled.

TABLE III  
Occupational Structural Change, Ingersoll and Woodstock,  
1851-1891

Group	1851		<u>Ingersoll</u>		1891	
	n	%	<u>1871</u>	%	n	%
group #1	28	7	72	6	97	7
group #2	36	10	174	14	252	19
group #3	170	46	612	51	684	50
group #4	137	37	346	29	332	24
total n.	371	100	1204	100	1365	100



Woodstock

<u>Group</u>	<u>1851</u>		<u>1871</u>		<u>1891</u>	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
group #1	21	3	96	9	172	6
group #2	60	9	205	20	621	20
group #3	313	49	528	50	1574	51
group #4	249	39	217	21	708	23
total n.	643	100	1046	100	3075	100

\*Source: Ingersoll and Woodstock Manuscript censuses, 1851-1891

Several interrelated elements associated with urban growth influenced this increase: the rise of local shops operated by local merchants and small scale entrepreneurs, the bureaucratization and increasing complexity of local government, and increased local demands for legal and medical services.

Because the rise of the Group #2 middle class and its involvement in organizing and rationalizing sport is discussed at length in other Chapters, the following focuses on the relationship between workers, industry, and sport.

During the closing decades of the nineteenth century local interest in securing and sustaining industrial manufacturing firms is symptomatic of local perceptions connecting industrial prosperity to generalized local prosperity. Ingersoll and Woodstock factories actively competed with the larger centres of Toronto, Hamilton and London for their very survival. These larger places encroached upon local markets and dealt a death-blow to local industries unable to  
88  
compete against large manufacturing firms. Prominent local merchants and industrialists responded with decisive action: they formed Boards  
89  
of Trade (in 1874 and 1877 respectively).

With the aid of local town councils these Boards used sizable cash bonuses and tax incentives to protect and stimulate local industrial manufacture development. Ingersoll liberally bonused the Morrow Screw Co., the Hault Furniture Co. (later Ellis Co.), and the

Evans Bros. and Littler piano factories to move their London firms to the town. Woodstock used bonusing to attract the Thomas Organ Factory and the Stewart Stove Company to relocate their Hamilton shops in town.<sup>90</sup> Bonusing, however, was a double-edged sword. Woodstock's largest and perhaps most successful nineteenth century manufacturing firm, the Bain Wagon Company (est. 1882), for example, was seduced away and spent 6 years in Brantford (1890-6) before it relocated once again, back to Woodstock.

Through time these industries in the towns shifted from service-based industry serving primarily local markets toward propelling industry supplying non-local markets.<sup>91</sup> This is seen below in the increases in the ration of employees to establishments. Although by 1901 Woodstock possessed more factories and factory workers than Ingersoll, the overall trend toward propelling industry was the same for both.

TABLE IV  
Industrial Manufacturing in Ingersoll and Woodstock  
1871-1901

	<u>Ingersoll</u>			
	1871	1881	1891	1901
n. establishments	69	86	103	23
n. employees	627	668	668	693
ratio employees/ establishments	9	8	6	30
* capital	-	637	976	-
* wages	-	245	235	-
* materials	-	812	724	-
* production value	-	1385	1242	-
		<u>Woodstock</u>		
n. establishments	72	81	105	40
n. employees	435	858	1593	1679
ratio employees/ establishments	6	11	15	41
* capital	-	650	1624	-
* wages	-	262	624	-
* materials	-	580	1685	-
* production value	-	1035	3089	-

\* - value in thousands Sources: Bloomfield; Bureau of Industries. 1881-1901

The advent of large-scale industrial manufacturing heralded a

myriad of changes to local society in Ingersoll and Woodstock. This is particularly evident in the realm of sport which grew both as a reaction to and product of the situation of industrial workers. Industrialists and workers groups promoted workers' sport to salve the effects of the industrial workplace on their bodies and souls: to develop their physical well-being and lift their spirits at a time when workers typically laboured in less than ideal environments.

Since factories generally were undesirable places to work, workers often needed physical respite from their daily toil. In 1888 the Industrial Inspector for the Western District lamented in this jurisdiction workers spent their time in poorly ventilated, inadequately heated environments with little time to rest. They agreed upon shorter lunch hours in favour of taking the time so gained on Saturday afternoon. This gain appeared to benefit workers by giving them increased non-work, or free time, yet it intensified their daily labour, robbed them of needed rest intervals, and predisposed them toward injury associated with fatigue.<sup>92</sup>

According to Factory Inspection Reports and local newspaper accounts Ingersoll and Woodstock's chief industries (agricultural implements, carriages and wagons, furniture, and pianos and organs)<sup>93</sup> were highly prone to industry-related accidents. Large belts, pulleys, fly wheels, gearings, and circular saws and shapers all provided ample opportunity for mishap and injury. No one was immune to factory hazards. In June 1893 a shocked Woodstock mourned the death of William Chipperfield, one the town's premier baseball players and local sports heroes, lost his life in an industrial accident at Karn's organ factory.<sup>94</sup>

One of the other realities of factory life was that in terms of free time and financial resources, few opportunities existed for workers to engage in sport. The low pay and long work hours associated with factory labour, coupled with the relative expense of sports equipment, fundamentally constrained working class recreations.<sup>95</sup> Under the discipline of the factory clock workers simply could not practise and compete at their pleasure.

Despite these constraints sport was important in the lives and culture of the workers. August civic holidays, for example, were the play day for workingmen's sport throughout the 1880's and 1890's. Promptly after their local formation, the Ingersoll and Woodstock chapters of the Knights of Labor organized holiday factory picnics. They did this to avoid the exploitation they believed inherent in their holiday being run by persons motivated by the profits made through workers paying inflated excursion fares.<sup>96</sup> These holidays began with early morning parade from the Knights' lodge rooms to the railway station. There the excursionists boarded trains taking the workers and their families to summer resorts like Port Stanley and Port Dover where people swam, danced, and spent the afternoon playing.<sup>97</sup>

Sports highlighted the day's events with activities designed to be especially inclusive. A variety of traditional sport contests (i.e., climbing a greased pole) staged on that day were designed to encourage every worker and his family to compete. Other contests, like catch-as-catch-can wrestling, dog races, and quaiting matches responded to workers' love of entertainments on which they could bet.<sup>98</sup> Winners of races and field events won cash prizes.

This starkly contrasted the practice of sports held on the

Queen's Birthday and Dominion Day holidays where only symbolic prizes were awarded. Through time the traditional communal sports associated with the working class (considered rowdy by proponents of middle class respectability) were increasingly "squeezed out" of the Queens Birthday and Dominion Day celebrations. By the mid 1880's civic holidays were restricted to superior athletes and bona fide amateurs. Through their efforts middle class holiday organizers worked to rationalize recreational pursuits and to define for others what they believed to be legitimate and moral sport.

By marginalizing other sport traditions and by actively promoting amateurism, middle class men strove to monopolize the creation of public performance and to represent their particular world view as "natural" and legitimate. Workers however resisted their efforts. They ensured that on their communal play day, the August civic holiday (and, after its establishment in 1894, Labour Day in September), they carried on their own sports traditions.

Apart from workers' holidays, sport found expression in the day to day lives of factory men. Tug of War pulls between factory workers, often contested during the August holiday, cropped up whenever a chance for competition presented itself. So too did running races, wrestling matches and trials of strength -- usually  
99  
competed for substantial wagers. Scrub baseball matches, the stalwart summertime preoccupation of all social classes carried on along the meaningful lines of occupational group, also preoccupied  
100  
workers during the industrial era.

This does not mean that workers held an immutable conception of sport, or that they eschewed the organized sports developed by the

middle classes. To the contrary, the most prosperous workers, skilled artisans, actively promoted and encouraged the adoption of organized sports. They did so, however, for their own reasons: as a means for providing fun, physical activity and diversion; as a way of cementing social ties along class lines; and as a form of publicly expressing these ties in a venue which was socially sanctioned, quite unlike the publicly castigated and surreptitiously conducted recreations typically associated with working class amusements (i.e., drinking, fighting, and gambling).

Many examples testify to these ends. In 1886, for example, the Knights of Labor established a challenge cup for football competition amongst teams from Oxford and Perth Counties. <sup>101</sup> Further, though the high cost of cycles presumably limited participation to the most prosperous skilled artisans, workers in Ingersoll and Woodstock factories alike formed their own cycle touring clubs. During the early 1890's, for example, the Karn Organ Factory club pedalled its way through Woodstock's streets. <sup>102</sup> About the same time, workers at Woodstock's Bain Wagon Works and Hay's Furniture Factory organized their own organized baseball clubs. These clubs consisted of roughly forty workers who played intraclub matches. They also had a semi-professional first nine hired to work in the factories in order to compete in industrial leagues against other Southwestern Ontario factories. <sup>103</sup>

Well aware of the considerable potential of workers' sport for a variety of their own purposes, and themselves members of local Amateur Athletic Associations, Ingersoll's and Woodstock's largest employers, for example, James Noxon, D.W. Karn, J.G. Hay, and E.G. Thomas, encouraged workers sports clubs. They believed that sport

promoted workers health and happiness at the expense of other entertainments which disoriented them from work and took a toll on their ability to function in the workplace. By providing a sporting spectacle for workers to watch the industrialists sought a way of diverting the attention of workers away from their less than ideal physical and financial conditions. Further, they viewed factory teams, like the Bain and Hay Company baseball first nines, as adjuncts and advertising features to their business enterprises -- vehicles for extending the company name and reinforcing worker identities with

104  
 their factory. In the eyes of the owners factory teams were their team, not the workers' team. The collective identity and aspirations of workers likely meant nothing to them compared with their sense of pride generated by the knowledge that, in theory at least, they "owned" the players and the team.

Sport, they believed, pacified workers somewhat, and, in fact, their efforts to co-opt workers were rewarded. Labour agitation, although known in both communities, occurred only sporadically and on a small scale. In 1907 the Ingersoll Sun claimed that "fortunately this town has been pretty free from troubles of that

105  
 kind." Woodstock's Sentinel made similar claims, arguing that "labour conditions in Woodstock are very favourable, for the city has a splendid record of complete freedom from industrial strikes and

106  
 other labour troubles." The paper cited reasons which, it believed, lessened potential labour trouble: "there is very little floating population which gives the city a stability which is often lacking in larger centre... a surprizingly large percentage of the

107  
 working men in the city [are found] in the home-owning class."

When, in November 1886, the Sentinel reported that navvies working on the rail line had spent their payday in a drunken and disorderly "little picnic among themselves," it clearly pointed its accusing finger at transience as the root of the problem. <sup>108</sup> Permanency of residence, it implied, meant that workers had a stake in the community's well-being. This, in turn, had the effect of supposedly moderating their behaviours to the extent that the workers themselves ascribed to many middle class values. Had the paper reported that local support of, and sanctioning for, workers' sport was equally responsible for this favourable situation it would have been no further from the truth.

By the turn of the century Ingersoll and Woodstock had evolved from being small urban nodes in Oxford County's backwoods frontier whose social and cultural milieu were worlds apart into communities whose similarities far outweighed their differences, and who were led by a group of self-conscious and self-confident middle class men. The transformation of the two from their pre-industrial state to their status as emerging modern towns ushered a new era in sports. By 1853 when the railway broke down their inland isolation each had already inherited a rich sports heritage, which owing to their early settlement history afforded two models of sport. Though significant to the early character of the two communities the differences inherent in the two models did little to derail the two from the decidedly similar paths taken by society and sport in the latter part of the century. Their essential similarities, not their differences, were what made Ingersoll and Woodstock keen social, political, and economic rivals during this time. Further, these rivalries both shaped and



extended urban sport. As the following chapter examining the rise of the middle classes and their efforts to rationalize, order, and structure sport reveals, the battles between social classes were equally potent rivalries.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Elements of a subsistence society and culture existed in Woodstock, but they were overshadowed by the elite culture of the half-pay officers. This Chapter focuses largely upon the elite segment of Woodstock society in the years before the railway.
2. L.J. Chapman and D.F. Putnam, The Physiography of Southern Ontario (Toronto:University of Toronto Press, 1966), 231-233.
3. G.S. Patterson, Land Settlement in Upper Canada, 1783-1840, 189; Ronald Adair Shier, "Some Aspects of the Historical Geography of the Town of Ingersoll" (B.A thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1967); Brian Dawe, Old Oxford is Wide Awake! Pioneer Settlers and Politics in Oxford County 1793-1855 (Woodstock: John Deyell Co., 1980).
4. Marjorie Cropp, "Beachville the Birthplace of Oxford," Western Ontario Historical Nuggets (14; reprint Beachville Centennial Committee, 1967).
5. *Ibid.*, 11-12.
6. Shier, "Some Aspects," 7-12. See also Byron Jenvy Scrapbooks (Ingersoll Public Library).
7. Jenvy Scrapbooks.
8. Shier, "Some Aspects," 9-20.
9. J.T. Fitzgerald, "Indians were Camped Along River in 1828." London Free Press 11 January 1933.
10. Anna Jameson Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada (1838; Toronto: Coles Canadiana Collection, 1972).
11. Byron Jenvy Scrapbooks. "1830-1850 a development era," undated newspaper clipping.
12. These social and political issues, the basis of much discussion in local taverns, are ably identified and examined in Dawe, Old Oxford is Wide Awake!; Colin Read, The Rising in Western Upper Canada 1837-1838. The Duncombe Revolt and After (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982).
13. John Ireland (pseud.), "Andrew Drew and the Founding of Woodstock," Ontario History 60 (1968), 231-233.
14. Gerald M. Craig, Upper Canada The Formative Years 1784-1841, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979), 226 ff. I do not use the term "Family Compact" to describe the social and political elites found in York and through the inland communities of the province. The term, however, has been used extensively in the historiography of the period. See, for example, Robert E. Saunders, "What Was the Family Compact?" Ontario History 49 (1957), 165-178; D.W.L. Earl, The Family

Compact; Aristocracy or Oligarchy? (Toronto: Copp-Clark, 1967); and R. Burns, "The First Elite of Toronto: An Examination of the Genesis, Consolidation and Duration of Power in an Emerging Colonial Society," (Ph.D. diss., University of Western Ontario, 1975). On related matters see the good analysis of elite theory and Toronto's interlocking social enclave and their sporting activities in Robert Wayne Simpson, "The Elite and Sport Club Membership in Toronto, 1827-1881" (Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, 1987).

15. To a great extent this outlook emulated Simcoe's original plans for the province. See Craig, Upper Canada, Chapter 2; On local developments see Brian Dawe, Old Oxford is Wide Awake!; Ireland, "Andrew Drew."

16. On the officers see W.E. Elliott, "The Parish of Woodstock," Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records 30 (1934), 83-95; see also Dawe, Old Oxford is Wide Awake!, 43-46; Ireland, "Andrew Drew," 230-231. No comprehensive list of the Woodstock officers has been compiled by local historians. The tentative list of the officer's names has been extracted from: Ethel Canfield, "Early Parishoners of Old St. Paul's" (Woodstock Public Library, 1934); Idem., "Early Street Names of Woodstock," (Woodstock Public Library, 1932); Kathleen Revell Ward, "A Supplement to Ethel Canfield's Book" (Woodstock Public Library); Elliott, "The Parish of Woodstock"; Thomas S. Shenstone, The Oxford Gazetteer (1852: reprint Woodstock: Commercial Print-Craft, 1968), Ireland, "Andrew Drew"; A History of Brighton; Mrs. Canfield's People (Oxford Historical Society, 1986); Dawe, Old Oxford is Wide Awake!; Herbert Milnes A Story of the Oxford Rifles (Woodstock, 1974); Art Williams and Edward Baker, Bits and Pieces (Woodstock: Commercial Print-Craft Ltd., 1967); "Statement of Pewholders and Pew Rentals Due St. Paul's Church, Woodstock, 1848" (Woodstock Public Library); The Right Reverend Arthur Sweatman, A Sketch of the History of the Parish of Woodstock (1902?); and Alfred Dommett, Canadian Journal (1833-1835) E.A. Horsman and Lillian Rea Benson eds., (London: University of Western Ontario, 1955).

17. For Vansittart's background see Concise Dictionary of National Biography (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), 133; Ethel Canfield, Vice Admiral Henry Vansittart (Oxford Historical Society, 1934); on Drew see "Andrew Drew," Dictionary of Canadian Biography 10, 259-260; John Ireland (pseud.), "Andrew Drew the Man Who Burned the Caroline," Ontario History LIX (1967), 137-156; Ireland, "Andrew Drew."

18. Ireland, "Andrew Drew," 229-232.

19. On military rank and land grants refer to Lillian Gates, Land Policies in Upper Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968).

20. A History of Brighton (Oxford Museum Bulletin No.7), 14.

21. On local commissions see Shenstone, The Oxford Gazetteer, 86-88. See also Dawe, Old Oxford is Wide Awake!, 47. The relationship between the magistracy, local politics, and elites is analyzed in Frederick H. Armstrong, "The Oligarchy of the Western District in

Upper Canada 1788-1841," Canadian Historical Association Historical Papers (1977), 87-102.

22. Shenstone, Oxford Gazetteer, 115-118. In 1847 the Land Registry Office was transferred from Ingersoll to Woodstock.

23. See Globe 29 January 1852 for the report of two members being ordered to keep the peace for one year as a result of the duelling activities.

24. I have drawn this point from my reading of Gruneau's theoretical analysis of the Canadian case. See Richard Gruneau, Class, Sports and Social Development (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1983), 95 ff. On the Tory tendency toward conservatism see S.F. Wise, "Upper Canada and the Conservative Tradition" in Edith G. Firth ed., Profiles of a Province (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1967), 20-33.

25. Alexander McCleneghan Esq. and Arthur Riggs McCleneghan Aristocratic Woodstock 1834-1850 (1909?; reprint Woodstock: Oxford Historical Society, 1987).

26. "That Aristocratic Neighborhood of Woodstock" Globe 24 May 1878, reprinted in the Globe and Mail 24 July 1967.

27. See Thorstein Veblen The Theory of the Leisure Class (New York: Macmillan, 1899). Until the early 1830's James Ingersoll had been the leading Oxford County representative well connected with the York elite. See Dawe, Old Oxford is Wide Awake!, 51.

28. Dawe, Old Oxford is Wide Awake!, 46.

29. Colonel Light once summed up his attitude in this matter in the simple phrase "We abhor Yankees" in his appeal to the Government over the issue of his concern that the local Postermastership would be granted to an American, rather than English, settler. In part this reflects the inherent political/social superiority felt by Light and his companions. It also reveals the decided antipathy towards Americans felt by Light and shared by many of his elite associates. (See Ibid., 47).

30. The Duncombe revolt was a hurriedly planned and badly executed insurrection precipitated by the erroneous report of the success of William Lyon Mackenzie's rebellion in December, 1837. On regional political developments and where Oxford reformers fit into the broader picture see Read, The Rising in the Western District; Aileen Dunham, Political Unrest in Upper Canada, 1815-1836 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1963).

31. Upper Canada Sundries "Loyal Address from Woodstock," 14 May 1836 v.167, 91098.

32. During the rebellion crisis retired officers Philip Graham, Peter Boyle de Blaquiere, and Alexander Walley Light, headed locally raised contingents during the insurrections whilst Captain Andrew Drew led the cutting out and the burning of the rebel supply ship the Caroline

at Niagara Falls (one of the most spectacular incidents in the Rebellion which affected Anglo-American relations for some time). See Read, The Rising in the Western District. Also see Irene Crawford, Captain Andrew Drew (Woodstock: Oxford Historical Society, 1981); Ireland, "Andrew Drew, the Man who Burned the Caroline." Regarding the Caroline affair's effects upon Anglo-American relations see Craig, Upper Canada, 250.

33. Bettridge was a career officer before entering holy orders. He apparently conducted his service in a militaristic fashion. On Bettridge see Ethel Canfield, "Canon Bettridge," (Woodstock Public Library, n.d.). On the Church itself see Sweatman, A Sketch of the History of the Parish of Woodstock; Maurice S. Baldwin, Old St. Paul's Church Ninetieth Anniversary, 1834-1924 (Woodstock: B.J. Rae Printer, 1924); 100th Anniversary 1834-1934, Old St. Paul's Church; Elliott, "The Parish of Woodstock."

34. "Statement of Pewholders and Pew Rentals Due St. Paul's Church, Woodstock 1848" (Woodstock Public Library).

35. Woodstock newspapers before the advent of rail communications included the British American, Herald and Brock District General Advertiser, Monarch, and the Oxford Star and Woodstock Advertiser.

36. On this matter refer to J.M.S. Careless, "Some Aspects of Urbanization in Nineteenth Century Ontario," in F.H. Armstrong, et.al. eds., Aspects of Nineteenth Century Ontario: Essays Presented to James J. Talman (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), 65-79.

37. Dawe, Old Oxford is Wide Awake!, 89.

38. Globe 24 May 1878. Elliott "one is amazed at the completeness with which the families once so prominent in parish and town have vanished from the scene". See Elliott, "The Parish of Woodstock," 94-95.

39. Among them were J.G. Vansittart, A.W. Light, and James Barwick. See Dawe, Old Oxford is Wide Awake!, 89-90. For a more penetrating analysis of Woodstock's railway promoters of this era see Walter Neutel, "From 'Southern' Concept to Canada Southern Railway 1835-1873" (M.A. thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1968), 30-47.

40. J.G. Vansittart and reformer Hincks were long-standing foes. As Returning Officer for the County of Oxford in 1847 Vansittart overruled Hincks' decided victory in the provincial election on the technicality that Hincks was in Europe and therefore not present on the day of the nominations, even though Hincks and his supporters had made prior arrangements for this situation. Eventually Vansittart was severely reprimanded for the incident. See Shenstone, County of Oxford Gazetteer, 95-96.

41. Gruneau, Class, Sports and Social Development, makes this same case for the general scene at the provincial level. See also Careless, "Some Aspects."

42. Globe 24 May 1878.

43. Nancy B. Bouchier and Robert K. Barney, "A Critical Examination of a Source of Early Ontario Baseball," JSH v.15 (1)(Spring, 1988), 75-90.

44. The Ingersoll Agricultural Society was formed in 1847 and held its first agricultural fair in October of that year. On Woodstock's Agricultural Society formed in 1836 see Susan Start, Fair Play. Woodstock's Agricultural Society (Woodstock: Woodstock Agricultural Society, 1986). Regarding agriculture and fairs in the province see Robert Leslie Jones, History of Agriculture in Ontario Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), 156-174.

45. Samuel Strickland, Seven Years in Canada West; or the Experience of One Early Settler (London: Richard Bently, 1854), 35.

46. Alex Matheson Sutherland Notebook. Woodstock Museum. See also Robert Conway, "Memoirs of the 1880's" (unpublished mss., Oxford County Library).

47. They also played ball games. The Woodstock Weekly Review reports that on 14 July 1871 a baseball game followed a barn raising. For period descriptions and a detailed analysis of early Caledonian events see Gerald Redmond, The Caledonian Games in Nineteenth Century America (New Jersey: Associated Universities Press, 1971); Idem., The Sporting Scots of Nineteenth Century Canada (Toronto: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1982).

48. Bouchier and Barney, "A Critical Examination."

49. Sporting Life 5 May 1886.

50. On the association between taverns and Ontario sport 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).

51. For example as late as 1865 the Chronicle reported instances of the running of the Innkeepers Purse races (26 April 1865). The moniker of Beachville's "Cricketer's Hotel" as listed in James Sutherland, Oxford Gazetteer and General Business Directory for 1862-1863 (Ingersoll, 1862), 107 at least a decade after the demise of the Old Woodstock club also reflects this relationship between innkeepers and sport.

52. R.W. Sawtell, "Regal and Vice Regal Visits to Oxford County" (Sawtell Scrapbook #2, Woodstock Public Library). Head himself was an ardent cricket promoter. See Bernard F. Booth and John S. Batts, "The Political Significance of Organized Sport in Upper Canada, 1825-1867," Proceedings of the VII HISPA International Congress (Paris, 1978), 399-416.

53. Sawtell, "Regal and Vice Regal Visits."

54. On their sport see A History of Brighton, 14. On theories of elite sport participation see Gruneau, Class Sports and Social Development, and Simpson, "The Elite and Sport Club Membership." Dommett reveals that the Woodstock elite also appreciated blood sports. He writes 4 December 1833 that he observed a "...splendid fight between Daedes' scotch terrier and four young boars." See Dommett, Canadian Journal.

55. Globe 24 May 1848. The article was reprinted from the Long Point Advocate.

56. Ibid.

57. A History of Brighton, 14. One course lay along the level from Karn's to Martin's on the south side of the London Road, and the other lay in a circuit east of the town from Nellis's to Huntingford's, around and over the Blanchard fields and fences.

58. W.H. Smith, Smith's Canadian Gazetteer (1846; reprint Toronto: Coles Canadiana Collection, 1972), 223 and Shenstone, Oxford Gazetteer, 115-124. Office holding and membership lists published in these sources reflect the elites institutional activities.

59. St. Catharine's Cricket Club, The Canadian Cricketer's Guide and Review of the Past Season (St. Catharines, Ontario: Constitutional Office, 1858), 71.

60. In fact, Ingersoll's later town status had less to do with its level of industrial manufacturing and population size than local political infighting. For local resistance and debate over town status see George N. Emery, "Adam Oliver, Ingersoll and Thunder Bay District, 1850-1882," Ontario History VXVIII (11)(1976), 25-44.

61. This was accomplished through a \$50,000 grant to the company. Woodstock gained access to the Credit Valley line though bonuses amounting to \$68,000. Consolidated Bylaws of the Town of Woodstock (Woodstock: Times Job Printing, 1896).

62. For Ingersoll's early industry and role in Canadian cheese manufacturing is identified in Donald G. Cartwright, "Cheese Production in Southwestern Ontario" (M.A. thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1964); David C. Mennil, "A Regional Study of the Economy of Ingersoll" (B.A. thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1963).

63. Elizabeth Bloomfield, "Industry in Ontario Urban Centres, 1870," Urban History Review XV (3) (February, 1987), 279-283. Ingersoll exceeded Woodstock in the following areas: amount of capital involved in industry; number of people employed in industrial firms; amount spent on industrial wages; amount of raw material consumed and products produced; and, finally, the amount of horsepower used in factory production.

64. Before coming of the railway Woodstock merchants demanded 7s 7d to carry a barrel of flour from Woodstock to Hamilton. The railway, by

contrast, proposed shipment costs of 6d (Shenston, Oxford Gazetteer, 83). After railway communications were established monopolies severely undercut local profits. The cost of shipping wheat from London to Hamilton, with the benefit of local railway competition cost less than for shipping wheat from Ingersoll, some 20 miles closer to Hamilton, which was serviced by only one line. See J.J. Talman, "The Development of the Railway Network of Southwestern Ontario to 1876." Canadian Historical Association Annual Report (Canadian Historical Association, 1953), 83. Fisher and Taylor's Gazetteer and General Directory for the County of Oxford, 1874-1875 (Toronto: Fisher and Taylor, 1874). Of the effects of railway monopoly on Woodstock the Gazetteer remarked: "no place has suffered more of late for want of railway competition than Woodstock. Its grain and produce market was noted, for many years after the opening of the GWR, for its greatness, but on account of the large through business of that road, absorbing its almost entire capacity, accommodation has been withheld consequently shippers could not give as high prices for grain as those places having competing lines, hence the market here lost its once favoured position."

65. These potent vehicles of boosterism are marked by exuberance and optimism. Newspaper special editions are especially good sources for historians because they give personal histories of civic officials, industrialists and prominent merchants, and leading citizens. Further, they detail information regarding the towns' social and sporting activities.

66. For examples of the local equation between building booms and perceived prosperity see Chronicle 31 October 1878; Sentinel 14 November 1884, 30 October 1885, and 8 October 1886.

67. On 5 June 1873 the Chronicle reported that cattle could graze in the town park for a fee. They would be removed when the park was needed. As late as 10 June 1886 the cattle in the park issue was cited as being detrimental to park use. In Woodstock the Sentinel reveals that the town was still using parklands for pasture lands. On 3 June 1879 it wrote: "Don't forget the park tonight. The cows will be turned out for a few hours to make room for the people."

68. On the need for Ingersoll parks, Town Council debates over the parks, and parks developments refer to Chronicle: 10 June 1869, 7 July 1870, 6 July 1871, 10, 17, 24, April 1873, 8 May 1873, 5, 10 June 1873, 16 November 1883, 7 June 1883, 21 May 1885, 8, 10 June 1886, 7 June 1888, 1 April 1890, 17 July 1890. See also Ingersoll Bylaws #16 (1 March 1869), #69 (7 April 1873), #153 (12 September 1881), #173 (7 May 1883), and #58 (7 May 1885). A Municipal Health Board was established in 1865 and a public health officer was appointed for the town in February, 1866. See George N. Emery, "Adam Oliver, Ingersoll and Thunder Bay District." On public health related issues and specific suggestions for local parks development see Chronicle 17 July 1879. One town councillor proposed that the town park be sold and the money derived from its sale be used to purchase the Partlo mill pond which was cited local outbreaks of chills, fevers, and typhoid. He suggested that the mill pond could be converted into a promenade and park and that it would be more accessible to townspeople owing to the



location of the existing town park. On Woodstock parks development and Town Council activities (especially regarding the Woodstock Driving Park Association) see Sentinel 26 May 1871, 21 July 1871, 25 August 1871, 1 September 1871, 17 May 1872, 31 May 1872, 31 Jan 1873, 9 May 1873, 31 June 1873, 30 May 1873, 12 June 1874, 25 April 1897, 18 July 1879, 25 October 1879, 7 November 1879, 9 April 1879, 28 May 1879, 19 May 1882, 20 April 1883, 12 June 1885, 9 May 1887, 17 May 1887. Apparently the local habit of referring to the town park as the "old cow pasture" was not easily shaken. See Sentinel 27 April 1883.

69. On 10 June 1875 the Chronicle appealed to town pride over the issue of Woodstock gaining the edge in parks development. It wrote: "is it to be said that Ingersoll cannot afford a place of recreation of honest pleasure for its citizens, young and old?... we think not."

70. Ibid., 7 June 1888.

71. "That Aristocratic Neighborhood of Woodstock" Globe 24 May 1878; Sentinel The Garden of Ontario Special Edition, May 1897; Sentinel Inaugural Edition, 1901.

72. Woodstock Weekly Review 18 August 1871. Other examples can be seen in Sentinel 9 July 1871, 9 August 1887.

73. Chronicle 9 April 1868, 13 August 1868.

74. Though the town competed in interurban baseball as early as the 1860's, Ingersoll was not involved in a bona fide baseball league until 1877 when intra town league was created for junior clubs. By 1881 the town's junior lacrosse clubs possessed their own league in addition to the Southern District National Lacrosse Association play for intermediate teams. In 1876 Ingersoll curlers competed in regional divisions for the Ontario Curling Association's Silver Tankard. In 1876 Woodstock baseball players competed in the short-lived league play of the Canadian Association of Baseball Players. Eleven years later local junior baseball clubs competed in a Southwestern Ontario junior league. In 1879 local senior lacrosse clubs played in the National Lacrosse Association regional senior division, and two years later local junior teams possessed their own junior league. Like the Ingersoll curlers, the Woodstock curling club competed in the Silver Tankard from 1876 on.

75. Sentinel Express Industrial Number, February 1906.

76. The Population and Rate of Change of Ingersoll, Woodstock, and Oxford County, 1851-1901

	Ingersoll		Woodstock		Oxford County	
	pop.	rate	pop.	rate	pop.	rate
1851	1190		2112		32638	
1861	2577	54%	3353	38%	46226	29%
1871	4022	36%	3982	16%	48237	4%
1881	4318	7%	4591	13%	50093	4%
1891	4191	-3%	8612	47%	48552	-4%
1901	4673	10%	8833	3%	47154	-3%

Source. Canada census returns, 1851-1901.

77. It must be remembered that even though females constituted roughly one-half of the populations under study, no competitive sport clubs or teams existed in Ingersoll or Woodstock for them. Cultural, social, and political factors -- not demographic ones -- impinged on their sport involvement. The demographic target group approach therefore has little explanatory power when considering the issue of female sport.

78. According to the Ingersoll and Woodstock Fraternal Order Membership Collection created by Christopher Anstead, Ingersoll was home to the St. Georges Society (1858), St. Andrews Society (1870), Sons of England Lodge Imperial #176 (1893), the Emerald Benefit Association #13 Sacred Heart (1891), Sons of Scotland Heart of Midlothian #64 (1891), and the Sons of Canada (1889). Woodstock was home to Sons of England Bedford Lodge #21 (1883), Daughters of England Princess Alice #5 (1891), Order of Scottish Clans Clan Sutherland #37 (1887), Sons of Scotland Edinburgh #95 (1892), International Order of the King's Daughters Court St. Mary's #350 (1893), and the Daughters of the King (1894).

79. Woodstock's Chalmers Presbyterian Church conducted its services in Gaelic. On Oxford County Scots refer to W.A. McKay, Pioneer Life in Zorra (Toronto: Wm. Briggs, 1899); *idem.*, Zorra Boys at Home and Abroad or How to Succeed (Toronto, Wm. Briggs, 1900).

80. British American 30 September 1848.

81. The Caledonians are discussed below in Chapters Three and Four.

82. Brown recruited a company of men for his raid on Harper's Ferry and held fund raising events in the Ingersoll Town Hall. On John Brown's activities in Ingersoll in April 1858 see Stanley J. Smith Collection (Regional Collections, D.B. Weldon Library, UWO). Also see the articles written by Smith on Brown: the London Free Press 10 May 1958, 29 February 1964, and Sentinel-Review 25 June 1960.

83. Sawtell, "Regal and Vice Regal Visits."

84. Refer to J.A. Mangan and James Walvin eds., Manliness and Morality: Middle Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1914 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997); David W. Brown, "Athleticism in Selected Canadian Private Schools for Boys to 1918" (Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, 1984).

85. See Chapter Four.

86. A systematic relationship exists between the religious and social class background distributions in the populations. There is less than one chance in one thousand that this relationship is attributable to chance. Chi square for religion and social class for the Ingersoll population (1871)= 42.78, df=3, significance .0000, (1891)=19.41, df=3, significance .0002. Chi square for Woodstock population (1871)=46.11, df=3, significance .0000 (1891)=40.16, df=3, significance .0000

87. This is evident in the demographic analyses of cricket, baseball, and lacrosse players found in Chapters Five, Six, and Seven, as well as in the social backgrounds of holiday organizers found in Chapters Three and Four.
88. The press attributed the demise of Ingersoll's cigar manufacturing firm to the firm's inability to compete against London. See Sun Industrial Ingersoll illustrated, 25th Anniversary Souvenir Edition, February 1907.
89. See Elizabeth Bloomfield, "Boards of Trade and Canadian Urban Development," Urban History Review XII (2)(October, 1983), 77-97. The Ingersoll Board of Trade was formed by 37 Victoria Chapter 54 (26 May 1874).
90. Ingersoll bonuses are found in local bylaws: #144, a \$10,000 grant to local industry (November 1880); #235 Evans Brothers (April 1887); #238 Hault Manufacturing Co. (July 1887); #239 Noxon Brothers (July 1887); #246 John Morrow Co. (August 1887); #252 Evans Brothers (July 1887).
91. See Jacob Spelt, Urban Development in South Central Ontario (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972), 150-186.
92. Canada Report of the Inspectors of Factories for the Province of Ontario, 1888.
93. Ibid. Among the manufacturing firms in question were: Ingersoll's Ellis Furniture Company, Mitchell Carriages and Wagons, Evans Brothers Piano Factory, Morrow Screw Company, Noxon Agricultural Works. In Woodstock they included the Anderson Furniture Factory, Karn Organ Factory, Bain Wagon Factory, Stewart Stove Company, and the Thomas Organ Factory.
94. Sentinel June 1893.
95. On this matter see Roy Rosenzweig, "Middle-Class Parks and Working-Class Play: The Struggle over Recreational Land Space in Worcester, Massachusetts, 1870-1910." Radical History Review XXI (43), 31-46.
96. For local criticisms of private-run holidays see Chronicle 29 June 1880. A commentary dated 4 August 1881 referred to the practice as a little "lootie game" designed to exploit local workers.
97. Sentinel 7 August 1885. Local CPR workers had a similar workingman's holiday picnic. See 29 August 1894.
98. Ingersoll workers holidays and their sports are reported in the following: Chronicle 30 July 1885, 7 July 1888, 8 September 1888, 9 April 1889, 25 April 1889, 8 May 1890, 12 June 1890. For Woodstock sources see Sentinel 25 August 1882, 8 September 1882, 29 August 1884, 28 August 1885, 4 September 1885, 30 May 1887, 15 July 1887, 15, 23 August 1887, 30 July 1888, 14 August 1888, and 17 June 1889.

99. See Chapter Four footnote

100. See Chapter Six.

101. Sentinel 13 December 1886.

102. Chronicle 1, 23 April and 9 September 1897. A club photograph found in the Ingersoll Public Library depicts the men and women club sitting on Joseph Gibson's front lawn. The relaxed atmosphere of this working man's club, where no member wore a uniform, offers a stark contrast to the militaristic club outfits (consisting of dark waistcoats, puttees, caps, whistles, medals, and ribbons) of the Woodstock Amateur Athletic Association's cycling club. The Meteor club was a touring club while the WAAA club was a racing and drill club.

103. Sentinel 9 February 1900.

104. Sentinel Illustrated Supplement 4 February 1889; Sentinel 21 February 1957, "Recall When Bain Wagons Brought Fame to City." The Bain Wagon Company of Woodstock used a small child wearing one of the factory's baseball uniforms as an advertising mascot (a photo of the mascot can be found in the Woodstock Museum). On factory sponsorship in general see Steven Gelber, "Their Hands are all out Playing: Business and American Baseball, 1845-1917" JSH 11 (1)(Spring 1984), 5-27; Idem., "Working at Playing: The Culture of the Workplace and the Rise of Baseball" Journal of Social History 16 (1983), 3-22.

105. Sun Industrial Ingersoll Illustrated. Labour agitation, although known in both communities occurred only sporadically and on a small scale. In 1881 Ingersoll recorded its first labour strike as navvies working on the CVR struck for higher pay. Over a decade later, molders at Noxon's agricultural works similarly struck for a short lived period.

106. Sentinel-Review Express Industrial Number February 1906. In reality Woodstock had experienced at least three separate incidents of labour agitation. The first two, in September 1896 and June 1899, resulted from the involvement of CPR operators and GTR employees in line-wide strikes. These strikes were thus part of a larger regional network of labour unrest. By contrast, the July 1899 agitation at Karn's Organ Factory was entirely local. It involved the workers demands for a half-day off in order to vote. The matter was short-lived and quickly resolved.

107. Ibid.

108. Sentinel 17 November 1886.

CHAPTER THREE  
"The 24th of May is the Queen's Birthday:"  
Civic Holidays and Sport

Civic celebrations say much about social relationships and values in a community. Since community members organized the holidays for themselves and for visitors to the town they are a kind of a public manifesto which can be read as a documentary text. The order in which organizations appear in a parade, for example, express their relative statuses in a given population. Similarly, the decorum in a celebration, or the lack of it, may indicate how middle class leaders diffused their values through the larger society. In this context, holiday parades and sports were contested social terrain. The efforts of a rising industrial capitalist middle class to substitute respectable parades and sports for rowdy performances is a persistent theme in the histories of nineteenth century civic celebrations.<sup>1</sup>

To elaborate the social meaning of sport in Ingersoll and Woodstock, this Chapter examines its place in civic celebrations on Canada's two principal holidays: the May 24th celebration of Queen Victoria's birthday and the annual July 1st Dominion Day celebration of Canada's confederation. Troubled by what they perceived was increasing rowdiness and social disorder in their urban society and sport, middle class men used the holidays to reform public performances while at the same time asserting and legitimizing their own particular view of the world.<sup>2</sup> In their quest for respectable representations of the town, they eschewed and actively marginalized rowdiness increasingly associated with public parade and sport performance traditions. Ingersoll and Woodstock civic celebrations were constructed to show social cohesion and solidarity.

Their intended message was twofold. First, to express a sense of solid membership in the British Empire through the celebration of Queen and Country. And second, to reflect a sense of community solidarity and continuity. The symbolic content of this invoked images of harmonious relations between towns and their neighboring rural hinterland, and of a proud, cohesive, respectable urban citizenry granted peace and happy lives through good local government and beneficent middle class civic leaders. However, as active sites from which community members mediated strained social and political relations, the holidays often showed quite the opposite. Middle class efforts to impose their particular view of the world upon others was resisted in a variety of ways.

#### I. The Celebrations: Holidays, Parades, and Public Performances

Civic holidays possessed a resilient legacy in English and later Ontario social traditions. Unlike holy or feast days, they were secular holidays. In 1845 a Revenue Act established Queen Victoria's birthday a statutory holiday for government and bank workers.<sup>3</sup> The designation of a more general holiday lay in the hands of town councils petitioned by local inhabitants. In 1848 Toronto's City Council proclaimed May 24th a holiday for its city dwellers, and other communities followed suit.<sup>4</sup> When the popular monarch died in 1901, the Canadian Parliament passed a bill declaring May 24th a permanent national holiday. During the debate in the Commons, one House Member said of the tradition: "it recalls to me boyhood recollections when we used to say in school 'The 24th of May is the Queen's Birthday; If you don't give us a holiday we will all run away'."<sup>5</sup> The Prime Minister concurred with the sentiment. He claimed that Canadians "look upon

the day as almost sacred."<sup>6</sup>

Since Confederation many treated Dominion Day with similar reverence. In 1874 the Sentinel claimed: "no better day for rejoicing could be chosen ...we desire to cultivate a Canadian feeling ... by celebrating by a national holiday one of the most important events in our history."<sup>7</sup> Although Nova Scotian opposition to Confederation prevented Dominion Day from designation as a national holiday until 1879, public celebrations continued throughout the Dominion through local effort until its designation.<sup>8</sup>

How did communities typically celebrate civic holidays? A collage based upon Ingersoll's May 24th celebrations in the years before Confederation show that the Queen's Birthday was the town's premier social event of the year.<sup>9</sup>

Several weeks before the holiday the Chronicle annually published the Governor's Proclamation. It called upon "Her Majesty's loving subjects throughout the Province to unite cheerfully" in celebration of her birthday. Ingersoll citizens, resolved to arrange community festivities held public meetings. They struck organizational committees and petitioned the Mayor for a general public holiday.<sup>10</sup>

These committees read like a local Who's Who. They involved middle class men who were, or were to become, the most socially prominent, and socially active members of the town. The names of these men often graced local buildings and store fronts, town council rolls, street signs, and lists of fraternal order executives. Among them were such local luminaries as: Thomas Bowers, physician and surgeon, sometime Officer of the Ancient Free and Accepted Masons, the Ancient Order of Forresters (AOF), and the Young Men's Protestant

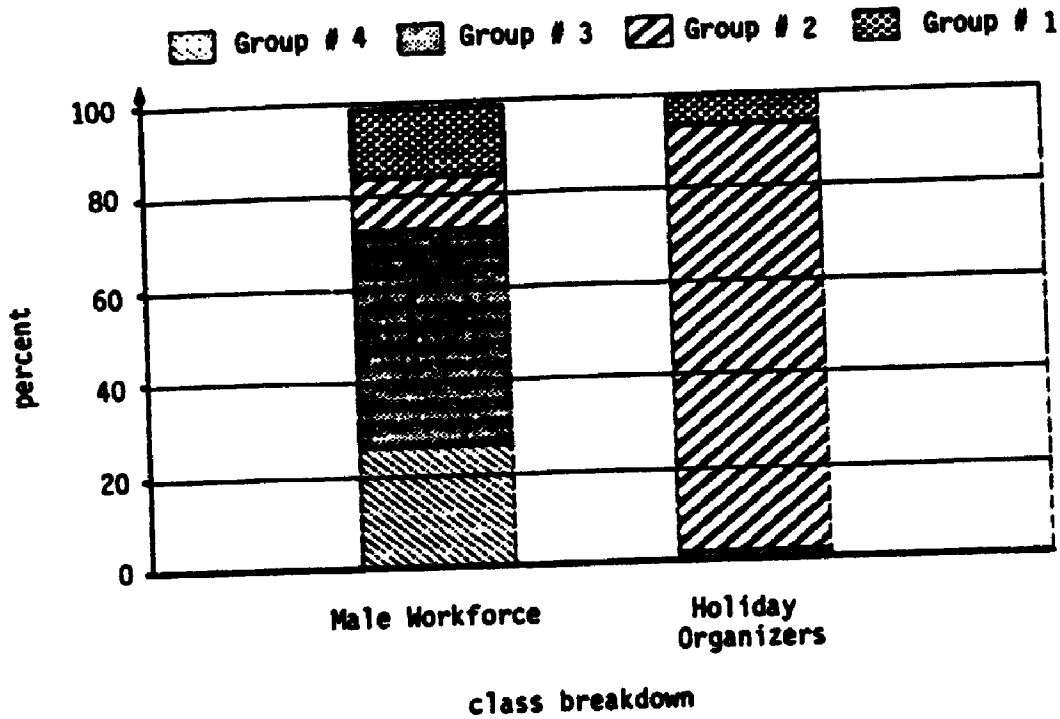
Benevolent Association (YMPBA), clerk of the regular Baptist church, and vice president of the Philharmonic Society; Thomas Brown, tannery owner and leather merchant, sometime president of the Agricultural Society and of the Ingersoll and Port Burwell Plank and Gravel Road Company, and thirty year veteran of the town council; John P. Galliford, boot and shoe manufacturer, sometime warden of the King Street Church of England, Officer of the St. John's Masonic Lodge, town councillor and sometime Mayor; Joseph Gibson, grocer and Postmaster, temperance advocate, leading member of the local Methodist Church, sometime executive member of the AFAM and the Independent Order of Oddfellows, Grand Master Workman of the Ancient Order of United Workmen (AOUW), and town councillor for twenty-two years; James Noxon, owner of the Noxon Agricultural Manufacturing (the town's largest industrial employer), executive member of the IOOF, sometime Reeve and town councillor; Adam Oliver, saw mill owner and building contractor, sometime School Board Trustee, Warden of the County Council, twelve year town council veteran, and sometime Member of the Provincial Parliament; and, finally, Ralph A. Woodroffe, stationary merchant, agent for the Canada Life Assurance Company and the White Star Steamer Line, Officer Royal Arch Masonic Chapter and the St. John Masonic Lodge, and sometime Village and Town Council clerk.

These men's social similarities extended to their demographic profiles. Judging by the data collected on forty Ingersoll civic holiday organizers between 1850 and 1869, the committees consisted of middle aged Canadian-born Protestant men.<sup>11</sup> As Figure 8 shows, their social class characteristics, when compared with that of the town's male workforce, are both striking and significant. In an almost



FIGURE 8

Social Class Background of Ingersoll Civic  
 Holiday Organizers and the Male Workforce,  
 1850-1869



\*Source: Ingersoll Manuscript Census (1861,1871). Ingersoll sport data base. Ingersoll Male Workforce (over 14 years of age) n=1,072 (estimate, 1865). Holiday Organizers n=47.  $\chi^2(3)=296.47$ , p .001. (A systematic relationship exists between the two distributions. There is one chance in one thousand that the difference between the two distributions is attributable to chance.)

twenty-year time span, absolutely no working class men counted among their numbers. Most organizers came from the less than ten percent of the male workforce possessing middle class group #2 occupations. They overrepresented their segment of the local workforce by nearly nine times its rate.

Since the town council did not fund the celebrations, committee members canvassed local inhabitants for money to defray holiday costs. Many were local merchants who dipped into their own pockets help to finance the public holiday. Local holiday celebrations, they maintained, kept consumer dollars at home "where they belong."<sup>12</sup> What was good for them they presumed was doubly good for the rest of the population. In fact many local merchants ignored their own noon-time closing agreements to pursue consumer dollars.<sup>13</sup> Money, however, was not the only issue. By assuming organizational and financial responsibility, middle class committee members used the holiday events in paternalistic fashion. By infusing the holiday events with their own version of social order they reinforced their appearance as local social and political leaders.

The May 24th holiday itself transcended the reality of everyday life in the town. Symbolic devices like banners, garlands, flags, laurels and wreaths decorated familiar buildings. Local residents awoke at sunrise to the crack of gun and cannon fire with mustered militia volunteers firing the traditional feu de joie rifle salute. This rather rude means of awakening the restful aimed at reminding people all that they had to be thankful for and to herald the beginning of the town's very special day. Awakened by the clamour outside their homes, townspeople hastily dressed in their Sunday best or "holiday fixings," eager not to miss any part of the celebrations.

Oxford County's rural dwellers drove into town in flower-decorated wagons.

The day's events filled the town's streets, fields, and halls. Beginning at nine or ten o'clock in the morning a Mardis gras like atmosphere enveloped the streets of the market square and commercial district. There paraded the Callathumpians, people in grotesque clown costumes who banged on pots and pans, played tin-horns, cow bells, and rattles. They revelled in the rude and risque. In 1860 the Chronicle described them as:

...a motley crowd ...mounted on horses of almost every conceivable color, size, age, and shape. One of them was mounted on a live unicorn, the horn apparently being composed of a portion of a barber's pole. The appearance of this company was certainly most grotesque - some of the riders wearing hats something less than twelve feet in length, others wearing tin spurs of the greatest magnitude, and others again with coats of the most ludicrous cut and buttons of mammoth dimensions, and all wearing masks.<sup>14</sup>

Their discordant music, loud and unrhythmic, provoked and entertained.

At about eleven o'clock the brass band met railway trains carrying excursionists. They proceeded from the station to the town hall for the noon-time salute and speeches from the Mayor and visiting dignitaries. Then began the noon-time parade which wound its way to the games site. People crowded in flag-draped streets and hung out of second and third story windows to witness the spectacle. Bands, calliopes, and uniformed paraders marched by. Throughout the afternoon people mingled at the games site where they participated in the athletic events and watched the team sport competition between the boys from home and visiting teams.

Though joined together in communal celebration, social class status distinctions nevertheless still separated people. In one account of the day's sports events the Chronicle described in detail

"the many handsome carriages filled with the elite and beauty who had gathered from miles around to witness the athletic sports."<sup>15</sup> By contrast, "lesser" townspeople sat in hastily erected spectator stands.

At the park activity abounded. Sunday schools held picnics for school-age children, young lovers courted, and grown-ups exchanged news and gossip, saw familiar faces, and made new acquaintances. Every one indulged in special treats, like lemonade, strawberries, ginger-bread, and ice cream. Throughout the afternoon the local constabulary scrutinized the crowd for pick-pockets and other undesirables. They turned a blind eye to genteel alcohol consumption, though they harshly tossed drunkards into the town lock up.

Following the afternoon events some retired to their homes for a large family supper whilst visiting dignitaries, town councilors and committee members, dined in flag-draped banquet halls. At seven or eight in the evening the town hall became the site of theatrical performances, concerts, tableaux vivants, and lectures. By then many visitors began their train journey home. Late in the evening the celebration ended as it had begun -- with local people massed in the streets. They flocked to see fireworks illuminate the town's skyscape with fire and sound. Around midnight they paraded home in a torchlight procession.

A first glance of the above scenario of a typical holiday leaves a common-sense impression of fun, consensus, shared pride, and patriotism. Yet the antagonism that marked the holiday parades belies this rosy-coloured picture.<sup>16</sup>

One may distinguish between 'respectable' ceremonies and

'rowdy' rituals.<sup>17</sup> Of the two styles, the respectable and the rowdy, the former attempts to set standards for private and public behaviours extending through the social hierarchy. The latter, however, is stylistically and politically opposed to such imposed versions of social order and appropriate behaviour. In this context, rowdiness became increasingly associated with Ingersoll and Woodstock's traditional Callathumpian and Torchlight processions. Holiday organizers responded to this by constantly, though not always successfully, attempting to either sublimate the rowdiness or reform the parades to eliminate rowdiness for respectable ends. As shown later, community sport too was part and parcel of the push and pull of this larger battle.

The morning Callathumpian parade indicates a sense of the inner social mechanisms of the community and the holiday committee's drive to establish rationality and respectability in holiday celebrations. Grotesque figures of unusual proportion, the Callathumpians represented lawlessness and a subverting of normal order. large hats, exaggerated movements, and what were reportedly "rather pecoolear" [sic] costumes, and dubious means of transportation (i.e., in a rite of reversal walking on their hands or riding an ass backwards) emphasized irrationality in an otherwise orderly community. When Woodstock's Dominion Day Callathumpians paraded through town "with tremendous eclat" they were followed by "the usual accompaniment of admiring boys and small dogs."<sup>18</sup> Using masks, costumes, and caricature, Callathumpians dealt with issues of social and moral concern without their actual identity becoming known. These parades were not organized by holiday committees; rather, they were the spontaneous (though often-found) celebrations of people otherwise

excluded from the organizing committees and from the day's more organized events. Presumably they included workers.

Callathumpian processions held a lengthy history in popular culture.<sup>19</sup> A traditional form of revelry Callathumpian parades were part of the genre of public performance that included charivaries.<sup>20</sup> In a pre-industrial context the Callathumpian tradition was a mechanism for stabilizing and reinforcing social order.<sup>21</sup> During the industrialist-capitalist era, however, when structural changes created new urban working and middle classes, the Callathumpian tradition increasingly assumed a rowdy form and became perceived as a cause of civil disorder.

Callathumpians paraded during the hours when the holiday committee and respectable local inhabitants were busily preparing for the noon-time ceremonies and parade. Thus they appear to have been created by and for the segment of the local population who were otherwise excluded from the more formal, socially exclusive, and respectable organized events of the day. Moreover, they occurred hours before excursion trains bearing visitors pulled into town: they were thus aimed for local eyes only. By the 1880's holiday organizers strove to transform these rude, risqué, and rowdy processions into respectable representations. This suggests that in their unreformed state they offended the sensibilities of the propertied middling classes.

Before this time Callathumpian parades were political commentaries aimed for the enjoyment of a distinct local audience. Judging by the way they were treated in the local press, not everyone found them to their liking. Outsiders appear to have found other

groups' parades incomprehensible, presumably because paraders exhibited an encrypted code understood only by a handful to prevent reprisals.<sup>23</sup>

By the mid-1880's, when middle class Amateur Athletic Associations organized the holidays, the organizing committees co-opted this popular traditional parade. To accomplish this they restructured and redefined the rowdy Callathumpian representations in order to integrate them into the holiday's other increasingly organized, and much more respectable, events. The changes to the parade placed it under the watchful eye of the holiday committee and its appointed judges. Judges awarded prizes for the best floats and costumes. These efforts disentangled many strands of traditional culture from the parade, replacing them with more acceptable middle class symbols. In doing so, the organizers actively marginalized the rowdiness associated with these parades. They strove to make their own version appear to be the natural and only legitimate one. This process, and especially the new practice of publishing the names of paraders in the newspapers, violated the anonymity through disguise that had so profoundly characterized the earlier, unreformed Callathumpian parades.<sup>24</sup> Of one particular reformed Callathumpian parade the Sentinel wrote: "while the privileges of unrestraint were enjoyed to the full there was very little evidence of a desire to abuse them."<sup>25</sup> Since the paraders did not abuse the so-called privilege bestowed upon them, their actions suggest the extent to which Callathumpian parades had been co-opted for a middle class social agenda.

The restructuring of Callathumpian parades resulted in a change in direction: in an orderly fashion they now dealt with the pressing

social issues of respectable middle class community members. They were transformed from disorder to middle class order. A Woodstock parade in 1888, for example, lampooned civic leaders by aiming at the political question of the day - the gas light company. One float depicted members of the town council being deviously encircled by the "gas company ogre" who attempted to secure control of the town's electric light. This caricature cut to the quick of a significant local issue for propertied community members.<sup>26</sup> Ingersoll parades experienced a similar restructuring, exhibiting the same sort of comic, though critical, social commentary aimed specifically at propertied middle class observers.<sup>27</sup> By the turn of the century Callathumpian parades were so thoroughly respectable that during the celebrations for the town's rise to city status, Woodstock's Mayor boasted of "a great degree of satisfaction in having witnessed a parade that was in harmony with such an auspicious occasion and indicative of [the new city's] future."<sup>28</sup>

The social antagonism and rowdiness prevalent in the earlier, unreformed Callathumpian parades continued in the evening Torchlight procession, however, this event was designed to stress the centrality of social equality and cohesion within the urban citizenry. Men, women, and children massed at the market square after the evening fireworks. Then they paraded through the business district of the town, side by side, with torches in hand. The cloak of darkness supposedly made distinctions, otherwise noticeable in daylight, less obvious. This gave a brief illusion of a solidified, egalitarian, body politic.<sup>29</sup>

Despite efforts to keep everything as orderly as possible, some



did not share this view of the body politic and maintained their own rowdy devices and resisted event organizers' attempts to constrain their actions. During Woodstock's Queen's Birthday in 1888, for example, "the boys had quite a jollification" disturbing the peace. They used a machine engine and boiler left at the market square as a battery for their firecrackers, rockets, and other explosives left over from the evening display. As the paper sarcastically wrote, "the result must have formed a delightful lullaby for the guests of the [adjacent] hotel who were trying to work in a little sleep."<sup>30</sup> The rowdies drank and danced in the streets. They exploded firecrackers and lit bonfires. Their amusements contravened local bylaws and middle class morality and at times their activities culminated in drunken free-for-alls.<sup>31</sup> Drink was so prevalent that when in 1890 the Chronicle reported that "scarcely a drunk man was to be seen anywhere" it was taken as a sign that "the town is getting better."<sup>32</sup> To prevent the drunkenness, sabotage, pranks, and gate-jumping endemic in the holiday, organizers required a contingent of special police to bolster the local constabulary.<sup>33</sup>

Holiday organizers were concerned with their inability to keep a lid on everything. By 1879 the Chronicle labelled masquerade and torch-light participants the culprits of holiday disorder. It urged everyone to "make up their minds to do away with the Callathumpians, fireworks by lamplight, boy's processions, and all such silly ragged exhibitions in the future."<sup>34</sup>

The middle class dominated AAAs which ran the holiday celebrations during the 1880's relegated rowdyism associated with the performances to the status of the absurd and silly. In doing so they strove to marginalize them. At the same time middle class men hoped to

monopolize public performance and to determine its symbolic content and ritual organization. The Chronicle argued that "a torchlight procession consisting of ragged little urchins may be attractive to some people but there are many others who would rather have something better, a fine looking body like our firemen, for instance."<sup>35</sup> Yet the persistence of silly and abhorrent behaviours clearly reveals the resiliency of alternate traditions despite middle class reform efforts.

In contrast to the rowdiness associated with the early morning and evening parades stood the noon time procession. This model of respectability was a distinctly hierarchically structured display, consciously arranged by the holiday committees to present a very different image of the town. The noon-time parade stressed what middle class mythmakers believed were the positive aspects of the town and the importance of local social agencies or, as the paper called them, the "fine looking bodies" which, in every case, were male. Changes in this parade through time reveals how middle class voluntary societies, sport clubs, and sport each supported the dominant order by presenting it as as the only natural and legitimate one.

The noon-time processions publicly exhibited an order of place in a town.<sup>36</sup> They gave a distinct and selective version of local social relations which, like the social background of their organizing committees, did not represent all social classes. By their exclusivity they symbolically confirmed the existing social order: like the industrial capitalist system they excluded large numbers of the urban populace (particularly workers, women, and children) while highlighting middle class men. The respectable ceremonies of the

propertied and middling classes noon-time parades offered sharp contrast to the disorder and rowdiness endemic in the more traditional parades.

Noon-time parades during civic celebrations thrived upon, and fed, urban pride. Especially for middle class property holders, the holiday provided townspeople yet another opportunity to boost their sense of their town's status in the provincial hierarchy in an era characterized by the breakdown of inland isolation and the evolution of a provincial urban hierarchy. "Our wide awake village," heralded one commentator describing Ingersoll's 1861 May 24th celebrations, "has been noted alike for its loyalty, ability and enterprise in every department of business. We will match it against any town of its 'inches'."<sup>37</sup> The key ingredients of success, the paper forwarded, lay in the town's middle class population: its "pushing men, its comely matrons, charming widows, blooming lasses, nice young men, and pretty babies." The paper bragged that "in none of these component parts of a community can [Ingersoll] be beaten."<sup>38</sup>

The urban pride manifested during civic holiday celebrations expressed a sense of local social progress. This pride served to integrate the oppositions outlined above: the sense of a community "us" against the other communities' "them" symptomatic in local class relations could be temporarily transcended in the new sense of "us" against "them" based upon urban boosterism.

In 1889, for example, Ingersoll used the May 24th celebration to christen its Victoria Park. Reportedly four thousand people attended the event. The new park was heralded as marking Ingersoll's entry into the "big times."<sup>39</sup> In his address Mayor Thomas Brown

commended the town's progress and boasted of the town's many merits. He praised the transportation and communication innovations which, during his very own lifetime, profoundly altered the course of its urban and industrial growth, giving it a noteworthy place in Ontario's urban landscape. The crowd cheered as Brown broke a bottle of wine on the wheel of a fine carriage. After the ceremony the band led the masses in a rousing chorus of the National Anthem and in three cheers for the Queen, the Mayor, and the town council.

The ceremony, begun with an allusion to the past, appropriately ended with Ingersoll's cheese poet, James McIntyre, capturing for posterity the excitement of day's holiday. His poem hints at the importance of sports to the holiday scene:

Victoria Park and Caledonian Games

Come one, come all, to Scottish games  
On the banks of Canadian Thames;  
You'll find that 'tis most pleasant way  
You can enjoy the Queen's Birthday

In future years it will be famed  
The day whereon the Park was named,  
With its boundary great extended  
And nature's charms sweetly blended.

Full worthy of the poet's theme  
Is hill and dale, and wood and stream,  
And glittering spires, and busy town.  
Where mansions do each mount top crown.

Come, witness the great tug-of-war,  
And the great hammer thrown afar,  
See running, jumping, highland fling,  
At concert hear the sky lark sing.

And the bagpipes will send thrills  
Like echoes from the distant hills,  
And the bold sound of the pibroch  
Which does resound o'er Scottish loch.

Young men and maids, and fine old dames  
Will gather on the banks of Thames,  
And though we have a tug-of-war  
'Twill leave no wound or deadly scar.<sup>40</sup>

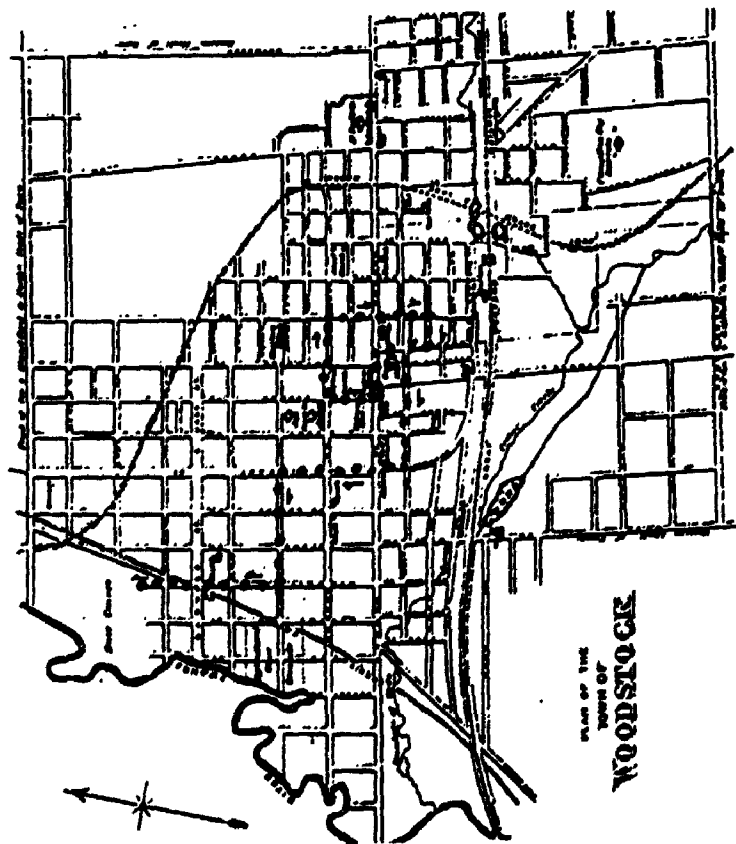
The poem's imagery suggests much about the type of society that the Mayor and other holiday organizers idealized. McIntyre, himself, was a socially prominent and active community member. He owned a growing cabinet and furniture-making business, he sat on the local executive of the International Order of Oddfellows as well as the holiday committee of 1880. As an executive member of the Sons of Scotland, he ardently supported Caledonian games. His poem suggests an inclusive society which, through the effort and hard work of a certain group (presumably men of his ilk), achieved a measure of community prosperity. The positive valuation of wealth (the references to "mansions" on the "crown") speaks volumes about the middle class minority he belonged to and the sort of ideal community McIntyre and other holiday organizers envisioned.

Under the direction of such men, Ingersoll and Woodstock's noon-time parades were generally celebratory stages for issues pertinent to middle class visions of community growth and well being. Their routes, outlined in the maps in Figure 9, did not pass by the hills, dales, and streams evoked in McIntyre's nature-filled rendering of the town's urban geography. Instead, they went through the "busy town" where middle class men did their business: down the main thoroughfare, around the market square, and through the commercial district to the games site.

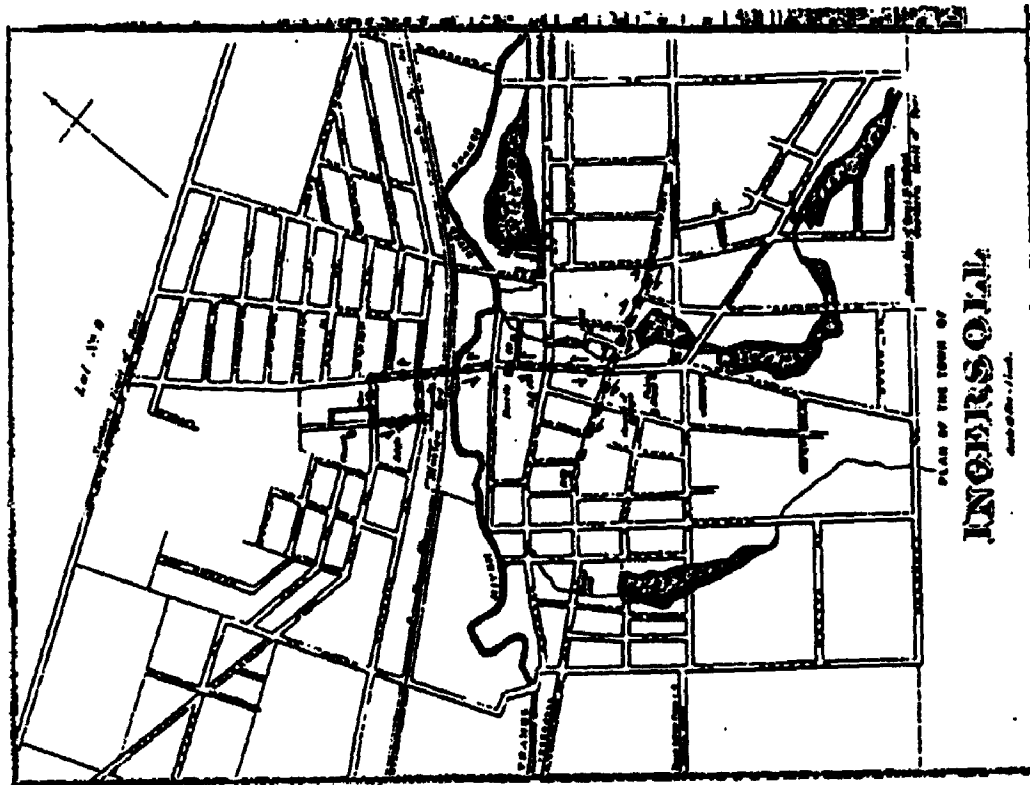
From the 1850's through to the late 1870's noon-time parades involved the town's two preeminent voluntary organizations -- the firemen and the militia. Though data on individual fire and militiamen is unavailable, current scholarship suggests that they likely were skilled artisans under middle

FIGURE 9  
Maps of Ingersoll and Woodstock Parade Routes  
1885, 1892

WOODSTOCK 1885



INGERSOLL 1892



\*Source: SR 26 May 1892, Chronicle 3 July 1885

class leadership.<sup>41</sup> Each group physically protected the community in an era when local services were minimal at best. The militia used May 24th to annually muster and display its drill and marching skills during the noon-time parade. Firemen were also amongst the town's earliest voluntary agencies. Physically protecting the urban landscape from devastating fires was serious business, yet the local firefighter's motto, "All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy," reveals their equally-serious pursuit of fun.<sup>42</sup> Townspeople took pride in their Brigade. Firemen's socials, bandstand concerts, and dances filled the town's social calendar. Often firemen exhibited their equipment during parades. They practised drills and routines along the parade route. Their "brilliant uniforms," a symbol of authority, reportedly gave "a sparkling effect" to a holiday scene.<sup>43</sup>

As the community became increasingly complex other types of voluntary associations emerged on the local scene. By the early 1880's Secret Societies and other Voluntary Orders marched at noon-time. In fact, many associations, for example the Foresters, Oddfellows, Templars and the Caledonians, held local demonstrations during the holiday for which their out of town brethren came. Voluntary Association executives were also often active town councilors and Board of Trade members.<sup>44</sup> These organizations each held a version of middle class respectability and social order.

During the closing decade of the century other respectable elements of the town's economic and political structure were feted in the parades: notably industry, local industrial capitalists, and labour's aristocracy of skilled artisan tradesmen. Such parades celebrated the very industries which were believed to fuel the

community's economic progress. Trades processions gave respectable representations of what organizers believed to be the healthy and harmonious relationships between the town and industry and exhibited intimate ties between civic pride and local industry. They provided unique opportunities for advertising the town and its industrial establishments. In both Ingersoll and Woodstock they featured local industrial manufacturers and their factory workers, yet they represented only the largest and most prosperous of the local industries, and they involved only skilled tradesmen, the smallest and most economically secure segment of the local labour force.<sup>45</sup> They offered only a selective version of local labour.

In 1887 Ingersoll's May 24th holiday, for example, reportedly attracted four thousand people to witness what was really only the rosy side of the story of the relations between the town, industrialists, and workers. Eight civic officials mounted on horseback marshalled the parade led by Mayor Buchanan. Then paraded local industrialists and the skilled tradesmen from their factories. The Noxon Brothers Agricultural Works' float carried eight molders who cast commemorative medals which were handed out to the crowd.<sup>46</sup>

On Dominion Day of that same year the town's grand Knights of Labour demonstration presented another symbolic articulation of the underlying social order, contrived in rosy fashion to exhibit mutualism, or the harmonious relations between labour and capital.<sup>47</sup> On that day Assemblies from St. Thomas, London, and Woodstock visited the town. After the procession to the Town Park the Mayor's speech commended the excellent relations between local labour and capital. "What we here see before us," he proclaimed, "tells a story of peace, prosperity, and happiness among all classes of people. Here we have



no strikes to cause disorder, no trouble among races, but we assemble as one people serving the Queen and one God."<sup>48</sup> Woodstock's representative, one Mr. Gribble, took the opportunity to denounce the prevalent opinion that the Knights incited workers' strikes. In reality, he argued, they aimed to prevent strikes. His words presumably pleased Woodstock's local large-scale industrialists, many of whom sat on holiday organizing committees.<sup>49</sup>

Such images of local social harmony projected in trades parades are also evident how sport was used to present images of social order in noon-time parades. By the early 1870's these parades highlighted the sport teams competing in the holiday events. Bedecked in their sparkling uniforms, themselves symbols of order, the home team and local brass bands paraded visiting teams from the train station down to the market square. Local supporters cheered them on. Within a decade, when the cycling craze hit the towns, bicycle parades had become by far the most extraordinary and popular noon-time parade performance.<sup>58</sup> Like other parade forms they featured men only. In 1885 Woodstock hosted the Canadian Wheelmen Association's annual meet. "Bedecked in holiday attire" with flags flying everywhere, the town welcomed cyclists from the prestigious Montreal and Toronto clubs, as well as clubs from Stratford, Belleville, Brampton, Brantford, and Ottawa. From the market square they wheeled through the town's principle streets to the WAAA grounds singing choruses.

Bicycle parades epitomized respectability and order. Cycle clubs of the 1880's were decidedly paramilitary organizations. Their executives bore titles such as captain, lieutenant, and bugler. Club outfits, reminiscent of a rifleman's uniform, comprised a dark

waistcoat, puttees, and caps similar to the French kepi. Fashionable accouterments, for example, whistles, medals, and ribbons, heightened the military effect. They were tokens of identity which both unified cyclists and distanced them from other people. The cyclists wheeled about the community in military fashion, performing precision and drill routines akin to military drill.

Their manner, deportment, and appearance clearly separated them from others. This created a participant-spectator dialectic.<sup>51</sup> This symbolic social and physical segregation, so evident in cycling, became a hallmark for the generalized middle class movement toward respectability in sport epitomized in amateurism.

## II. The Sports: Three Phases of Growth

Holiday organizers used sport, a familiar part of daily life, as a calling card to attract visitors to the town and to present images of a proud, cohesive urban citizenry. Interwoven into the fabric of civic holiday celebrations, sport boosted urban pride through representative teams whose names, uniforms, and emblems symbolized the ties between the teams and their home town. Sports fields were, in effect, battlegrounds for urban rivalries. This is expressed in the words of Ingersoll poet James McIntyre whose poem likens sport to battles which leave "no wound or deadly scar."<sup>52</sup>

Local sporting excellence and innovation provided townspeople with a convenient means to elevate their sense of self-worth. At the same time they could safely deride their opponents. The Sentinel, advertising Woodstock's expanded agenda for sports on the 1874 Dominion Day celebrations, poked fun at its neighbor's sporting traditions and, by extension, Ingersoll's ability to keep abreast of

the changing times. The paper ridiculed Ingersoll townspeople, implying that their holiday sports were downright primitive. Their sole benefit, consisted of "possibly a greased pig worrying for the delectation of our friends... who are extremely partial to that sort of 'intellectual' recreation."<sup>53</sup> This direct jab shot from a town which prided itself on its commitment to a rational approach to sport embellished in the "games-build-character" orientation in muscular Christian amateur sport. The paper teased that those aspiring to true glory doubtless would "forsake their own hamlet on the day in question for the bill of fare to be provided in the county town and the chief town of the county" -- Woodstock, of course.<sup>54</sup>

In their holiday sports attractions Ingersoll and Woodstock townspeople competed in an ideological battle over whose town was the most forward-looking, and, by implication, which would be the town of the future. In 1887 the Sentinel caustically wrote "it will do our rustic neighbors good to come to town on the 24th, while Woodstock citizens would probably enjoy a glimpse of rural life [in Ingersoll] on Dominion Day."<sup>55</sup> Sometimes the verbal battles were decidedly poisoned. In 1884 the Sentinel defended the town's posture against Caledonian competitions against the "slurs of the Ingersoll mudslinger."<sup>56</sup> Locked as they were in the urban hierarchy, underdogs to the larger urban centres of Toronto, Hamilton, and London, townspeople in the two small towns found their own niche in each other's company. This gave meaning to their battles in their quest for urban identity.

Sport also became site for hegemonic battles. Here middle class organizers through time relegated certain traditional sports to

a perjorative category of useless and socially improper idle diversions owing to the rowdiness associated with them, while elevating their muscular Christian ethos, their organized team sports, and their concept of amateurism to the status of being the true and legitimate expression of sport. Like new bottles for old wine, however, the essential differences between the two, the rowdy and the respectable, were symbolic, not substantial.

In keeping with this role, civic holiday sports, like Callathumpian, noon-time, and torchlight parades, changed through time as middle class organizers struggled to monopolize the forms and meanings that sport was to take. Much like the parades, sports events came under increasing scrutiny in the organizer's attempts to subvert rowdy elements of sport and to promote the respectable or rational ones.

This drive was part of a larger battle between opposing versions of social order and appropriate behaviour touched all sports on an day to day basis. Changes in community sport behaviours and middle class conceptions of true and legitimate sport are the most clearly articulated during the holidays. Between 1850 and 1895 sport activities on the Queen's Birthday and Dominion Day holidays in Ingersoll and Woodstock follow a clearly perceptible pattern (see APPENDIX G for a chronology of holiday sports events) which developed in three phases which correspond roughly with generalized changes experienced in local parade repertoire.

The first phase occurred from about 1850 to the mid-1860's. During this time the holidays began to shift from being predominantly local, communal affairs. Social tensions began to surface surrounding traditional sports which had strong elements of ritual inversion.

Like the increasingly apparent rowdiness associated with the Callathumpian and Torchlight parades, holiday sports were beginning to be perceived by middle class reformers as a source of social disorder rather than social cohesion.

During the second phase, from the late 1860's to the early 1880's, the sports shed their local focus and assumed a greater degree of organizational complexity. This occurred through the efforts of a distinct group of politically active middle class men who worked through three early types of sports organizations which aimed at eliminating rowdiness from sport: i. Driving Park Associations; ii. Organized Sports Clubs; and iii. Caledonian Societies. As competition stretched out beyond local boundaries the sports of this era, like respectable noon-time parades, became heavily infused with rational and respectable elements at the expense of rowdy ones. As the examples of horseracing and Caledonian games show, however, middle class efforts to reform sport were not entirely successful.

In the third phase, from the mid-1880's until the end of the period under study, amateurism, the fully respectable middle class sport ideology, emerged as the dominant ideology for local sport. Through Amateur Athletic Associations middle class sports reformers actively suppressed certain sports by eliminating them from civic holiday agendas. They aimed to control sport participation more closely than earlier sports organizations had. In the final analysis, however, middle class efforts to impose their particular view of the world was resisted in a variety of ways.

#### A. The First Phase: Local, Communal Affairs

During the first phase, roughly from 1850 to the mid 1860's,

civic holiday sport was decidedly local and communal. In this era contest rules were simple and unwritten, informed by local custom and tradition as passed down through generations by local old-timers. During the holiday men, women, and children from the town and country competed in the day's events. Victories were based on who crossed the finish line first. Only newspaper reports recorded the events.

The holiday celebrations combined three traditional groups of sport: track and field events, games of inversion, and horseracing. The first involved the simple and straightforward running and field events for which competitors won cash prizes ranging from one to three dollars.<sup>57</sup>

The second group held preindustrial cultural roots similar to the rowdy parade genres. Chance, hazard, uncontrollability, difficulty, and conflict characterize them. Contestants laboured in a serious and strenuous way against obstacles undermining order and acting as a disequilibrating force. Spectators could be assured of the enjoyment of the more hilarious fruits of the contest. These games encapsulated varying degrees of order and disorder.<sup>58</sup> Some, like the three legged race, demanded cooperation between participants. Others, like sack race, wheelbarrow race, bell race, and the walking the pole over water event, were individual in nature.<sup>59</sup> Finally, some, like the slippery (greased) pole climb and chasing the greased pig, wreaked havoc by absolutely turning the world on its end and subverting normal order.

For people who were concerned with the general issue of disorder in urban society, and in the social and moral imperative of sport, traditional games of disorder held little, if any, social value

precisely because of their frivolous nature. From a rational recreation perspective one could ask "what social and moral benefits could be gained from these pursuits?" From the same perspective one would have to answer "none." Consider, for example, the Chronicle's report of the 24th celebrations in May, 1865, describing the fat men's race, one of the more ludicrous examples of the traditional sports:

Reader did you ever behold a number of "phat" men running for dear life? If you did not, a scene was missed that was well worth seeing. Several of the weighty men of the neighborhood .. from 220 lbs and upwards, contested for the honors, and the race was an exciting one. Fat, fat, nothing but fat! Such herculean efforts - such puffing and blowing - locomotives on a small scale as fast as their powers of locomotion would permit. The condition of the "phat" men after the race must have been anything but comfortable to themselves, and as they stood surrounded by their admiring friends, their looks conveyed the emphatic rebuke of bullfrogs to the the mischievous urchins who threw stones at them - "what is sport to you is death to us!"(60)

From the rational recreation perspective the exhibition of puffing obese men running around a race track did little to the social and/or spiritual development of either participant or spectator.

Horseracing, the third of the sports groups was the most problematic of the traditional sports. On one hand horseracing was popularly viewed as a sound agricultural investment essential for the well-being of society. It was therefore a logical holiday activity in a society whose existence depended heavily upon agriculture. On the other hand, horseracing was also seen as a dubious vice because it often involved gambling and betting. This vice undermined and disrupted social order. This made horseracing a highly questionable civic holiday activity. More than any other sport that found its way into the forum of community celebrations, horseracing was constantly under public scrutiny, local legislation, and, at times, public castigation. Since in the industrial capitalist era betting and

gambling were highly visible and central to the sport, horseracing cut to the quick of pressing social and moral issues. It thus possessed an element of rowdiness entirely different than the more innocuous traditional events described above.

So long as Ontario's urban and rural populations relied heavily upon horses for transportation and farm use, horseracing found support among those interested the development of better breeds. Before the early twentieth century, when motor cars replaced horses, a horse was a means of transportation, a beast of burden, and used for recreation. A horse had to be capable of drawing a good load, traveling at a good pace, and avoiding injury. Careful breeding ensured these qualities. By the mid-1850's a revolution in horse breeding occurred in Ontario when thoroughbred stock from Kentucky, Virginia, and England were crossed with common horses. This produced roadsters which were good transportation stock.<sup>61</sup> Holiday speed trials afforded an opportunity to test a horse's capacity as well as a chance for individuals to show off their prized horses. These trials occurred wherever resources permitted: any broad, clear track of land would do.<sup>62</sup>

Much social opposition surrounding horseracing lay in the ways in which the sport was conducted, and who conducted it.<sup>63</sup> For example, since its original settlement by the half-pay British officers Woodstock prided itself as a "horse town." Horseracing was an integral part of the social lives of the local leisure class and maintained a gentility that rendered it above reproach.<sup>64</sup> The Innkeepers Purse scrub race held during the holidays, a long-lived horse event, also suggests that horseracing received social



sanctioning when performed with utilitarian concerns in mind.<sup>65</sup>

Even so, other forms of horseracing associated with the culture of the tavern, wherein drinking, gambling, and other so-called idle diversions thrived amongst lower social orders were highly contested social territories. As early as 1845 the Woodstock Herald vehemently condemned horseracing. It argued that it was its very relationship to vice that made it appealing to some.<sup>66</sup>

From the pulpits of almost every local church, sermons similarly decried the immorality and intemperance associated with horseracing.<sup>67</sup> As urban populations increased horseracing posed dangers to pedestrians and assumed an increasingly apparent rowdy association. Town bylaws aimed to undercut the sport by prohibiting racing on local streets.<sup>68</sup> This also made gambling, a key ingredient in horseracing, illegal.

During this era civic holiday celebrations were local, communal affairs which featured at least three groups of traditional sports and games whose contest rules were simple and unwritten and passed down through time by an oral tradition. No formal agency regulated or structured the competition. Generally the sports and games were inclusive by nature and, like Callathumlan and Torchlight parades, held varying degrees of disorder. They were characterized by their impulse for fun and frivolity rather than by any rational or utilitarian imperative. An exception to this can be found in scrub horseracing, which had a utilitarian purpose.

#### B. The Second Phase: Sport Clubs Involvement and the Advent of Interurban Competition

During the second phase, by contrast, from the late 1860's to the early 1880's, holiday sports shed their local focus and assumed a

greater degree of organizational complexity as well as a reform impulse to eliminate rowdiness. This occurred through the efforts of a distinct group of politically active middle class men. By infusing holiday sport with values of respectability, rationality, and morality, middle class organizers strove to undermine and marginalize rowdy elements of sport. They worked through: i. Driving Park Associations; ii. Organized Sports Clubs; and iii. Caledonian Societies (see APPENDIX H for a chronology of holiday sponsorship, 1868-1895). As competition stretched out beyond local boundaries the sports of this era, like respectable noon-time parades, became heavily infused with rational and respectable elements at the expense of rowdy ones. They were designed to convey an image of the town's "fine looking bodies." Even so, despite their efforts alternative sports and sports practices continued.

#### i. Driving Park Associations

In both Ingersoll and Woodstock Driving Park Associations were the first sports organizations to sponsor reformed sport on the civic holiday celebrations. In 1869 the Ingersoll Driving Park Association, sponsored the sports of the May 24th holiday. While this occurred a few years before the Woodstock's Driving Park Association began its own civic holiday sponsorship, the Woodstock Association held a lengthier association with holiday organization. Woodstock became integrated in provincial and national horseracing networks, essentially leaving Ingersoll "at the gate." Even so, in both towns horseracing fared the same in the end. By the mid-1880's horseracing, a once strong traditional holiday sport, vanished from civic holiday celebrations. Yet horseracing remained an important

part of Fall and Spring agricultural fairs where it continued to attract substantial support for its utilitarian features.

To understand this fate of civic holiday horseracing a discussion of Driving Park Association activities in first Ingersoll and then Woodstock is in order. In 1868 Ingersoll horse men formed a Riding and Driving Park Association to promote local horse interests through fall agricultural fairs and annual spring races.<sup>70</sup> Within two years the Association's annual spring races attracted a reported three thousand people to the the Queen's Birthday celebrations. The Association was the first sports club involved in organizing a civic holiday. It set the precedent for civic holiday celebrations to become increasingly sport-oriented and outward focused. To induce horse owners from neighboring communities to attend the event the Association offered five hundred dollars in prizes.<sup>71</sup>

Although initially a success, the Driving Park withdrew from its association with the holiday within six years and re-directed its energies to Spring and Fall fairs where it already possessed a clear-cut mandate. Since Woodstock's larger and more powerful Association quite simply stole the smaller town's show. The Ingersoll Association experimented with offering a social -- rather than strictly scientific and competitive -- orientation to horse events. In 1871, for example, Ingersoll held a Grand Equestrian Tournament during Dominion Day. The Tournament heralded back to traditions rooted in England's medieval, chivalric past.<sup>72</sup>

Horseracing in Woodstock differed markedly from that of Ingersoll. Two elements worked to this end. First, Woodstock possessed a lengthy tradition of organized horseracing associated with the genteel culture of the retired officers. Their horse events

(annual steeple chases and fox hunts) bore decidedly elevated social tones distinguished from activities of other people residing in the area. As a vestige of leisure class culture, their horseracing already possessed its own lengthy tradition and system of ideological sanctioning.<sup>73</sup> Second, by the late 1860's Woodstock was the home of a number of men whose livelihoods were earned through scientifically breeding and training horseflesh. These men counted among what the Globe described as that "race of thrifty, industrious money-getting men, with ideas more in unison with the place and time" whose sources of wealth and power were not monopolized by the old Woodstock elite. To buttress their local hegemony they cultivated a rational and utilitarian approach to sport. This created what the Sentinel called "strictly honourable races" conducted in a utilitarian fashion.<sup>74</sup>

Woodstock's local turf luminaries from this era included three of the most noted names in Canada's early turf history: Boyle, Forbes, and Patteson. Charles Boyle, owner of the the "Firs" stables situated on Woodstock's eastern outskirts, is considered the dean of Canadian thoroughbred horse trainers.<sup>75</sup> John Forbes, Boyle's partner and sometime owner of the Caister House Hotel and livery stable, was a horse owner/horse dealer of North American renown. Among his horses were the winners of the New York Ladies Handicap, the Belmont Stakes, and the Queen's Plate.<sup>76</sup> T.C. Patteson, the sometime editor of the Mail, Postmaster of Toronto, and founder of the Ontario Jockey Club, spent his summers at Eastwood the old Vansittart estate, to be near Boyle's stables, where he kept his horses.<sup>77</sup> These three men extended Woodstock horse interests and the town's reputation in horse circles well beyond the local boundaries.

In 1871 Boyle and a dozen other Woodstonians formed the Woodstock Driving Park Association, a joint-stock venture capitalized at six thousand dollars for the purposes of organizing and fostering local horseracing.<sup>78</sup> The Association quickly became the town's predominant civic holiday organizer during the 1870's. It comprised a dozen or so men who were, or were to become the most politically and socially active men in the town. They included Forbes, himself, owner of the Caister House Hotel, sometime executive member of both the Ancient Free and Accepted Masons (AFAM) and the Knights of the Maccabees; Homer P. Brown, local foundry owner, Officer of the Royal Arcanum (RA), executive member of the International Order of Odd Fellows (IOOF), director of the Oxford Permanent Building and Savings Society, five-time town councillor, and county treasurer; Gilbert C. Field, prominent local physician, sometime police magistrate, four-time town councillor and two-time Mayor; Levi Hoyt Swann, physician, executive member of the AFAM and the Ancient Order of Forresters (AOF), appointed surgeon to the Oxford Rifles, sometime director of the Mechanics Institute, and five-time town councillor; Warren Totten, the town's most noted attorney, graduate of Upper Canada College, executive member of the RA, AFAM, founder of the Order of Fraternal Guardians (OFG), executive and sometime Grand Solicitor of the Ancient Order of United Workmen (AOUW), manager of the Dominion Telegraph Company, nine-time town councillor, two-time Mayor, and three-time deputy reeve; A.W. Francis, owner of the Cedar Creek Oil Works and sometime owner-editor of the Times, executive member of the AFAM, IOOF, AOUW, founding member of the Board of Trade, seven-time town councillor, and two-time Mayor; Wm. Grey, president of the Oxford Permanent Building and Savings Society and the Woodstock

Savings and Loan Society, executive member of the Loyal True Blue Lodge (Orange Order), twenty-time town councillor, six-time Mayor, and five-time Reeve; John White, prominent local dry goods and import merchant, executive member of the Sons of England (SOE), two-time town councillor, and sometime member of the Board of Trade; and, finally, Thomas H. Parker, dry and fancy goods merchant, sometime president of the Mechanics Institute, nine-time town councillor, two-time Mayor, and member of the Board of Trade.

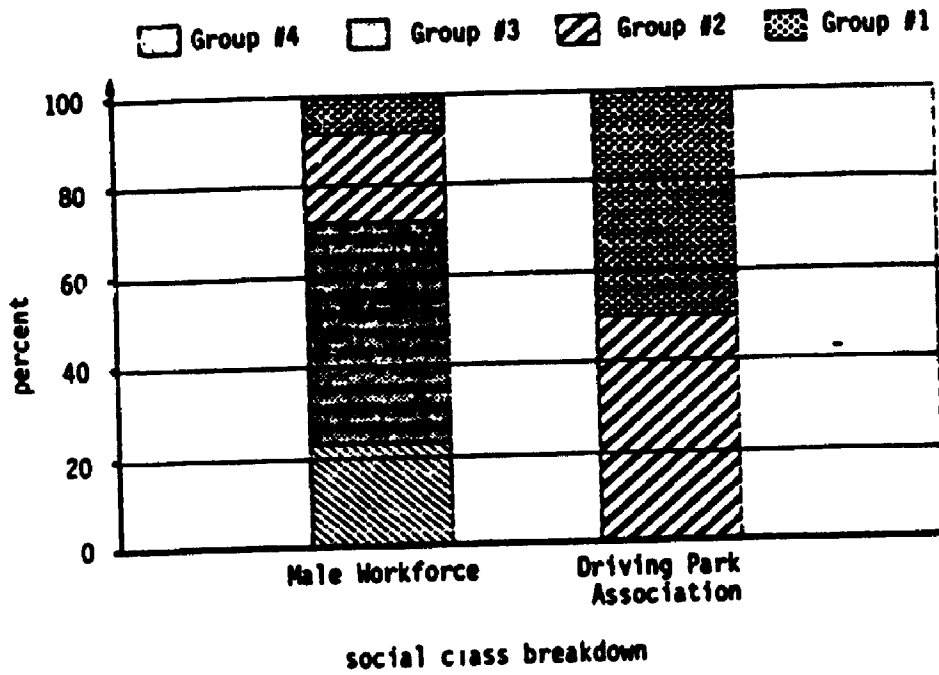
Their social similarities do not end with their impressive array of local political activities and in fraternal organization involvement. As a group they were predominantly Ontario-born Protestant middle-aged married men.<sup>79</sup> Their social class background, indicated in Figure 10, mark them as a solid local elite. The proportions are striking. Absolutely no working class men numbered among them. As the graph reveals, these men came predominantly from the middle class groups 1 - 2 which overrepresented their segments of the local workforce population by nearly four times their rate.

Under their leadership Woodstock became known in horse circles as the "Newmarket of Canada" and in other circles as a "town on the go." In 1876 the Canadian Gentleman's Journal and Sporting Times remarked of Woodstock that

it is looked upon as one of our leading towns, and has the hearty practical support of an extensive agricultural section, and the esteem of all those who have been brought in contact with it.<sup>80</sup>

The Association's eye for finance, evident in the extensive commercial and Board of Trade activities of so many of its members, made its impact upon the nature and structure of civic holiday celebrations. Throughout the 1870's the Association took advantage of

Figure 10  
 Social Class Background of Woodstock Driving  
 Park Association and the Male Workforce  
 1874



\*Source: Woodstock Manuscript Census (1861, 1871), Woodstock Sport data base. Woodstock Male Workforce (over 14 years of age) n=1,383 (est. 1875). Driving Park Association, n=18.

the half-day most citizens had off from work by holding their annual spring races on the Queen's Birthday and Dominion Day holidays. Purses for the organized races held on the holidays were sizable compared to the meager sums hitherto offered. First and second place finishes in one-mile running dash and trotting races drew \$30 and \$20 cash awards. By 1874 an astronomical \$200 was offered for an event open to all horses bred in the Dominion. Admission to the driving park cost the hefty sum of fifty cents whilst grandstand seats cost a further fifty cents. Those who did not wish to mingle with the masses entered in their carriages for one dollar and fifty cents.

As active community leaders in the local financial and political realms, these men logically were interested in advancing the cause of the turf as well as the reputation of the town. Their scientific approach to horse breeding, and strict behavioural limitations for riders and spectators alike implicitly made the turf appear as a rationally-oriented recreation at the expense of its rowdier traditions. According to the Sentinel the Driving Park consisted of:

...the town's best and most prominent men who would tolerate nothing but strictly honourable races, and whose meets were conducted in an irreproachable manner that made them a pronounced success in all respects.<sup>81</sup>

Yet judging by the Association's repeated efforts to clean up the environment of the sport, like erecting placards reminding spectators that "no swearing or obscene language will be allowed at the park," they apparently failed to sever all rowdiness associated with the sport.<sup>82</sup> Frequent newspaper references reminding spectators to abide by Park rules imply that few, in fact, heeded them.

The Canadian Gentleman's Journal and Sporting Times, which had



connections to the Woodstock scene through Forbes, Boyle, and Burgess, spoke eloquently in support of the Association's approach. It argued that betting, essential to the sport, and carefully controlled by the Associations, was in itself an innocent device necessary to the science of horseracing. In 1876 it stated that compared to gamblers who stake their money on the "hazard of the die," the man who backs a certain horse "stakes his money on his knowledge of the contesting horses" based upon the science of breeding. To appeal to the logic of respectable businessmen the Journal used the analogy between the uncertainty of businessmen investing venture capital in wheat and the uncertainty of betting on the horses.<sup>83</sup> The very fact that, like Woodstock's Driving Park Association, the Journal went to such lengths to make its point about the "innocence" of the sport, indicates that, despite the efforts of turf reformers, alternative practices resisting rationalized horseracing lingered.

Even so, by using the civic holiday to promote horse interests, and by encouraging interurban competition, the Woodstock Driving Park Association broadened the local focus of the town's celebration. When, in 1875, Woodstock hosted the Queen's Plate, the town was honoured with what was to become one of Canada's most long-lived and prestigious sporting traditions.<sup>84</sup> This momentous occasion for Oxford's County seat, however, was but a one-time affair. In 1882 the Plate found a permanent home at Toronto's Woodbine Race track. This left Woodstock, like other horse towns in the province, to find other sporting events which attracted people from outside the town to their civic holiday celebrations.

This move itself represented no profound loss for either

Woodstock or Ingersoll for two basic reasons. First, horseracing was but only one aspect of civic holiday sport and local communal sporting traditions. Second, despite any organized attempts to clean up horseracing, rowdyism in the sport persisted. Deeply-rooted associations with gambling, betting, and alcohol consumption were never totally shaken regardless of any reform efforts toward sublimating these "seedier" sides a sport perceived by some as mere "idle" diversion. Indicating this persistence, respectable horse enthusiasts frequently repudiated any connection between the turf and social vice.<sup>85</sup> As all horsemen knew, and as the Canadian Gentleman's Journal and Sporting Times was quick to point out by appealing to middle class sensibilities through references to "gentlemanly" fair play, whether one accepted these sensibilities established the thin line between betting and gambling.<sup>86</sup>

Regardless of whatever merit their line of reasoning held, attempts to rationalize the sport produced a social and moral quagmire. Many resisted Driving Park Associations' attempts to reform horseracing by severing its relationship with shadier elements.<sup>87</sup>

Never above reproach, horseracing was an unlikely candidate for celebrating and articulating a town's feeling of collective identity since the social and moral issues surrounding it consistently split, rather than unified the community. Today the situation is no different: many still oppose horseracing because of social and moral reasoning based upon ascetic pietist sentiment. Horseracing's prominence as a civic holiday sport, in fact, was inversely related to the rise of other sports discussed below which much more successfully mediated socially contested terrains.

Turf events thus gradually diverged from civic community

celebrations. They were replaced by the team sports which embraced the well articulated sport ideology manifested in the "games-build-character" approach inherent in both muscular Christianity and amateurism. By the early 1870's Ingersoll's Driving Park Association ceased to actively organize either the Queen's Birthday or the Dominion Day holidays. Instead it turned to its own Fall Agricultural Fair. By 1874 Woodstock's Beaver lacrosse club began an eight year association cohosting the holiday with the Driving Park Association. Team sport competition became the focus of the community celebration while turf events became almost a self-contained segment. By 1883 the Driving Park Association withdrew completely from holiday organization and focused its activities upon its own Spring races and the Fall Agricultural Fair.

This movement of the Driving Park Associations away from organizing the local, formerly communal, civic holidays toward their own distinct celebration in organizing and hosting agricultural fairs indicates an accommodation, not the death of local horseracing, nor the death of the gambling and drinking behaviours popularly associated with the sport. Having always been an integral aspect of agricultural fairs for better breed and entertainment purposes, horseracing carried on in that forum indefinitely. Yet even though Ingersoll and Woodstock's urban populations relied as heavily upon horses as their rural counterparts did, horses and horse interests held no role in symbolic representations of the urban corporate community. Apparently only organized sport clubs, home town teams, and other such voluntary associations were deemed by middle class organizers to be appropriate representations.

## ii. Team Sport Clubs

Only certain organized sports, muscular Christian team ball games, highlighted the civic holiday celebrations. Of the three most popular team ball sports before the 1890's -- cricket, baseball, and lacrosse -- found in Ingersoll and Woodstock during the last half of the nineteenth century, only the latter two consistently were played during the holidays. When and if cricket was played on the holidays the matches were intra-club, not intra or inter-urban, and they occurred alongside interurban baseball or lacrosse competition. Unlike baseball and lacrosse, no admission was charged for cricket. The antiutilitarian message of cricket matches was not in keeping with the image of thrift, industry, and hard work middle class mythmakers intended to project about the earned (rather than ascribed) merit characterizing local social relations.<sup>88</sup> A cultural residual of a decaying Tory social order, cricket bore ties inappropriate for the new social order emerging from the rising urban-industrial towns.

The civic holidays celebrated this new order. Baseball and lacrosse, the two most frequently played civic holiday team sports, were, in contrast to cricket, geared toward the urban masses and the new order. These tremendously popular attractions typically drew thousands of holiday goers into town. By the 1860's civic holiday celebrations became the showcase for organized interurban competition, nurturing and fostering the integral relationship between urban identity and team sport. In both sports this intimate connection between team and town is evidenced in team names and emblems, and the way in which playing field victories were repeatedly cited in the press and in speeches as one town's victory over another.

Woodstock's baseball activities during the 1860's are a case in point. In 1864 under the energetic leadership of local businessmen, Woodstock's Young Canadian club canvassed the town for American silver dollars which were melted down and fashioned into a Silver Ball, the new emblem of the so-called Canadian Baseball Championship which Woodstock both created and dominated. They hoped to stimulate interurban competition and, more particularly, to show off the town's winning team.

The plan worked. During the next five years Woodstock's home team competed against clubs from Ingersoll, Hamilton, Newcastle, Dundas, Guelph, and London. Each challenging team played in Woodstock, for as defending Canadian champions the Young Canadians held the home field advantage. Woodstock's 1869 Dominion Day celebrations consisted of a baseball tournament for gentleman-amateur teams from throughout the province who competed for \$400 in prizes donated by the town's eager business community. Activities such as these ensured that the names of both Woodstock and its home team peppered the pages of provincial newspapers, as well as the pages of America's premier sporting magazine, the New York Clipper.

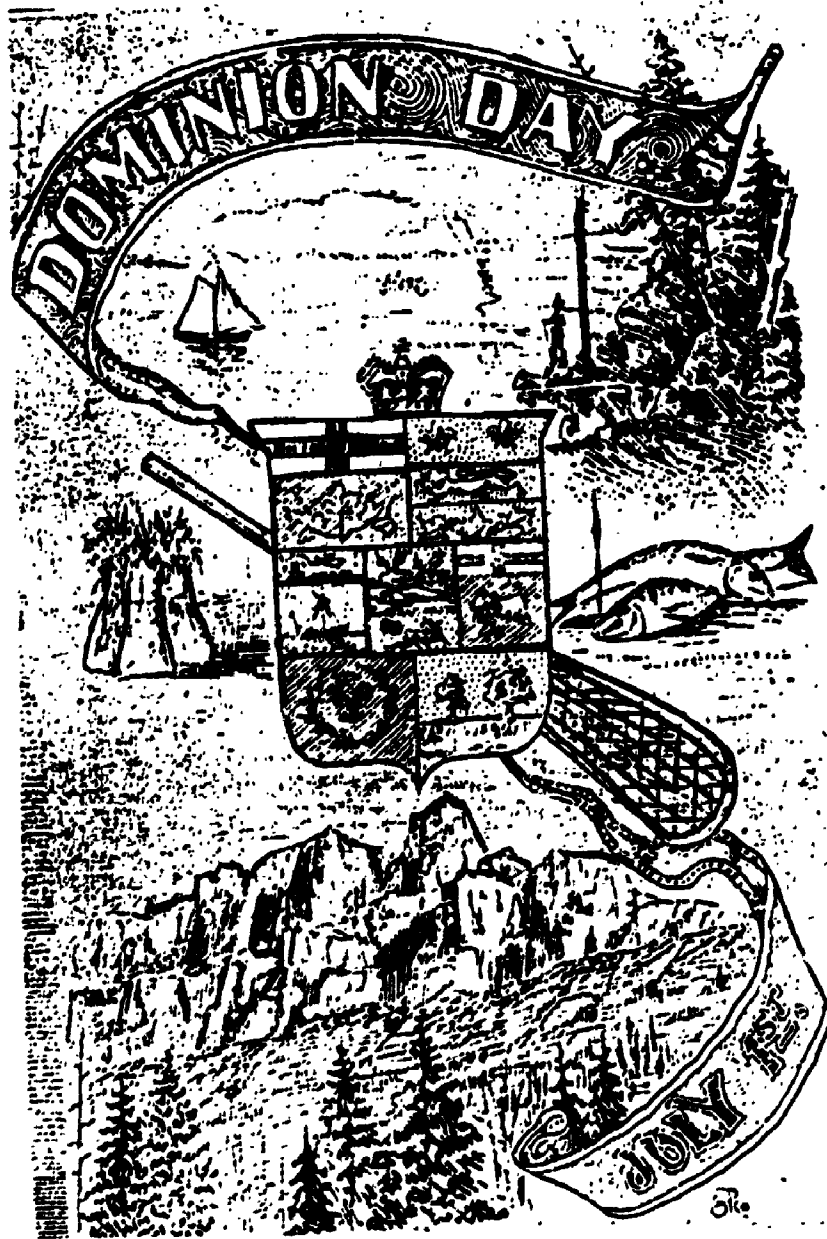
Judging by their frequency and prominence, and by what the Clipper identified as the Woodstonian habit of undertaking "any scheme that had for its object the encouraging and fostering of the game," local society considered baseball matches to be tremendously important.<sup>89</sup> Simply put, baseball attracted people into town and playing field victories symbolized the town's greatness over rival towns.

Yet even though civic holiday sport typically featured baseball, baseball clubs never sponsored civic holiday celebrations.

One might pose the question: "if baseball was such an integral aspect of the holidays why were baseball clubs absent from their organization?" No direct evidence specifically explains this situation. Indirect evidence suggests that as a sport much more rooted in middle class culture, lacrosse was a likelier vehicle for middle class sports organizers. Baseball had locally evolved at a grassroots level from a popular game to an organized sport and no single social group ever managed to totally monopolize it. Nineteenth century Ingersoll and Woodstock baseball (and Canadian baseball in general) possessed no sport governing institution to regulate various levels of competition. Without such a superstructure defining the range of 'legitimate' meanings associated with the game, baseball could never be totally controlled by middle class reformers. By contrast lacrosse had appeared on the local sporting scene in some senses as a sport without a past. For all intents and purposes a rising group of middle class Montreal sportsmen had "reinvented" this Amerindian game in order to create a distinctly Canadian sporting culture based upon muscular Christian precepts.<sup>90</sup>

Woodstock lacrosse club executives capitalized on the game's native heritage by promoting spectator-oriented extravaganzas between the Beaver Lacrosse Club and war-painted costumed Indian teams who ended the contests with "War Dances." For the purpose of advancing their sport, lacrosse men, like other Canadian nationalists of the day, romanticized Indians as a physical feature of the landscape. According to this line of thinking Indians were hearty, noble savages, whom Canadians could take in the same fashion that they had dominated the vast, rugged geography of the country. Figure 11, Woodstock's

FIGURE 11  
A Woodstock Tribute to Dominion Day



tribute to Dominion Day published in the Sentinel alludes to this prevailing association between lacrosse and Canada's physical geography. This stylistic rendering, showing a country joined together by a lacrosse stick, implies that lacrosse unites the nation. Baseball, popularly touted as the American national pastime, was a highly unlikely vehicle for expressing a sense of Canadian nationalism regardless of its own immense popularity in Canada.

Only when interurban baseball competition was suffering from rise of rowdyism, gambling, and professionalism (around 1871, when the Young Canadians lost the Canadian Championship) did local lacrosse take off as a holiday sport.<sup>91</sup> As baseball morality floundered in the 1870's, a "purer" lacrosse emerged.

The reforming executives of Woodstock's Beaver Lacrosse Club who organized the civic holiday celebrations between 1874 and 1881, included a minority of men from very comfortable middle class homes. These men were, or were to become, the town's political and social leaders. They included an impressive representation Woodstock's finest: Alfred S. Ball, barrister, sometime executive of the Woodstock Amateur Athletic Association (WAAA) and curling clubs, sometime executive of the local Ancient Free and Accepted Masons (AFAM), Royal Arcanum (RA), the Ancient Order of United Workmen (AOUW), and the Order of Scottish Clans (OSC); John J. Hall, druggist, sometime executive member of the WAAA, Independent Order of Odd Fellows (IOOF), Canadian Order of Home Circles (COHC), member of the Board of Trade (B of T), ten year Town Council veteran and one-time Deputy Reeve; Samuel G. McKay, lawyer, executive of the Woodstock Bicycle Club, vice president of the Western Ontario Amateur Baseball League, executive and charter member of the RA and two-time Town Councillor; James H.



McLeod, clothing merchant, owner of the building housing the WAAA club rooms, sometime president of the WAAA, executive of the Order of Scottish Clans (OSC) and the AOUW; John Perry, Deputy Sheriff, executive and charter member of the RA, and two-time Town Councillor; Joseph Rippon, importer and dry goods merchant, executive of the Septinnial Benefit Society (SBS), sometime Grand Officer of the AFAM, first head of the Royal Templars of Temperance (RTOT), and five year Town Council veteran; James Sutherland, Member of Parliament, patron and active member of the Woodstock Curling club, honorary president of almost every local sport club, executive member of the IOOF, AFAM, sometime Masterworkman of the AOUW, Grand Officer of the OSC, fourteen year Town Council veteran, two-time Reeve, one-time Mayor, and member of the B of T; and, finally, Warren Totten, lawyer, Driving Park Association executive, executive of the RA, AFAM, founder of the Order of Fraternal Guardians (OFG), executive and sometime Grand Solicitor of the AOUW, Dominion Telegraph Company manager, nine-time Town Councillor, two-time Mayor, and three-time deputy reeve.

These lacrosse club executives who organized and sponsored civic holiday came from the same sort of social backgrounds that those Ingersoll citizens who organized that town's civic holidays between 1850 and 1869 had, and that the members of the Woodstock Driving Park Association who organized that town's holidays between 1874 and 1882 possessed.<sup>92</sup> Very simply put, time after time, working class men were entirely absent from holiday organizing committees in both towns.

Organizational leadership aside, early lacrosse clubs consisted largely of middle class youth. In fact, the relationship between social class and membership in a lacrosse club is statistically

significant. Lacrosse players overrepresented — at almost three times its rate -- the town's middle class population.<sup>93</sup>

In summary, social class background thus significantly influenced who organized holiday sports and, concomitantly, what sorts of sports were to be found on the holiday agenda. In every case middle class organizers strove to establish respectability in sport. Even so, the social respectability of sport club organizers themselves did not necessarily guarantee that a sport was beyond a socially contested terrain. This is evident in the case of the Woodstock Driving Park Association. Its local efforts to rationalize and justify the utility of horseracing in the face of morally-based public castigation of the sport did not always succeed. As the following shows, the Caledonian games, run by Ingersoll's ethnic-based Caledonian Society, between 1876 and 1885, was also socially contested territory.

### iii. Caledonian Societies

Although Oxford County Scotsmen (particularly the Protestant Scottish Highlanders from the Zorra area) created a Caledonian Society as early as 1848, Ingersoll Scotsmen did not formally organize until the the mid-1870's, after sport clubs sponsored civic holiday celebrations for at least half a decade. The Society's promotion of Scottish culture and games reportedly hoped "to perpetuate... some of the pluck and pith [and] muscular strength and dexterity of Auld Scotia's sons."<sup>(94)</sup>

Like other holiday organizers, the executives of the Caledonian Society were solid y respectable middle class men whose local social and political activities numbered them, or were to number them, in the handful of "men on the go" in the town. They included: William Ewart,

bookkeeper, sometime executive of the Ancient Free and Accepted Masons (AFAM), the Young Men's Protestant Benevolent Association (YMPBA), and the Ancient Order of Forresters (AOF); Joseph Gibson, grocer and Postmaster, sometime Grand Overseer of the Ancient Order of United Workmen (AOUW), executive of the Sons of England (SOE), member of the Methodist Church of Canada Book and Publishing House Committee and Chairman of its Temperance Committee, executive of the International Order of Odd Fellows (IOOF) and AFAM, president of the Dufferins lacrosse and Victorias baseball clubs, member of the Board of Education, and fourteen year Town Councillor; Stephen King, stove and tinware merchant, executive of the IOOF and AFAM, sometime president of the Ingersoll Amateur Athletic Association (IAAA) and the Ingersoll Curling club, and seven year Town Council veteran; James McIntyre, cabinet and furniture manufacturer, sometime executive of the IOOF and founding member of the Sons of Scotland (SOS), and six year Town Councillor; James Vance, barrister, sometime president of the Dufferins, the IAAA, and the Ingersoll curling club, executive of the SOS, and seven year Town Councillor; and, finally, W.A. Woolson, grocer, sometime executive of the Royal Arcanum, AFAM, and president of the IAAA and the Ingersoll curling club.

Their social similarities involve much more than their voluntary association and town political activities. As a group the Caledonians consisted a largely homogenous block of middle-aged Protestant married men.<sup>95</sup> Yet even though the Society was an ethnic-based organization, most in fact were Ontario, rather than Scottish, born.<sup>96</sup> Judging by Caledonian Society involvement, and considering that the largest group of Caledonians came from the Scottish-based

Presbyterian church, many Ingersoll inhabitants maintained strong identifications with the land and culture of their forebearers, regardless of where they had been born.

The social class background of the Caledonians is their most striking demographic characteristic. The relationship between social class background and Caledonian Society membership is statistically significant. Working class men were not involved in the society. Figure 12 shows that the middle class group #2 was overrepresented in the Caledonians at nearly four times its rate in the local male workforce. Ingersoll's Caledonian Society was a decidedly middle class institution.

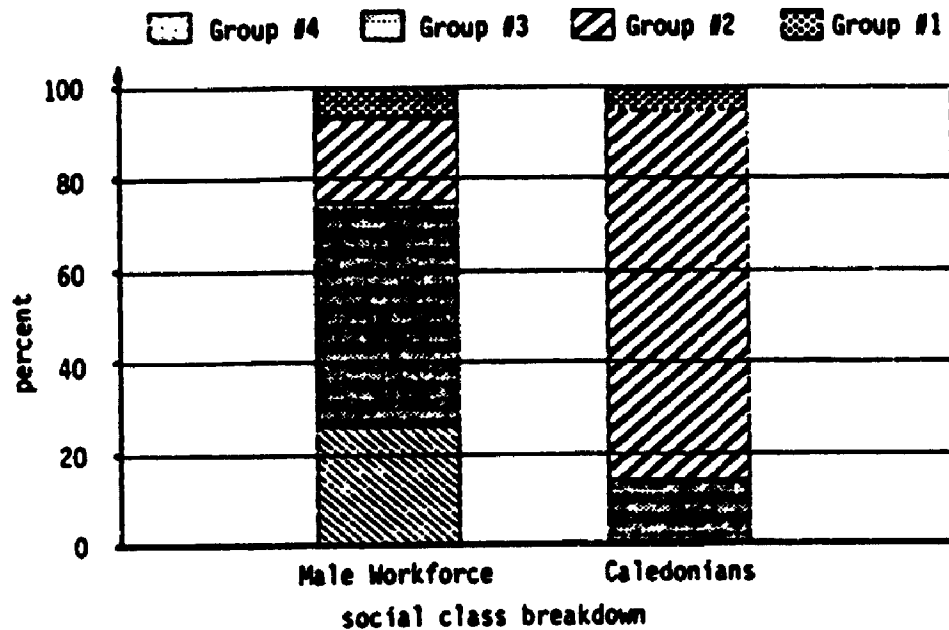
Like other middle class sport organizations of this period the Society used their games as a vehicle to cultivate other ends. Their own particular utilitarian approach to sport held nationalistic overtones:

This Society, true to the history of the dear old land from which it takes its name, believes that a well developed muscle and a sound physique are elements of national greatness... if Canada is to take a front rank place among the nations, her sons must have not only sound minds, but sound minds in sound bodies. A nation of weaklings and dyspeptics must degenerate.<sup>97</sup>

Clearly the Caledonians upheld the ancient Greek ideal mens sano in corpore sano.

Even so, certain elements distinguished the Caledonian approach and emphasis from that of other organized sports. The notion of playing fields as a testing grounds for learned social skills, the hallmark of the "games-build-character" approach of muscular Christianity, for example, is not evident in the Caledonian's articulation of their philosophy of sport. Caledonian events held an individual -- rather than team -- orientation.

FIGURE 12  
 Social Class background of Ingersoll Caledonian  
 Society Membership, 1880 - 1885



\*Source: Ingersoll Manuscript Census (1881, 1891). Ingersoll Sport data base. Ingersoll male workforce (over 14 years of age) n=1,267 (estimate), Caledonians n=21.  $\chi^2(3)=55.07$ , p .001. A systematic relationship exists between the two distributions. There is one chance in one thousand that the difference between the two distributions is attributable to chance.

This orientation ultimately undermined Caledonian games competition as a so-called legitimate expression of community-based sport activities. While organized team sports were believed to test socially acquired qualities, Caledonian events were individual in nature, and, by contrast, stressed physical skills over social ones.<sup>98</sup> Further, sports teams had by the 1880's acquired status as representatives of the home town: baseball and lacrosse players were hometown boys. Caledonian athletes were professional itinerant workers whose stay in town was short-lived at best.

The Ingersoll Caledonian Society's first holiday games, held on Dominion Day, 1876 offers a good starting point to uncover other elements of the Caledonian phenomenon. The day's events featured a fare familiar to most local inhabitants: a sunrise jeu de foie; a Callathumpian Parade; a baseball match between the Young Actives and the Strathroy Stars; a noon-time Royal Salute and parade led by the local fire department from the market square to the games site; afternoon games for local athletes (including running races, standing and running jumps, throwing the heavy stone, hop step and jump, bell race, sack race, and fat man's race) for prizes donated by local merchants; a lacrosse match and speeches by the town Mayor; a firemen's dinner in the Council Chambers; and, finally, a fireworks display and torchlight procession.<sup>99</sup>

During the next few years, however, the Caledonian Society shifted its focus from local games to particularly Scottish celebrations which were spectator-oriented extravaganzas designed to draw participants from far-away places. Between 1881 and 1885 Ingersoll attracted athletes from small communities in Southwestern

Ontario like Embro, Kincardine, Zorra, Nissouri, Lucknow, and from the larger urban centres of Montreal, Kingston, Toronto, Hamilton, London, St. Catherine's, and Buffalo.

Through time the Society did everything in its power to cultivate a particularly Scottish flavour for the celebrations. For example, it offered prizes of ten and fifteen dollars for non-sporting events like the Best Dressed Highlander and Best Highland Piper. At night people paid from fifty to seventy-five cents to attend the Society's Grand Scottish Concert featuring the likes of Mrs. Jessie Robertson, "the Queen of Scottish, English, and Irish song" from New York, and Miss Ryckham, the "charming soprano" from Hamilton.<sup>100</sup> The Society also encouraged other Scottish societies to attend. In 1881, for example, the Chronicle boasted that Evans McColl, the great Kingston Scottish bard and Capt. W. Ormie McRobie of the New York Scotsman presided over the day's gathering.<sup>101</sup>

Other means also ensured the success of the Ingersoll Caledonians' holiday celebration. Broad-sides and newspapers highlighted their offerings which included prize monies amounting to a staggering \$1,000.<sup>102</sup> More importantly, the Society employed a professional sport promoter, one A.G. Hodge, proprietor of Toronto's St. James Hotel and sometime President of the North American United Caledonian Society, to organize and run the holiday events. This astute sport entrepreneur ran the proceedings with an "iron hand," pushing everything "forward like clockwork - no lagging behind under any pretense."<sup>103</sup> This movement toward precision and order symptomatic Hodge's approach varied significantly from past holiday traditions.

Two interrelated elements ultimately undermined local sanctioning of Caledonian competition as a civic holiday activity.

First, rowdy elements of sport competition reemerged as travelling athlete specialists, backed by gambling men, travelled from competition to competition, collecting the sizable prize monies offered. And, second, the increasingly non-local flavour of the competitions (run by entrepreneurs like Hodge and highlighting non-local athletes) left little room for the particularly local meanings that the holiday sport traditionally held.<sup>104</sup>

With their rise, the Caledonian games undermined the flexible and communal nature of holiday sport. People no longer merely paid their .25 cent entrance fee to take part in the sport because they had very slim, if any, chances of victory. The athletes competing on these days tended to be specialists who trained year round in the hopes of winning the Society's substantial cash prizes. This resulted in a high quality sporting spectacle, as one Woodstonian recalled, they were "veritable Olympiads in caliber of participants and performances."<sup>105</sup>

The Caledonian sporting spectacles may have well been superb, but while the Ingersoll Caledonian executives themselves upheld a philosophy of manly and respectable goal-oriented sport, no social controls circumscribed the behaviours of transient Caledonian athletes. Caledonian games had held a lengthy tradition in communal informal sports traditions. The rowdy behaviours of itinerant professional athletes and the gambling public who attended the games in the industrial capitalist era undermined these traditions. This made Caledonian games a source of social disorder which the respectable ideation of Caledonian organizers could do little to assuage.



In 1936 Woodstonian Alby Robinson wrote of the thrill-seeking lifestyle he lived as a professional athlete during his youth in the 1880's. A Caledonian's life, he reveals, consisted of "wanderings in which were experienced adventure and subtle romance that... formed an almost irresistible magnet for those men of wit and virile bodies."<sup>106</sup>

Of his own adventures he writes:

the most enthralling stories which can be told relate naturally to... those community competitions where runners under false names trimmed the backers of some local celebrity or where one or a number of men imported sprinters to take the money of such local bettors as were not 'in the know'.<sup>107</sup>

Many itinerant athletes apparently found small town Caledonian competitions to be tremendous opportunities for athletic confidence (con) games.

So from small hamlets and metropolitan areas come accounts of the devious working of men's minds devoted almost exclusively in beating the other fellow to it and creating what they thought 'sure things' that would multiply their investments. Not always was this vulgar side of the picture associated with professional trials of speed. Money contests were won on merit, particularly those where the cash prizes were not high amounts. This applies more to small community Caledonian games and lesser picnics. However, not only the athletes themselves but those by-products, the gambling promoters, were ever on the alert for opportunities to beguile the credulous and gullible and in those, as in these, days humans were not difficult to find nor to be worked by these generals of resourcefulness whose subtle ways would find the vulnerable spots of such innocents. Herein lay ample play for their energies and enterprise in 'framing' up those matches that pitted home products, heroes of their local people and an imported gentleman who bore anyone else's rather than his own name... to them the ends justified the means.<sup>108</sup>

These occurrences were endemic to small town celebrations throughout the province. The Argus from nearby St. Marys pinpoints the very dilemma that that town and others, like Ingersoll, faced when it addressed the issue of public celebrations being held as private enterprises for Caledonian backers. Public celebrations, it wrote in 1886, "ought never to get into the hands of private individuals"

because private entrepreneurs cheat townspeople through misleading advertising and shady practises. It argued citizen's committees should be responsible for the community holiday because:

...when money making becomes a consideration the admission fee is such as to prevent a poor man from taking his family, then the general holiday character of the day is lost, it becomes the speculator's day, not the citizen's day.<sup>109</sup>

Local newspapers show that Ingersoll inhabitants shared these sentiments. In May 1884 the Chronicle points out that "a glance at the prizes will show that a larger population were carried off by a few professionals."<sup>110</sup> Many took offense to the non-local and particularly ethnic nature of the games, the paper records their "taunts [that the Ingersoll Caledonians] were appropriating the day for their own self-aggrandizement" at the expense of the town.<sup>111</sup> Moreover, people were plainly bored with the Caledonian events. In October 1883 the Chronicle reports this fact, which the Scottish American Journal was itself beginning to concede: "the shade of novelty has passed away from Scottish games... the public are tired of being treated year after year to the inevitable hammers, cabers, stones, sword dances, highland flings, and so forth."<sup>112</sup> Over the next two years, local inhabitants voiced these same arguments in their search for new sport to make the Queen's Birthday and Dominion Day events more locally meaningful.

In 1884 Woodstock had come upon one such alternative which was, in turn, to heavily influence Ingersoll's Caledonian Society activities. During that year Woodstock sportsmen founded the Woodstock Amateur Athletic Association with considerable town council support to regulate amateur athletics in that town, and, more importantly, to satisfy local demands for a community-based organization to provide

sporting and social entertainments for the Queen's Birthday and Dominion Day holidays. As soon as Woodstock began promoting amateur competition, with its muscular Christian precepts -- the antithesis of the practises of many Caledonian competitors -- Ingersoll's Caledonians increasingly found their games under fire. In May, 1884, the Chronicle wrote: "the Society, if they wish to keep up their representation will no doubt see the advisability of getting up something in the way of novelties next year and encouraging amateur athletics."<sup>113</sup>

By adopting amateurism some felt that the Society could kill two birds with one stone. First, amateurism would subvert the "under-the-table" payments, event fixing, and gambling endemic in holiday sport. Second, at the same time, basic philosophical precepts, such as the social and moral value of testing physical skills (which were initially espoused by Caledonian Society executives yet which were undermined by the realities of spectator-oriented sport competition) would be reestablished. That being said, the Society showed reservations about changing things presumably because regardless of the transgressions of professional athletes, Caledonian games were just not Caledonian games without Caledonian athletes.

In 1885 the Ingersoll Society attempted to continue its Scottish games. Its efforts, however, were in vain. Local inhabitants abandoned the town for the WAAA's strictly amateur rival games. This situation left the Ingersoll Caledonians shouldering a costly \$100 deficit which they attempted to recoup the from a very hesitant Town Council.<sup>114</sup> Though they did eventually regain the financial loss, their battle had not been easy. Had the Caledonian

executives not been men of considerable local prominence (many, themselves, sometime Town Councilors) they may well have fared much worse. The Chronicle lamented the situation, arguing that it "was a pity" that the games were not to go on. The Society, it felt, had made an honest effort: townspeople "not only got first class amusement, but also concerts never surpassed in Ingersoll and at low prices."<sup>115</sup> Careful to separate the intent of Society executives from the activities of non-local Caledonian athletes, the paper defended the society, crediting it for the entertainment that it had brought the town:

...barring their being rather inclined to pay bit prices to professional rather than to encourage amateurs by cups, medals, etc., of less value, the Caledonians have for some years have made the Queen's Birthday in Ingersoll a great day, and in doing so the members have spared neither time nor expense, and sometimes against very great difficulties and with begrudging aid from the general public.<sup>116</sup>

Nevertheless, the message was clear: the town's holiday was almost sacred territory.

In summary, acutely aware of its potential as a means to represent their own particular world view as a being inherently natural and legitimate, middle class men strove to socially construct the holidays in their own image and define for others a range of activities that they deemed were, and were not, appropriate to social order. In their quest to establish respectable representations of their town, they eschewed the rowdiness associated with past public performance traditions. By the mid-1880's, sport was integral to this process. As the next Section shows, these men institutionalized their social preferences in creating amateur athletic associations to organize and administer the civic holidays and to promote amateur sport on an everyday basis.

C. The Third Phase: The Amateur Athletic Associations and Civic Holidays

In April, 1884, representatives from Woodstock's bicycle, baseball, and lacrosse clubs met at the Royal Hotel to amalgamate the various sport clubs in the town under the name of the Woodstock Amateur Athletic Association.<sup>117</sup> Two years later Ingersoll sportsmen met at that town's council chambers to create the Ingersoll Amateur Athletic Association, an agency was formally incorporated in 1889 following the resolution of difficulties over obtaining acceptable playing field space.<sup>118</sup> In both cases the meetings created umbrella organizations for sports clubs (notably baseball, lacrosse, cycling, and tennis) which regulated and encouraged amateur activities. Later the AAAs inspired clubs for other sports like snowshoeing and tobogganning.<sup>119</sup>

The Ingersoll and Woodstock town councils each delegated to its AAA the responsibility for managing local civic holiday celebrations.<sup>120</sup> The two town councils adopted the approach because the predecessors of the AAAs, Woodstock's Driving Park Association and Ingersoll's Caledonian Society, had failed to uphold respectability in holiday sport. Apparently the impeccable social standing and high intentions of holiday organizers alone could not render holiday activities as respectable as they would have liked.<sup>121</sup>

Town political and social leaders expected the AAAs to make holiday celebrations more respectable in two ways. First, the amateur approach disassociated sport from money by prohibiting gambling in the stands and barring any one whose background contained any hint of professionalism. Second, the AAAs offered prizes which possessed

symbolic rather than pecuniary value (i.e., cups, medals, and trophies rather than cash). This aimed at killing any incentive a professional might have for competing. AAA organizers knew well that, practically speaking, money, not symbols, undergirded professionalism. In their minds professionalism opened the floodgates to a myriad of rowdy behaviours.

Apparently neither town council provided for its own representative on the AAA executives, but they nevertheless held close connections with the Associations. One in every four IAAA and WAAA executives, for example, at some time sat on town council, and at least one member from each current town council sat on each AAA directorate.<sup>122</sup> Small wonder that Ingersoll's council designated the community's play ground, Victoria Park, to be the official IAAA grounds in return for which the Association fenced the Park, regulated gate admissions, and paid for Park upkeep.<sup>123</sup> Though the AAAs were joint-stock ventures capitalized through individual membership fees, each was financially dependent upon holiday celebration profits to fund its yearly activities.<sup>124</sup> The lifeblood of the AAAs rested on this town council/holiday connection; holiday success determined AAA overall financial success. This, in turn, influenced AAA day to day operations.

Both the WAAA and the IAAA were part of a larger sport reform movement that swept urban Canada in the late nineteenth century. Each was modelled on the Montreal Amateur Athletic Association (1881), the most influential, prestigious, and powerful sport organization in nineteenth century Canada.<sup>125</sup> Connections between AAAs and town councils may be implicit in the modelling.<sup>126</sup>

The founders of the Ingersoll and Woodstock AAAs' claim that

amateur sports would enhance each town's physical and moral greatness appealed to town councilors. To them the town's health depended on healthy sport, which only amateurism could provide. By this logic professionalism was something inherently unworthy of town sanctioning because it was, by definition, unhealthy.<sup>127</sup>

The issue of amateurism as an indicator of a town's moral health caused considerable Ingersoll-Woodstock friction between 1884 and 1889 when the WAAA and the Ingersoll Caledonian Society competed for the patronage (and dollars) of Oxford County's holiday goers. Woodstock formally held yearly amateur athletic meets during civic celebrations some four times before Ingersoll did. During these years Woodstock, quite proud of its association with amateur athletics, constantly rebuked its rival. The Woodstonians argued that Ingersoll did not have its own amateur athletic association, "for the same reason, we suppose, that Robinson Crusoe didn't wear a dress suit on the island. He hadn't the material to make it out of!"<sup>128</sup>

Even a reporter from neighboring Stratford, a bemused onlooker, got into the act. In the Herald he ridiculed the WAAA's lofty attitude since Woodstock held a notorious reputation as a haven for gambling men.<sup>129</sup> With tongue in cheek the paper reported: "an athletic tournament projected in Woodstock is going to be held on the 24th under the auspices of John Forbes. Sparring will play a share in the event".<sup>130</sup> The taunt was a carefully aimed poisoned arrow. Sparring, of course, particularly of the bare-knuckled eye-gouging kind, was one of the most publicly castigated rowdy sports of the day. Further, Forbes of Woodstock's Driving Park Association was one of the province's most noted and astute sport entrepreneurs. His

considerable fortune had been amassed through what many saw as morally dubious means: horseracing and pool setting for track betting.

Itinerant athletes could rely on Forbes to financially back them and to lodge them in his Commercial Hotel.<sup>131</sup> Although outraged at the insinuation, the AAA knew that distancing itself from such well known "shady" elements would be difficult. Calling the Herald reporter a "breezy and original liar" the Sentinel retorted: "Mr Forbes will have nothing to do with the games of the Queen's Birthday... and there will be no sparring. The games are under the direction of the amateur athletic association, and are likely to be the most interesting ever held in the county".<sup>132</sup>

When not actually defending itself in this way, the Woodstock AAA continued its vendetta against Ingersoll. By touting its amateurism as the only legitimate venue for sport, the WAAA publicly undermined the otherwise honourable intentions of the executives of Ingersoll's Caledonian Society, many of whom were leading citizens in that town. From the Society's outset Caledonian executives had upheld the cultivation of respectability and manliness as part of their mandate -- goals not too far afield from those of the WAAA. The essential difference between the two, and the Caledonian Society and the WAAA, was that the respectable ideation of the Caledonian organizers was decidedly undermined by the rowdy behaviours of professional itinerant athletes and the gambling public. The Society executives simply could not control the situation because athletes were not accountable to them. AAAs, by contrast, required that athletes were accountable through their proof of amateur status.

As noted elsewhere, by the early 1880's civic holiday celebrations had been plagued by game-fixing and gambling. Many



considered itinerant professional athletes to be prostitutes who "would sell athletic talent to the highest bidder, fix the outcome of contests and generally dupe the public for personal profit".<sup>133</sup> This phenomenon went hand in hand with railways breaking down inland isolation, and, in turn, altering local communal games traditions. Woodstonian Alby Robinson's recollections of his own adventures as a professional athlete during the 1880's reveals that this impression holds considerable truth. The "general practices" of travelling athletes described by Alby Robinson were tremendously complex.<sup>134</sup>

Since their games were designed to attract non-local competitors, and since the Caledonian Society did not require that athletes be certified in any way, the Society had neither the means nor the power to put an end to the abuses. They simply had no authority. In fact, like the public, the Society had no way of gauging whether the athletic contests held under their auspices were real or fixed. The athletes' numerous stunts and hoaxes aimed at conning the public, however, eventually undermined their own livelihoods because, through time, people became wise to them. As Robinson remarks of the athletes, theirs was "an obsession so parasitic and ultimately destructive that it killed the thing it fed on... surely there existed no honour among thieves".<sup>135</sup>

By creating symbolic rather than cash prizes, by avoiding the issue of money altogether, and by demanding that athletes be accountable by furnishing proof of their amateur status, the WAAA may indeed have come closer to the ideal of respectability that they and Caledonian Society upheld in common. Whether the WAAA in fact accomplished this irrelevant. By publicly insisting that they had

done so, and by doing everything in their power to undermine the credibility of those who did not share their own particular vision of sport, they gained the upper hand.<sup>136</sup> The Sentinel attacked with an air of middle class moral superiority designed to boost Woodstock's sense of self while at the same time deride that of its rival.<sup>137</sup> As predicted by the Woodstock press local people voted with their feet and with their holiday dollars. Unfortunately for Ingersoll they chose Woodstock, leaving the Caledonian Society with a sizable debt from which it never fully recovered.<sup>138</sup>

Woodstock's strict amateur regulations prescribing the contests decreased the likelihood that the races would be fixed. Practically speaking, spectators there could feel assured that what they were watching was not an hoax or deception. If they laid money down on the races they could do so with a certain degree of confidence that their money lay on their ability to judge the athletes' skill, not the athletes' ability to deceive them. The AAA used this fact to their advantage. Of course, if people bet, they contravened both the rules and the spirit of the AAA. Considerable evidence suggests, however, that many had no compunctions about this for betting is reported to have occurred at nearly every holiday meet. Many people, in fact, had become just too suspicious to lay their money down on any but the bona fide amateur. In 1888 local professional Billy Boyd could find no backers for a match race against the infamous duo Quirk and Anderson. The Sentinel explained the situation:

...there is still that which still lingers around professional sporting, which makes a person feel doubtful even if he does get a right tip. There seems to be very little betting around these local sports, which is probably accounted for in this way.<sup>139</sup>

After 1886 Ingersoll's sporting fraternity increasingly saw

things Woodstock's way.<sup>140</sup> From the time that Ingersoll created its own AAA in 1889, until well past the turn of the century, the WAAA and the IAAA treated each other as "sister" institutions bound to a common cause, amateurism. The often vitriolic rivalry between the two towns thus gave way to friendly accommodation and support. Apparently their adherence to the amateur cause transcended town boundaries. Viewed another way, their class interests, equated with their town's interests, were not circumscribed by town boundaries for, in the end, these outward alliances supported the local dominant order. Within a year Ingersoll and Woodstock stopped competing for holiday goers. Instead they combined their efforts and hosted alternate celebrations: Woodstock became the County's home of the Queen's Birthday while Ingersoll hosted Dominion Day gatherings.<sup>141</sup> Laying aside their past petty disputes, each did its utmost to help the other. For example, the two made sure that their finest athletes and officials (timers, scorers, and referees) went to the other's games. Their combined efforts reaped tremendous financial rewards. By no longer competing against each other, and through a concerted effort, the AAAs attracted holiday crowds of six to eight thousand people.

AAA holiday sport differed from its precursors in five important ways. First, under AAA management civic holiday celebrations gave greater emphasis to sport than had been the case for earlier years. During Woodstock's May 1884 holiday celebrations sport was present from sunrise to the evening concert held in the capacity-filled town hall featuring the tableau "athletic sports of Canada."<sup>142</sup> In the morning the amateur band paraded the London Alerts and the Woodstocks, from the railway station to Central Park for their

baseball match. At one p.m. a second procession left the market square marshalled by the town's two most prominent industrial manufacturers, Messrs. Karn and Hay, each representing the Woodstock Bicycle club. Uniformed sport teams marched behind them: the Beaver lacrosse club, their visitors, the Paris Brants, and the two baseball clubs. Bicyclists from throughout the province took up the rear. Among those represented were the well-known Toronto Wanderers and Torontos, together with clubs from London, St. Thomas, Simcoe, Stratford, Brantford, Hamilton, and Berlin. A reported four to five thousand people lined the streets to witness the parade to the WAAA grounds. There athletes representing the AAAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Orillia, Brantford, Goderich, and London competed for cups and medals.

Second, Amateur Associations controlled sport participation more closely than earlier organizations had. The days when anyone in town could walk up to the starting line, pay their nominal entrance fee, run a race, and collect a small cash prize ended with the advent of amateur competition. AAA management of holiday sport significantly narrowed local involvement in the games, only bona fide amateurs qualified for participation. Both the IAAA and WAAA relied on the Montreal-based Amateur Athletic Association of Canada (AAA of C, est. 1884) to determine who could compete. According to the AAA of C an amateur was:

...one who has never competed for a money prize or a staked bet, or with or against any professional for any prize, or who has never taught, pursued or assisted in the practise of athletic exercises as a means of obtaining a livelihood.<sup>143</sup>

Although the definition aimed first and foremost to exclude those men who made their livelihood through sport, amateur restrictions, if

interpreted literally and enforced, limited the participation of any soul who had competed prior to AAA creation since cash prizes had always been awarded to event winners. AAA rules, however, appear not to have been strictly enforced in this matter.

The AAA's approach sharply contrasted the informal and communal sports offered on the holidays before the late 1870's. Consider, for example, WAAA rules governing its Farmer's race. Farmers had to pay the hefty sum of one dollar to compete in an event under rules which, by earlier standards, bordered on the absurd:

...open to farmers and farmers' sons resident in the County of Oxford for one year prior to the event and actually engaged in farming during that time, 21 years of age and over, who have never won an open race. Every competitor must be able to furnish proof as to age and eligibility to compete, to the satisfaction of the Executive Committee. Entries for this race close Wednesday, May 20th, and may be made at D.S. Kendall's office, Woodroffe's block, or at W.A.A.A. rooms.<sup>144</sup>

Presumably this rule aimed at prohibiting professionals disguised as transient farm hands from competing. Though slightly more relaxed, even the rules governing the schoolboy's race were strict and exclusive. Only those boys under 13 years old who had never previously won an open race could compete. However, they had to furnish "a teacher's certificate as to age and attendance at school since first of year to [the Assn.] Secretary".<sup>145</sup>

Third, AAA holiday sports differed from earlier holiday sports in their orientation toward spectatorship rather than participation. AAA rules created a tremendous gap between spectators, who tended to be local people, and the amateur athletes, who often came from throughout Ontario and Quebec. This distanced those who could compete from those who could not in two important ways. On the one hand, one had to be recognized as a bona fide amateur by the AAA to

compete. On the other, since most amateur athletes were specialists who trained at AAA clubs, people who were not AAA members did not have training facilities and therefore likely could not hold a candle to AAA athletes. This created of a select pool of competitors (an athletic aristocracy) who performed during civic holiday celebrations for a fee-paying audience.

Fourth, AAA holiday sport differed from previous holiday affairs in their standardization. Unlike the variety of games found in the holidays from the town's earliest history until the late 1870's (i.e., games of inversion and ritual disorder), amateur athletics consisted of a small group highly structured, regulated, and rationalized track and field events. The slippery pigs, greased poles, bell and horse races of the former era were nowhere to be seen. Standardized track events like the 220 yard hurdles, 100 yard, and 1/4 mile races required the construction of a track of regulation size and structure.

Finally, because the standardization was more than local in scope, local contest outcomes were infused with non-local meanings. Under the auspices of the AAA of C, running race and field events outcomes were carefully recorded in statistical fashion. The records, published in newspapers and track guidebooks, set standards for sporting achievement. This allowed for national and international level competition to be superimposed on the local contests, which, in turn, attracted attention to Association games. The athletes who raced under the watchful eye of official timekeepers hoped to shatter records set by others in past races and in distant places.<sup>146</sup> Even cycling events, themselves something of a novelty used by WAAA chiefly as a calling card for their games, held to the goal-orientation that

permeated all AAA sport. In 1885, for example, when the town hosted the Canadian Wheelsmens Association's annual Dominion Championships, Woodstonian Herb Clarke set records capturing National Championship titles in both the one and five mile events.<sup>147</sup>

To summarize, when conducted under AAA auspices holiday sport differed from its predecessors in both nature and structure. While AAA organizers did not necessarily strive to eliminate fun from sport, they certainly strove to remove any hint of frivolity — a key element of that characterized past communal activities. As a highly developed and highly rationalized discriminatory system, amateurism excluded large segments of the local population from sport participation. Exclusivity symbolically confirmed the new social order. The AAAs marginalized in sport the people who were also marginalized in local politics and society in the industrial-capitalist era.

Their efforts stemmed from what they perceived as an urgent need to reform civic holidays and sport. In an era when increasing rowdiness and social disorder rather than social cohesion characterized public performance and sports traditions, middle class men expressed their newly-felt social prominence by reforming public performances and infusing symbols of respectability and boosterism into them.

## FOOTNOTES

1. See Carole Farber, "High, Healthy and Happy: Ontario Mythology on Parade," in Frank Manning ed., The Celebration of Society (Ohio: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1983), 33-50; David Glassberg, "Public Ritual and Cultural Hierarchy: Philadelphia's Civic Celebrations at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography CVII (3)(July 1983), 421-448; Clifford Geertz, "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight," Daedalus 101 (1), 1-38; Mary Ryan, "The American Parade: Representations of the Nineteenth Century Social Order," in Lynn Hunt ed., The New Cultural History (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 132-133; Frank Abbott, "Cold Cash and Ice Palaces: The Quebec Winter Carnival of 1894," CHR LXIX (2)(June 1988), 167-202; Susan G. Davis, Parades and Power Street Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986).
2. For the best analyses of over the ideological battles over "legitimate" sport in Canada see "Outline of the Canadian Case" in Richard Gruneau, Class, Sports and Social Development (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1983), 91-135, and Alan Metcalfe, Canada Learns to Play. The Emergence of Organized Sport, 1807-1914 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977), Chapter 4 "The Growth of Organizations and the Development of Amateurism," 99-132.
3. Canada. Statutes 8 Victoria Ch.4 (1845), "An Act to Provide for the Management of the Customs of the Provincial Revenue." This Act legally defined the province's statutory holidays (i.e., Christmas, New Year's, Good Friday, etc. It also empowered the Governor to proclaim holidays like Her Majesty's birthday "for the purpose of a general Fast, or a general Thanksgiving."
4. Edwin C. Guillet, Toronto From Trading Post to Great City (Toronto: Ontario Publishing Co. Ltd., 1934), 449.
5. Canada. Debates of the House of Commons 14 March 1901, 1437.
6. Ibid., For further debate see 14 March 1901, 1432-1438; 28 March 1901, 2201-2202; 2 May 1901, 4255-4256. Also see I Edward VII ch.12 (1901) "An Act Respecting Victoria Day."
7. Sentinel 4 July 1878.
8. Canada. Statutes 42 Victoria ch.47 (1879) "An Act to make the first day of July a Public Holiday by the name of Dominion Day." On reasons for the delayed designation see Canada. Debates of the House of Commons 3 May 1869, 163-164; 10 May 1869, 242-244; also see 17 April 1879, 1286-1287.
9. As discussed in APPENDIX A, Woodstock papers from this period are not extant. The information for a "typical" day has been extracted from the Ingersoll Chronicle 25 May, 1 June 1855; 22, 29 May 1857; 11, 25 May 1860; 31 May 1861; 16, 23 May 1862; 22 May 1863; 13, 20, 27 May 1865; 25 May 1866; 9, 16, 30 May 1867.



10. For example, the Chronicle 22 May 1857.

11. The demographic composition of the forty civic holiday organizers identified through record-linkage is as follows: 90% were married; 80% were Ontario born while the remainder were 13% Irish, 5% American, 2% Scottish; a resounding 92% were Protestant, of which 58% were from the Church of England, 22% were Methodist, and the remaining were distributed between the Presbyterian and Baptist Churches. The chi square for the relationship between age and holiday organizational involvement is 59.85 (df=3) is statistically significant at the .001 level, that is, there is one chance in one thousand that the difference between the two distributions is attributable to chance. Sixty percent of the organizers were over the age of 34 whilst none were under the age of 21.

12. Chronicle 16 June 1881. In 1892 the Sons of Scotland used the rationale to justify their Queen's Birthday organizational involvement. On 26 May 1892 the Chronicle reported: "In former years no attraction has been provided for this holiday and as a consequence our citizens went elsewhere to spend their money. This was looked on as a mistake by many and the Sons of Scotland determined to get up a demonstration that would keep our citizens at home to spend money where it was earned and to attract outsiders to expend their wealth to the benefit of our hotelkeepers, confectioners, and others, and ultimately to the benefit of every merchant and citizen."

13. Chronicle 23 May, 3 July 1879; 16 June 1881; 26 May 1892; 25 May 1893. On the issue of early closing see *Ibid.*, 18 June and 2 July 1874.

14. *Ibid.*, 25 May 1860.

15. *Ibid.*, 6 July 1871.

16. The following analysis draws heavily from Davis, Parades and Power. Davis asserts that parades and holiday celebrations occurred in a context of contest and confrontation and followed class lines.

17. *Ibid.*, 19-20. On the centrality of respectability in the Victorian world see F.M.L. Thompson, The Rise of Respectable Society. A Social History of Victorian Britain, 1830-1900 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

18. According to Mitford M. Mathews, A Dictionary of Americanisms. On Historical Principles (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956), 248. The term Callathumpian possibly stems from the Greek kalli (cf. calliope) + thump, "beautiful thump," or, from the term "Gallithumpians," in Britain a reform society. It is also a term applied to those who disturb order in Parliament.

19. Sentinel 3 July 1874.

20. In a 1933 survey anthropologist Miles Hanley reported: ". . . in most communities the custom is unknown or is said to be dying out, but in many rural areas it is still very much alive. In some communities,

anyone -- even members of the best families -- may participate, but in others, especially the larger places, we are told that it is the custom only with foreigners and 'riff-raff'. See Miles Hanley, "Serenade in New England," American Speech 8 (2) (April, 1933), 25.

21. Bryan Palmer, "Discordant Music Charivaris and Whitecapping in Nineteenth Century North America," Labour/Le Travailleur 3 (1978), 5-62.

22. *Ibid.*

23. The Sentinel described Woodstock's Callathumpians as "charactures of social and political events that engage the attention and excite the interest" in comparison to the "coarse and meaningless, though laughable, exhibitions of tomfoolery of no particular type" that could be found elsewhere." 25 May 1888.

24. *Ibid.* 27 May 1880

25. The WAAA's own Kazoo Band which played on the 24th in 1891 is a case in point. Like a traditional Callathumpian band the Kazoo players revelled in discordant music, which gave a high carnival atmosphere to the parade. Yet unlike earlier Callathumpians, they were members of one of the most decidedly middle-class institutions in the town. Their performance was, like the institution they represented, bound by constraints of propriety. Sentinel *Ibid.*

26. *Ibid.*, 25 May 1888. The day's other charactures were tamer though they targeted socially respectable members of the town. They included a parody of local bank clerks after 4 p.m.; local gossips having a tea party; and a mocking defiance of the Scott Act with a bottle of booze as large as the boiler of a threshing machine engine sitting boldly on a float amidst a group of tipplers. A later social critique aimed at the Fire Department and squabbling members of the school board, (27 May 1892).

27. See, for example, Chronicle 17 July 1890.

28. Sawtell Scrapbooks (Woodstock Public Library). In 1890 the local parade harkened back to the procession's earlier style, and in the process ridiculed its working class cultural roots. Paraders marching as the "Ingersoll Branch of the Whitecaps" and the "Cutknife Creek Artillery Brigade" played upon the whitecapping and militia burlesque styles which were historically related to the Callathumpian tradition. See Davis, Parades and Power, Chapter 3 "Volunteer Militias and Urban Pageantry," and Chapter 4 "'Confusion Worse Confounded' Burlesque Parade Traditions," 49-112. Further, in a town with a sizable black population, the parade also revealed what could be seen by today's standards as strained relations when the "Model Barber Shop" and the "Darkytown Fire Brigade" paraded. Just a few years earlier, after a fight between blacks and whites in a local hotel, a white vigilante committee of 200 combed the streets and ransacked the homes of resident blacks to rid the town of its sizable black population. See Chronicle 4 July 1878.

29. Inferred from my reading of Farber, "High, Healthy, and Happy."

30. Sentinel 25 May 1888.

31. On fighting during the holidays see, for example, Chronicle 28 April 1868 and Sentinel 25 May 1887.

32. On 11 July 1878 the Sentinel wrote: "the party who sold 'lemonade (with a little stick in it)[sic] on the race course Dominion Day has had to pay \$20 and costs. Serves him right." On other incidents see 25 May 1888; Chronicle 29 May 1857, and 17 July 1890. The passing of counterfeit bills is also reported in the Chronicle on 1 July 1888.

33. Little acts of resistance abounded. Specific examples of these behaviours, especially sabotage, can be seen in the Chronicle 23 May 1862; 25 May 1882; Sentinel 30 May 1884. Gate jumping became so endemic in Woodstock that the authorities threatened to publish a sneak list consisting of the names of people who had cheated the WAAA out of gate money by climbing the fence or sitting in the Presbyterian cemetery which overlooked the Association's athletic field. Sentinel 30 May 1884, 29 May, 3 July 1885. "Special police" were appointed for the holiday events Sentinel 30 1884 and 29 May 1885. On drinking see Chronicle 1 June 1855, 29 May 1859; Sentinel 25 May 1888. Both the Consolidated Bylaws of the Town of Ingersoll (1886) and the Consolidated Bylaws Town of Woodstock (Woodstock: The Times Job Printing Department, 1896) list numerous bylaws concerning "morality," and public order. Consider, for example, Woodstock's Bylaw #168 "To regulate slaughter houses and prevent charivaris and immoderate driving," 22 February. 1864; #185 "For enforcing observance of the Sabbath and preventing profane swearing and other immoral practises," 12 June 1865; #211 "Preventing and abating public nuisances," 27 February. 1866; and bylaw 321 concerning "Public morals" 4 April 1874.

34. Chronicle 10 July 1879.

35. Ibid.

36. Refer to David. Parades and Power; Ryan, "The American Parade"; Glassberg, "Public Ritual and Cultural Hierarchy."

37. Chronicle 31 May 1861.

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid., May 1889. Compared with the province's larger urban centres which needed parklands to alleviate urban congestion, the necessity for parklands for this reason paled by comparison in Ingersoll.

40. James McIntyre, "Victoria Park and the Caledonian Games," in Musings on the Banks of the Canadian Thames (Ingersoll: Chronicle Press, 1884).

41. Palmer, "Discordant Music: Chivaris and Whitecapping," 46-49.

42. This motto flew over the entrance to Woodstock's driving park during the Civic holiday Firemen's Fete held in 1878. Similar mottos of a more serious nature, like "Flame Fighters of Ontario -- a Unit in Danger for the Benefit of our People," could be found on the six massive arches which spanned Dundas street: all were "profusely adorned with evergreens and tastefully and artistically arranged." On the demonstration see Sentinel 9 August 1878.

43. Chronicle 25 May 1860.

44. For example of the two sport organizations specifically designed to conduct civic holiday celebrations, the IAAA and WAAA executives displayed an impressive array of community involvement in other sports and voluntary organizations. Of forty-four record-linked IAAA executives between 1889 and 1894 twenty-one percent had sat as Town Councillor more than five years; over forty percent were executives on more than one sport organization. Of the forty percent, a further forty percent sat on three or more sport club executives; over one-quarter were executives of fraternal orders -- of whom one half held executive responsibilities on two or more orders. Of IAAA involvement in fraternal orders ranked by the numbers involved (remembering that one out of every two IAAA executives sitting on the executives of a fraternal order had an overlapping membership on some other order) the most popular was the Ancient Order of Free and Accepted Masons (AFAM). Their other involvement in terms of popularity involved two friendly societies the Independent Order of Odd Fellows (IOOF) and the Ancient Order of Forresters (AOF), followed by the Sons of Scotland (SOS) ethnic order, and, lastly, the Order of Chosen Friends (OCF) and the Ancient Order of United Workmen (AOUW) insurance orders.

Of sixty-three record-linked WAAA executives from the period 1884-1896, nearly one quarter were members of the Town Council, of whom seventy-one percent had sat for more than six years. A further thirteen percent of the WAAA executives were members of the Board of Trade. Over one half of the executives were involved in two or more sport organizations. Of them, a further one half sat on the executives of from three to five sport organizations. While thirty-nine percent of the WAAA executives had no involvement in fraternal organizations, a sizable sixty-one percent sat on fraternal executives -- of whom a staggering ninety percent of whom were involved in two or more organizations. The pattern of WAAA involvement in fraternal orders was much more pronounced and distinct from that of the IAAA. WAAA executives tended to be much more involved in reform-based orders than their Ingersoll counterparts. The largest group of WAAA executives were also executives in insurance orders: the AOUW, Order of Fraternal Guardians (OFG), OCF, Canadian Order of Home Circles (COHC), and the Septennial Benefit Society (SBS). Following in rank order the WAAA executives were involved in 1) local friendly societies: the IOOF, AOF, and the Independent Order of Foresters; 2) people involved in temperance order executives: Royal Arcanum (RA), the Independent Order of Good Templars (IOGT), and the Royal Templars of Temperance (RTOT); 3) those involved in Masonic orders: AFAM and the Masonic Knights Templar; and 4) people in ethnic associations: Order of Scottish Clans and the Sons of England.

45. See Chronicle 26 May 1887, 7 July 1887, 8 July 1888, 4 July 1891 and Sentinel 25 May 1893.
46. Chronicle 24 May 1887.
47. Chronicle 7 July 1887.
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid.
50. For example, Sentinel 30 May 1884, 29 May 1885, 5 July 1885.
51. According to both Adelman and Guttman, this separation of players from spectators is one of the chief characteristics of the transition from premodern to modern sport. See Melvin L. Adelman, A Sporting Time: New York City and the Rise of Modern Athletics, 1820-1870 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986); Allen Guttman, From Ritual to Record. The Nature of Modern Sports (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978).
52. McIntyre, "Victoria Park and the Caledonian Games."
53. Sentinel 19 June 1874.
54. Ibid.
55. Ibid., 30 April 1887.
56. Ibid., 23 May 1884.
57. See Gerald Redmond, The Caledonian Games in Nineteenth Century America (Cranbury, New Jersey: Associated Universities Press, 1971); Idem., The Sporting Scots of Nineteenth Century Canada (Toronto: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1982).
58. Gruneau suggests that middle class efforts to control these activities had decidedly political overtones. He writes: "Games of disorder and ritual inversion - which had long maintained a central role in folk culture, for example - had the potential to take on new meanings in response to changing social and political conditions." See Gruneau, Class, Sports and Social Development, 100-101. On games of disorder see Brian Sutton-Smith, "Games of Order and Disorder," Association for the Anthropological Study of Play Newsletter 4 (2)(1977), 19-26.
59. The sack and wheelbarrow races were typically associated with the Caledonian games tradition. In the sack race contestants were tied up in a large sack with only their heads protruding. In the case of they were blindfolded while they maneuvered an actual wheelbarrow from the start to the finish line. In the bell race the blindfolded contestants chased a person ringing a bell. The walking the pole over the water event is like a pole vault, only people used the pole to jump over the mill stream. A variation of this event remains a

popular sport in the Netherlands today. Examples of these events can be found on Chronicle 25 May 1855, 29 May 1857, 26 May 1865, 25 June 1874, 8 July 1875.

60. Chronicle 26 May 1865.

61. On horse breeding see E.K. Dodds, Canadian Turf Recollections and Other Sketches (Toronto, 1909) and Robert Leslie Jones History of Agriculture in Ontario, 1613-1880 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977 ed.).

62. For example, the Chronicle reports on 26 April 1865 that "a horse race came off in the evening on the Gravel Road near Centreville [running from Ingersoll through Beachville to Woodstock]. Large crowds were in attendance." Chronicle 26 May 1865. Two years later a similar race was run on the gravel road by Mr. Canfield's residence. (30 May 1867) See also Chronicle 30 May 1867. During the winter a tracks were cut out on local bodies of water. In the 1870's six horse cutters ran along the Thames between Woodstock and Ingersoll along Beachville see London Free Press 1 October 1938. In 1888 a speeding track was laid out on Ingersoll's Smith's Pond (Chronicle 19 January 1888).

63. For an excellent overview of ascetic-pietist opposition to sport see Dennis Brailsford, Sport and Society Elizabeth to Anne (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), Chapter IV "Sport and the Puritans," 122-157 He writes: "It was [a] combination of circumstances which led to the English Puritans into what became a wholesale condemnation of games and sports: their account of the nature of man was inclined to make physical recreation appear an indulgence, their social philosophy of hard work was inclined to make it appear unnecessary and their doctrine of religious observance certainly made most of its manifestations undesirable. Sport became a frivolity and frequently a sin." (p.131)

64. Every year the retired officers held a socially exclusive steeple chase: the twelve stewards responsible for organizing the event included the town's most prominent citizens. An advertising poster for this event, dated 1853, is found in the Louise Hill Collection, (Regional Collections, D.E. Weldon Library, UWO).

65. The socially correct side of this association is represented in the Innkeeper's Purse scrubrace held during the holidays. For example, Chronicle 26 April 1865.

66. On 26 September 1845 the Woodstock Herald reported: "No argument of a feather's weight can be adduced in [horseracing's] favor. As an amusement it is not worth half a game of marbles, blind man's bluff, or pitch and toss; and were it not for its numerous train of attendant moral evils, it would not be worthwhile for the press to bestow a paragraph on such trumpery. Improving the breed of horses indeed! Bah!"

67. In particular, sermons focussed on keeping youth and men away from "intemperate recreations" such as horseracing, gambling and

other "idle diversions" associated with horseracing.

68. For example, see Consolidated Bylaws of the Town of Woodstock Bylaw #168 (22 February 1864) "To regulate slaughter houses and prevent charivaris and immoderate driving."

69. Because no Woodstock newspapers remain from this period the exact date of the formation of the Woodstock Association is unknown. However, because the Ingersoll press commonly reported Woodstock events and does not mention the formation of a Woodstock Driving Park Association, it is likely that none existed at the time.

70. Chronicle 21 May 1868.

71. Ibid., 25 May, 1 June 1871.

72. Ibid., 25 June 1874.

73. On the horse traditions of the elite see Joseph Strutt, Sports and Pastimes of the People of England (1801) (1903 edition: reprint Detroit: Singing Tree Press, 1968). Book I, entitled, "Rural Exercises Practised by Persons of Rank" discusses the historical association between the status elite and horseracing: "Horseracing known to the Saxons - it was a requisite in former times for a man of fashion to understand the nature and properties of horses, and to ride well... In proportion to the establishment of this maxim, swift running horses of course rose in estimation; and we know that in the ninety century they were considered presents well worthy of the acceptance of kings." (p.32)

74. Sentinel 1 July 1901. See also Globe 24 May 1878.

75. Dodds, Canadian Turf Recollections and Other Sketches, 41. Boyle, the father of "Klondike Joe" Boyle, owned land some three miles east of Woodstock on the Governor's Road. His obituary, Sentinel 30 April and 1, 3 May 1919 outlines his career in horseracing. He trained horses for such luminaries as Patteson and Seagram. See also Lenoard W. Taylor, The Sourdough and the Queen: The Many Lives of Klondike Joe Boyle (Toronto: Methuen, 1983). Of his career Dodds reports that Judge Francis Nelson commented that: "to write the full story of Charlie Boyle's racing activities would be to cover the period of transition of the sport of turf from its days of little holiday gatherings of local horses, with no established authority and no permanence of organization, to the complete and systematized racing of the present day." (p.44)

76. Forbes' obituary Sentinel 28, 29 September, 1 October 1886 lists his horseracing career. Of Forbes Dodds, writes: "While he and his bookmaking partners, Bill (the Major) Quimby and Ras Burgess, who was a splendid trainer as well, paid racetrack operators a fee to set up a book and set odds during race meets, Forbes was also an astute horsedealer, bringing in American mares Maumee, Dam of the Flight, winner Harry Cooper, and Bonnie Braes, probably the finest mare to grace Ontario's turf." Canadian Turf Recollections, 14. Among Forbes's horses were a winner of the New York Ladies Handicap, the

Belmont Stakes, and the Queen's Plate. According the author, Forbes's reputation was above reproach. He writes, "astonishingly there were no cries of collusion or conflict of interest in Ottawa when the farm of Forbes and Burgess was allowed to set odds on races, which often included horses owned by them or their partners."(p.56)

77. For biographical accounts of Thomas Charles Patteson see his obituary in Globe 21 September 1907. On 23 September 1907 the Globe's Sporting Editor wrote a tribute to Patteson owing to his active involvement in Canadian turf and other sports. See also W. Stewart Wallace, The Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography (Toronto: Macmillan, 1978 ed.), 653.

78. On the Association's origins see Sentinel 5, 26 May 1871. The Association apparently saw itself responsible for providing entertainment facilities for the town: "it is contemplated to make this a pleasant resort for driving, riding, ball games, etc.... arrangements will also be made if possible, with the agricultural society for the erection of a agricultural hall with a driving ring and other such conveniences as might be though necessary for the use of the society." See also Weekly Review 21 July, 25 August, 1 September 1871. According to the Sentinel 31 June 1873, this organization was not incorporated, nor had the shareholders requested that it be so.

79. All but one of 18 Driving Park Association members were Protestants. Every member was over the age of 34 and married. Forty percent of them were Ontario-born, while a further thirty percent were English-born.

80. Canadian Gentlemans Journal and Sporting Times (hereafter CGJST) 2 June 1876. The Journal itself carried a mandate that was beyond reproach, claiming that it was intended to be a "gentleman's journal" and, therefore, it would not report upon "scandals, criminal records, and everything else to deprave the taste or shock the sensibilities of our readers."

82. Advertised in the Chronicle 21 May 1874. In Woodstock the Sentinel 9 May 1873 announced that the Driving Park Association was resolved to forbid driving on the Sabbath. Interestingly, the Association allowed no liquor sales on the premises but it allowed the sale of beer. Constables were employed to remove those who violated Association rules (30 May 1873).

81. Sentinel-Review Inaugural Edition, 1 July 1901.

83. CGJST 6 August 1875.

84. Weekly Review 28 May 1875. On the Plate see Trent Frayne, The Queen's Plate (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1871 ed); Louis Cauz, The Plate: A Royal Tradition (Toronto: Deneau Publishing, 1984).

85. The ongoing coverage of horseracing in the St. Mary's Journal-Argus on 22, 29 September, and 6 October 1871 gives good examples of how people in a small town felt on both sides of the debate. The



debate followed soon after the creation of a local Driving Park Association (5 May 1871). By September, the time of the Association's first fall races, local detractors began a letter writing campaign in the local press. The debate began when one detractor wrote that he considered it a shame that horseracing was countenanced by respectable people: "Have commercial prospects in your town reached such a crisis that the public morality must be sacrificed?... Do city fathers think that a prosperity induced by immoral means can be of long duration?" (22 September 1871) A defense of the sport citing better breeding principles was found in the same issue. It noted further: "must we banish amusements in themselves innocent and harmless, because bad men will upon such occasions indulge their evil propensities? Do these visionaries expect to bring about such a condition of society that men will not have an opportunity of displaying their viciousness? Would it not be wiser and better if their energies were directed in educating youth above temptation?" In the following weeks considerable column space was devoted to the issue and, as elsewhere, both sides remained firm in their convictions.

86. On 6 August 1875 the CGJST reported: "...gambling and betting are very distinct things. Although he who gambles must bet, it does not follow that he who bets must gamble... The gambling spirit is altogether opposite to that of manly honest betting. The object of the gambler is not to support his convictions, for he generally has none, but to gain an advantage. Therefore, he always wishes to bet upon a sure thing, while the true sportsman prefers to risk his money upon the certainty of his own judgment. No gentleman would bet upon a race which he knew was to be sold... but such a secret knowledge of what is to come is precisely what the gambler needs. He cares nothing for the fight, but only for the spoil afterward. It is not his to have fair play, for in that case he would be a little wiser than the rest of the world. Everyone should remember that gambling is a business, and those who profess it do not intend to lose if they can prevent it.

87. Canada. Royal Commission in Racing Inquiry 10 George V no.67 (1920). See Alan Metcalfe, Canada Learns to Play, 145-159 for an excellent overview of the horseracing debate surrounding the "Act to amend the Criminal Code Bill" to prohibit betting at race tracks. See also Debates of the House of Commons 6 April 1910, 6398-6504 and 7 April, 6509-6598.

88. See Chapter Five.

89. New York Clipper 17 July 1869.

90. See Chapter Seven.

91. See Chapter Six.

92 See Figures 8 and 10.

93. See Figures 17 and 18.

94. Chronicle 17 August 1882.

95. Of twenty record-linked members of the Ingersoll Caledonian Association executive, 1880-1885, seventy percent were over the age of 33 years, eighty-six percent were Protestant and eighty-five percent were married men.

96. Thirteen of twenty Ingersoll Caledonians were Ontario-born and five were Scottish-born.

97. Chronicle 17 August 1882.

98. In his Introduction to Sports in Canada. Historical Readings Mott alludes to this when he discusses the professional athletes in the 1890's who could make a living, or part of a living, through their athletic skill. He writes: "Normally [they] were rowers, or boxers, or competitors in other individual sports. They tried to win wagers or prize money. But already some of the professional athletes were salaried men in the team sports. They were hired by a community to play a game with skill and dedication. The team sports tested socially acquired qualities such as ability to work with others as well as "natural" qualities such as strength. A good baseball team reflected the vitality and the ideals of a whole community to a degree a good shot-putter did not." (p.7)

99. Chronicle 19 June 1876.

100. Ibid., 7 May 1884.

101. Ibid., 26 May 1881.

102. Ibid., 4 May 1882. See also APPENDIX F.

103. Ibid., 24 May 1882. The paper writes: "...we cannot in justice refrain from mentioning the eminent services of [Hodge] who had general charge of the arrangements inside of the ring. Indeed the grand success of the day is mainly attributable to the way in which he conducted arrangements... His manner and deportment seemed to command the strictest obedience...[he] has no superior in America for the post he occupied Wednesday, and we feel confident that the Caledonian Society of Ingersoll and the thousands who witness the games will long remember the services rendered by the gentleman in question."

104. See Figure 6.

105. Alby Robinson [as told to Frank Hyde], "Professional Sport a Half Century Ago" in Sentinel-Review 50th Anniversary Edition 11 September 1936.

106. Ibid.

107. Ibid.

108. Ibid.

109. Argus 26 May 1886.

110. Chronicle 28 May 1884.

111. Ibid., 3 June 1886.

112. Ibid., 18 October 1883.

113. Ibid., 3, 10 June 1886.

114. Ibid., 29 May 1884.

115. Ibid., 3, 10 June 1886.

116. Ibid. .OP

117. Sentinel 4, 11, 18 April 1884.

118. Chronicle 21 March 1889. In August 1884 Ingersoll's young men were showing interest in the amateur athletics promoted by the WAAA. The meetings held in June 1886 at the Ingersoll town council chambers were largely attended and began the process of IAAA formulation: committees were struck and a vision of the IAAA as a joint stock venture was established. Access to playing fields appears to be the matter which delayed IAAA formation for some two years. A subcommittee visited the old agricultural fair grounds, Victoria Park, and the Benson property on the corner of King and Culloden road to determine where a suitable athletic grounds could be kept. Apparently it took three years to iron out all of the arrangements. The Association was finally formalized in March 1889. On 1 April 1890 the Chronicle reported that a committee was struck to confer with the town council and agricultural society regarding preparing Victoria Park. Since there was not enough land to give enough room for a regulation half mile track, the town council recommended that the street to the east of the Park be closed and additional property be acquired. These plans were presumably carried out.

119. See Chapter Four.

120. See Chronicle 21 March 1889, 30 May 1890, and Sentinel-Review Inaugural Edition, 1 July 1901, 10.

121. See parts i. and ii. of this Chapter.

122. See above, footnote 44 for a biographical analysis of local AAA executives.

123. Chronicle 14, 21 March 1889. Before this time the park had been a repeated focus of local dissent. On 10 June 1886 the Chronicle reported "several complaints have reached us because the gate for the public town park is kept locked and the key kept at the Mayor's house. These complaints are just." The Mayor responded that the action had been taken because "people owning cows had been in the habit of turning them into the park to pasture." He assured the paper that when a park caretaker could be appointed that the situation would be rectified. The town council's granting the IAAA the use of the park

presumably worked to this end by making park maintenance an IAAA responsibility.

124. Like the MAAA, and in contrast to the New York Athletic Club, the IAAA and WAAA did not generate income from food and liquor sales. The Sentinel-Review Inaugural edition states that the Association's prosperity prompted it to move to more commodious quarters from the building later housing J.J. Lanigan's store to the one eventually occupied by Bean and Westlake which cost \$8,000 in 1886.

125. See Don Morrow, A Sporting Evolution. The Montreal Amateur Athletic Association 1881-1891 (Montreal: MAAA, 1981); Idem., "The Powerhouse of Canadian Sport: The Montreal Amateur Athletic Association, Inception to 1909," JSH 8 (3)(Winter, 1981), 20-39; Alan Metcalfe, Canada Learns to Play. The Emergence of Organized Sport, 1807-1914 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987); Jack D. Watson, "The Private Athletic Club in Relation to Sports in the United States" (Ed.D. diss., Columbia University, 1956); Joe D. Willis and Richard D. Whettan, "Social Stratification in New York City Athletic Clubs, 1865-1915," JSH 3 (Spring, 1976), 45-63.

126. On the MAAA see Morrow, A Sporting Evolution; Alan Metcalfe, Canada Learns to Play; Gerald Redmond, "Some Aspects of Organized Sport and Leisure in Nineteenth Century Canada," in Morris Mott ed., Sport in Canada. Historical Readings (Toronto: Copp Clark Ltd., 1979), 81-106; S.F. Wise, "Sport and Class Values in Old Ontario and Quebec." in W.H. Heick and Roger Graham eds. His Own Man. Essays in Honour of A.R.M. Lower (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1974). A cursory glance at Montreal newspapers reveals that MAAA affiliated sport clubs often hosted some form of sports events during the Queen's Birthday and Dominion Day holidays. For example, the Montreal Lacrosse Club organized matches against teams from the St. Regis and Caugnawaga Reserves (Gazette 23 May 1884, 22 May 1885) and the Montreal Football club held a championship match against the Britannia team (22 May 1885). The MAAA annual championships were held during the first week of June. Don Morrow reveals that the MAAA did possess civic booster ties. During the 1880's it catered to Montreal's nascent tourist industry by conceiving of and organizing Montreal's annual Winter Carnivals. See Idem, A Sporting Evolution, and A Concise History of Sport in Canada (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1989), 19-20. Further, Abbott's study of the Quebec Winter Carnival and tourism notes the tremendous overlap between the Quebec City Chamber of Commerce which was responsible for the Carnival's organization and the officers for the Quebec AAA and the Association Athletique de St. Roche de Quebec. See Frank Abbott, "Cold Cash and Ice Palaces: the Quebec Winter Carnival of 1894," CHR LXXIX (2)(June 1988), 167-202.

127. On 18 April 1884 the Sentinel reported: "One of the pleasantest features of English life is the amount of time given to athletics by all classes. This habit of the English people has much to do with making Britain victorious by sea and land in every corner of the globe. It has given hundreds of thousands of Englishmen health and made them the best types of physical perfection. In this busy age and country we could well spare a little time for innocent recreation, and live longer and be happier for it. We have no sympathy whatever with

'professional sport' as it is now carried on in the interests of speculators and gamblers. The result of a professional baseball match has no more interest for us than the result of a fight between two ownerless street curs."

128. Ibid., 7 August 1885.

129. For example, E. King Dodds, Canadian Turf Recollections (Toronto, 1909). Dodds writes: "There was a very warm bunch in Woodstock in those days and there was no game from pitch and toss to parlour croquet that they wouldn't play and bet on. Woodstock could a little more than hold its own with any other 'burg in Canada at pidgeon shooting, footracing, trotting, running, or any other game that might be proposed."

130. As reported in the Sentinel 25 April 1884.

131. On Forbes see above footnote 76. In 1881 Forbes acted as a referee (stakeholder) for the \$4,000 McIvor race. According to Alby Robinson's account in the Sentinel 11 September 1936, Forbes backed Robinson against any 1/2 miler in America for \$5,000.

132. Sentinel 25 April 1884.

133. Don Morrow, "A Case Study in Amateur Conflict: The Athletic War in Canada," British Journal of Sports History 3 (2)(September, 1986), 175

134. Robinson described the following "general practice": "Small or fair sized communities would be selected as the base of operations. One of [the itinerant athletes] would approach a local town merchant, horseman, or farmer, who had been carefully selected for his discretion and importance, seeking employment. The employer would be told the honest story of his identity and accomplishments. He would don the garments of his employment and keep up his practice in concealment and to all intents and purposes become a native of the place. He would then enter all the minor foot races and picnic events held in the immediate neighborhood and farther away places. This would permit him to show up as a runner of fair sized ability and so command the attention and confidence of a following willing to lay bets that he could beat one or other of the speed-boys whom he had encountered and sometimes let beat him in these picnic engagements... Sometimes there would be another top-notch pro, also come in to that or some nearby community, town, or city. Usually the plan was for this other fellow to settle himself under the same conditions of employment and compete in the same events of local origin and by his showing ultimately attract the betting element and supporters of this neighborhooding place, with the final results of the main matched races would be between these two good outside men who generally were the closest of pals, and to make the most of this termination in those neighborhoods they seesawed their finishes by inches until the last available chances for betting faded away (Sentinel 11 September 1936).

135. Ibid.

136. Chronicle 23 May 1884.

137. On 23 May 1884 the Sentinel wrote: "We are sorry for the man who would not prefer these beautiful trophies for a few dollars in cash. Anyone can satisfy himself the value of the prizes offered here, by going to the windows of our jewellers. Professionals are not allowed to compete here. We believe that professional sports are not a benefit to our country. The object of our association is to encourage amateur athletics of the best sort. Our association does not wish to make money, but only cover expenses."

138. On the debt see Chronicle 3, 10 June 1886.

139. Sentinel 1 February 1888. In A Sporting Time Adelman argues that the amateur movement was essentially anti-modern. I disagree, for when one looks beyond the ideation to behaviour (that is, amateurism simply as a structural avenue for ensuring an athlete's accountability) it is, by Adelman's model, fundamentally modern since it possesses a "means-ends" structure to ensure equality of competition.

140. On 24 May 1884 the Chronicle reported: "the sports in many places this year were not open to professionals but the prizes were given with the laudable desire of encouraging amateur athletics. We think this is a good plan and hope next year that our society will offer prizes to amateur athletics and thus encourage our young men in many outdoor sports. There should be classes open to amateurs only." On 29 May 1884 it again showed interest in AAA formation: "the sports in many places this year were not open to professionals but the prizes were given with the laudable desire of encouraging amateur athletics. We think this is a good plan and hope next year that our society will offer prizes to amateur athletics and thus encourage young men in many outdoor sports." Meetings were reported on 3, 10 June 1886 to begin the process of IAAA formation. Committees were struck and a vision of the IAAA as a joint stock venture was established. See footnote 118.

141. Ingersoll proposed this move in 1887 (Sentinel 29 April 1887). It was not formalized, however, until after the IAAA was formed. In another collaborative effort the IAAA and WAAA together raised subscriptions to improve the road through Beachville linking the two towns for the purposes of cycle tours. (Chronicle 16 May 1895)

142. Sentinel 30 May 1884.

143. As cited in Morrow, "A Case Study in Amateur Conflict," 175.

144. Sentinel 22 May 1891.

145. Ibid.

146. The emergence national and international competition superimposed on local contests and the recording and publishing of statistics and records are two elements of Adelman's Modern Ideal Sporting Types. See A Sporting Time, 6.

147. Sentinel 3 July 1885.

CHAPTER FOUR  
From Holidays to Everyday,  
The Ascendancy of the Amateur Movement

During the 1880's middle class men created formal sport institutions (the Woodstock Amateur Athletic Association, WAAA, '84 and the Ingersoll Amateur Athletic Association, IAAA, 1889) to organize local civic holiday celebrations and reform local sport on an everyday basis. They structured sport in ways that they preferred, and used gentlemen's clubs to institutionalize these preferences. AAA organizers sought to suppress all but carefully restricted amateur sports which bore the mark of muscular Christianity in an era when rowdiness made many traditional sports a cause of disorder. In doing so, they stressed what they called morality and justice in sport, emphasized efficiency and organization, and denigrated rowdiness and elevated their own decidedly respectable ceremonies. Determined to establish amateur sport as the "natural" and only legitimate version of sport, they actively marginalized alternate practices. They did this in three ways: by actively suppressing certain sports by eliminating them from civic holiday agendas, excluding certain sports from AAA clubs incorporation, and by limiting sports participation.

As the local arbiters of civic holiday sport, the AAAs catered to only a certain select segment of the population: respectable middle class males. Although they appeared to be democratic (implying that every community member who ascribed to the amateur code was welcome in the "open" contest of sport and life) the Associations were highly exclusive and elitist by intention. Overt discrimination against working men, however, was unnecessary for structural constraints, for the most part, ensured their exclusion from club activities.



Much of the AAA effort to define a range of legitimate sports was, in fact, aimed at a middle class clientele. The enemy that sport reformers were battling was an enemy from within. Not everyone shared the respectable AAA vision of the world. Alternate rowdy practices, as well as explicit and implicit forms of resistance, frequently surfaced. The establishment of middle class hegemony through sport was an ongoing process.

### I. Amateurism and Local AAA Executives.

In April, 1884, when the Sentinel reported on the local movement underway to create the WAAA, it recorded the AAA's lofty objectives which it was to later share with its sister organization the IAAA:

...to encourage strictly amateur athletics in every legitimate way, to supply the young men and boys of the town with the means of innocent and health giving recreation, and the public with attractive amusements.... we hope to see every resident of the town become a member of it and extend encouragement to legitimate athletic sports and innocent means of recreation.<sup>1</sup>

One month later the paper commended Association for its Queen's Birthday celebrations. It wrote:

...a finer assemblage of people was never seen in Woodstock ...no drunkenness or rudeness were anywhere to be seen. Not a single row or unpleasantness occurred during the day. We are glad to say that intoxicating liquors could not be had at the booths. The feeling of the association on this point is, we believe, the feeling of all the best elements of the community.<sup>2</sup>

The terms "innocent and health giving recreation," "attractive amusements," "legitimate athletic sports," and "best elements of the community" are tremendously value laden statements. As such, they offer a springboard for considering a number of issues relevant to the ascendancy of the amateur movement in Ingersoll and Woodstock. In

each instance the question must be asked "what makes some sports more healthy, attractive, or legitimate than others?" Since sport is socially constructed it thus serves well to consider "by whom?" and "for what purposes?"

Amateurism, at the very least, was a paradox-riddled version of sport.<sup>3</sup> On the one hand, it upheld meritocratic principles in its clearly articulated "games-build-character" ideology. In fact, the moral claim of equality of opportunity remains today its strongest legacy: it is contemporary organized sport's proudest claim. On the other hand, owing to its class origins in England, amateurism was designed to be highly exclusive.<sup>4</sup>

Few saw, or have seen, the paradox. For example, popularly elected town councils appointed the AAAs to conduct community holiday celebrations even though the philosophical premises and social class composition of the AAAs were tremendously exclusive. AAA holiday sport relegated large portions of the population to the status of passive observers. From their outset IAAA organizers proclaimed that the institution, "instead of being governed and controlled by a few," was a town institution -- not "the particular pet of a class."<sup>5</sup> One year later the Chronicle reported on the Association's growth. It argued that the IAAA was

...a social innovation of the most healthy kind that we are able to discern at a glance; begetting as it does a feeling of companionship and fraternity and breaking down that class distinction that formerly kept men isolated from each other.<sup>6</sup>

What is being alluded to in both instances is the AAA rejection of the aristocratic model of ascribed, rather than earned, status. The AAAs were based upon meritocratic principles. The comments "particular pet of a class" and "class distinction" refer to the old status elite (for

example, the Woodstock half-pay officers) and its relationship to the emerging social order of middle class men. The reference to "class distinction" keeping men "isolated from each other" alludes to a middle class relationship directed upwards -- toward the elite -- rather than downwards in the social hierarchy toward the working classes. The Chronicle is not, therefore, implying that the working classes were socially equal to middle class men. In fact, it meant quite the opposite. By promoting amateur sport, middle class sports organizers strove to distance themselves from those whom they considered to be their social inferiors. They repudiated any man who took money for sport in the same manner that they repudiated the so-called rowdy sporting culture associated with traditional sports and the idleness of the taverns. From their world view neither held any merit. They hoped that through amateur organized sport people's behaviours could be modified, or better yet, socially controlled. They had no intentions, however, of letting just anyone into the inner sanctums of AAA institutional power.

By appealing to the moral imperative of amateur sport and disassociating from rowdy influences, local AAAs garnered widespread support from the Protestant clergy. In 1889, for example, the IAAA's membership boasted at least four or five local men of the cloth.<sup>7</sup> When, in 1884, the Sentinel wrote "no clergyman is out of place in lending encouragement to amateur athletic sports properly conducted," it apparently reflected certain local sentiments.<sup>8</sup> AAA strict limitations on the social environment of sport divorced amateurism from the traditional idle associations of sport -- gambling and drink -- long discountenanced by clergymen.

Amateur sport received sanctioning entirely unparalleled in the

local history of sport.<sup>9</sup> In Ingersoll Reverend Arthur Murphy of St. James Anglican Church, himself an IAAA member, took the opportunity to speak on the topic "A Manly Man" to his sporting brethren in 1895 at the IAAA club rooms. He called for members to use amateur sport to cultivate the delicate balance between their physical, intellectual, and spiritual aspects.<sup>10</sup> Similarly, in a speech in WAAA club rooms in 1890, Woodstock's Reverend Dr. Farthing, the rector of St. Paul's Anglican Church, spoke in favour of church sanctioning of amateur sport. Nothing, he claimed, was "more conducive to the progress of a town either morally or physically" than the amateur sports and rational recreations promoted by AAAs.<sup>11</sup>

Even so, the skepticism characteristic of pietist ascetic opposition to sport lingered in Farthing's message. His support in amateurism was an apparent compromise, based upon his faith in the AAAs to accomplish their stated objectives:

I want to say that I am quite certain that as long as the amateur athletic association maintains its present position it will be supported by everyone who believes that the physical culture and training of man is conducive to morality, if not also to spirituality. And while there might be a great deal of evil in connection with all athletic movements which it is almost impossible for any association to avoid, still at the same time if we withheld all countenance and support from everything because of its being abused our lives would be narrow and it would not be conducive to our own moral and physical culture, nor would it enable us to help our fellow man.<sup>12</sup>

The "fellow man" to be helped through amateur sport, of course, was one who turned to sport to support himself, or played sport in the shadow of the tavern.

The local guardians of the amateur ideal who apparently garnered the confidence of men like Farthing were a group of men who ate from similar silver plated spoons. When in 1884 Woodstonian

sportsmen created the WAAA to encourage "legitimate athletic sports and innocent means of recreation," the association's creators included men who were, or were to become, among the handful of the most socially and politically active middle class men in the town. Among the fifteen men who first organized the WAAA were: Alfred S. Ball, barrister, former captain of the Beaver lacrosse club, director of the Atlantics baseball club, secretary of the local curling club, sometime executive of the Ancient Free and Accepted Masons (AFAM) as well as the Ancient Order of United Workmen (AOUW), Order of Scottish Clans (OSC), and charter and executive member of the Royal Arcanum (RA); Malcolm Douglas, owner of a saddle and harness firm, sometime executive of the Canadian Order of Forresters (COF), Ancient Order of Forresters (AOF), and the AFAM, seven year town council veteran, two-time Mayor, and member of the Board of Trade; Arthur W. Francis, sometime owner of the Cedar Creek Oil Works and proprietor and publisher of the Times, member of the Driving Park Association, sometime executive of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows (IOOF), AOUW, and the AFAM, eighteen year town council veteran, two-time Mayor, and founding member of the Board of Trade; W.A. Karn, druggist, several-time marshall of Woodstock civic holiday parades, 1st lieutenant member of the Woodstock bicycle club, sometime president of the Canadian Wheelman's Association, executive of the Order of Fraternal Guardians (OFG) and the AFAM, and four year town councilor; John G. Hay, owner of the Hay furniture factory, captain of the Woodstock bicycle club, sometime Woodstock civic holiday parade marshall, twenty year town council veteran, and member of the Board of Trade; James H. McLeod, clothing merchant, owner of the building housing the WAAA rooms, executive of the Beaver lacrosse club and

Woodstock bicycle club, executive of the OSC and the AOUW; Edward W. Nesbitt, partner in the Nesbitt Brothers grocery firm, many-time civic holiday organizer, executive of the Beaver lacrosse club, sometime President of the Canadian Lacrosse Association, executive member of the Caledonian Society and the Woodstock bicycle club; John Perry, Sheriff of Oxford County, many-time civic holiday organizer, executive and patron of both the Woodstock curling club and Caledonian Society, executive and charter member of the RA, and two-time town councilor; Warren Totten, a noted local attorney and manager of the Dominion Telegraph Company, graduate of Upper Canada College, sometime president of the local cricket club as well as the Beaver lacrosse, and curling clubs, founding member of the Woodstock Driving Park Association, founder and Supreme Guardian of the OFG, executive and sometime Grand Solicitor of the AOUW, executive member of the RA, nine-time town councilor, two-time Mayor, and three-time Deputy Reeve; and, finally, Dr. A.B. Welford, physician, executive of the Woodstock bicycle club and sometime president of the Otters and Beavers lacrosse clubs, executive member and physician of the Independent Order of Forresters (IOF), and executive of the OCF.

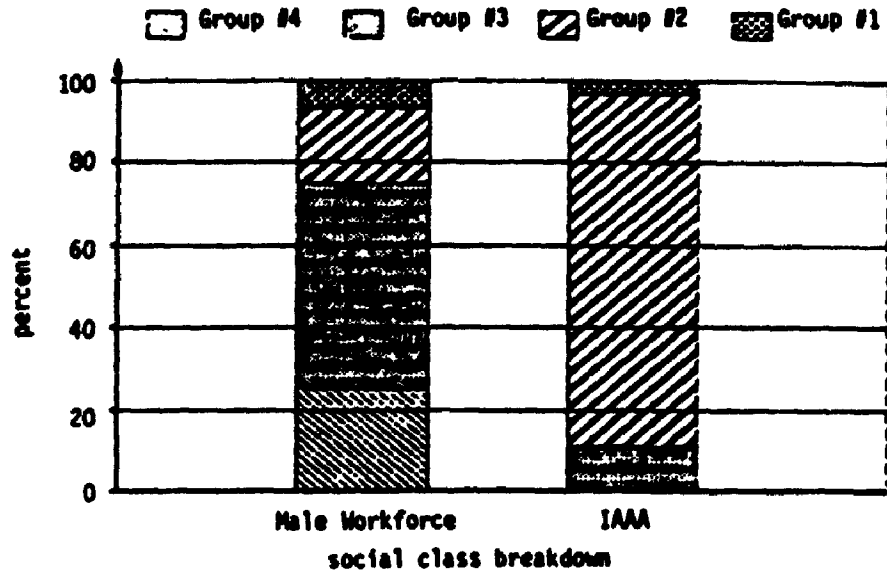
The social and political backgrounds of the men who created the Ingersoll Amateur Athletic Association in 1889 reveals a strikingly similar portrait of that town's "men on the go," a potent minority of men from very comfortable middle class households who were, or were to become, the town's political and social leaders. They included: Mitchell T. Buchanan, manufacturer, sometime Driving Park Association president, executive of the RA, over thirty year town council veteran and sometime Mayor; Joseph Gibson, grocer and

Postmaster, many-time civic holiday organizer, temperance advocate, leading member of the local Methodist Church, sometime president of the Ingersoll cricket club along with the Dufferins lacrosse and Victorias baseball clubs, executive member of the Ingersoll Caledonian Society as well as the the IOOF and AFAM, Grand Master Workman of the AOUW, and twenty-two year town council veteran; Stephen King, stove and tinware merchant, executive of the local Caledonian Society and the Ingersoll curling club, executive of the IOOF and AFAM, and seven year town councilor; James C. Hegler, barrister, executive of the Ingersoll Caledonian Society and Dufferin lacrosse club, director of the Driving Park Association, sometime civic holiday parade Marshall, executive of the COF, AFAM, and AOUW, and one-time town councilor; Hugh Richardson, jeweller, executive of the AOUW, AFAM, and the AOF; O.E. Robinson, grocer, president of the Dufferin lacrosse and local football clubs, executive of the AFAM; Harry Rowland, proprietor of the Oxford Tribune, executive of the IOOF; James Vance, baker and confectioner, president of the Dufferins lacrosse club, executive of the Caledonian Society and the Sons of Scotland, and fourteen year town council veteran; and W.A. Woolson, grocer, president of the Ingersoll curling club, executive of the Ingersoll football club and executive of the AFAM and RA.

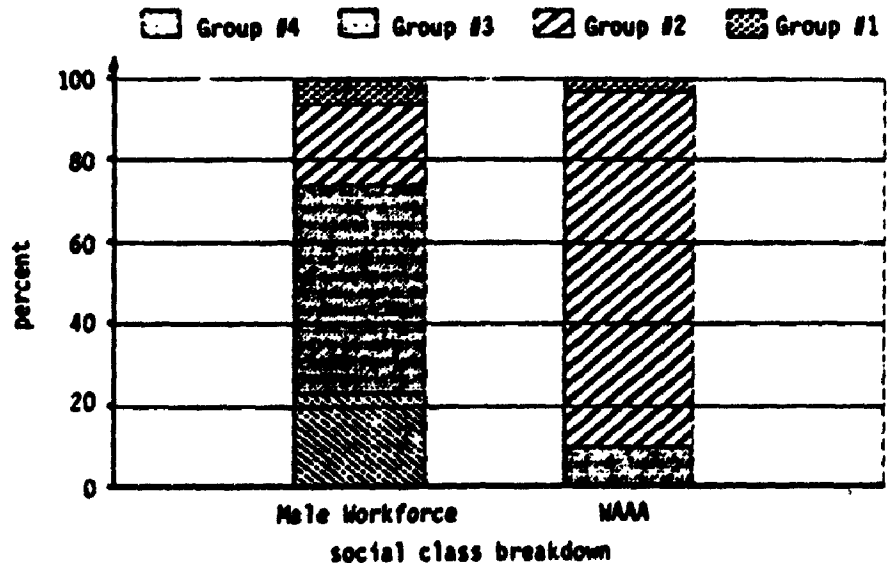
Demographic data obtained from biographies of forty-four executives and sixty-three WAAA executives show the two group's tremendous age and religious homogeneity. The relationship between age and AAA executive involvement is statistically significant.<sup>13</sup> Further both groups were overwhelmingly Protestant: only three Roman Catholics -- one in Ingersoll and two in Woodstock -- could be found between 1884 and 1896.<sup>14</sup> Briefly put, the two organizations consisted

FIGURE 13  
 Social Class Background of IAAA and WAAA  
 Membership and the Male Workforce, 1884 1896

INGERSOLL



WOODSTOCK



\*Source: Ingersoll and Woodstock Manuscript Census returns (1881, 1891), sport data base. Ingersoll male workforce (over 14 years old) n= 1,267 (estimate, 1885),  $\chi^2 (3)=135.22, p .001$ . Woodstock male workforce (over 14 years old) n=2,397 (estimate, 1885),  $\chi^2 (3)=177.01, p .001$ . IAAA n=44, WAAA n=63.



predominantly of middle-aged Protestant married men.

The social class background of the AAA executives is their most striking demographic characteristic. Figure 13 shows a similar social class pattern for IAAA and WAAA executives. Working men were entirely absent from the executives. Middle class men dominated the executives. Middle class men from group #2 overrepresented their segment of the local workforce at more than four times its rate; by contrast men from group #3 underrepresented their segment by about one third. From the perspective of the men who organized and structured each town's amateur agency, the IAAA and the WAAA were decidedly middle class institutions.

## II. AAA Club Activities

The IAA and WAAA were socially homogeneous by their founders' design. Through their prohibition of all but their so-called clean, legitimate amateur sport each was socially exclusive at its outset. Article IV of both the IAAA and WAAA Constitutions, for example, prohibited from membership anyone who had ever "competed for a money prize, or staked bet, or with or against any professional for any prize," and, further, anyone who had ever "taught, pursued or assisted in the practice of athletic exercises as a means of obtaining a livelihood."<sup>15</sup> This definition of an amateur as one whose motivation to compete stemmed from the love of the game (from the latin amator) as avocation, rather than vocation, carried over the social class discrimination which was the basis of the English amateur system. In England amateurism specifically excluded people on the basis of social class. People who were not gentlemen could not become amateurs. Even though Canadians repudiated the overt class bias of the English

system, they nevertheless upheld the basic tenets of social exclusion. The 1884 AAA of C amateur definition from which the IAAA and WAAA operated possessed "the touch of absolute right of exclusivity" because it included the simple phrase "this does not interfere with the right of any club to refuse an entry to its own sports."<sup>16</sup>

Social exclusivity operated at explicit and implicit levels. On the one hand the AAAs explicitly discriminated against athletes who earned their living through sport. On the other hand club Constitutions and Bylaws, buttressed by certain club social practices, circumscribed club social behaviours and therefore worked to the same end. The IAAA and WAAA were not unique in this approach: correspondence between the WAAA Secretary and the AAA of C shows that the WAAA modelled its Constitution and Bylaws on those of the MAAA.<sup>17</sup> The IAAA, in turn, modelled itself on the WAAA. (See APPENDIX I for IAAA and WAAA Constitutions and Bylaws.)

According to their Constitutions, the IAAA and WAAA shared the same objective: "the encouragement of athletic sports, the promotion of physical and mental culture among, and the providing of rational amusements for members."<sup>18</sup> Their emphasis was predominantly social: they encouraged sports and sports clubs for social ends. They left the actual policing of amateur sport (i.e., granting or suspending amateur status) to the AAA of C, the custodian of the amateur principle. Thus while the IAAA and WAAA brought charges against particular non-local athletes who broke amateur rules, they left matter of granting or suspending amateur status to the national organization.<sup>19</sup>

Even so, when their own interests were at issue, the local

Associations held some political power. In fact, the commonly held perception that the metropolitan-based national agencies carried considerable power at the expense of other areas is only a half truth.<sup>20</sup> In reviewing Woodstock's application to the AAA of C one membership adjudicator submitted his ballot to the recording secretary with the following scribbled on the back: "Glad you got Woodstock at last. We have been at them every year, but without avail, however, better late than never."<sup>21</sup> Yet Ingersoll and Woodstock had not been alone in their relaxed approach to affiliating with the National body. The 1885 AAA of C Annual Report showed that the issue of membership caused the Association considerable concern.<sup>22</sup>

Apparently local self-interest influenced whether a local AAA affiliated with the AAA of C. WAAA executives, for example, joined the AAA of C at the very time that they were lobbying for the reinstatement of WAAA prize runner Billy Farrell.<sup>23</sup> Their success on Farrell's behalf suggests two points on the politics of the AAA phenomenon not typically brought out in the literature. First, local AAAs provided a town's athletes with a strong support network, should their amateur status become questioned. In Farrell's case, the AAA of C Secretary, W.S. Weldon, advised WAAA officials that they could remedy his situation by getting "a letter or two from some well known citizens of Woodstock recommending Farrell's reinstatement."<sup>24</sup> This amounted to equating the town's honour with the word of its social and political elite: establishing a self-perpetuating system to reinforce that group's local hegemony by extending it beyond local boundaries. Second, so long as local officials were vigilant in keeping their own athletes from breaking amateur regulations (or, at the very least, keeping them from getting caught or being questioned), local AAA

officials had few real practical reasons to formally affiliate with the AAA of C or sit on its executive. Within two years of Farrell's reinstatement the WAAA let its dues lapse into arrears.<sup>25</sup> The politics of AAA sports clubs thus extended well beyond specific issues relating to amateur sport regulation.

To accomplish the social and cultural aspects of the self-proclaimed mandate of the AAAs, that is, creating a rational and respectable environment for club members, strict rules carefully circumscribed member conduct. To this end all gambling, betting, lotteries, profane language, and drunkenness was prohibited from club rooms. In Ingersoll the AAA rooms were commended as:

...a capital place of resort, amusement and exercise for the young men of the town, separated from those pernicious influences which are too apt to surround places of recreation of this character. From their very outset every species of gambling and all dissipation in the form of drinking has not only been restricted and prohibited, but any attempt at infraction of the law has been frowned upon by the members.<sup>26</sup>

As an adjunct to controls on club behaviours, AAA organizers carefully restricted the social background of club members. Article VI of both the IAAA and WAAA Constitutions, for example, required blackballing for the election of candidates.<sup>27</sup> A candidate's name, occupation, and residence, as well as that of two nominating members was read before a meeting of the Association. Voting took place by ballot, three black balls excluded the applicant.

Membership thus demanded the cultivation of the right sort of personal and/or professional connections. It also demanded the acceptance of a respectable vision of the world. Those who breached the vague and nebulous prescriptions of what was simply referred to as "gentlemanly conduct" were Constitutionally liable to expulsion.<sup>28</sup>

AAA organizers assumed that people possessing certain occupations automatically and/or necessarily upheld this vision. For example, the WAAA automatically admitted new Chartered Bank staff.<sup>29</sup> Before any name was even brought to a vote, social screening thus had occurred. Blackballing therefore likely aimed at excluding candidates disliked by certain members for primarily personal reasons. By regulating those who wished to join, club members sought to guarantee an occupationally homogeneous and ideologically unified membership. In this they achieved considerable success.

Both the IAAA and the WAAA were essentially businessmen' clubs catering to the sporting and social pursuits of their exclusive clienteles. They offered an "at home" where members could be assured that all who entered shared a similar outlook on life, "where profanity and obscenity are rigidly excluded."<sup>30</sup> Their strictly regulated social environment reportedly cultivated "a sense of self-respect springing from a consciousness of social equality" which "by its rules, demands acknowledgement."<sup>31</sup> This, noted the Chronicle, was in the late 1880's, only a recent development:

Taking our town for example, say 20 years ago or even less, the opportunities of spending an evening in social intercourse or health recreation were but few, and even then of a character surrounded by associations of doubtful benefit, if not positive danger to the average youth. At that time the bar-room, or at best the sitting room of the hotel was the he could do under the circumstances, aside from his own home.<sup>32</sup>

AAA club rooms fulfilled a variety of sporting and social functions for their two hundred or so members. Centrally located in three story buildings near the town's market square business district, each club housed the most extensive privately run sports and social facilities in town.<sup>33</sup> They boasted a bowling alley and a small gymnasium equipped with state of the art apparatus: parallel bars,

vaulting horses, swinging ropes, mats, ladders, and clubs. When needed for lectures and concerts the gymnasium seated roughly two hundred and fifty people.

The clubs also provided rooms for daily social use. Their library and reading rooms, for example, offered Canadian and New York daily papers as well as sporting magazines like the New York Clipper and Sporting Life. In the games room members enjoyed billiard and pool playing, and in the parlor they played chess, checkers, and whist, or sang along as someone struck up chords on the piano. Each club set aside rooms for members and executives to transact business deals in a quiet and more serious atmosphere. The clubs themselves were conducted in a strict business-like manner. Full-time managers ran their day-to-day operations, ensuring that only members and their invited guests ever crossed the threshold. Needless to say, the clubs were sacrosanct male preserves. They did not even bother to Constitutionally exclude women from membership. In this world women simply did not exist.

In 1894 the Chronicle wrote unapologetically that the IAAA membership consists primarily of "the principle business and professional men of the town, as well as the young men who will, at no distant day, take the lead among our prominent public men."<sup>34</sup> By implication at the very least, "lesser" men, like workers, were not considered suitable membership material. According to one proselytizer for the IAAA, the Association's "first step backward" would "be indiscriminate admission to membership."<sup>35</sup> The IAAA projected a clear message: it did not tolerate differences in social background and social outlook.<sup>36</sup>

Although they did not assure an individual financial or social success, the AAAs provided an entree into an extensive business network that spanned well beyond local boundaries. Club policy dictated that upon furnishing the "requisite proof," visitors from other associations received a warm welcome.<sup>37</sup> Those whose business activities frequently took them out of town could rely on the AAAs to provide them with a familiar environment to meet people, talk shop, or clinch business deals. The IAAA Register of Visitors reveals the extensive use of club rooms for these purposes.<sup>38</sup> Among the signatures recorded on its pages are those of Ingersoll's leading local businessmen and their many guests from as far away as London England, New York, Washington, Boston, Hartford, Chicago, Salt Lake City, and California. Others came into town from large Canadian cities like Montreal, Toronto, Ottawa, Hamilton, London, and Winnipeg. Local businessmen could strike up deals with investors or buyers without hardly ever leaving the AAA club rooms.

The AAAs apparently covered all the bases in their cultivation of business connections. Acutely cognizant of the critical role that local press played in popularizing and supporting AAA sport, for example, WAAA club manager Charles Pyne made sure that Sentinel employees received cigars every Christmas eve.<sup>39</sup> Presumably his business acumen, coupled with his having cultivated connections with the "right" visitors from Montreal, resulted in Pyne being considered a favoured candidate for the position as manager of the Montreal AAA in 1889.<sup>40</sup> The cigars handed out by Pyne were themselves a trademark of club life and a token of esteem. AAA rooms were hailed one of the few places in town that a man could "indulge in the luxury of a fragrant Havana without feeling that he is taking a liberty."<sup>41</sup> In

fact, cigar smoking was such a part of the club environment that IAAA members were treated to "smoking concerts" during winter months.<sup>42</sup>

Club concerts, lectures, and plays, as well as club sports solidified social bonds between members. Extra-club activities like hunting parties worked to this same end. In 1894 twenty five IAAA members banded together to form the Ingersoll Fish and Game Association capitalized through \$100 shares. To ensure their outdoor pleasures, they acquired Marsden Pond as a fish nurse and stocked it with 10,000 brook and California trout which they eventually deposited in the local waterworks.<sup>43</sup>

The sense of camaraderie engendered through club membership permeated many aspects of a member's life. When County Registrar Colonel James Ingersoll's 33 year old son Beverly met his tragic death from injuries incurred while rescuing a young lady from the path of a runaway toboggan on the WAAA's slide in 1885, the fraternal response was staggering.<sup>44</sup>

Like many of his WAAA brethren, Ingersoll's personal history touched many facets of local society. Having been molded into a young muscular Christian during in his schooldays at Upper Canada College, Beverly was an avid sportsman. He was an accomplished member of the Woodstock cricket club, he sat on the board of the Atlantic baseball club, and he was both field captain and sometime director of the Beaver lacrosse club. He occupied his leisure hours away from his Registry Office job where he worked alongside his father with other voluntary activities. Like his father, the colonel, Beverly belonged to the local Oxford Rifles militia, in which he was a lieutenant. He was also a member of the local Ancient Free and Accepted Masons.



The eulogy given at Ingersoll's funeral paints him as the personification of the muscular Christian ideal: "It was a brave and gentle nature that passed away from earth Monday evening" recorded the Times:

...a nature full of manliness, whose first duty was to be gentle and at the same time brave. In the fulfillment of the characteristics of that nature he met his death, and in the throes of agony never regretted the sacrifice he had made. Natures such as his are uncommon, and their rarity causes us to cherish them.<sup>45</sup>

Every business in town closed for the funeral. Throngs lined the path from New St. Paul's Church along Dundas and Riddell streets to catch a glimpse of the procession as it headed for the Episcopal Cemetery, which, coincidentally, overlooked the WAAA grounds. The massive procession was led by a firing party of 30 riflemen from the Oxford Rifles. The 22nd Battalion band followed, playing a dirge. Ingersoll's fraternal brethren came next, comprising one hundred WAAA members wearing Association badges and mourning ribbons, and one hundred and fifty members of the Oxford and King Solomon Lodges of the AFAM. Eighteen pall bearers, representing the WAAA, AFAM, and Volunteers escorted the coffin.

The town's reaction to Ingersoll's death was as much a celebration of that man's life as a testament to the principles upheld by the WAAA and the men of that particular social milieu. In many respects it exemplified the sense of camaraderie felt between AAA and fraternal brethren. Both types of voluntary movements were equally devoted to providing rational and respectable environments for their members; many members held overlapping memberships.

### III. A Dead Dog Named 'Rowdy:' Resistance to Middle Class Hegemony

Although the AAAs received the sanctioning from "town fathers," theirs was but one vision of sport and society. Evidence suggests many resisted their vision. Sometimes the resistance came out in overt acts of aggression. Sometimes it was in less explicit ways. Interestingly, in Ingersoll, where the AAA appears to have held a broader, perhaps slightly more democratic approach, fewer overt acts of aggression can be detected against the Association. In Woodstock, by the 1890's a much larger, and more socially differentiated town, resistance to the AAA appears to have occurred more frequently, and manifested in more overt ways.

The issue of club facilities and athletic grounds offers a good example of the subtle differences in this regard between the two organizations. The IAAA were responsible for maintaining Victoria Park, the town playground. Apparently it was considered to be doing townspeople a favour by doing so, complaints never surfaced against their running of the Park.<sup>46</sup> By comparison, the WAAA's took a much more rigid and exclusive attitude toward its more elaborate athletic grounds and local people seemed less satisfied by their efforts. In May 1884, the WAAA waged war against the local populace. It placed the following ad in the Sentinel:

Trepassers Beware. Complaints have been made of parties running horses and practising footraces on Sunday on the grounds of the AA. Notice is hereby given that anybody who is found trespassing in the grounds, on any day of the week will be prosecuted, and that a constable will be there on Sundays to see the notice carried out.<sup>47</sup>

In insisting that the Sabbath be observed the WAAA was especially insensitive to working class leisure. Sunday afternoons were one of the few times when factory labourers could indulge in an afternoon's sport.

The WAAA was particularly harsh when it came to keeping non-members away from its highly coveted facilities. Its repeated efforts suggest that it never quite achieved the exclusivity that the executive longed for. To stop local people from using their toboggan slide, it resorted to issuing identification badges for members and publicly threatening to prosecute any who dared to defy their authority.<sup>48</sup> When able, it swiftly punished transgressors with an iron hand. In November 1886, for example, when the club's bowling alley pin boys, young Sampson and Jim Cromwell, pilfered cigars from manager Pyne's office, the club had the boys summarily arrested and sent to jail.<sup>49</sup>

Perhaps for its very intransigence in some matters that the WAAA was held lower esteem than its members would have liked. Both overt and implicit forms of resistance, of which the following are some of the more interesting examples, suggest this: in October 1886 what was simply referred to as a "missile" came crashing through the WAAA window<sup>50</sup>; two years later the WAAA's club dog (named, ironically enough, "Rowdy") was poisoned and found dead by the telephone pole across the street from the club rooms, "whether willfully or accidentally it is impossible to say" reported the Sentinel, suggesting at the very least that the question of vengeance had at least crossed their own minds<sup>51</sup>; finally, during Woodstock's bicycle races some unknown party sawed the spokes of competitors cycles in half.<sup>52</sup>

Although the IAAA specifically was never the target of such overt acts, similar patterns of resistance prevailed for middle class sports clubs in Ingersoll. The Ingersoll Skating Club, for example, waged a decades-long battle to keep its facilities a sacrosanct

preserve of its middle class membership. Although the Chronicle reported that the club felt badly about those people who could not afford to join and participate in its gala skating carnivals, it made no apologies for its exclusiveness. Wrote one reporter about the "so cold and lonesome" mass who enviously eyed the skaters from the sidelines:

I may observe that we shall feel no great anxiety about the class who are accustomed to 'rough it', but we recognize a large number who are accustomed to comfortable homes, and it is for them our hearts are moved. We should be very gratified were we able to admit them to our rink free, but we could scarcely discriminate between them and the miserable element which renders the scheme impractical.<sup>53</sup>

Not surprizingly, the club waged an ongoing battle to keep non-members away. When, in March 1887 the rink was set ablaze and burnt to the ground the Chronicle fingered a gang of roughs as the culprits of the nefarious deed.<sup>54</sup>

Clearly in each and every case such incidents did not originate in the rosy-coloured world of gentlemen that middle class sports clubs envisaged. Whether these acts of resistance were particularly class based or age related cannot be determined with any certainty. Most likely they involved some combination of the two. Middle class amateur sports clubs were as much a mechanism of the dominant order aimed at socializing middle class male youth as they were a vehicle for reforming rowdy sports traditions.

The Amateur Associations were presumptuous, at best, in their determination that everyone should ascribe to, or at least abide by, the prescriptions that they used to circumscribe club members' behaviours. In retrospect, their earnestness in this matter is, at times, quite humourous. Consider, for example, the persistent dilemma

that the WAAA faced over the issue of holiday spectatorship and attendance. The WAAA athletic grounds, situated at the flats of the Thames in the northwest corner of the town, lay under the hill on which the Presbyterian and Episcopal cemeteries sat. Rather than pay gate money to watch the holiday sports, many simply found a comfortable tombstone to sit on and observed the day's proceedings gratis. While the WAAA grounds prohibited betting, drinking, and the use of profane language, who but the dead could protest at the cemetery?

Assuming that gate money, gambling, and drinking were the only issues at hand underestimates the situation. Power relations surrounding these very issues were at issue. Regardless of their conscious motives, by their very act of refusing to enter the WAAA grounds the cemetery hill sitters denied the WAAA the opportunity to socially control them. In effect, the hill sitters garnered the best of both worlds. On the one hand, by sitting on the hill they were tacitly refusing to defer to the AAA's authority while at the same time they enjoyed the afternoon's sporting competition. On the other hand, they were able to watch the sport on their own terms -- socially segregated yet amongst their own kind, and, at the same time physically distanced from, but highly visible to, the frustrated WAAA executives. In essence the cemetery hill sitters were defiantly stating that the AAA rules were not their rules. Even so, they did not seem to feel compromised by at least watching the sport.

Like most subordinated groups, the hill sitters appear to have had a greater understanding of the situation than their middle class AAA counterparts. Every year, for example, the WAAA appeared

flabbergasted that its appeals to honour and decency did not automatically persuade the cemetery sitters to change their tune and pay the gate fees; this, the Association presumed, would be what any "respectable" citizen would do. The efforts, not surprisingly, produced unsatisfactory results: the threat of publishing a "sneak list" to publicly castigate the "sneaks" did not seem to work; neither did the "arrangements, at great expense, to have a special artist for the day... to photograph those who take their position on the hill to witness the races."<sup>55</sup> By presuming that the way in which they both operated and publicly displayed their own value system would be the standard for all community members, the AAA, like other middle class institutions, seriously underestimated other social groupings. They thus sought to socially control the actions and beliefs of others. In the final analysis, however, their attempts to define others' social reality were in vain.

Clearly spectator behaviours indicate that not everyone shared the AAA's view of the world. Beyond this, despite their well elucidated ideology of sport, despite their extensive support from certain middle class reformers, and despite AAA efforts to limit what sports and types of sport should, and should not, be played in the community, rowdy sports -- the antithesis of respectable amateur ones -- quite simply persisted. This was in itself indicates another avenue of resistance.

That the press reported on rowdy sports as frequently as they did the respectable ones of the AAA's is but one measure of the persistence and popularity of alternate practices. The press counted on this popularity. Intending to capture as wide a readership as possible, local newspaper men covered everything that would sell their

product. At the same time, however, reporters "towed the line" by paying strong lip service to organized amateur athletics. Newspaper employees were well aware that the owners of Ingersoll and Woodstock's local papers were staunch AAA members.<sup>56</sup> In August 1884 the Sentinel boasted "Our readers will find a great deal of interesting local matter in our sports and pastimes column every week, besides the inlegitimate [sic] athletic circles outside. Read it!"<sup>57</sup>

This paradox was not peculiar to Ingersoll and Woodstock and it did not necessarily go unchallenged. In May 1879 one Woodstonian wrote to the Sentinel to castigate the Toronto Globe's recent coverage of a prize fight at Long Point, which had begun with "two or three lines in which it is spoken of in terms of strong disapproval. All the rest, however, is devoted to a minute account of the [fight]." The writer continued:

Well, if the Globe is sincere in its condemnation of the fight, why, I ask, in the name of common sense, does it devote so much space to an account of that event? Does it believe that the reading of that article is fitted to benefit society. Baugh! [sic] The few of condemnation are meant to please those who abhor what is brutal in men's actions. The long account of the fight is meant to please the ruffians, whether these be so openly, or only in heart. Among these, that issue would sell well... Prize fighting is against Canadian law. The two blackguards who fought should have been punished. So too should their seconds. So too should the witnesses. Of course, newspaper correspondents who were present belong to the last named. Had those who employed these correspondents been punished - could that have been done, they would have got only what they deserved.<sup>58</sup>

Local newsmen may have added this clipping to their pages but they themselves had obviously not taken either this castigation or the AAA message entirely to heart. Their extensive coverage of prize fighting<sup>59</sup>, running races for stakes<sup>60</sup>, dogfighting<sup>61</sup> and cockfighting<sup>62</sup>, particularly, suggests that rowdy sports thrived in Oxford County despite whatever amateur ideologues did to marginalize

these sports and to denigrate those who played and/or watched them.

Alternate sports and sports practices thus continued in the towns ironically enough with some support amongst certain AAA members; the local newspaper owners, for example. In an attempt to put an end to the frequent cockfights which plagued the east end of the town (near Eastwood, the old Vansittart estate owned by T.C. Patteson) during the late 1880's and early 1890's, Police Magistrate (and Charter WAAA member) Ball published the names of the twenty-six offenders arrested at a cocking main.<sup>63</sup> The name of W. Henry Martin, sometime WAAA manager and WAAA bicycle trainer of national renown stands out on the list.<sup>64</sup> Martin (the actual owner of the poisoned club dog "Rowdy") apparently kept company with the very breed of men, and was involved in the very type of sport that the WAAA was devoted to publicly castigating. In fact, hotels and taverns (which the WAAA determined were socially reprehensible) and cockfighting were clearly connected: among the arrested were William Waites, bartender at the Oxford Hotel; Fred Chambers, bartender of the Central Hotel; and Patrick J. Farrell owner of the Royal Hotel who, embarrassingly enough for the WAAA, was the father of Woodstock prize runner Billy Farrell (reinstated through WAAA efforts by the AAA of C in 1890).<sup>65</sup>

Martin's involvement in the affair did not lead to his fall from grace at the WAAA since no hint of any scandal ever surfaced in the press and since he held his position at the club for some sixteen years after which he established a lucrative bicycle business. Perhaps little came of the affair because unlike the middle class club gentleman-amateurs, Martin had not been in a state of grace to begin with. Although he may have been personally well liked by WAAA members,



he presumably was seen as a member of the service class (akin to the situation of English cricket professionals). The very conditions of his appointment revealed Martin to be neither a gentleman nor an amateur, and, therefore, from the WAAA perspective at least, he could not be expected to be as "simon-pure" as WAAA members believed themselves to be.

In fact, though a paradox on the surface, Martin's behaviour and association with the tavern-based gambling crowd could very well have been viewed as a vindication of the AAA approach: after all, Martin did earn his living through sport. From the amateur perspective, that in itself was a strike against his moral character. Perhaps not coincidentally, Martin's cockfighting companion Waites, the bartender from the Oxford Hotel, was an employee of Martin's WAAA predecessor, C.A. Pyne, who himself had turned to owing/operating the Hotel after he failed to capture the position as manager of the MAAA.

By the late 1880's middle class men used the mask of amateurism to control local sport. Their preference for rational and respectable recreations, itself a facet of their particular dominant view of reality, heavily influenced the reform of local sport through amateurism. Through the medium of civic holiday celebrations and with the active support of the town councils these institutions carefully created selective sports traditions to promote and express respectability in booster fashion. By appealing to certain aspirations (i.e., social harmony, self-improvement, nationalism and civility) that few could argue against, the AAAs garnered tremendous middle class support as the towns' institution. Their efforts to define "legitimate" sport for others, and to sublimate and marginalize

alternate traditions, however, were constantly at issue. Their struggle for hegemony was an ongoing process, constantly subject to various forms of resistance.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Sentinel 4 April 1884.
2. Ibid., 30 May 1884.
3. On amateurism see Chapter One.
4. See Alan Metcalfe, Canada Learns to Play. The Emergence of Organized Sport, 1807-1914 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1989), 129 ff and Richard Gruneau, "Modernization or Hegemony: Two Views on Sport and Social Development," in Not Just a Game. Essays in Canadian Sport Sociology (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1988), 28 ff.
5. Chronicle 14 March 1889.
6. Ibid., 13 February 1890.
7. Ibid., 14 March 1889.
8. Sentinel 30 May 1884.
9. On the relationship between the church and sport see David Howell and Peter Lindsay, "Social Gospel and the Young Boy Problem 1895-1925," Canadian Journal of the History of Sport and Physical Education 17 (1)(May, 1986), 75-87.
10. Chronicle 28 March 1895.
11. Sentinel 3 January 1890. One half a year later Farthing gave a on "True Manhood" to the WAAA Corps at St. Paul's. He explained the position of many Churches on the topic of sport, saying that many viewed sport to be evil: "The moment a man took part in an athletic competition he was considered to be on the road to perdition and that the man who dared to raise his voice in its behalf was declared to be out of harmony with Christianity." He disagreed with this approach, suggesting instead that the Clergy should "do all that we can to encourage those who are young to development and keep healthy their bodies," (30 June 1890).
12. Ibid., 3 January 1890.
13. The chi square for the relationship between age and IAAA membership at three degrees of freedom is 38.62; the chi square for WAAA membership at three degrees of freedom is 77.92. In both cases there is one chance in one thousand that the distributions are the result of chance ( $p < .001$ ).
14. Ingersoll and Woodstock sport data base.
15. Ingersoll Amateur Athletic Association, Constitution and Bylaws. (Ingersoll, 1915 ed.), 14; Woodstock Amateur Athletic Association, Constitution and Bylaws. (Woodstock: Sentinel-Review Printers, 1908

ed.), 13-14.

16. Don Morrow, "A Case Study in Amateur Conflict: The Athletic War in Canada," British Journal of Sports History 3 (2)(September, 1986), 175.

17. Letter from D.S. Kendall to W.S. Weldon, 20 March 1890. AAA of C Papers, PAC MG 28 I351 v.11 file 11-1.

18. IAAA, Constitution and Bylaws, 6; WAAA, Constitution and Bylaws, 6.

19. AAA of C Papers, MG 28 I 150 v 19, Annual Meetings and Reports. When in 1890 the WAAA affiliated it joined the ranks of the following affiliates: St. Catherines AAA, Island AAA (Toronto), Toronto Lacrosse Club, Ottawa AAA, Toronto Police AAA, MAAA, Montreal Snow Shoe Club, Queen's Own AAA, Argonaut Rowing Club (Toronto), Argyle Snow Shoe Club (Toronto), Montreal Brigade Garrison Artillery, Bankers AAA of Canada (Toronto), British Columbia Amateur Lacrosse Association. (1891 Leger of Annual Meetings, 61)

20. For example, Don Morrow, "The Powerhouse of Canadian Sport: The Montreal Amateur Athletic Association, Inception to 1909," Journal of Sport History [hereafter JSH] 8 (3)(Winter, 1981), 20-39; Alan Metcalfe, "Organized Sport and Social Stratification in Montreal, 1840-1891," in Richard S. Gruneau and J.G. Albinson, Canadian Sport: Sociological Perspectives (Don Mills: Addison-Wesley, 1976), 82; See also S.F. Wise, "Sport and Class Values in Old Ontario and Quebec," in W.H. Heick and Roger Graham eds., His Own Man: Essays in Honour of A.R.M. Lower. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1974), 93-117.

21. Ballot dated 21 March 1890. AAA of C Papers, MG 28 I 351 v 2 file 11-1.

22. Second Annual Report of the AAA of C 1885, 3-4.

23. For example letters between WAAA officials and AAA of C dated 20 March, 21 March, and 7 April 1890. AAA of C Correspondence PAC.

24. Ibid., letter dated 2 April 1890. Farrell's reinstatement, 28 April 1890, is reported in the Seventh Annual Report of the AAA of C 18. No evidence suggests the basis of the complaints made against Farrell. He did, however, possess a lengthy history of receiving money for athletic performances. In 1881, for example, he ran a running match for \$25, and 1883 he ran against A.N. Elder for \$50, and against Mayberry in Paris for an unspecified amount. These, of course, occurred before the creation of the WAAA and presumably in 1884 all local athletes began from scratch. In June, 1885, however, Farrell is reported as having signed on with Sleeman's Guelph Maple Leafs to play baseball and in May 1887 he was signed as a pitcher in one of the Michigan State league towns for that season.

25. Eleventh Annual Report of the AAA of C 1894. Woodstock was not alone in their lapsed membership: the Reports states "we regret to

note, however, that such clubs as the WAAA and the St. Catherines AAA have not been heard of for some two years.,"(6).

26. Chronicle 13 December 1894.

27. IAAA Constitution and Bylaws, 14-15; WAAA Constitution and Bylaws, 14-15.

28. IAAA Ibid., 15-16; WAAA Ibid., 17-18.

29. WAAA Ibid., 15-17.

30. Chronicle 13 February 1890.

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid.

33. According to the Chronicle 13 December 1894, between 1889 and 1894 the IAAA rooms were situated on the west side of Thames St. In the summer of 1894 they were moved into quarters in the Royal Hotel Block. According to the paper the new rooms, which catered to a membership of one hundred and fifty, were "fitted up with a degree of comfort, convenience and elegance that would do credit to a city club of much more exalted pretension." Between 1884 and 1886 the original WAAA rooms later occupied by the store of J.J. Lanigan, which had been fitted up with slightly over two thousand dollars worth of equipment. According to the WAAA Annual report of 1886, an annual sum of four dollars per day had been taken in.(30 December 1886) In 1886 the WAAA purchased the building later occupied by Bean and Westlake which they fitted up at a cost of \$8,000. The Sentinel-Review Express Industrial Edition described these rooms as "one of the best and most comfortable clubs in Western Ontario." The final quarters of the WAAA were in the Muir Block, at the corner of Dundas and Perry streets in the building demolished during the spring of 1989.

34. Chronicle 13 December 1894.

35. Ibid., 13 February 1890.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.

38. IAAA Visitor's Register, 1890-1939. D.B. Weldon Regional Collections, University of Western Ontario.

39. Sentinel 27 December 1886.

40. Ibid., 12 April 1889.

41. Chronicle 13 February 1890.

42. Ibid., 19 April 1894.

43. Ibid., 26 April 1894.
44. Transcript of newspaper article in Woodstock Scrapbooks. Woodstock Public Library.
45. Ibid.
46. See Chapter Three, footnotes 118, 125.
47. Sentinel 16 May 1884.
48. Ibid., 14 November 1884.
49. Ibid., 13 November 1886.
50. Ibid., 13 October 1886.
51. Ibid., 1 February 1888.
52. Ibid., 24 July 1885.
53. Chronicle 12 February 1874.
54. Ibid., 24 March 1884.
55. Sentinel 3 July 1885.
56. For example, G.F. Gurnett, of the Chronicle, Arthur W. Francis of the Times, and Andrew Pattullo of the Sentinel-Review
57. Sentinel 1 August 1884.
58. Ibid., 27 May 1879.
59. Prize fighting and wrestling had been a contentious issue in Ingersoll and Woodstock for some time. A report of an Ingersoll match in 1879 suggests the type of environment that surrounded the matches. The Chronicle pointed commented that, "the dangers of wrestling shown here the other day in the stable of the Bishop house, when Alvah Luddington had his leg broken in a contest with the hostler. 'Tis a dangerous amusement, an like prize fighting should be discouraged."(16 May 1879) On 9 March 1882 the Chronicle outlined reasons why there should be legislation against the practice. Even so, prize fighting continued. See 27 August 1885, 15 April 1886, 24 April 1886. In May 1886 the Ingersoll town council refused to sanction the use of the town hall for 'sparring' and ordered that hotel keeper William McMurray be returned his rental deposit. After an intense debate between town councilors over whether "scientific" fighting was indeed harmful to athlete or spectator, McMurray's appeal squeaked through by a narrow margin of 6 to five. The following week the paper reported that "a large and respectable audience" had attended the sparring contest. (6, 13 May 1886) In Woodstock a similar debate had occurred some years earlier but with a different outcome. On 21 March 1881 the Sentinel reported that the Mayor refused to let the town hall for sparring. Two years later a reformed prize

fighter and former drunk was brought into town to address a reform-minded audience, (23 November 1883).

60. See Robinson, "Professional Sport a Half-Century." During the Spring of 1879 Woodstock's unused Beehive Factory became the site of a number of monied pedestrian contests. Authorities shut the facility down because it reportedly had become a "resort for tramps and scene of low villainy." (Sentinel 25 April 1879, 2 May 1879) On other monied events see Weekly Review 11 August 1871 and Sentinel 31 October 1884, 12 June 1885, 26 June 1885, 2 April 1887, 26 September 1887, 1, 13, 20 February 1888, 31 July 1888, 18 June 1889. On 11 March 1892 the Sentinel reported that Woodstonian Wm. "Billy" Boyd had begun racing operations in Mexico. It wrote: "Boyd and Coyne (of Chatham) are running their 'mutual consent' footraces in that country now, and that on a recent job they scooped up \$30,000. Heretofore no professional runner has had the nerve enough to go down amongst the greasers, where life is held so cheaply, and work the game, so that Boyd and Coyne are reaping a harvest from the innocents. But it is a risky occupation."

61. See Sentinel 8 June 1883, 4 April 1887.

62. Evidence suggests that Woodstock was the centre of an extremely well organized cockfighting ring. Woodstock matches were presumably well recognized for they were reported even in the Chronicle. See 5 April 1888 and 18 May 1890. On 16 April 1887, when the Sentinel reported on a local match for which twenty-five enthusiasts attended, it noted that it occurred at Eastwood Hall, "the same place of the memorial [prize fight] battle between Casey and Bittle was fought 2 years ago." On the day in question it was noted that "the victor in this case [was] the same bird that annihilated a bird from London in a battle last fall." See also 4 July 1889 and 8 April 1891. On 13 June 1888 the Woodstock Spirit of the Times reprinted an article from the Christian Advocate presumably for local benefit. It numbered cockfighting amongst the "poms, shows, or exhibitions of this wicked world which is at enmity with God." Cockfighting was, according to the article, a "barbarious customs" which "none but the debased of the human family engage in."

63. The cockfight occurred on Good Friday. Transcript of article, Woodstock Museum, X983.1, 430.

64. On Martin's more "legitimate" activities see "The Passing of Woodstock's Amateur Athletic Association Grounds" Sentinel 22 November 1913; and W.H. Martin, "History of Woodstock's Early Bicycle Days," Sentinel 3,6 May 1919.

65. The names of the others arrested who have been record-linked to the 1891 census, the 1897 Woodstock directory, and "Petition to Messers Hay & Co., from Employees" Sentinel 28 December 1887 include: John Hatton, who kept the pit; Charlie Hubner, barber; Ernest Thornton, driver; W. George Clarke, cooper; Angus Dent, grocer; Thomas Bickle, Thomas Johnston, E. Dougall, finisher, and Donald Scott, upholsterer, all of whom were employees of the Jas. Hay Furniture Factory.

CHAPTER FIVE  
Cricket: An English Cultural Residual

Although it superbly embodied muscular Christian principles, cricket was incompletely transferred from English to Ingersoll and Woodstock society; this situation virtually ensured that it would not be used by middle class men in their social reform agenda. While in England cricket crossed social class boundaries, in Ingersoll and Woodstock the game was either played within a provincial-level network of status elites or a local-level network of English immigrants of humbler social origins. The two networks existed independently of each other. Provincial-level elites, like Woodstock's half-pay officers, used cricket to strengthen the bonds of metropole and hinterland, and reinforce local status distinctions. By using cricket for social exclusion purposes, and by institutionalizing the game only through elite institutions (i.e., private schools and highly exclusive clubs), they ignored the social integration functions of the English county cricket tradition. Owing to its popularity amongst English immigrants of humbler origins who had been brought up with county cricket, the sport never died out at the local-level, but neither did it thrive. Ethnic impulse without a corresponding English social tradition left cricket in limbo. It became a cultural residual, an anachronistic sports practice which was significant for only certain social groupings outside the dominant order.

Ingersoll and Woodstock's new middle class chose not to use cricket in their social reform agenda presumably for two reasons. First, judging by what social observers said about cricket, the sport simply had little rowdiness associated with it. No one appeared concerned over the social environment of the game. For the most part,



cricket had arrived on Canadian soil already infused with a muscular Christian ideology. Second, since in Canada cricket's most highly visible organized form was deeply embedded in Tory enclaves, cricket was inaccessible to most people; played mostly by those who wished to retain ethnic ties with England. Its promotion, by extension, would be at odds with middle class efforts to socially and culturally define itself through sports. Since they did not incorporate cricket into AAAs, it played a marginal, if any role in the mechanics of urban boosterism.

#### I. Cricket, High Culture, and Status Elites

"I have a little weapon of war to introduce to you" joked a distinguished speaker toying with a cricket ball in his raised hand. He was addressing England's first touring eleven on their return from North America in 1859. The London audience responded to the metaphor with laughter. He then continued in a more serious vein. Cricket balls, he argued, "would do more for civilization and the cultivation of good feeling than all the cannon balls in the world."<sup>1</sup> Hearty cheers met these words for many believed cricket, a sport of balls, bats, and wickets to be the quintessential English game of gentlemen, and a handmaiden, or good will cultural ambassador, of the British Empire.<sup>2</sup>

This allusion to cricket, cannon balls, and Empire is appropriate for two reasons. First, because Imperial garrisons first popularized organized cricket in the Canadas.<sup>3</sup> And second, because well-known nineteenth century Canadian cricket proselytizers like T.C. Patteson (who spent his summer in Woodstock) imply a broad relationship between Imperial cultural hegemony and the cricket

activities of provincial elites.<sup>4</sup>

A. Woodstock's Half-Pay Officers and Cricket

The local history of Woodstock's half-pay officers in the years surrounding the Rebellions of 1837-1838 evidence this broader relationship between cricket and Empire. This Woodstock elite (known by local contemporaries as the "aristocrats"<sup>5</sup>) used its cricket club as a kind of cultural cement which reinforced for them deference to the British connection and the network of local colonial Tory elites throughout the province. The aristocrats were unique in Oxford County's backwoods frontier.<sup>6</sup>

As a group they emulated the social pursuits of England's landed aristocracy to symbolically articulate their social superiority in what they believed was a natural social hierarchy. Their backwoods estate culture involved a small, yet powerful, social enclave bound by ethnicity, intermarriage, and a common affiliation to the Church of England through Old St. Paul's Church. They ensured social segregation by including only themselves and those whom they viewed to be their social peers and limiting their activities to privately-owned facilities and lands. Their sports -- riding to the hunt, steeplechasing, hunting parties, and cricket -- asserted their presence as gentlemen and helped consolidate their social position in the area.

Soon after they settled in Woodstock they established one of the earliest cricket clubs in the colony, which was hallmark of high culture in the rapidly growing small community.<sup>7</sup> In 1838 retired Officer Edmond Deedes donated land next to his estate on the road to Beachville for club use. The land was levelled, sodded, and fashioned

into a well-manicured playing field.<sup>8</sup> Members enjoyed a club-house for meetings and refreshment. Their invited guests watched matches from a permanent spectators' stand. A high board fence enclosed the area to protect the pitch from wandering cattle, and, more importantly, to prevent undesirables (non-members) from intruding.

The club preserved social exclusivity in other ways. Club practice, for example, required players and guests to be appropriately attired in a gentleman's rather expensive apparel, worn at a cost prohibitive to all but a few in the Upper Canadian wilderness. Players donned white flannel suits, starched shirts, and little caps. Game officials, carried canes and wore tall hats and full length coats.<sup>9</sup> These vestments doubtless appeared out of context in Oxford County's backwoods frontier in the 1840's. Cricket was more than a mere game.

The social atmosphere of Woodstock cricket actually surpassed the importance of the competition.<sup>10</sup> Social propriety and convention, particularly regarding "gentlemanly" behaviour, circumscribed these affairs. Invited ladies and gentlemen watched the cricket while sipping tea and resting comfortably in the club's covered stands. Cricket matches educated children in social niceties. Compelled to dress and act appropriately at the matches, young boys wore full linen suits, starched collars and blue ribbon ties. Woodstock cricket matches were solemn occasions which reminded at least one child the feeling of "attending church."<sup>11</sup>

Custom dictated that players and guests be served luncheon during the match, and that a banquet and ball complete the day's events.<sup>12</sup> During the 1845 season the club entertained London's garrison officers with a ball at nearby Love's hotel following a

match.<sup>13</sup> After a two day match in Hamilton their hosts "ever proved themselves hospitable, good and true." There Mr. Peter Hamilton graced the Woodstonians with "a polite invitation to dinner at his picturesque villa overlooking the scene of the amusement."<sup>14</sup> The Woodstonians reciprocated with a return match, after which the Hamilton players and their entourage congregated at President Deedes' mansion. The British American reveals that "music stole over the senses and a festive board was spread" for the cricketers.<sup>15</sup>

Restrictions which so profoundly shaped the work and leisure hours of lesser men mattered little to the elite. Time constraints, for example, did not impinge on their sport. If the second innings of a match could not be completed during daylight, game officials pulled the stumps and continued on the next day. This posed no problems to either player or spectator. Further, only the elite had the resources to carry on cricket in high style. What nonpartisan observers might as an obsession with style over substance was the essence of the elite's cricket. The officer's club conspicuously displayed antiutilitarian values appropriate to their social standing.<sup>16</sup>

The Woodstonians competed in interurban matches at least a decade before the coming of the railway in the province when few but the very rich could afford the luxury of non-essential travel.<sup>17</sup> Their carriage trips to Toronto, Guelph, Hamilton and London, covered considerable distances over notoriously bad roads.<sup>18</sup> Each trip demanded several days for travel alone.<sup>19</sup> Their fine horses and high quality carriages lessened some of the physical discomforts of journeying. Even so, they traversed the countryside when bad roads permitted travel of about four to five miles per hour.

Frequent reports of cricket matches to the exclusion of any

other team sport in the local press suggest that the Oxford County residents who could read and afford the high price of newspapers followed the activities of the local elite club. Newspaper reports reflected a view of cricket as a glorious and manly sport calculated to improve character, physique, and morality, and to draw Canadian colonists closer to the mother country.<sup>20</sup>

Though the elite dominated Woodstock club cricket, a few men from lesser social ranks were invited along whenever extra players were needed for an intra-club match.<sup>21</sup> This emulated a long standing English county cricket tradition of Lords and Masters plying with lesser ranks of society in paternalistic fashion.<sup>22</sup> In September 1845, for example, R.W. Sawtell went to visit his sister who was a dressmaker for Mrs. Deedes. Sawtell "found a cricket match in operation composed of... upper tens, and, being a cricketer, just from the old land, was allowed to join them."<sup>23</sup> Some three decades later Phillip's Canadian Cricketers Guide commended this very feature of cricket claiming that "the ranks and classes of society are natural, not artificial... but nowhere are they less marked than on the cricket field, where we waive for awhile all social distinction."<sup>24</sup>

Despite any egalitarianism on the field, little existed off it. Participation in club matches was by invitation only. Lesser local inhabitants did not play for the club in interurban matches.<sup>25</sup> Gentlemen were gentlemen; players were players.<sup>26</sup> The two were not confused. For the Woodstock club's cricket players, social boundaries apparently circumscribed social interaction as clearly as the boundaries of the cricket field limited play.<sup>27</sup>

By the early 1850's local politics and society changed

dramatically: these changes correspondingly altered the course of cricket in the area.<sup>28</sup> When the Woodstock elite began pursuing outright commercialism through its newly-created political alliance with railway interests, it effectively stepped outside their squire and parson concept of society and stimulated a loose rapprochement between themselves and the province's rising group of urban mercantile men. Their provincial contemporaries were quick to comment on what they termed a "strange move": the 1858 Canadian Cricketer's Guide was "deeply pained" to report that the "absorbing claims of railways and politics" caused the cricket club to be entirely abandoned in Woodstock.<sup>29</sup>

#### B. Elites and Cricket During the Railway Years

This did little to disrupt the larger provincial network of elite involvement in cricket in Ontario per se. Patterns of interurban competition between Tory elite groups like the Toronto and Upper Canada College clubs where the like-minded converged continued as a cultural residual even after the withdrawal of Imperial troops from the Colony.<sup>30</sup> It did, however, mark the end of an era for club cricket in Oxford County, a situation lamented by provincial cricketers in the Tory elite circles. Woodstock's foray into the network of provincial-level organized cricket lasted only with the half-pay officer's club. During the remaining years of the century only a small handful of local men ever penetrated the network of the provincial-level scene.

Cricket was used by Ontario's private schools modelled on English public schools and stocked by English teaching masters as a potent socializing agent for the children of the colonial status elite

and rising mercantile and professional classes.<sup>31</sup> School authorities, themselves tremendous cricket propogandists, viewed the sport as a convenient means of social indoctrination. The initiative, self-reliance, discipline, loyalty, obedience, and fair play demanded of, and cultivated in, schoolboys through cricket, they believed, could be translated into their daily lives. Further, by playing cricket, a essentially English pastime, they showed their ties with the metropole and its social elite.

Yet the private schools bred only a small socially select group of cricketers. Most school age children in Ontario villages were never exposed to this type of educational environment. Neither Ingersoll nor Woodstock possessed a permanent private school modeled on the English system. Further, between 1828 and 1898 only a small handful of students from both towns attended Upper Canada College (UCC).<sup>32</sup> Of these students, no UCC graduates played cricket in Ingersoll, whilst only three graduates played in Woodstock. Collectively and individually graduates of private schools did not influence local cricket strongly.<sup>33</sup>

In the absence of cricket leagues or county cricket, most provincial-level matches were either exhibitions or challenges. Of them four ongoing events dominated the provincial-level scene: the annual UCC versus vs Gentlemen of the Province match; the sporadic Gentlemen versus Zingari clubs from England, Australia and the West Indies; the annual Canada East versus Canada West matches; and finally Canada versus United States International Series. These matches were "surrounded with a great deal of prestige," Lindsay writes, for it was "quite an honour to be chosen for the gentlemen's team."<sup>34</sup>

This honour, however, was bestowed only upon a select few in a carefully circumscribed social circle. These events were even more socially exclusive than even the activities of the old Woodstock club. In the post 1860 period only three men from Oxford County, all Woodstonians, ever played in the any of them.<sup>35</sup> Indicating the distinct separation between the provincial-level and local-level cricket, they competed at a time when Woodstock possessed no local club. Their real eligibility was not based upon simple athletic talent. It stemmed from their established standing within a closed social network of provincial elites.

The exhibition matches between the Gentlemen of the Province versus Zingari teams also drew from this narrow social enclave to the exclusion of people outside the provincial elites. Even though local people typically did not compete in these prestigious matches, small town newspapers, for example Ingersoll's Chronicle, devoted columns to the tours.<sup>36</sup> During the 1872 Zingari tour of Canada W.G. Grace, perhaps the best known Englishman of his time, played in a match London, Ontario which attracted a reported crowd of 7,000.<sup>37</sup>

The extensive newspaper coverage of the match and large size of the audience have prompted Joyce to equate the Imperial tours with upsurges in cricket's overall popularity.<sup>38</sup> This interpretation simplifies the situation. It implies that provincial-level and local-level popularity were synonymous, and that spectator size equated with popular consumption of the game.<sup>39</sup> People likely attended the spectacle simply to see what had been hailed England's finest athletes of the day in their very own home town.<sup>40</sup>

The impression of cricket as essentially a game only of the elites has been perpetuated by later historians.<sup>41</sup> Contemporary



cricket guides, manuals, and magazines originated through the efforts of provincial-level clubs, not local-level ones. As well, the Ontario Cricket Association (1882) was an elite-based organization, presided over by the Marquis of Lorne.<sup>42</sup> The Association's very mandate, organizing and administering the annual Canada versus United States matches kept a tight elite focus on the sport.<sup>43</sup> This series, begun in 1846 and continued intermittently throughout the century involved a small select group of primarily Toronto-based cricketers. The Canadian Cricket Field reflects this outlook. The local-level cricketing activities of small communities like Ingersoll and Woodstock never found their way onto the pages of this, the Association's official organ. Clearly, the provincial elite, its Association, and magazine, made no pretense of promoting the sport throughout population at large.

This situation did not bode well for local cricket for while the elite transplanted a cricketing tradition from the "old world" to Canada, it transferred only one-half of the English model. Intent upon using the sport for exclusive social purpose, it never replicated the social integration aspects of the game that were essential to the English county cricket tradition model. As such, those outside the provincial-level elite played their familiar game in Canada divorced from the broader social context it held in England.

## II. Local Level Cricket: An Englishman's Game

Many English immigrants played cricket in Ontario's small towns and villages, yet their social networks were quite outside those of either the colonial or provincial metropolises. Though cricket's popularity ebbed and flowed at this grass roots level, the sport

persisted throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century in the wake of having been declared dead many times.<sup>44</sup>

Unlike the closed social enclave of the old Woodstock club, newer local clubs from Ingersoll and Woodstock competed on a challenge match basis against themselves, each other, and towns and villages easily accessible by rail within about a forty mile radius.<sup>45</sup> They never played against the select teams from larger centres of cricket power and influence like Hamilton and Toronto, nor against elite teams from other parts of the Empire. Ingersoll and Woodstock clubs were cognizant that they lay outside the provincial-level network. In 1874 the Chronicle reported that the Ingersoll club thought itself to be "nothing but a country club."<sup>46</sup>

The social aura of Ingersoll and Woodstock clubs during the post-1860 period was much different than that of the provincial elites or the old Woodstock club. Players did not wear distinct, costly uniforms. The social tradition of eating between the innings continued, yet without servants or a private clubhouse it was a simple picnic rather than refined dining. Instead of attending gala balls at private mansions club members and their guests congregated at local hotels for post-game suppers following interurban matches.<sup>47</sup> Expenses, not really an issue for members of the old Woodstock club, concerned the newer clubs. In 1874 the ladies of Ingersoll contributed \$100 to cover the club's travel and entertainment costs; the following year they hosted a fund raising concert for the club in the local YMCA rooms.<sup>48</sup> And, unlike the old club, if the second inning of a match could not be completed in the course of one day (which was most often the case), game officials pulled the stumps and

called the game. Play did not continue the next day. Rather, players ate their supper and hastily returned home. Even travel took on new dimensions. Compared to the slow, leisurely pace taken by the old elite for their journeys, the new clubs travelled in a style which expressed their values and resource limitation. In 1879 Ingersoll cricketers journeyed to Simcoe: "starting at 5 am. to catch the 'air line' at Tillsonburg, and commencing to play cricket without a hot breakfast."<sup>49</sup>

Clubs often sprang up in Ingersoll and Woodstock, yet they were often short-lived and they never possessed private pitches.<sup>50</sup> By using commons, or public parks for their competitions, they did not physically distance themselves from the local populace. Any local inhabitant could sit in the park's makeshift spectator stands to observe matches. One need not be invited to do so. The clubs' reliance upon commons lands, rather than private facilities forced cricketers to vie against clubs from other organized sports, notably baseball, and later lacrosse, to use public parklands.

Owing to this situation cricket matches often ended early because sport clubs required local playing fields for interurban competition and practises.<sup>51</sup> Until 1860 cricket was the only organized ball game played at an interurban level in either town. In this absence of other organized ball games cricket people knew the town park in Ingersoll as the "cricket field." In 1860, the Rough and Ready's, Ingersoll's first organized baseball club, referred to the site of their practises and games as the cricket, rather than baseball, field.<sup>52</sup> Since this club began interurban competition only in 1864, cricket men still practised and competed unimpeded by organized baseball competition for some four years.<sup>53</sup>

The situation of inadequately supplied pitches in Ontario generally troubled cricket advocates throughout the province. In 1878 T.C. Patteson spoke clearly on the precarious state of cricket in Canada in an article published in the Canadian Monthly and National Review. Patteson himself was well connected to Woodstock society. He spent his summers at Eastwood, the old Vansittart estate, which he had purchased for a summer home. When writing on sport he spoke with considerable authority: he was instrumental in the founding of the Ontario Jockey club and one of the most avid Canadian cricket prosletysers. "Without some reform from within," he argued, "the game can never really flourish here."<sup>54</sup> To remedy the situation he suggested the development of a District system (much like the English county system) with each district headed by a strong club to act "as the head and fount of cricket."<sup>55</sup> Such a club "must have its absolute own grounds" because, he believed, using publicly supported commons for playing fields was neither appropriate nor conducive to cricket's growth. Municipal monies could not rationally be requested to support cricket: "taxation," he argued, "is heavy enough already, and many a horny-fisted son of toil would ask in amazement, and with complete justice, why he should be still more heavily burdened to support a mere pastime, indulged in chiefly by the sons of gentlemen."<sup>56</sup> When he argued, "but from our rich mercantile and professional classes throughout the Dominion we have something like a prescriptive right to look for aid," he clearly expressed a notion of cricket being "naturally" class-bound and exclusive.

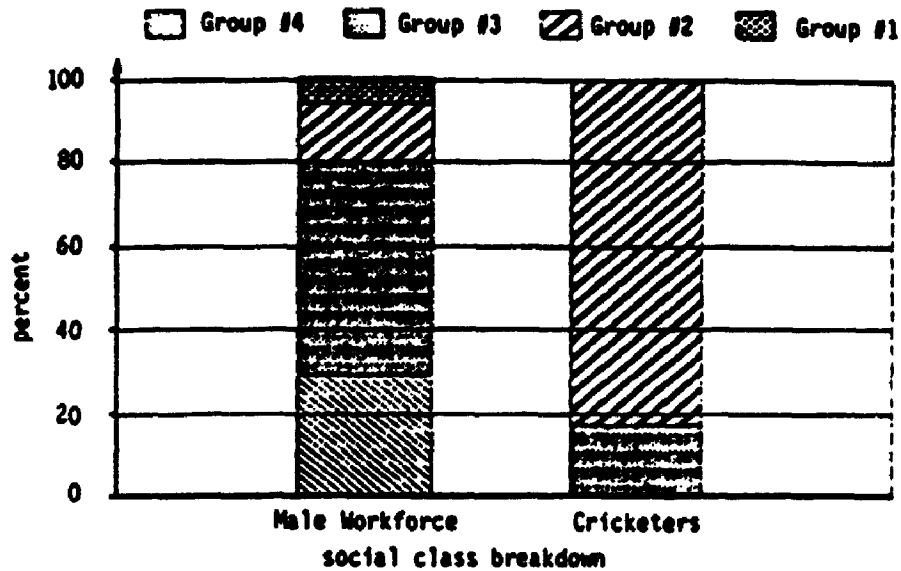
What, in fact, characterized the demographic backgrounds of cricketers? In Ingersoll cricketers between 1866 and 1875 tended to

be Canadian, rather than English, born.<sup>57</sup> Without exception they were Protestants, mostly from the Church of England and, secondarily, Methodist churches.<sup>58</sup>

Strong ethnic affiliations likely motivated people to play, for cricket involved them in something popularly perceived as quintessentially English. So long as Canada received English immigrants who carried on with the sporting traditions of their homeland, cricket clubs and scrub matches would find popular support amongst particular social groupings. For those who brought to Canada the sporting traditions of their homeland, they could find comfort through familiarity. The Woodstock Weekly Review reported in 1871, "this old English game will be played, and continue popular, long after the very names of many others of ephemeral renown have been forgotten."<sup>59</sup> T.C. Patteson argued further that, "surely we may say that in appealing to Canadians who are English in birth, English in sentiment and more than English in loyalty, it would be superfluous to point out the advantages of sustaining cricket as the national game of Canada."<sup>60</sup> Those who had been brought up in the "old land" in the county cricket tradition likely took every opportunity to grab a game when the opportunity presented itself. After their founding in 1882, for example, Ingersoll's Sons of England Association immediately set about creating its own cricket club for intra-club competition.

Patteson's conception of cricket as the game of the status elite ("the sons of gentlemen" and the "rich mercantile and professional classes" in his words), does not entirely describe Ingersoll's local-level cricketers. Figure 14 reveals that between 1866 and 1875 members of the working class workers were entirely absent from Ingersoll clubs. Cricketers were mainly middle class men

FIGURE 14  
 Social Class Background of Ingersoll Cricketers  
 and the Male Workforce, 1866 - 1875



\*Source: Ingersoll Manuscript Census (1861, 1871), Ingersoll sport data base. Ingersoll male workforce (over 14 years old)  $n=1,204$  (1871), Ingersoll cricketers  $n=23$ .  $\chi^2 (3)=86.98$ ,  $p.001$

from groups #2, and, to a lesser extent, from group #3. Group #2 overrepresented by about four times its rate in the local population.

Wise and Lindsay imply that people who were not of the elite who played cricket were merely aping the elite.<sup>61</sup> This interpretation is entirely misleading for two reasons. First, it presumes that the elite model was the standard for cricket, and, by extension, that local-level cricket was somehow an aberration to this standard. Second, it assumes that every player in the province used cricket to aspire to an elite social standing. This line of thinking follows the elite's belief in the "naturalness" of a firmly-rooted social hierarchy, even though Canadian society possessed no landed aristocracy. Clearly not every one used the provincial elites as a reference point for their own social and sporting activities (like the provincial and old Woodstock elites used England's landed gentry as a reference). Judging by what cricketers themselves said, local level players had their own significant reasons for playing.

Beyond praising it for its ethnic ties, most contemporary accounts point to cricket as a remedy for pervasive physical, mental, and moral concerns plaguing urban men. They felt that cricket epitomized all that was inherently good about sport and that it was an inherently manly activity. The Sentinel lauded it, claiming it was, "the very acme of sport for sport's sake."<sup>62</sup> Writing to the Chronicle one exponent of the so-called manly game advocated that,

if this, and other games requiring strength, activity, and endurance, were made a part of the daily business of our people ...our bills of mortality would be less formidable than they now are - we should have fewer pale faced dyspeptics meeting at the street corners, and more cases of longevity, while many of those diseases which result from sluggish inactivity would disappear from our midst.<sup>63</sup>

Cricketers played to relieve themselves from the tedium of daily toil, to exercise their bodies, and to refresh their minds. Side by side, young and old alike, took to green fields to breathe in fresh air and engage in contests of speed, strength, physical skill, and dexterity. They hailed cricket a scientific game owing to its great complexity, and they praised themselves for their comprehension of its esoteric aspects. "A cricket team," forwarded the Chronicle "must work with the exactness of a piece of machinery."<sup>64</sup> By comparison, baseball and lacrosse, were, some felt, undeniably "more flashy, but less scientific than the 'old standby'."<sup>65</sup>

Yet baseball and lacrosse, however, not cricket, highlighted civic holiday competition.<sup>66</sup> Were they inherently better suited as urban entertainments? Some argue this case.<sup>67</sup> Baseball and lacrosse games, for example, took less time to play; they needed neither expensive nor elaborate equipment; and they did not require so finely a groomed field for high level competition.<sup>68</sup> Lacrosse was undeniably the fastest-paced game of the three. Even so, more frequent changes between offense and defense in baseball innings also made baseball a livelier, more action-packed game than cricket.

Explanations of this nature offer some insights into the differences between the games yet they are not explanatory. For example, they fail to account for the success of cricket in England, one of the most urban and industrialized countries in the world during the nineteenth century. Cricket continues to attract a strong following throughout the western world today. In England time-play did not disadvantage the sport's continuance.

Others look to national sentiments and national character arguments to explain the fates of the sports in the North American



environment.<sup>69</sup> One argument postulates that anti-English sentiment affected cricket's popularity. Yet this reasoning does not explain why other English sports, especially equestrian sports, continued, even to this day, unimpeded by anti-English sentiment (or, conversely, that the game was not popularly revived during Imperialism's sweep across Canada in the 1880's). Nor does it consider that baseball, like cricket, possessed English roots, or even that baseball players in the 1850's were encouraged to take up cricket in order to improve their baseball playing skills. These reasons underestimate how and why cricket was played in Ingersoll and Woodstock.

The key to the most plausible explanation lay in cricket's incomplete social transference from English to Ingersoll and Woodstock society. Though the landed gentry and feudal shire system aspired to in Simcoe's earliest plans for the province and in Colborne's active design for the Town Plot never materialized, these elites upheld the underpinning of this original notion by their attitudes, beliefs, and actions. They were gentlemen in both literal and figurative senses. They idealized English institutions and firmly adhered to their notion of the naturalness of a hierarchically-ordered society predicated upon the English model. Yet both the Woodstock and provincial elites never entirely replicated all of the elements of their quintessentially English sport in Upper Canada.

Unlike Englishmen back home, they never created a strong county cricket tradition. Instead, they competed within an enclosed social network. Beyond this, their proselytizing efforts rarely transcended social class, ethnic, and religious divisions; public facilities never arose to provide the well groomed cricket pitches essential for

competition; and, by default, the provision of pitches fell into the hands of the institutions possessing the land and the inclination to play -- military garrisons, private schools, and private Anglophile clubs, the first two of which only certain communities in Ontario boasted. It was a vicious circle. These institutions, of course, were themselves vestiges of the elite, decidedly not democratic, and therefore their cricket activities were meaningful only to a handful of cricket enthusiasts.

In fact, in Ingersoll and Woodstock cricket never appealed -- for it was never intended to appeal at its outset -- to middle class social reformers who did not incorporate it into their own social and sport institutions. Since it was not integrated into the Amateur Athletic Associations it consequently it played only a marginal, if any, role in the mechanics of urban boosterism.<sup>70</sup>

Despite its propitious beginnings amongst the Woodstock Tory elite, cricket never thrived in the Oxford County sport scene after the demise of the old Woodstock club. As a handmaiden of empire and as a noble game, cricket created a type of cultural cement which strengthened the bonds of metropole and hinterland and reinforced local status distinctions for the retired officers. Yet, despite the assertions of that certain banquet speaker of 1859 in London, England, cricket balls were not civilising good will ambassadors. Their role in Oxford County in this regard was short-lived. In fact, cultural coercion of this nature did not subordinate locally-based social and political resistance in Oxford County. Nor did cricket stem the tide of emerging middle class urban sports (i.e., lacrosse, Canadian football, and hockey) which, in contrast to cricket, were promoted with their own distinctly "Canadian" sporting flavour and in the

interests of a middle class hegemony. These interests, of course, were impressed on local society through amateur institutions. Intent upon projecting their own version of sport as true and legitimate, the AAAs chose to exclude cricket in their active promotion of organized sport. As such, cricket found its destiny as a cultural residual. Although it never thrived, it also never died out.

## FOOTNOTES

1. F.W. Lillywhite, The English Cricketers trip to Canada and the United States (London: John Such Printer, 1860), 63.

2. A.P. Sandiford, "Cricket and Victorian Society," Journal of Social History 17 (1983-1984), 303. See also Rowland Bowen, Cricket: A History of its Growth and Development Throughout the World (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1970), 252.

3. In Peter Lindsay's words "administrative experience, opportunity, inclination, and tradition combined to ensure the success of the British officer in establishing the games of his homeland in his North American environment." Peter Lindsay, "The Impact of Military Garrisons on the Development of Sport in British North America," Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education [hereafter CJHSPE] 1 (1) (May, 1970), 33. On cricket generally see Robert Moss, "Cricket in Nova Scotia During the Nineteenth Century," CJHSPE IX (2)(December 1978) p58-75, Peter Lindsay, "A History of Sport in Canada, 1807-1867" (Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, 1969); S.F. Wise and Douglas Fisher, Canada's Sporting Heroes (Don Mills: General Publishing, 1974), 8; and Robert Day, "The British Army and Sport in Canada: Case Studies of the Garrison at Halifax, Montreal, and Kingston to 1871," (Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, 1981).

4. The oft-quoted report in the Patriot (15 July 1836) of the match between the Upper Canada College and the Toronto clubs comes to mind. The paper reported 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, & is staunch in his allegiance to his King." See St. Catherine's Cricket Club, The Canadian Cricketer's Guide and Review of Past Season (St. Catherine's: James Seymour, 1858); T.D. Phillips, Canadian Cricketers Guide and Review of Past Season (Ottawa: Free Press, 1876); J.E. Hall and R.O. McCulloch, Sixty Years of Canadian Cricket (Toronto: Bryant Pub. Co., 1895); "College Cricket," in A History of Upper Canada College comps. George Dickson and G. Mercer Adam (Toronto: Rowsell and Hutchinson, 1893), 263 ff; T.C. [Patteson], "The Recent Cricket Match and Some of its Lessons," Canadian Monthly and National Review 1 (November, 1878), 608-615; and G.G.S. Lindsay, "Cricket in Canada," Dominion Illustrated (in four parts), August 1892, 432-444, September 1892, 495-508; November 1892, 609-619; January 1893, 728-743.

5. Although posterity depicts them as "aristocrats", the Woodstock elite were only gentry by English standards. Nevertheless, this station ensured that local inhabitants deferred to them. For the distinction between aristocrats and gentry see M.L. Bush, The English Aristocracy: A Comparative Synthesis (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984).

6. See Chapter Two.

7. Unfortunately no club records remain. Player names and events are

extracted from contemporary newspapers and Hall, Sixty Years of Canadian Cricket. According to Land Records in the County of Oxford Land Registry office in Woodstock, Edmund Deedes purchased 100 acres, Broken Front, lot 3 West Oxford from Joshua Brink on 3 March 1838 (registered 6 July 1839). Deedes already possessed adjacent lot 2.

8. A full description of the building of the Woodstock pitch is found in "A Cricket Sheaf" (Oxford County Library, uncataloged material in storage room). See also R.W. Sawtell "The Thames Valley," (Sawtell Scrapbook #2, Woodstock Public Library) for a description of the pitch and his recollections of playing in 1845.

9. "A Cricket Sheaf."

10. On the social atmosphere of pre-Confederation cricket see Lindsay, "A History of Sport in Canada," 98 ff, and Bernard F. Booth and John S. Batts, "The Political Significance of Organized Sport in Upper Canada, 1825-1867," Proceedings of the VII HISPA International Congress (Paris, 1978): 399-416.

11. "A Cricket Sheaf."

12. Ibid. A "tent" covered the club's refreshment area.

13. Woodstock Herald 26 September 1845. Another hotel located closer to Beachville was popularly known as the "Cricketers Hotel." See James Sutherland, Oxford Gazetteer and General Business Directory for 1862-1863 (Ingersoll, 1862), 107, and the map found in M. Cropp, Beachville, The Birthplace of Oxford 1784-1969, 24.

14. Woodstock Herald 15 September 1849.

15. British American 29 September 1849.

16. For example, the player's "customary lack of punctuality," "long intervals between batsmen," and "long breaks for lunch." These points are taken from George Kirsch, review of Melvin L. Adelman, A Sporting Time: New York City and the Rise of Modern Athletics Journal of Sport History (13) 2 (Summer, 1986), 155.

17. On the high costs of transportation before 1840 see Allan Pred, Urban Growth and the Circulation of Information: The United States System of Cities, 1790-1840 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973).

18. Data for Woodstock cricket club matches are from Woodstock Herald, British American, and Hall, Sixty Years of Canadian Cricket. Most of the following matches were reported as return (or home and away) matches: 8 September 1840 versus Guelph; 8 September 1845 versus London Garrison; 8, 11 September 1846 versus London 82 Regiment; August 1849 versus Toronto; 28 September versus Hamilton; 12 September 1850 versus Toronto.

19. Local travel before the advent of railway communications is discussed in W.B. Hobson, "Old Stage Coach Days in Oxford County,"

Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records 17 (1919), 33-36. On the general situation of bad roads in the province see G.P. de T Glazebrook A History of Transportation in Canada vol.1 (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1964 ed.); Edwin C. Guillet Pioneer Travel in Upper Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976 ed.); and J.J. Talman, "The Impact of the Railway on a Pioneer Community," Canadian Historical Association Historical Papers (1955).

20. See, for example, British American 26 September 1845, 15, 29 September 1849; Patriot 15 July 1836, 11, 21 August 1838; Chronicle 29 May 1857, 30 September 1859, 27 July 1860, 3, 17 August 1860; Weekly Review 28 April 1871. On early newspaper accounts of cricket see Booth and Batts, "The Political Significance of Organized Sport in Upper Canada."

21. For nine of the thirteen cricketers the 1851 census reported "gentleman" as their occupation. Their voluntary association memberships, their pewholdings in Old St. Paul's Church, and military and family histories also evidence their membership in the elite. Four other men, two shoemakers, a saloon keeper, and a barrister are known to have played among them. All were Church of England adherents, and, with the exception of one man of English lineage born in France, all were English-born.

22. R.W. Sawtell, "The Thames Valley," (Sawtell Scrapbook #2, Woodstock Public Library).

23. See Bowen, Cricket: A History of of its Growth and Development Throughout the World.

24. Phillips, Canadian Cricketers Guide and Review of the Past Season, 1876, 14.

25. Perhaps for this reason the Canadian Cricket Field prescribed that "the dignity of the situation" is undermined "by familiarity on the cricket field" (26 July 1882). The prevalence of attitudes such as these enabled people of differing social classes, such as the Woodstock elite and lesser local inhabitants like Sawtell to play side by side while at the same time reinforcing locally recognized status distinctions.

26. Status distinctions were exhibited in a multitude of ways and are most pointedly seen in the patterns of deference the "lessers" accorded the elite. Local inhabitants apparently removed their hats and bowed in the company of the aristocrats. In 1849 the British American noted that the Snelgroves, local English cabinetmakers, felt honoured to be able to proudly present the cricket club with an "elegant set" of hand-crafted stumps in a testimonial to the officers (29 September 1849). The club does not appear to have used a professional player. On the distinction between "gentlemen" and "players" see Sandiford, "Cricket and Victorian Society"; George B. Kirsch, "American Cricket: Players and Clubs before the Civil War," Journal of Sport History 11 (1)(Spring, 1984), 25-50; and Lincoln Allison, "Batsman and Bowler: The Key Relation of Victorian England," Journal of Sport History 7 (2)(Summer, 1980), 5-20.

27. C.L.R. James, Beyond a Boundary gives a poignant social and cultural analysis of this aspect of cricket in the West Indies. As well, see Alan Metcalfe, "C.L.R. James and his Contributions to Sport History," Canadian Journal of History of Sport (December, 1987), 52-57.
28. See Chapter Two.
29. Canadian Cricketer's Guide and Review of the Past Season, 1858, 71
30. Three ongoing match series attest to this situation: the annual Upper Canada College versus Gentlemen of the Province matches; the Gentlemen of the East versus Gentlemen of the West matches and the Canadian versus American International Series. So too do the sporadic English (1859, 1868, and 1872), and West Indian (1887) tours of Canada and the tour of a Canadian eleven to England (1887). On cricket in Canada see David Brown, "Canadian Imperialism and Sporting Exchanges: the Nineteenth Century Cultural Experience of Cricket and Lacrosse," CJHS XIII (1)(May, 1987), 55-66; Henry Roxborough, One Hundred Not Out (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1966); S.F. Wise, "Sport and Class Values in Old Ontario and Quebec," in His Own Man. Essays in Honour of Arthur Reginald Marsden Lower eds. W.H. Heick and Roger Graham (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1974), 93-117; Moss, "Cricket in Nova Scotia during the Nineteenth Century"; Lindsay, "A History of Sport in Canada"; Booth and Batts, "The Political Significance of Organized Sport in Canada"; Charles Anthony Joyce, "At Close of Play: the Evolution of Cricket in London, Ontario, 1836-1902," (M.A. thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1988); Allan Eaton Cox, "A History of Sport in Canada 1868-1900," (Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, 1969); and Morris Mott, "Manly Sport and Manitobans: Settlement Days to World War One," (Ph.D. diss., Queen's University, 1980).
31. See J.A. Mangan, Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School. The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); and D.W. Brown, "Athleticism in Selected Canadian Private Schools for Boys to 1918."
32. Roll of Pupils of Upper Canada College from 1829 to 1898 (Toronto, 1898); see also George Dickson and G. Mercer Adam, A History of Upper Canada College, 1829-1892 (Toronto: Rowsell and Hutchison, 1893).
33. Local sources indicate that none of these individuals was actively involved in club formation in an administrative or executive capacity.
34. Lindsay, "A History of Sport in Canada," 98.
35. In 1872 Fred McQueen and H. Warren Totten (students at Trinity College), joined by Walter Mills, a former wicket keeper at Oxford University, played in the prestigious Gentlemen of the Province against the UCC students. Woodstock Weekly Review 30 June 1871; 13 September 1872. Totten was the brother of the Henry Totten, president

of the Ontario Cricket Association in 1886. Before arriving in Woodstock he played for the prestigious Paris team. See The Canadian Cricketers Guide, 1858; Sentinel 30 December 1899; and G.G.S. Lindsay, "Cricket in Canada," 500.

36. Chronicle 23 September 1859. Similarly, the Woodstock Weekly Review covered the 1872 tour on 24 May 1872.

37. R.A. Fitzgerald, Wickets in the West; or, the Twelve in America (London: Tinsley Bros., 1873), 131-160. On W.G. Grace, see W.F. Mandle, "W.G. Grace as a Victorian Hero," Historical Studies 9 (April, 1981), 353-368.

38. See Charles Anthony Joyce, "The London Asylum. A Not so Crazy Place for Cricket," (unpublished mss.: The University of Western Ontario, 1986); Lindsay, "A History of Sport in Canada", 106.

39. Joyce, for example, believes that the high attendance figures for the 1872 match attest "to the public's high degree of interest and acceptance of the game. see "The London Asylum. A Not so Crazy Place for Cricket," 1.

40. The Woodstock Weekly Review reports on 24 May 1872: "perhaps the presence of the best eleven that ever set sail from Old England may rehabilitate the noble game in some of its aforesaid popular garments. Perhaps Woodstock, Norwich, and Princeton may catch the infection and resume the high position they once occupied in the cricket world. More unlikely things have come to pass."

41. For example, Wise, Lindsay, Brown, Booth and Batts, and Roxborough.

42. Canadian Cricket Field 10 May 1882. See also, Wise, "Sport and Old Class Values", 102-103. Adelman cites American acceptance of the rules as written by the Marylebone Cricket Club a self-defeating action which stripped the essential aspect of a national sport governing body -- the ability to create and administer new rules (116).

43. Canadian Cricket Field 10 May 1882.

44. T.D. Phillips, Canadian Cricketers Guide and Review of the Past Season, 1876, 47; Chronicle 21 August 1873, 4 September 1879; Woodstock Weekly Review 24 May 1872, 16 July 1880.

45. Between 1857 and 1883 Ingersoll competed against Paris Chronicle 18, 25 September 1857; Woodstock 23, 30 September, 7 October 1859, 20, 21 July 1860, 8 August 1863, 5 August 1864, 6 August 1875, and 11 September 1879; London 19 August 1864, 28 May, 21 August 1874, 1 July 1875 and 9 August 1883; Dorchester 14, 21 July and 13 October 1865; Tillsonburg 1 August 1874; St. Thomas 2 July 1874, and 20 April 1875; Simcoe 21 August 1879, 8 July 1880; Norwich 4 September 1879; and Princeton 22 April 1874. Between 1859 and 1882 Woodstock competed against Ingersoll [as above]; Norwich Woodstock Weekly Review 11 August 1871, and 29 August 1879; London 1 September 1871; Simcoe 28



August 1879; Paris 14 July 1882; and St. Thomas 18 August 1882.

46. Chronicle 17 September 1874.

47. Chronicle 27 May 1875, 23 August 1873, 19 September 1874, 27 May 1875, and 29 July 1875.

48. Chronicle 17 September 1874, " March 1875.

49 Chronicle 21 August 1879.

50. Ingersoll Club organization prior to 1895 is reported in the Chronicle 29 May 1857, 29 July 1859, 11 May 1860, 6 May 1862, 24 April 1863, 4 July 1865, 17 April 1873, 22 April 1875, 31 July 1879, and 29 April 1880; Woodstock Club organization in the Weekly Review 7 April 1871; 28 April 1875; 27 June 1879; and the Sentinel 7 April 1882. See also Sentinel 14 July 1927.

51. Woodstock Weekly Review 11 August 1871, 11 August 1874.

52. Chronicle 27 July 1860. Later both Ingersoll and Woodstock clubs advertised the "town park" as the site of their practises and games, see Chronicle 17 April 1873, Woodstock Weekly Review 2 July 1882.

53. In August 1864, five years after the formation of the earliest known organized interurban baseball match in Ontario, and a month before the well-known baseball organizational activities occurring at Hamilton's Provincial Exhibition, Woodstock's Young Canadian Club hosted a meeting for Ontario clubs to promote interurban competition by forming a "national" baseball association modelled on the American National Association of Base Ball Players. On the advent of baseball club competition see Chapter Six.

54. Patteson, "The Recent Cricket Match and Some of its Lessons," 611

55. Ibid.

56. Ibid.

57. Seventeen Ingersoll cricketers have been identified through record linkage between 1866 and 1875. In Ingersoll over one-half of the players were Ontario born while only about one-third were English born. All were Protestant.

58. The religious breakdown of the seventeen Ingersoll record-linked cricketers is as follows: 59% were from the Church of England, 29% were Methodists and 11% were Presbyterian.

59. Woodstock Weekly Review 28 March 1871.

60. Phillips, Canadian Cricketers Guide and Review of the Past Season, 1876, 6.

61. Wise and Fisher, Canadas Sporting Heroes. 8. This point is also

evident in Lindsay, "A History of Sport in Canada."

62. Chronicle 17 August 1860.

63. The scientific approach to the game can be seen in popular treatises on the sport, for example, Felix on the Bat; Being a Scientific Inquiry into the use of the Cricket Bat: Together with the History and use of the Catapalta.." 3rd edition (London: Bailey Bros., 1860).

64. Woodstock Weekly Review 24 May 1872.

65. Chronicle 3 August 1860.

66. Woodstock Weekly Review 28 March 1871.

67. This point is made at the national level by Metcalfe, Canada Learns to Play, 82; and by Cox, "A History of Sport in Canada, 1868-1900," 70-71. It is also made for the Hamilton area by Lindsay, "A History of Sport in Canada, 1807-1868," 104-105.

68. Lillywhite, The English Cricketers Trip to Canada, 53.

69. See George Kirsch, The Creation of American Team Sports. Baseball and Cricket, 1838-1872 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989); Adelman, A Sporting Time; and Ian Tyrrell, "The Emergence of Modern American Baseball c.1850-1880," in Richard Cashman and Michael McKernan eds., Sport in History: The Making of Modern Sport History (Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 1979), 206-226.

70. See Chapter Four.

CHAPTER SIX  
Baseball: A People's Team Sport on  
the Rise

Baseball was the first organized team ball sport embracing the "games-build-character" amateur ideal to highlight Ingersoll and Woodstock civic holiday celebrations. Through baseball the booster association between the town and its "home team" first emerged during the mid-1860's. More than any other team ball sport, baseball thrived upon a local, grass roots base of support. This base transcended social class boundaries; baseball was equally as significant to workers as to middle class males. This made baseball ripe for reformers' efforts for almost everyone was familiar at some level with the game.

Even so, no single group managed to totally monopolize the sport and define for others how baseball was to be played. Baseball was equally as popular outside the club context in streets, sandlots, and open fields, as it was within the club context played respectably on regulation diamonds. Although baseball clubs were incorporated into both the IAAA and WAAA, throughout the nineteenth century Canadian baseball possessed no single sport-governing institution to regulate various levels of competition. Without such a superstructure defining the range of "legitimate" practices and meaning associated with the sport, baseball could never be totally controlled by middle class reformers. For the most part their efforts to clean up the sport from the mid-1860' on were a reaction to an "enemy" from within. Until the mid-1890's, when structural constraints impinging on working mens' recreation loosened, workers did not play organized baseball. By the turn of the century middle class men, workers, professional athletes,

spectators, and gamblers each shaped the game to meet their own ends yet none garnered complete control.

### I. Baseball: The Early Years of Informal Contests

Baseball held a lengthy heritage at the grass roots level of Ingersoll and Woodstock area social traditions. Contrary to the once commonly held belief that Abner Doubleday invented baseball in 1839, a form of baseball existed in Oxford County during the early decades of the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> During this period Loyalists as well as immigrants from Britain and the United States settling in Upper Canada brought with them the strongly local versions of baseball learned in their youth. From variations of the old games, people in the newly settled regions of the province developed their own peculiar versions of baseball. Game rules, norms and sanctions were generally simple, unwritten understandings between players. Passed down by an oral tradition, they eventually became firmly rooted in local culture.<sup>2</sup>

By the 1830's Oxford County's version of baseball existed as an immensely popular game. Rural and urban boys and girls from all classes played baseball on neighborhood streets and nearby fields. They all knew the game well. Without the benefit of a sporting goods industry, players used rudimentary, locally made equipment. Home made bats and balls, painstakingly crafted and carefully shared, were among a child's prized possessions.<sup>3</sup> Baseball matches between young men highlighted civic celebrations in Oxford County's villages in the 1820's and 1830's, attracting large crowds.<sup>4</sup> The chief event of the local Militia Muster day events on June 4th, 1838, consisted of a baseball match between the Beachville club and the Zorras, a club hailing from the townships of Zorra and North Oxford.<sup>5</sup>

Despite early experimentation with the version of Baseball codified by Alexander Cartwright in New York in 1845, Oxford County's inhabitants persisted with their own version of baseball for over a decade. Familiarity, underscored by tradition and derived cultural meanings of the local game, it seems, left little room for change. In 1860, matches in Ingersoll and Woodstock involved eleven, rather than nine, players, and used four, rather than three, bases.<sup>6</sup> The New York Clipper referred to the type of baseball played in the region as the Canadian Game -- something understood to be quite distinct from the game then popularly played around New York.<sup>7</sup>

Eventually, however, the Cartwright game took hold in Oxford County. Several elements worked to this end. The advent of telegraphic communications and, by the mid-1850's, the development of railway networks in Southwestern Ontario expanded the world of heretofore isolated inland communities. More pointedly, the creation of special sporting club railway rates spread baseball competition beyond local boundaries.<sup>8</sup> When this happened mutually agreeable, transregional, and readily available written rules for the game became essential in order for clubs to compete fairly between themselves. The Cartwright game popularized through the New York sporting press, provided a standardized product for interurban competition.

Vestiges of early informal ball-playing traditions never died out. Informal and sporadic challenge matches, for example, remained a popular residual throughout the century. They provided a forum for social collectivities along occupational lines. These matches acted as an agent of social integration within subcommunities based on occupation, social class and age. As well they were vehicles for

social exclusion between social groupings. Butchers, bakers, cabinet makers, printers, tailors, coopers, and local factory workers competed in informal matches at the end of the working day or during periods of slow business. Occasionally employers pitted their own workers against those of rival businesses at the fair grounds or town park on weekday and Saturday afternoons.<sup>9</sup> This stimulated and extended friendly rivalries between occupational groups, supplying the physical activity otherwise denied in some urban occupations. For these games workmates, friends and families congregated on local fields to play and watch. At the baseball diamond "the tensions of life dissipated with the excitement of a close match, the clowning of a particular player, or the refreshment of a glass of beer, a keg of which was usually within easy reach."<sup>10</sup>

Despite the popular image painted by historians of informal baseball matches being a particularly working class phenomenon, men from the middle classes -- lawyers, bankers, merchants, and clerks -- also competed in this fashion. Those who worked in the market square vicinity, for example, regularly pitted themselves against each other in informal matches during weekday and Saturday afternoons.<sup>11</sup>

Men from dissimilar occupational backgrounds, however, rarely, if ever, intermingled or competed against each other. Lawyers, merchants, and bankers competed amongst themselves, not against factory workers. Obviously certain occupations afforded different hours of leisure and, consequently, provided differing opportunities to play. This structural constraint largely reinforced occupational leisure identities but it does not necessarily explain them. Presumably bankers and lawyers, if they chose to do so, could have

played whenever working men could. Yet like workers they chose to compete primarily amongst themselves and against those they believed to be their own kind. Informal baseball matches were both a public focus and forum for large groups similarly bound by occupational ties where camaraderie and shared attitudes could be anticipated and enjoyed. Somewhat like businessmen's afternoons at today's professional ball games, they furnished a sociable and relaxed background for workers to talk shop, and for merchants to clinch business deals or extend already existing economic rivalries.<sup>12</sup>

Not surprisingly, those persons who objected to sport on the pietist ascetic grounds that they were useless, immoral, and socially improper, found baseball to be easy prey. In the late 1860's one Ingersoll "grumbler" complained to the Chronicle that the number of grown-up middle aged men "who have a penchant for [that] juvenile game" had "assumed proportions of absurd importance."<sup>13</sup>

With baseball's increasing popularity by the early 1860's two integral rowdy features of the social environment of informal baseball matches -- gambling and alcohol -- shocked those concerned with respectability, although they were accepted as legitimate accoutrements of the game.<sup>14</sup> Local newspapers frequently reported baseball games played for kegs of beer and cash bets.<sup>15</sup> At one level outright betting merely indicated how avidly people followed the game. Betting livened up contests and reinforced partisanship among spectators. At another level, however, moral reformers believed betting to be a moral danger undermining the community's social fabric. It encouraged spectators to vicariously indulge in the success of others for their own material gain, presumably without any honest work on their own part.<sup>16</sup> Betting, they believed, wasted hard

earned money and led gamblers to their ruin. More to the point, they feared the ethic of gambling because it relied upon chance, rather than effort, and therefore undercut dominant values of rationalism, hard work, and social responsibility.<sup>17</sup>

## II. Early Clubs

The rise of what were then called "gentleman-amateur"<sup>18</sup> ball clubs in Ingersoll and Woodstock in the 1860's largely transformed baseball from a unstructured game into a respectable formally organized representative urban team sport. The concept of the gentleman-amateur was one version of muscular Christianity which encouraged games-playing in the belief that games fields fostered in players culturally valued characteristics like team work, self-sacrifice, courage, manliness, competitiveness, and achievement.<sup>19</sup> This view held that teams sports, when properly conducted (that is, when operating under the amateur ideal), were in fact ideal breeding and testing grounds for Christianity-in-action. As such they were believed to inculcate, rather than undermine, honesty, rationalism, hard work, and social responsibility in players and spectators.

In 1860 ball players in Ingersoll and Woodstock began reforming baseball through the creation of the Victoria Club and Young Canadian Club to provide socially-oriented intraclub competition for their members.<sup>20</sup> Local newspapers, village directories, and manuscript census rolls have produced data on the club members. The data show that club members possessed remarkably similar social backgrounds. Since the literature on baseball implies that it was a particularly American invention, one might assume early club members to be American-born. Most, however, were native Canadians, born in



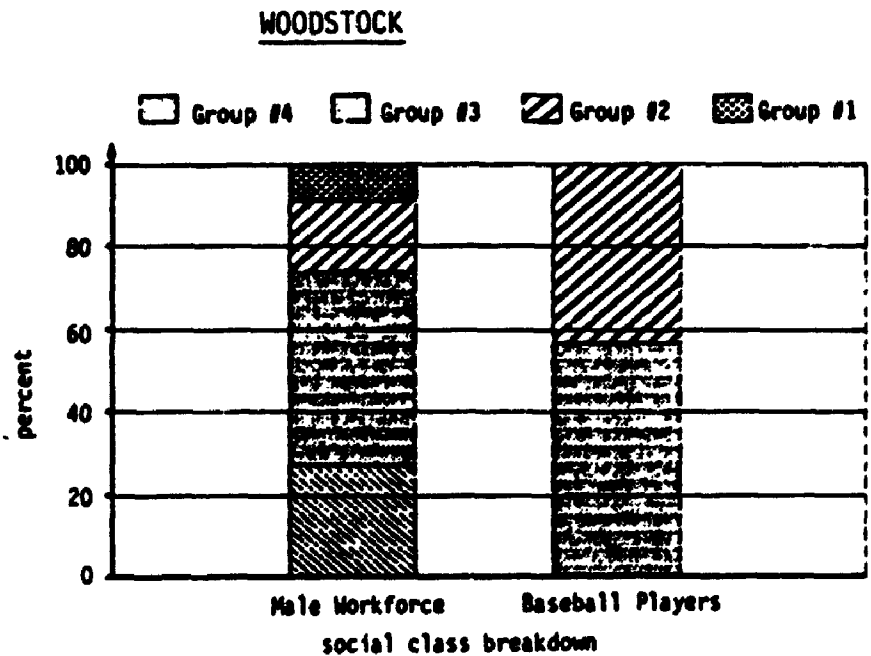
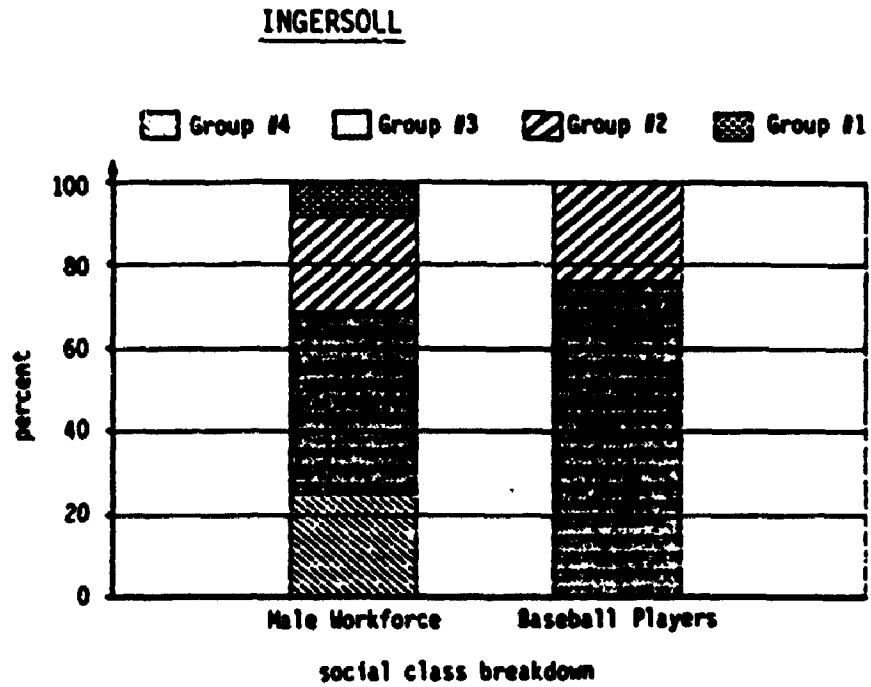
Ontario.<sup>21</sup> They tended to be Protestant bachelors whose ages ranged from their early to mid-twenties.<sup>22</sup>

The strongest similarity between Victoria and Young Canadian club players is in their social class background. According to Figure 15 working class men were entirely absent from both club's rosters. Middle class skilled artisan tradesmen, group #3, comprised the largest proportion of club membership. Middle class members from group #2, on the other hand, though fewer in number than the artisans, overrepresented by over two times its rate their segment of the workforce in both towns.

These clubs initially aimed at using baseball to promote health, recreation, and social enjoyment while cleaning up the social environment of baseball. Club members likely formally organized to legitimize their act of playing by establishing for baseball an efficient organization, and by stressing and rationalizing the health and moral benefits believed to be derived through socially-oriented competition.<sup>23</sup> Baseball clubs involved much more than an afternoon's sporting entertainment.<sup>24</sup>

Many factors contributed to artisan involvement in the game: the small expense involved; the short duration of match games; the simplicity of game skills; and the attachment to baseball which they had developed as children.<sup>25</sup> Beyond this, amateur baseball provided them with a much needed amusement after their daily toil and allowed them an opportunity to show occupational solidarity. Eschewing the rowdier aspects of sport, organized amateur baseball cultivated a certain respectability not found in other popular amusements like cockfighting and pugilism. Unlike these popular, yet illegal and

FIGURE 15  
 Social Class Background of Ingersoll and Woodstock  
 Baseball Players and the Male Workforce 1861-1870



\*Source: Ingersoll and Woodstock Manuscript census (1861, 1871), sport data base. Ingersoll male workforce (over 14 years) n=1,072 (1865 est.), baseball players n=33.  $\chi^2(3)=23.78$ , p .001. Woodstock male workforce (over 14 years) n=983 (1865 est.) baseball players n=28.  $\chi^2(3)=28.58$ , p.001

publicly castigated clandestine sports, amateur baseball integrated artisans into -- rather than excluded them from -- community celebrations.<sup>26</sup> It severed alcohol from the game and eliminated betting in favour of dominant values of rationalism, hard work, and social responsibility.<sup>27</sup> Amateur clubs provided them with a forum to act and show solidarity and help other community members like widows of their deceased brethren.<sup>28</sup>

Other activities also raised the status of artisan baseball players in the public eye. Citizens' parades and torchlight processions held for victorious homecoming teams enhanced the social status of ball-players. Through superior play, they gained both recognition and prestige from their peers and, more importantly, from the middle class public at large.

Ingersoll and Woodstock's early clubs were disciplined, elaborately constructed associations, as concerned with the social environment surrounding baseball as they were with the game itself.<sup>29</sup> They were vehicles of social reform intent on avoiding social ills and elements of rowdy culture like drinking and gambling, while at the same time promoting the game for the benefit of men with the leisure time and inclination to play. Club organizers strove to mold baseball's image into their own vision of something respectable, healthy, rational, and morally good. This was not always an easy task for as Howell writes; "[i]f reformers prize baseball for its blending of teamwork and individual initiative, its cultivation of 'manly' virtues and its uplifting character, they also remained suspicious of the way in which players, spectators and speculators approached the sport."<sup>30</sup>

Clubs in the two towns possessed two socially distinct

administrative levels -- an appointed executive body, and a group of managing directors elected by players from the general membership. Honourary club presidency was a nominal position bestowed upon socially prominent and respectable men in the community -- town mayors and lower level civic officials.<sup>31</sup> The remaining executive members comprised a group of middle class men with high status occupations, including local lawyers, merchants, and physicians. Presumably the social connections and patronage of these recognizable civic and social leaders gave the clubs a decided respectability.

Given the reform objectives of most clubs, this social orientation, called for extensive and reinforced limitations on player behaviour and, as a result, members felt formal authority both on and off the playing field. To bind players to behave within the guidelines formulated in the club constitution and bylaws members pledged allegiance to club articles of agreement by signing club constitutions.<sup>32</sup> To rationalize the social benefits purported to be gained from baseball, club rules required players to be gentlemen both on and off the field.<sup>33</sup> This did not refer specifically to a player's socio-economic standing. Rather it set standards of acceptable behaviour desired of club members and codified in club bylaws. These standards made baseball clubs implicitly socially exclusive.<sup>34</sup>

The early clubs had their own particular social appeal. Post-game club dinners and banquets held at local hotels highlighted their social aspect for they bred strong bonds of personal loyalty and friendship among members.<sup>35</sup> Merriment, good food, and suitably controlled libations, surrounded these affairs. They gave players opportunities to mingle and socialize. In the spirit of camaraderie,

talk centred around the game, the achievements of individual players, and tips regarding the strengths and weaknesses of clubs from other towns.

The genteel aura which surrounded these affairs is revealed in newspaper reports of the Hamilton Maple Leaf's annual banquet of 1867. Woodstock's Robert McWhinnie, editor of the Sentinel and president of the Young Canadians attended the event.<sup>36</sup> The Maple Leafs began their proceedings in the flag-draped dining room of Hamilton's Victoria Hotel with toasts to the Royal Family, the Home Government, and club members recently involved as volunteers combating the Fenian menace.<sup>37</sup> Numerous speeches on the game of baseball followed, occasionally interrupted by song, like the Maple Leaf's anthem, and familiar strains of "Don't Judge a Man by the Coat He Wears."<sup>38</sup> At the banquet Woodstock's McWhinnie "expatiated ably on the science of basetall at some length" in response to a "high eulogium on the benefits of the noble diversion" given by the chair.<sup>39</sup>

These social events also reveal the ongoing relationship between local hotels and baseball clubs. Although hotels and taverns were also sites for rowdy sporting culture, many ball clubs and baseball associations often originated in hotels, stemming from informal gatherings of baseball enthusiasts.<sup>40</sup> Hotel owners, particularly Woodstock's C.L. Wood, Patrick Farrell, J.E. Thompson, and James O'Neil actively involved themselves in ball clubs.<sup>41</sup> These sporting men promoted club formation, sat on club executives, and, most importantly, they frequently offered their facilities for club use. They promoted baseball in these ways presumably because they loved the game, and because, in the absence of other places to meet, local inhabitants relied heavily on hotels for social, entertainment,

and sporting purposes.<sup>42</sup> Unlike their counterparts in New York, often baseball entrepreneurs in their own right, Ontario's small town hotel owners appear not to have promoted baseball as large-scale entrepreneurial ventures. They did, however, profit slightly from the game.<sup>43</sup> They made money hosting ball club dinners, and they presumably could reap profits from the game-related betting that went on in their establishments.

### III. Cheering for the Home Team: The Rise of Interurban Competition

The early socially-oriented amateur clubs dominated by middle class artisans initially sought to provide intraclub competition to their membership of about forty to forty-five local baseball enthusiasts. This role and function, however, changed through time. The advent of ongoing interurban competition brought about a new era characterized by the rise of interurban competition and the intimate association between the town and what was popularly known as the "Home Team." Yet as boosterism became increasingly associated with baseball, a focus on winning over playing the game led to escalating levels of competition, creeping professionalism, betting, and spectator violence. At various points throughout the late 1860's, the 1870's, and the early 1880's, this led sport reformers to reaffirm their principles and refocus their gaze back to locally-oriented amateur competition.

By August, 1864, Woodstock's club hosted a meeting for Ontario ball clubs to promote interurban competition.<sup>44</sup> This resulted in the formation of the Canadian Association of Baseball Players (CABBP) modelled on the existing American National Association of Baseball

Players (NABBP) to protect and further the game in Canada. The CABBP hoped to make clubs throughout the province "intimately acquainted with each other."<sup>45</sup> It met again one month later at the Hamilton Provincial Exhibition. There, William Shuttleworth, founder and president of Hamilton's Maple Leafs, assumed the Association presidency from Woodstock's C.L. Wood.<sup>46</sup> All present agreed to adopt the NABBP rule structure and compete along interurban lines using a challenge match system.<sup>47</sup>

The Association delegates wisely decided to hold the convention alongside the Provincial Exhibition. Thousands of rural and urban dwellers congregated for the huge agricultural fair.<sup>48</sup> The Exhibition provided an excellent opportunity to introduce the competitive form of Cartwright's game to inhabitants from across the province.<sup>49</sup>

To promote baseball to Exhibition visitors and create a high competitive standard for Ontario clubs, an exhibition match was played between nines picked from clubs in the East (Hamilton, Flamborough, Dundas) against those from the West (Ingersoll, Woodstock, and Guelph).<sup>50</sup> To encourage skilled, manly play, the Association awarded cups and trophies for sports victories.<sup>51</sup> The enormous success of this venture as an adjunct to the Exhibition brought about a return East vs West match when Hamilton again hosted the Provincial Exhibition two years later.<sup>52</sup>

Ongoing challenge match competition for the Silver Ball, the token of the so-called Canadian Baseball Championship created by Woodstock, also popularized interurban baseball throughout the province. In August 1864, the Hamilton press commended Woodstock's initiative in creating the Silver Ball for open amateur competition among Ontario clubs. Woodstonians, "wild over the new game,"

contributed American silver dollars which, when melted down, had been crafted into this "elegant specimen of silver work" of regulation ball size.<sup>53</sup> Through Silver Ball competition urban pride became intertwined with interurban sport competition. This began one of the most resilient legacies of nineteenth century organized sport: the popular notion of a home team representing an urban community.

The Young Canadians created rules known throughout the province as the "Woodstock System" to govern and promote Silver Ball competition.<sup>54</sup> According to the system the Canadian Championship was determined by single victories in challenge matches played during a predetermined playing season. To encourage frequent competition and prevent victors from resting upon their laurels, clubs holding the Silver Ball had to respond within ten days to a challenge from any regularly organized club. NABBP rules, as published by Henry Chadwick, governed all match games.<sup>55</sup> Clubs which successfully defended the Silver Ball for three years kept it permanently. Woodstock would then donate a new ball for competition.<sup>56</sup>

Despite initial organizational problems, Silver Ball championship competition soon caught on in Southwestern Ontario.<sup>57</sup> Woodstock held the Canadian Championship title and the coveted Silver Ball for seven years, though Ingersoll possessed it for one week in 1868.<sup>58</sup> In defense of the championship, Woodstock competed against clubs from Ingersoll, Hamilton, Newcastle, Dundas, Guelph, and London. The Clipper dryly remarked that so many victories made "Woodstock's Young Canadians [believe] themselves 'Cock of the Walk', and the Woodstock people and the press blew pretty strongly for them."<sup>59</sup> Local inhabitants believed the Young Canadians' numerous



victories to be the town's victories.

Woodstock's pride in its home team knew no bounds. The town and the team alike aggressively sought competitive opportunities. In 1864 the Young Canadians challenged the Brooklyn Atlantics, the reigning American champions who were on tour, to a match game in Rochester. The Clipper reported that the Young Canadians wanted, "to see how much more they have to learn in the manly game of baseball, [being] of the opinion that the Atlantics are the best tutors."<sup>60</sup> Before the match, the first known baseball competition between a Canadian and American team, the Atlantics held an undefeated nineteen game season record. The Young Canadians did little to change this. A capacity crowd at Jones Square watched the Atlantics soundly trounce the Young Canadians, 75 to 11. By the second inning the Atlantics "went to astonish both natives and foreigners ...a caution to ye country clubs" the Clipper exclaimed.<sup>61</sup>

The two clubs met again at a tournament in Niagara Falls, New York in 1868. There the Atlantics observed the Woodstonians to be odd figures for baseball fame. The Clipper dryly remarked that the Canadians were "all good sized well made men" but they "didn't have the appearance of ball players - at least, such as one meets in the States, and particularly in the Metropolis."<sup>62</sup> The Woodstonians could not hold a candle to their opponents. Apart from lacking basic playing skills and strategies, the Woodstonians likely did not exhibit the familiar playing habits, mannerisms, and vocabulary familiar to American lovers of the game.

Symptomatic of "baseball mania," competitive tournaments became the rage in the late 1860's. Sponsored by baseball promoters and civic officials, they highlighted the Queen's Birthday and the

Dominion Day holiday celebrations. In August 1867, Ingersoll, Woodstock, and Hamilton clubs sent their first nines to compete in Detroit against teams from Ann Arbor, Port Huron, and Pennsylvania.<sup>63</sup> Trainloads of local fans accompanied their home team. The Hamilton Times reported that, "on one side of the Detroit river in Windsor and Sandwich you hear nothing but the coming elections, while in Detroit wherever you go, it is nothing but baseball."<sup>64</sup> Before a reported crowd of 7,000 Ingersoll's victory in the third class division brought it one hundred dollars cash for travelling expenses and a gold mounted bat. Though cash prizes provided a strong inducement for teams to sharpen their competitive skills to defray their costs, cups and trophies were lasting symbols of greatness.

Woodstock, the founder of the Silver Ball, hosted the first known tournament in Ontario during the Dominion Day weekend in 1869. Though contestants paid a hefty ten dollar entrance fee to compete, subscriptions solicited from Woodstock businessmen and other townspeople largely funded the event.<sup>65</sup> The tournament attracted seven teams from six towns. This elicited high praise from New York ball players who called Woodstock the premier Baseball Town of Canada. The Woodstonians, the Clipper reported, held a "high position in the advancement of matters pertaining to the American National Game," by undertaking "any scheme that had for its object the encouraging and fostering of the game."<sup>66</sup> A crowd reported at 5,000 -- at least a thousand in excess of Woodstock's entire population -- attended the affair.<sup>67</sup> Spectators watched Ingersoll defeat Woodstock and Guelph clubs in the first class competition. Woodstock's junior nine, the Atlantics, defeated teams from St.

Catharines, St. Thomas, and London in the second class competition.

To emphasize baseball as a skillful, manly game and promote individual achievement, tournament officials awarded prizes for outstanding catching, pitching, and baseman play.<sup>68</sup> This desire to develop a clean, healthy image for baseball stretched far beyond emphasizing victory through skilled play. London's Tecumsehs, dressed in an outfit of cricketing flannels and a scarlet hose which players from other clubs eyed enviously, won a prize for having the "neatest uniforms." Such smart dressing gave ball players a clean looking appearance and visually reinforced the tie between town and team. These ties were important because local inhabitants typically paid for team uniforms by dropping coins into a hat passed around at games, through subscription, as well as through fund-raising benefit concerts.<sup>69</sup> Baseball, like boosterism, expressed community identity, acted as an agent of social cohesion, and became a vehicle for community improvement.

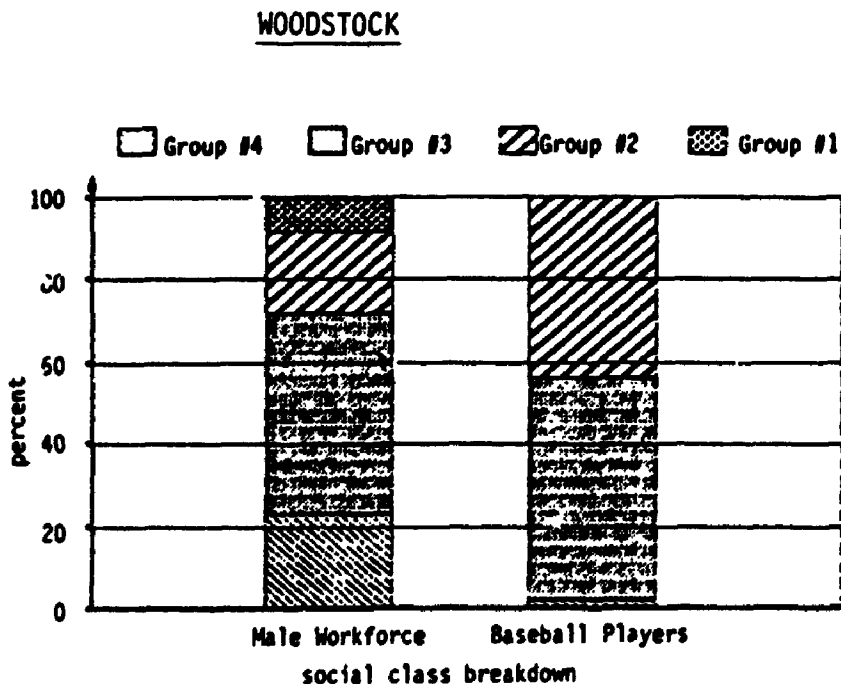
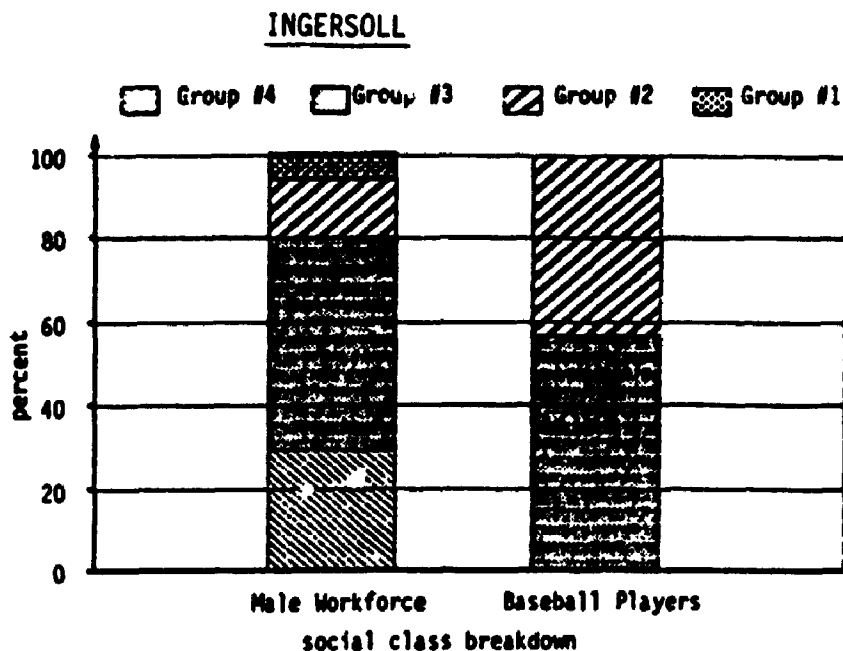
When Ingersoll, the underdog in the contest, managed to briefly wrestle the Silver Ball from Woodstock, its citizenry reacted with a civic celebration that had, to that date, been rivaled only by the arrival of the first train of the Great Western Railway in 1853. For what other occasion could a celebration of this magnitude be held? The reception that met the returning Victorias at the station was overwhelming. Joyous citizens paraded team captain William Hearn on their shoulders to the town hall. All of the flags in the town flew that day. At the Royal Hotel the victors were feted at a banquet. Local dignitaries gave speeches and team photographs recorded the occasion. Those who were excluded from the more formal and respectable events congregated outside the hotel. They lit

bonfires and celebrated in the streets throughout the night. Everyone took pride in the victory. During the following week curious onlookers stopped in at the corner of Thames and King streets to catch a glimpse of the Silver Ball on display in the window of club president Ralph Woodcock's bookstore.<sup>70</sup> With the Silver Ball in hand Ingersoll had it made. Reports of the town's victory covered on the pages of New York, Toronto, and London newspapers. Yet the town's day in the sun was ephemeral. Within one week the Victorias lost the Canadian Championship to Woodstock.

In time, as interurban baseball competition spread and became increasingly regularized, the relationship between the home team and community identity became even more entrenched. Baseball boosterism had affected everyone: even the family of Woodstock Mayor T.H. Parker. His daughters lovingly hand embroidered a set of foul flags to be used by the Actives in match competition.<sup>71</sup> Some time later the town welcomed the team with a civic reception when they returned triumphally from a championship match in Guelph. In booster fashion the Sentinel celebrated that, "the reputation of both the club and town" had been sustained by the team's win in "a signal and victorious manner."<sup>72</sup>

Although celebrating home teams, Ingersoll and Woodstock townspeople were focussing on the accomplishments of a specific social grouping within their respective populations -- a Canadian-born, Protestant, middle class bachelor subculture.<sup>73</sup> Working class men were entirely absent from the clubs. Figure 16 shows that baseball clubs held just slightly less than even numerical balance between groups #2 and #3 in the middle class. Even so, group #2 players

FIGURE 16  
Social Class Background of Ingersoll and Woodstock  
Baseball Players and the Male Workforce 1871-1880



\*Source: Ingersoll and Woodstock census returns (1871, 1881), sport data base. Ingersoll male workforce (over 14 years) n=1,186 (1875 est.) baseball players n=26.  $\chi^2(3)23.23$ , p.001. Woodstock male workforce (over 14 years) n=1,383 (1875 est.) baseball players n=43.  $\chi^2(3)=24.32$ , p .001.

overrepresented their segment of the male workforce at nearly twice its rate, while group #3 was in proportion with its size in the workforce. Ingersoll and Woodstock baseball clubs of the late 1870's appear to have been entirely middle class associations.<sup>74</sup>

An August 1868 match at Woodstock between the Young Canadians and Guelph's Maple Leafs reveals how seriously baseball affected local esteem and illustrates the zeal with which spectators cheered for their home team. This Silver Ball match reportedly attracted five hundred Guelph excursionists along with a coronet band. "Stragglers," who did not make the costly one dollar trip but "who had staked small piles on the game," congregated at Guelph's telegraph office to keep abreast of match developments.<sup>75</sup>

At the Woodstock fair grounds excursionists received their money's worth in entertainment. In the first inning one J. McKay sent a home run ball crashing through the Agricultural Hall's window. In the sixth inning Guelph's spectacular triple play, although "lustily cheered by all present," could not prevent Woodstock's decided 36-28 victory.

Despite reports that "the best of good feeling prevailed between the players throughout the contest," spectator violence and rowdiness marred the day. Fist fights broke as Woodstock and Guelph toughs roamed the stands; "no one" daring "to interfere with them in their nefarious work."<sup>76</sup> Similar unrest erupted in Guelph late that evening and throughout the next day after the excursionists had returned home.

In the ensuing weeks Woodstock and Guelph newspaper editors continued the rivalry: Guelph's Evening Mercury likened Woodstock to "a huge snake after getting a knock on the head, [which] writhes

about in a fearful mental agony."<sup>77</sup> Unwilling to assume responsibility for its townspeople's actions, each side blamed the other for what had transpired.

The intensity of interurban Silver Ball competition indicates that baseball clubs had shifted from being primarily social agencies catering to a select handful of men to primarily competitive agencies whose own victories were thought to be town victories. Organized baseball emerged from a game played for its own sake and for the social benefits believed to accrue from it, to a sport in which winning received increasing emphasis as a symbol of the relative merits of the town. Howell is clearly correct when he asserts that, "unruly crowd behaviour obviously contradicted the conception of baseball as a 'gentleman's game' played before a respectable audience."<sup>78</sup>

This shift in competition thus involved an increasing high visibility of rowdy elements associated with the game. For example, regardless of the intentions of organized clubs to keep baseball clean, intense rivalry almost bred betting. At a match game between the Young Canadians and the London Tecumsehs during the 1869 season, the Clipper frankly reported to its nationwide readership that "bets were freely offered and taken that the Tecumsehs would win, both clubs having numerous friends willing to lay money on them."<sup>79</sup> After playing poorly in the Woodstock match, and amid rumours that "the game was sold before it had begun,"<sup>80</sup> Tecumseh player James Brown faced an angry club executive over the very serious matter of game fixing. Brown protested, claiming his innocence. The club minutes read that the, "rumours were false ...he had not sold the match at

Woodstock, nor had he bet against the club, nor had he made, nor did he expect to make any money by the club."<sup>81</sup>

Certainly these were unintended byproducts of keenly contested interurban baseball. In fact, early Silver Ball competition had possessed more of a social than competitive orientation. In August 1864, the Young Canadians had actually loaned a player to their challengers, the Ingersoll Victorias, during a championship match. The nature of the event, ridiculed the Clipper, "savoured more of a social than a match game."<sup>82</sup> Within a few years, however, social goals yielded to an emphasis on winning. As a result, Guelph baseball entrepreneurs brought ball players from other towns to play for the Maple Leafs <sup>83</sup>; the London Tecumsehs struck players off their first and second nines "if on a fair trial a better player be found"<sup>84</sup>; and the Victoria and Young Canadians considered amalgamating a London critic harshly wrote, "for the simple reason that they could not muster a nine equal to any of the first class clubs in the province."<sup>85</sup>

This obvious growing emphasis on winning among some ball clubs in the early 1870's marked the beginnings of a new era in organized interurban baseball. Until that time, Ingersoll and Woodstock ranked highly among Ontario clubs as leaders, promoters, and competitors in socially-oriented competition. Since 1864 these two towns alone possessed the Silver Ball, the tangible token of the so-called Canadian championship. In 1869, however, Woodstock could not beat Guelph, and passed the emblem to Canada's emerging baseball powerhouse. The new champions, who so coveted this prize that they recruited outstanding players to play for their team, defeated all comers for three successive years and by Silver Ball rules took



ownership of the ball. <sup>86</sup>

The passing of the Silver Ball from local hands temporarily hurt interurban competitive baseball in Ingersoll and Woodstock.<sup>87</sup> Championship games formerly played on local playing fields, now occurred only at Guelph, home of the new champions. Furthermore, Ingersoll and Woodstock first nine players, after having successfully competed together for over a decade, chose to retire from baseball, abandoning the field to "younger and less skillful men."<sup>88</sup> Because both clubs existed for primarily social, rather than competitive purposes at their outset, second nine teams had never been cultivated to advance to first nines when players retired. Yet without an available pool of skilled talent, Ingersoll and Woodstock clubs had little chance of defeating teams which stressed competitive achievement rather than social enjoyment. The bubble had burst.

This narrowing focus toward skilled athletic competition led clubs from some larger industrial centres -- Toronto, Hamilton, Dundas, Guelph, and London -- to create a new regulatory agency to develop and oversee a new, province-wide network of standardized interurban competition. This movement gave birth to a new Canadian Association of Baseball Players (CABBP), created in April, 1876 at meetings held in Toronto's Walker House. As a measure of how much things had changed, Ingersoll and Woodstock clubs, formerly at the vanguard of Ontario baseball, played no role in the Association's development.<sup>89</sup> Throughout this era metropolitan dominance became the rule for organized competitive baseball. On the one hand, the New York game predominated over strongly local early versions of the game. On the other, league competition emanated from Toronto, the provincial

metropolis, displacing the Woodstock System of challenge competition.

While certainly not intended entirely as a profit-oriented venture in the same manner as American professional leagues (which began in 1871), baseball under the auspices of the new CABBP had become an aspect of an evolving urban entertainment industry in a way that it never had under the old CABBP and the Woodstock Silver Ball system. As a challenge trophy the Silver Ball had only produced sporadic, rather than frequent, sport spectacles. The new CABBP, by contrast, consisted of league play in which visiting clubs received forty percent of cash receipts after the deduction of match expenses. This offset the travelling and accommodation costs they incurred.

When gate fees became the means by which clubs paid their expenses, individual players were no longer solely burdened with financing team activities. After dinner banquets, a mainstay of gentlemen-amateur social clubs, became a thing of the past. Fans financially supported their home team primarily through game admissions. This moved baseball towards the developing urban entertainment industry. Without spectator support and gate revenues, however, the system had little chance of working. Further, without separate competitive divisions based upon age or skill level, the CABBP targeted the development of only one small segment of the baseball-playing population.

This ended an era of Ingersoll and Woodstock baseball supremacy. Though initially touted by the Canadian Gentlemen's Journal of Sporting Times as having neither local nor sectional objectives, the new CABBP, charged the Association President Sleeman, was "never a fair representation of the game," and was "managed by a

a particular club."<sup>90</sup> Interestingly, Woodstock's Young Canadian club, which had singlehandedly organized, manipulated, and dominated the old CABBP and Silver Ball competition, had never been so accused in its heyday in the 1860's. Persistent issues, including professionalism; the financial instability and short life span of member clubs; and generalized dissent over the matter of how baseball should be developed in the province, undermined each venture.<sup>91</sup>

Alleged offending teams, for example Guelph's Maple Leafs and Harriston's Browns, became the focus of ongoing editorial debates in the press regarding the difference between prescribed and actual club behaviours. Few teams escaped the accusations. "Stop the farce and boldly acknowledge the professionalism" newspaper editors exhorted.<sup>92</sup> Yet even the most notorious offenders were unsure about whether professional baseball, modelled on the increasingly prosperous American example, was viable in Canada. This was especially true since it was the amateur model that popularized baseball and significantly elevated the game from a rowdy working class pastime to a respectable representative sport.

Each short-lived venture led baseball promoters to assert that in Canada entrepreneurs could make little money through professional baseball modelled on the American National League example. Like Ingersoll and Woodstock, most Ontario villages, towns, and cities had neither the financial resources nor sufficient population numbers to make professional leagues a viable entertainment enterprise. This was especially true when it is considered that professional leagues, like the American-based International Association restricted competition to league teams. Furthermore, without player drafts and other established

measures to ensure equality of competition and outcome uncertainty -- fundamental aspects of professionalism -- Canadian clubs could never achieve equal footing with their American counterparts.

Guelph's George Sleeman wrote to the Globe to present the facts: "Canada is not a rich enough country for men who are after money and nothing else, the sooner such men get out into the States the better for the game here."<sup>93</sup> Yearning for baseball as it had been envisioned as a gentleman-amateur sport in the early 1860's, Sleeman uttered prophetic words: "until baseball is played in Canada as it used to be, for the love of the game and the honour of the town or city represented, it never will be a success." Local inhabitants needed to be able to identify with their home team players he argued, "there was more enjoyment and certainly far more interest in the game when every member of the team was a [local] native."<sup>95</sup>

#### IV. Back to Basics

In both respects, and, more particularly, in the context of baseball as a genre of urban reform, Sleeman was quite right. Ball players throughout Ontario, and especially Ingersoll and Woodstock, reacted to the prevailing situation by developing locally feasible ways in which to play organized baseball. Returning to rigorously controlled amateur competition was one alternative to the American professional model which reasserted the reform impulse of the game. Organizers sought to inspire manly virtues in players and to cultivate respectable, rather than rowdy, behaviour.

Ingersoll and Woodstock's focussing baseball competition along the lines of already existing regionally-based urban economic and political rivalries was a good thing, but by itself could not ensure

success.<sup>95</sup> Ball clubs needed winning teams which could attract the financial support from local fans who would financially back them through gate attendances. Amateurism's association with social and moral reform issues worked to this end. Through encouraging amateur competition -- which was more financially feasible in both towns than professional competition anyway -- identification with the home team extended beyond the boundaries of simple boosterism to embrace the ideology of the amateur movement.

The example of the Woodstocks, the town's sometime Canadian amateur Champions, illustrates this point well. In a strongly-worded statement published in the local press in 1884, the Woodstocks along with other amateur clubs presented their view of professional baseball: "we have no sympathy whatever with 'professional sport,' as it is now carried on in the interests of speculators and gamblers... the result of a professional baseball match has no more interest for us than the result of a fight between two ownerless street curs."<sup>96</sup> That year the Woodstocks, together with the local lacrosse and bicycle clubs formed the Woodstock Amateur Athletic Association (WAAA) to provide socially-oriented local amateur competition in a variety of sports.<sup>97</sup> The Woodstocks then played under the auspices of the WAAA, competing solely in amateur competition both within the club and in interurban competition and in regional amateur interurban leagues based on AAA networks. In 1889 Ingersoll's own amateur ball club affiliated with the newly-formed Ingersoll Amateur Athletic Association (IAAA).

Using a combination of shrewd business sense and subtle coercion, local baseball promoters and the press effectively promoted amateur baseball competition. When the Woodstocks, for example,

suffered from poor gate revenues which reportedly resulted from the WAAA playing grounds being situated too far from the centre of town, they provided free rigs to transport spectators to the playing field.<sup>98</sup> The local press supported its efforts by shaking a finger at those who neglected their civic duty by failing to support the home team. After all, the WAAA was the town's representative sport association. In doing so the press dubiously placed the blame of any defeat upon the shoulders of an errant citizenry. The lack of a successful local baseball club, it chastized, "is due to the one fact that not enough encouragement is given the clubs by the town people by turning out and spending a couple of hours ever other week at their games."<sup>99</sup> The argument continued .."so long as such a state of affairs exists no [local] club will be able to eke out a respectable existence."<sup>100</sup>

Though the Woodstocks and the WAAA perpetuated amateurism, their approach to the issue was not entirely consistent in two ways. First, the WAAA did not appear at all concerned when many of the club's superior first nine players, "Tip" O'Neil most notably among them, eventually left town for professional careers with American leagues and short-lived professional teams in Canada.<sup>101</sup> If professionalism was such an evil as the WAAA painted it to be, presumably the Association would have voiced concerns for the social and moral welfare of its players. Perhaps the WAAA believed that the player migration vindicated amateurism for the system had cultivated such outstanding talent.<sup>102</sup> The WAAA's competitive edge at times superseded its reform principles. Through the years the local press avidly reported the careers of ballplaying expatriots, presenting them

as unofficial hometown ambassadors even though in the context of the AAA philosophy they were playing "inlegitimate" sport.

Second, the WAAA's approach to local factory clubs during the 1890's also appears inconsistent with its amateur mandate. Woodstock's Bain Wagon Works and Hay's Furniture Factory clubs, for example, started out as worker-organized ventures involving about forty workers from each local factory. Soon factory owners got into the act. They gave jobs to outstanding non-local ball players so they could play on club semi-professional first nines against teams in an Industrial League from Toronto, Dundas, Chatham, Galt, Berlin, Stratford, Detroit, Hamilton, and St. Thomas. The WAAA supported these clubs even though it abhorred professionalism.<sup>103</sup> Woodstock's factory clubs used WAAA grounds for intra club games. The semi-professional first nines also used the grounds for their practises and home games, and, by doing so, financed a portion of the association's amateur activities through gate receipts.

This situation obviously benefited all parties concerned. On the one hand, the workers clubs had a place to play intra club matches. On the other, the WAAA rested easy knowing that the workers were playing on respectable amateur playing fields where strict rules circumscribed player and fan behaviour. This, middle class AAA organizers seem to have presumed, occurred at the expense of the rowdier sports associated with the taverns. In regard to the semi-professional first nines of workers clubs, the WAAA apparently overlooked ideological differences over the issue of professionalism for the sake of monetary gains.

More importantly, whether they knew it or not, by relying on WAAA facilities the workers were empowering this middle class agency

to govern local sport. By gratefully using WAAA facilities for their baseball matches and by extension accepting the restrictions limiting behaviours on AAA grounds, the workers were implicitly deferring to the Association's authority as the local arbiter of sport, and to the dominant order encoded in the construction of amateurism. This reinforced the WAAA's status as the town's premier sporting institution and arbiter of so-called legitimate sport.

Yet the factory teams had their own agenda. By relying on the WAAA, for example, they tapped into an already existing network of sporting men, some of whom had considerable social status and financial connections. Access to this network worked in the club's interest and advantage. For example, workers clubs found facilities for practise and competition, even if they did not own them.

Occasionally fundamental differences in outlook could not be overlooked. Resistance to the WAAA's hegemony occurred in overt as well as subtle ways. Soon after factory men began to regularly use the WAAA facilities, the workers began to use their grounds on Sunday afternoon, one of the few times when a ordinary factory labourer could indulge in an afternoon's game. This highly offended the WAAA's principles of Sunday observance. The Association reacted to the situation by hiring a constable to patrol the grounds on the Sabbath.<sup>104</sup> Generally, though, things worked out, even though the factory teams and the WAAA exhibited different approaches to sport. The workers obviously shaped baseball matches into their own cultural celebration complete with kegs of beer and betting, despite the WAAA's determination to keep things on a level appropriate with their middle class views of respectability. The two, factory ball players and the



WAAA, successfully coexisted precisely because each operated from a different base of support. Although the WAAA may have felt that they had the upper hand, they deluded themselves. Their authority was constantly questioned, resisted, or simply dismissed.

Factory owners, themselves often AAA men, sponsored workers ball clubs for their own reasons. As a healthy form of exercise and pastime recreation, sponsors believed that baseball kept club members away from entertainments such as drinking, which might impede smooth workplace operations. In some senses, employers could view the teams simply as an adjunct to their business enterprise, one which extended already established economic rivalries between local factories. The teams were an advertising medium, complete with company uniforms and a team mascot. They were also a means by which workers could be indoctrinated into factory discipline by having the team carefully managed in strict business fashion, stressing and visually reinforcing player specific roles in an overall team effort, and reinforcing both worker allegiance to the employer and worker identity along factory lines. Factory owners also viewed them as a way of pacifying workers by giving them a spectacle to watch. In all of these regards ball clubs helped maintain a satisfied, productive workforce.<sup>105</sup>

Regardless of whatever social reform beliefs employers held, workers encouraged factory clubs for their own reasons. They did not have to be coerced into accepting factory baseball: in fact, the workers had themselves initiated club formation because they so enjoyed the game. As discussed previously, workers frequently played informal intraurban matches along occupational lines ever since Cartwright's game had been locally adopted. But factory sponsored ball

clubs were quite different from earlier occupationally-based competition which had been sporadic and informal, and which neither charged admission nor drew a large viewing audience. They were formally structured, organized, institutionally sanctioned, and, through the contractual hiring of first nine players and professional managers, created as a means of entertainment for paying spectators.

The advance of factory leagues by the 1890's indicated a final stage in baseball's evolution from a local communal game to an organized, structured, and formally codified transregional urban sport which, in many ways, developed its organized form in the American metropolis. Organized clubs, associations, and leagues had emerged as basic elements of the sport. Unlike the American National Game, Ontario baseball never successfully assumed a fully professional form in the nineteenth century. Despite this, the American professional example remained a constant reference point for all levels of Ontario baseball. The infeasibility of wholeheartedly adopting the American model led Ontario ball players, much like players from smaller American towns and cities, to develop baseball along locally meaningful lines which had existed long before the rise of professional baseball; those of occupation, social class, and urban community. Importantly, these lines were strongly shaped by middle class urban reformers who strove to use the sport as an antidote to urban ills, to subvert rowdyism, and as a way of cultivating respectability in males. They hoped to provide through baseball a symbolic shared order, based upon respectability, which would ideally eradicate class interests and oppositions. Their efforts, however, itself a specific form of class interest, were constantly contested.

Even so, baseball's popularity generally never waned because of the variety of informal and organized ways in which males, both young and old, played it. However limited people's leisure time, it consistently appealed to both participant and spectator alike who each shaped the game to meet their own ends.

## FCOTNOTES

1. Nancy B. Bouchier and Robert Knight Barney, "A Critical Examination of a Source on Early Ontario Baseball: The Reminiscence of Adam E. Ford," Journal of Sport History 15 (1)(Spring, 1988), 75-90. On early baseball see Robert W. Henderson, Ball, Bat and Bishop (New York: Rockport Press, 1947); Jessie Holliman, American Sport, 1785-1835 (Durham: Slesman Press, 1931); David Quentin Voigt, American Baseball: From Gentleman's Sport to the Commissioner System (Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966); Harold Seymour, Baseball, The Early Years (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960); Carl Wittke, "Baseball in Its Adolescence," The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly IX (April 1952); and Marvin Howard Eyer, "Origins of Some Modern Sports" (Ph.D. diss., Illinois: University of Illinois, 1956).
2. On the modernization of the game see Melvin L. Adelman, A Sporting Time: New York City and the Rise of Modern Athletics 1820-1870 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986). On the development of this ideology in the early twentieth century see Steven A. Reiss, Touching Base: Professional Baseball in American Culture in the Progressive Era (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1980), 4-9; 221-235. See also Albert G. Spaulding, America's National Game (New York: American Sports, 1911); and Peter Levine, A.G. Spaulding and the Rise of Baseball: The Promoter of American Sport (New York, Oxford University Press, 1985), 112-115.
3. History of Brighton Oxford Museum Bulletin No.7 Woodstock, Ontario, 15. On the home manufacture of equipment see Douglas Wallop Baseball: An Informal History (New York, 1969), 34-35 and Frank G. Menke, The Encyclopedia of Sports. Fourth Revised Edition, (New York: S Barnes & Co., 1969) 50-51.
4. Such practice was common since the Militia days of Colonial American and early Upper Canada. See Marjorie E. Cropp, "Beachville the birthplace of Oxford," Western Ontario Historical Nuggets No. 14, 18. According to the author, this sort of activity was evident on Muster days in the Beachville area in the early 1820's.
5. The Beachville game is described in Sporting Life 4 May 1886. The use of the term "club" in this source is questionable. Adam E. Ford, the author of the reminiscence is most likely only identifying informal teams chosen for the day's celebration by indicating that some players came from Beachville and some from the townships. The people for the teams had likely played together on a number of occasions, yet there is no evidence to support that they created any formally organized club. Primary sources reveal that the Zorra regiment, together with the Ingersoll and Woodstock regiments were mustered to deal with what remained of the rebel threat in Oxford County and around Norwich and Dereham. On the regiment see Thomas S. Shenstone, The Oxford Gazetteer, 1852, 16, and Herbert Milnes, The Story of the Oxford Rifles, Oxford Museum Bulletin No.5, Woodstock, Ontario, 1974. On the mustering of the regiment in 1838 see Cropp,

"Beachville, the Birthplace of Oxford."

6. Clipper, 18 August 1860. Players in the Ingersoll Rough and Ready Club and the Woodstock Young Canadian Club fielded the following positions: pitcher, catcher, 1st base, 2nd base, 3rd base, 4th base, left field, center field, right field, shortstop and backstop. On the basis of lineup alone we cannot determine whether or not these two teams were, in fact, playing Ford's game. Yet Humber, believes that the reports of baseball published in the Clipper for games played in and around Hamilton during the early 1860's involved something more akin to the Massachusetts than the Cartwright game. Humber, of course, did not have detailed information on Ford's game at the time his book was published. Without any direct knowledge of the Hamilton playing configuration, we cannot know whether Ford's game was played throughout Southwestern Ontario or it it was peculiar to Oxford County or just in Beachville's immediate vicinity. Quite possibly the Hamilton area had its own local version of baseball which more closely resembled the Massachusetts game than the game described by Ford. If so, Woodstock and other communities probably played Hamilton's version of the game when visiting Hamilton. See William Humber, Cheering for the Home Team: The Story of Baseball in Canada (Erin: The Boston Mills Press, 1983), 28.

7. Cited in Ibid., 15.

8. For example, Chronicle 18 August 1871. On the relation between railway excursions and sport development see Trevor Williams, "Cheap Rates, Special Trains, and Canadian Sport in the 1850's," CJHSPE, 84-93.

9. For example, Chronicle 6 July 1866 (a Tuesday afternoon game); 8 June 1878 (a Wednesday afternoon game between George Bailey's, James Badden and John Kerr's carriage shops); 20 June 1878 (a Wednesday game between workers at Noxon's agricultural implements works and Brown's carriage factory men); 30 July 1885 (printers versus tailors) and (tailors versus carriage makers on Tuesday afternoon); 7 July 1888 (North side of the river [presumably Noxon's factory] vs the furniture factory); September 8 1888 (men from Hault Manufacturing vs Noxon Brothers); 9 April 1889 (married vs single men in the furniture factory on Saturday afternoon); 25 April 1889 (Noxon's men vs the furniture and piano factory on Good Friday); 8 May 1890 (the furniture men vs the piano factory on Saturday afternoon); 12 June 1890 (the piano factory vs a picked nine of workers on Saturday afternoon). Also see Sentinel 27 September 1872 (local butchers vs the blacksmiths on Tuesday afternoon); 5 May 1873 (butchers vs blacksmiths on Wednesday afternoon); 19 September 1873 (the bakers played the blacksmiths Thursday afternoon for a dinner; 27 August 1875 (newspaper compositors vs telegraph officers on a Friday afternoon) and (cabinet makers vs coopers on Friday afternoon); 3 September 1875; 9 August 1878 (picked nines from the town playing on Wednesday afternoon for a keg of beer); 1 August 1879 (hotel keepers vs constables on Tuesday afternoon); 13 August 1879 (Scarff's carriage shops vs Richards Soap factory on Monday afternoon); 13 August 1880 (stonemasons vs bricklayers on Monday afternoon); 25 August 1882 (Thomas Company vs Karn Organ Co played for a championship bat); 8 September 1882 (the

organ factories vs the furniture factories on Saturday, "all classes of citizens taking a half-holiday like the players"; 29 August 1884 (McDonald's and Thompsons Mills vs Whitelaws foundry on a Saturday afternoon); 28 August 1885 (Karn vs Thomas Organ factories) and (McDonald's and Thompsons Mills vs the staff of the Sentinel on Friday afternoon); 4 September 1885 (James Hay and Co. vs the Great Western Mills on Saturday afternoon); 30 May 1887 (Karns vs Hay Co.); 15 July 1887 (Hay vs Karns); 15, 23 August 1887 (Hay vs the Rattan factory on a Saturday afternoon); 30 July 1888 (Karn's old shops vs new shops on a Saturday afternoon); 14 August 1888 (Thomas vs Patterson ltd.); 17 June 1889 (Hays Factory vs Bain Wagon on Saturday afternoon).

10. Bryan Palmer, A Culture in Conflict: Skilled Workers and Industrial Capitalism in Hamilton Ontario, 1860-1914 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979), 52.

11. Neither Palmer nor Colin D. Howell consider the extent to which baseball was an integral aspect of middle class culture. Howell places particular emphasis on middle class reform efforts though he never really articulates the role of "scrub" baseball in middle class culture. See "Baseball, Class, and Community in the Maritime Province, 1870-1910," Histoire Sociale/Social History XXII (44)(November, 1989), 265-286. On Ingersoll and Woodstock games of this nature see Chronicle: North v South side of King St. on Wednesday afternoon, 20 July 1882; North v South side of River on Saturday afternoon, 12 July 1884; lawyers v bankers, 16 July 1885; clerks of the east v west, 17 June, 8, 22 July, 12, 26 August 1886; and Detroit v Windsor for a silver cup on a Saturday afternoon, 26 July 1889. and Sentinel: bankers v merchants on Friday afternoon, 3 September 1875; business v business on Monday afternoon, 28 June 1878; hotelkeepers v constables on Tuesday afternoon, 1 August 1879; Farrell's to Watsons Corner v White's to Woodroffe's on Friday afternoon, 10 September 1881; single v married men of the Market Square on Wednesday afternoon, 28 July 1882; Woodroffe v Thomas Blocks on Friday afternoon, Caister House v Woodroffe Block on Tuesday afternoon, 31 August 1883; Licensed victuallers vs Toronto victuallers on Friday afternoon, 8 August 1884; North v South side of Dundas on Friday afternoon, 11 September 1885; dry goods clerks v grocers on Saturday afternoon, 8 July 1887; North v South side "amateurs" on Friday afternoon, 18 April 1889; North v South teams from WAAA, 11 June 1889. Other match groupings include: Picked team vs the firemen 16 September 1881; firemen vs the town, 8 June 1883; Freemasons v Oddfellows on Tuesday afternoon, 22 August, 13 September Forrester's challenge any other secret society, 1884.

12. Humber, Cheering for the Home Team, 27.

13. Chronicle 18 August 1869.

14. Sentinel 25 May 1885.

15. Regarding game fixing see Frank Cosentino, "A History of Professionalism in Canada Sport" (Ph.D. diss., The University of Alberta, 1969).

16. See Catriona Beaton Parratt, "Sport and Hegemony: Windsor c.1895 to c.1929," (M.A. thesis, University of Windsor, 1984), 26 ff.

17. Ibid. See also Alan Metcalfe, Canada Learns to Play: The Emergence of Organized Sport 1807-1914 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987); and Richard Gruneau, Class, Sports and Social Development (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1983).

18. On "gentleman-amateur" baseball clubs see David Q. Voigt, American Baseball. From Gentleman's Sport to the Commissioner System (Oaklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966); Seymour, Baseball: the Early Years. Howell, "Baseball, Class, and Community", gives the best analysis of the reform thrust of these clubs in Canada. On the question of socio-economic standing of gentleman-amateurs in New York city see Melvin L. Adelman, "The Development of Modern Athletics: Sport in New York City" (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois, 1980), 325-326.

19. See Chapter One.

20. Clipper 18 August 1860. The Victorias were at first called the Rough and Ready Club. The mention of a match played on 25 July 1860 found in the diary of Thomas Wells, an Ingersoll school teacher, is the first known record of a match in either community. Wells writes "John and I drove to Woodstock got my government money; saw a game of Base Ball between the Ingersoll and Woodstock clubs." (Archives of Ontario, MU 7732 v.2, 296). References to local games are also found on 2 July 1869 and 3 July 1869 in the diaries of George A. Gray. (Woodstock Museum, X9847.38 .50) On the formation of the Knickerbockers, the first known organized amateur club see Harold Seymour, Baseball: The Early Years, 15; and Adelman, A Sporting Time, 121 ff.

21. If this popular perception held much truth one could expect Ingersoll to have more American-born baseball players than Woodstock owing to its substantially larger American-born population. This, however, was not the case: both towns exhibited roughly the same minuscule proportion of American-born baseball players. Of thirty-three record-linked Ingersoll Victoria players, 87% were Ontario-born, 9% American-born, and 3% English-born. Of twenty-five record-linked Young Canadian players 76% were Ontario-born, 12% American-born, 12% English and Irish born.

22. Eighty-one percent of the thirty-three record-linked Ingersoll Victoria players were single. 63% of the group were under the age of 21, whilst the remaining players were from 22 to 33 years. Eighty-four percent of the twenty-five record-linked Young Canadian players were single. Roughly equal numbers of the Woodstock players were in the under 21 and the 22 to 33 age range categories. Every one of the thirty-three record-linked Ingersoll players was a Protestant (51% Methodist, 21% Church of England, 18% Presbyterian, 9% Baptist). All but one single Young Canadian was a Protestant (56% Methodist, 20% Presbyterian, and equal numbers of Church of England and Baptist players).

23. See Howell, "Baseball, Class and Community", and Adelman, A Sporting Time, 124.
24. Palmer, A Culture in Conflict, 52.
25. See Dale Somers, The Rise of Sport in New Orleans, 1850-1900 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972); Adelman, A Sporting Time; Voigt, American Baseball.
26. Adelman, A Sporting Time, 141-142.
27. For a discussion of this phenomenon see Howell, "Baseball, Class and Community," Adelman, A Sporting Time; Metcalfe, Canada Learns to Play; and Richard Gruneau, Class, Sports and Social Development Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1983.
28. Sentinel 7 September 1883.
29. The Tecumseh Baseball Club of London Minute Book 1868-1872 (Regional Collections, D.B. Weldon Library, U.W.O offers a good example of the formal organization of clubs. Though Ingersoll and Woodstock newspapers report that local baseball clubs drew up Constitutions and Bylaws, none remain for the analyst. I have thus chosen to draw upon the Tecumseh minute book for illustrative purposes. Since the Ingersoll, Woodstock, and London clubs were all "gentleman-amateur clubs." and since they competed against each other in such a fashion, I believe that the similarities between the basic codes of conduct demanded of club members, as well as those of the basic organization of the clubs far outweigh any differences that might have existed between the clubs themselves.
30. Howell, "Baseball, Class and Community," 266.
31. Perhaps this trend is more apparent in Woodstock because it was the County Seat and therefore possessed more lower level political functionaries combined with a more acute awareness of its own political status. Local dignitaries who patronized the town's ball teams were typically involved in other local sports as well. Among them were Thomas H. Parker, president of the Young Actives during his term as mayor in 1878. Parker, a fancy goods merchant, resided in the prestigious Vansittart Street neighbourhood of town. He was a sometime president of the Woodstock Mechanics Institute and was involved in an over twenty year career as a local civic official: being a nine time town councillor, two time Mayor, and member of the Board of Trade. James Sutherland, a local merchant, banker, and sometime Member of Parliament, was a fourteen year town council veteran, two time Reeve, one time Mayor, and member of the Board of Trade. He was also the president of the Young Actives during his term as Mayor in 1880, president of the Woodstocks in 1883, president of the Junior Woodstocks in 1883, and an active member of the local curling club 1874-1887. He became the president of the curling club in 1878, and finally patron in 1883-1887. Sutherland also stood as president of the local Beaver lacrosse club 1880, and honorary president of the local Caledonian society. In addition to his political and sporting activities, Sutherland was very active in



fraternal organizations. He was an executive member of the International Order of Odd Fellows, the Ancient Free and Accepted Masons, he was a Masterworkman of the Ancient Order of United Workman, and a Grand officer of the Order of Scottish Clans. Finally, Warren Totten, a onetime Upper Canada College student, local barrister, and manager of the Dominion Telegraph Company, sat as president of the Woodstocks during his 1883 term as local Mayor. Totten's involvement in baseball was minimal in comparison with his activities in curling (1871-87), cricket (1871-1879), lacrosse (1871), and his involvement in the Woodstock Amateur Athletic Association. He also very active in fraternal organizations: he was a sometime executive member of the Royal Arcaneum, the Ancient Free and Accepted Masons, founder of the Order of Fraternal Guardians, and executive and sometime Grand Solicitor of the Ancient Order of United Workmen.

32. Tecumseh Minute Book, Constitution Article 3 s.4. On the subject of professional contracts see Cosentino, "A History of Professionalism in Canada Sport."

33. On gentleman amateur clubs see Voigt, American Baseball and Seymour, Baseball: The Early Years. On the question of socio-economic standing of gentleman-amateurs in New York city see Adelman, "The Development of Modern Athletics," 325-326.

34. Tecumseh Minute Book Bylaws Article 3 s.9.

35. Palmer, A Culture in Conflict 53. For examples of banquets see Chronicle 27 July 1865, 3 August 1866, 21 May 1868.

36. Hamilton Times 23 February 1867. Club banquets apparently ended early, around eleven o'clock, and typically involved representatives from other teams. See, for example, a description of the banquet held for the Young Canadians who had just defeated the Dundas Mechanics (Chronicle 3 August 1866).

37. Palmer, A Culture in Conflict, 52.

38. Hamilton Times Ibid.

39. Ibid.

40. In London the Tecumsehs were actually named for the hotel where club members congregated. Owing to the short-lived duration of many hotels in Ingersoll and Woodstock (due to fire, poor business, new management, etc.), and the practice of renaming hotels whenever they were under new management, the issue of the ongoing relationship between hotels and ball clubs is considerably clouded. Yet certain establishments can still be identified as being organizational and social meeting places for local ball clubs. For example, the Ingersoll Victorias originated in Jarvis Hall (Chronicle 9 June 1865), and Hearn's Hotel (27 April 1866, 26 March 1868, and 1 April 1869). McMurray's Hotel also served as a meeting place for baseball enthusiasts (17 April 1884). By 27 April 1890 the club rooms of the Ingersoll Amateur Athletic Association were used by local amateur baseball clubs for organizational and social meetings. In Woodstock

it is more difficult to pinpoint the hotels where baseball players and organizers congregated in the 1860's and early 1870's because only several issues remain from local newspapers of that era. That being said, other sources indicate that the Royal Hotel was the site of the Canadian Baseball Association's formation. In the early 1870's the Wister House was the meeting place for the Excelsiors (Sentinel 29 May 1874) and the Amateurs met at the North American Hotel (16 March 1878). Baseball players and organizers more frequently used the Royal Hotel for meetings and social gatherings (for example, the Young Actives had a lengthy affiliation with the hotel, Sentinel 16 March 1877, 29 March 1878, 2 April 1880, and 17 June 1881; the Woodstock Jrs. 3 May 1887 and 16 April 1889).

41. Hotel owners were perhaps the most prominent sports promoters in the towns. Woodstonian John Forbes's horseracing activities, as discussed in Chapter Three, for example, stemmed from his owning a hotel and livery stable. Although many hotel owners sat on the executives of organized sport clubs, in most case, however, they had little, if anything, to do with the decidedly respectable middle class run Ingersoll Amateur Athletic Association or the Woodstock Amateur Athletic Association. An exceptions to the rule was Chas. A. Pyne a onetime WAAA manager who later owned the Oxford Hotel. See Chapter Four.

42. Howard Angus Christie, "The Function of the Tavern in Toronto 1834-1875 With Special Reference to Toronto Sport" (M.A. thesis, University of Windsor, 1973).

43. See Adelman, A Sporting Time, 150.

44. Clipper 22 June 1861. The meeting took place on Monday August 15 and the organization formed was called the Canadian Baseball Association. Hamilton Times 24 August 1864; Chronicle 26 August 1864; Clipper 14 September 1864 See also Peter Leslie Lindsay, "A History of Sport in Canada, 1807-1867" (Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, 1969), 79.

45. Hamilton Spectator 11, 24 August 1864.

46. Ibid., 31 March 1903; 29 September 1864; Chronicle 7 October 1864; Lindsay, "A History of Sport in Canada," 79.

47. Hamilton Times 15 August 1903.

48. Robert Leslie Jones, History of Agriculture in Ontario, 1613-1880 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977 ed.), 341.

49. Ibid., 342. Fairs and exhibitions had a lengthy association with sporting events, particularly horseracing. See Chapter Three.

50. Spectator 29 September 1864.

51. Chronicle 7 October 1864.

52. Hamilton Times 29 September 1866.

53. Spectator 11 August 1864; Chronicle 13, 20 July; 21, 26 August 1869. This Silver Ball is pictured in Star Weekly 19 July 1924.
54. Spectator Ibid. A much more detailed description of the rules is found in Clipper 28 May 1871. Sentinel 28 May 1880 reports that at the time that the Canadian Baseball Association was formed in May, 1876, George Sleeman referred to Silver Ball competition: "he proposed a code of laws on the Old Woodstock system, the best system to govern for the championship be adopted." The playing season fell between the second week of June and the first week of October.
55. Clipper Ibid. Henry Chadwick was the publisher of the American rules and believed to be the "father" of American baseball. See Menke, The Encyclopedia of Sports.
56. Clipper 26 June 1869.
57. Ibid. 14 September 1864. Hamilton and Woodstock apparently got their wires crossed over the matter of who was supposed to challenge whom. The first Silver Ball match occurred on August 15 between the Hamilton Maple Leafs and the Young Canadian club. Woodstock won by a score of 30-2
58. Chronicle 3, 13 August 1868.
59. Clipper 14 September 1864.
60. Clipper 4 September 1864.
61. Ibid., 1 October 1864.
62. Ibid., 27 June 1868.
63. Globe 17 August 1867.
64. Hamilton Times 16 August 1867.
65. Clipper 19 June 1869.
66. Ibid., 17 July 1869.
67. Ibid. The population of Woodstock listed in the 1871 census was 3,982 persons.
68. Ibid. Money prizes awarded in the first class division were \$100, \$60, and \$30. In the second class \$50, \$35, and \$25 were awarded.
69. For example, Chronicle 3 September 1868, 18 February 1881; Sentinel 1 September 1871.
70. Chronicle 13 August 1868.
71. Sentinel 28 June 1878.

72. Ibid., 17 September 1880. The size of crowds attending interurban baseball games reflects some of the association between team and town. For example, fifteen hundred spectators, nearly one-half of Woodstock's entire population, watched the Woodstock Young Canadians defeat the Dundas Mechanics in 1866 (Chronicle 3 August 1866). Two years later three thousand, nearly three-quarters of the town, attended the Silver Ball match between the Young Canadians and Victorias in Woodstock (21 May 1868). In 1870 a match between the Young Canadians and the London Tecumsehs attracted two thousand fans, slightly more than one-half of the population (7 July 1870); and in 1878 five thousand people, in excess of the entire population of Woodstock are reported to have attended the Guelph Maple Leaf versus Woodstock Young Actives match. (Sentinel 9 August 1878). On the issues of spectatorship, urban rivalries, and organized interurban baseball competition in Ontario during this period see Humber, Cheering for the Home Team.

73. Eighty-six percent of the twenty-two record-linked Ingersoll players for whom complete demographic data are available were Ontario-born, the remaining fourteen percent had been born in the United States. Every player was Protestant by faith (36% Presbyterian, 32% Methodist, and 18% from the Church of England) and single. Of the thirty-eight record linked Woodstock players for whom complete demographic data is available, eighty-five percent were Ontario-born, with the remaining fifteen percent equally distributed amongst American and Irish born. Eighty-six percent of the group were Protestant (34% Presbyterian, 26% Methodist, 18% Church of England), and a further 84% were single.

74. Initially Victoria and Young Canadian baseball club executives were drawn from the ranks of artisan membership. By the time that interurban competition was well on its way (sometime between 1869 and 1871, the very point at which the Young Canadians' domination of the Silver Ball championship died) locally prominent middle class social, political, and economic leaders from group #2 began dominating club organization and executives.

75. Guelph Evening Mercury 5 August 1868; Also see Guelph Evening Telegram 27 September 1923; Humber, Cheering for the Home Team, 29 refers to this incident as well.

76. Guelph Evening Mercury Ibid.

77. Ibid., 6, 8, 15 August 1868.

78. On this issue see Howell, "Baseball, Class and Community," and Alan Metcalfe, "Sport and Athletics: A Myth or Reality," Proceedings of the 3rd Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education (Halifax: Dalhousie University, 1971); also see Adelman, A Sporting Time, 134.

79. Clipper 17 July 1869. The amateur status of clubs did little to inhibit rumours of bets. On 12 September 1882 the Sentinel reported about a forthcoming match between the Ingersoll Victorias and the

Woodstock Atlantics which was the object of a rumoured \$100 bet.

80. Clipper 31 July 1869.

81. Tecumseh Minute Book.

82. Clipper 14 September 1864.

83. Humber, Cheering for the Home Team.

84. Les Bronson, Unpublished Address on Baseball given to the Middlesex Historical Society, 1972. (Regional Collections, University of Western Ontario Library).

85. Clipper 31 July 1869.

86. George Sleeman Collection, Regional Collections, D.B. Weldon Library, University of Western Ontario. File 4065. Undated Guelph Evening Mercury article 1917. See also Star Weekly 19 July 1924.

87. Hamilton Times 16 June 1871.

88. Bryce's 1876 Canadian Baseball Guide (London, Ontario, 1876), 8.

89. They did, however, play in the Association. On the Association see Clipper 22 April, 6 May 1876; Bryce's 1876 Canadian Guide; Canadian Gentleman's Journal of Sporting Times (hereafter CGJST) 28 April 1876.

90. CGJST Ibid.

91. Metcalfe, Canada Learns to Play, 86. Metcalfe observes that despite a lack of stability of clubs, leagues, and organizations, this situation "did not appear to retard the game in the twentieth century."

92. Sentinel 30 July 1880 reprinted from the London Advertiser; on the formation of the Association see Mail and Empire 24 May 1880, and the Globe 22 May 1880.

93. Metcalfe, Canada Learns to Play.

94. Sleeman Collection. See also Globe 17 May 1884.

95. Ibid.

96. For example, the question of finances, which according to the Sentinel was "the rock upon which ball has floundered," persistently plagued Ingersoll and Woodstock teams which could not generate high enough revenues through gate receipts.(4 May 1888) Yet many baseball promoters nevertheless maintained that "a winning team is always financially successful."(27 April 1889) Ensuring success was thus a twofold task: on one hand simple victory was essential, on the other, baseball promoters had to maintain low overhead costs by cutting down expenses, for example by competing only against teams from nearby

communities. In 1889 teams from St. Catharines, Welland, Merriton, Niagara, Beamsville, and Grimsby created the Niagara District Amateur Baseball League for this reason.(14 May 1889) Within a year, clubs from Stratford, Galt, Brantford, London, St. Thomas, St. Marys, Ingersoll and Woodstock met and also formed a Southwestern Ontario regional association (Chronicle 11, 17 April 1890).

97. Sentinel 18 April 1884.

98. On the WAAA see Chapter Four.

99. Sentinel 22 July 1889.

100. Ibid., 21 June 1889.

101. Ibid.

102. O'Neil technically was a Young Active, the forerunner of the Woodstocks at the time. On Edward "Tip" O'Neil see Stephen J. Gamester, "You Can't tell the Canadian Big League Heroes Without a Program," MacLeans 22 August 1964 and Humber, Cheering for the Home Team, 119-121. O'Neil was among the first group inducted into the Canadian Baseball Hall of Fame. During his early career Tip's activities were carefully followed by the Woodstock local press. See, for example, Sentinel 29 April 1881, 7 April, 13 October 1882, 11 May 1883, 21 March, 5 September 1884, 8 May 1885. 24 September 1887, 31 January and 29 February 1888. O'Neil appears to be the first local boy whose career was followed in this manner. In 1885, upon the creation of the professional Canadian Baseball League other local players followed suit. William Farrell and Alex Ross, for example, signed with Guelph and Samuel Paling signed with Hamilton (Sentinel 19 June 1885). Among them were: Wm Farrell (5 March 1887), Alex Ross (10 May 1887), Alf Weeks (29 June 1887), George Weeks and George Brazer (30 June 1887), J.A. Lombard and Alex Ross (5 August 1887). These players played on Michigan, Belleville and Port Hope teams. In 1888 Lombard, Lew Brown, and Raef Thompson's professional careers are also followed (12 April, 28 April, 22 June 1888). The only Ingersoll player known to receive similar attention was Charley O'Neil, "an old Ingersoll boy," the Sentinel reported on 17 May 1888 "... [who] is a member of a Texas league and playing good ball."

103. Sentinel 9 April 1887.

104. Sentinel Illustrated Supplement 4 February 1899; Sentinel-Review 21 February 1957 "Recall When Bain Wagons Brought Fame to City."

105. Sentinel 16 April 1888.

106. Steven Gelber, "Their Hands are all out Playing: Business and Amateur Baseball. 1845-1917," Journal of Sport History 11 (1)(Spring, 1984), 27; see also "Working at Playing: The Culture of the Workplace and the Rise of Baseball," Journal of Social History 16 (1983), 3-22.

CHAPTER SEVEN  
Lacrosse: A Middle Class Creation

Of the three team sports found in Ingersoll and Woodstock civic holiday celebrations, lacrosse bore the most clearly articulated and heavily institutionalized version of the "games-build-character" approach to sport endemic in the amateur movement.<sup>1</sup> Lacrosse was constructed with a specific social agenda. Despite its lengthy tradition in Indian culture, its organized form appeared in some senses as almost a sport without a past. It was virtually reinvented for all intents and purposes by promoters who attempted to create a distinctly Canadian sporting culture.<sup>2</sup>

Created as a means to cultivate manliness and respectability in male youth, and as a vehicle for keeping their leisure activities "in check," lacrosse found tremendous support from middle class sport organizers, local social reformers, religious leaders, and educators. Through lacrosse middle class men believed they could create in youth values appropriate to uphold and succeed in the dominant culture. Lacrosse thus contributed to, and reflected, a local middle class hegemony. Adopted in Ingersoll and Woodstock in 1871, lacrosse's active promotion among youth through educational signified that from the mid-1870's on local society accepted organized sport as an important aspect of life.

With its tremendous popularity in the late 1870's and 1880's, and with the increasing associations between lacrosse teams and the corporate urban community, however, the gap between ideation and behaviour widened significantly.<sup>3</sup> Pressures for victory, coupled with intense fan and player identifications with the home team, undermined reformers' efforts. Lacrosse's very popularity, regardless

of whatever reform beliefs organizers held, undermined its reform orientation. By the late 1880's middle class idealism was impaled on its own sword of boosterism.

### I. Lacrosse and Reform

Like many the middle class social thinkers of his day J.E. Wells, headmaster of Woodstock College, was intrigued by the notion of national character and the role of the physical development of youth in its shaping. In 1875 he observed in the Canadian Monthly and National Review that young Canada was at that critical time "fast putting away childish things, and assuming the attitudes and tones, and to some extent the responsibilities of, nationality."<sup>4</sup> He argued that a well-developed physicality amongst Canadian youth was essential to this shift.

Like others writing in that era, Wells believed Canadians possessed certain inheritable qualities tempered by climactic conditions which "prove most favourable to mental as well as physical development."<sup>5</sup> Each was essential to national development: "bone and muscle and nerve fibre must be necessary antecedents of brain power."<sup>6</sup> This, in turn, undergirded nation-building. Woodstock College authorities, like Wells, sought to stimulate such growth through an extensive sports program. They encouraged "healthy physical development ...through gymnasium work and outdoor sports." To these ends the College, like other educational institutions, featured lacrosse.<sup>7</sup>

Generally lacrosse proselytizers, like Dr. George Beers, the Montreal dentist, fervent nationalist, and zealous middle class sports promoter who spearheaded the creation of the National Lacrosse



Association, believed that lacrosse could shape urban youth into manly Canadian nationalists.<sup>8</sup> Through the popular treatise, Lacrosse The National Game of Canada (1869) Beers speaks of lacrosse, in almost evangelical terms.<sup>9</sup>

Beers and other lacrosse promoters used history and British sporting tradition to vindicate and justify lacrosse as a nationalistic medium.<sup>10</sup> At one level, they believed the historical origins of the game amongst Canada's indigenous peoples easily gave lacrosse special meaning as something truly Canadian.<sup>11</sup> Like other Canadian nationalists of the day, they romanticized Indians as a physical feature of the rugged Canadian northern landscape.<sup>12</sup> They regarded Indians to be a hearty, noble savage whom Canadians could tame in the same fashion that they tamed the vast and rugged geography of the country. They envied and emulated Indian physical robustness.<sup>13</sup> They believed it to result from the combined effects of the northern climate and the demands that lacrosse made on their physiques.<sup>14</sup>

Lacrosse proselytizers lauded their own ability to take this aspect of the Canadian wilderness and conquer it, so to speak, by reshaping it to suit themselves. This supposedly produced the "greatest combination of physical and mental activity white man can sustain."<sup>15</sup> They believed that the codification and institutionalization of lacrosse in the hands of middle class white men elevated the game's moral tone significantly, while at the same time preserved its essential ingredients of action-packed competition.<sup>16</sup> As Beers blatantly put it, his version of lacrosse was, "much superior to the original as civilization is to

barbarism."<sup>17</sup>

The repeated references made by lacrosse proselytizers to "nation building" "boyish sport," "young manhood," and "healthy exercise" are central to the sport's acceptance by men like Wells as a rational recreation aimed primarily at Canadian youth. Yet if organized lacrosse held a reform impulse, who did the architects of this rational recreation have in mind? A typology of young men who would do well to pick up a stick offered by Beers included socialites, sissies, and unmanly men.<sup>18</sup>

Why such a concern with youth and sport? Wells, like other middle class reformers of the era sought a mechanism to counter the glaring effects of two issues central to the "problem" of urban youth. First, as schooling replaced apprenticeship as the ideal and occupation of most children, many social observers feared that boys especially were becoming sedentary and feminized.<sup>19</sup> Between 1869 and 1881, for example, 80 to 90 percent of Ingersoll and Woodstock children between the ages of 5 and 16 attended school for upwards of 200 days per year.<sup>20</sup>

If the situation went unchecked, argued reformers, boys would become weak in physique and will power. To redress the imbalance, they desired to cultivate manliness in youth. As Ingersoll's Rev. P. Wright sermonized in 1872, the lack of a conception of 'true manhood' was a "fruitful source of failures in young men."<sup>21</sup> He determined that with a grasp of such a conception, however, "evil has no chances for young men." Local clergymen repeatedly stressed the subtleties of manliness. Sermon titles reveal their preoccupations: "How Does Physical Welfare Affect Moral Conduct," "Young Man's Leisure," "Where do you spend your time?," "True Manhood," and "A

Manly Man."<sup>22</sup> The simple cultivation of brute strength and simple courage in youth was not sufficient for the pursuit of manliness: each element, clergymen argued, must be suitably controlled as well.<sup>23</sup>

Second, urban life and increased schooling had created structured leisure time for youth for which few institutions existed to ensure that time away from home and school was spent under respectable, rather than rowdy, influences. Keeping the local crime rate down and keeping youth off the streets was a potent motivating force for local lacrosse. Though truancy and street crime in Ingersoll and Woodstock paled by comparison with the province's large cities, townspeople were nevertheless keenly aware of potential problems for newspapers reported sensational tales from the cities.<sup>24</sup> In 1873 one Ingersoll observer responded to the prevalence of rowdyism, immorality and blasphemy among youth, crying, "the wheels of our social mechanism are out of order!"<sup>25</sup> Ingersoll toughs from the north side of the river near the railyard were described as "dirty wretches" who "haunt the street corners evenings and Sundays insulting passers by, spitting tobacco juice and using the most blasphemous and obscene language."<sup>26</sup> Concerns of this nature ran high among lacrosse supporters. For example, presumably because of his efforts to keep boys on the "right path" Woodstock's Chief Constable T.W. McKee was popularly known as the "Tzar of the Beavers."<sup>27</sup> Further, Beaver club executive W. McKay, concerned with the prevalence of juvenile drinking in Woodstock, rallied against the licensing of bar rooms, "which destroy our boys," he claimed.<sup>28</sup>

To them lacrosse appeared to be a perfect antidote to problems

of urban youth and recreation. Lacrosse was a means to the end of cultivating manliness in youth and developing their character so that they would remain on the path of righteousness. It superbly embodied the "games-build-character" ideal of muscular Christianity.<sup>29</sup> This ideal was established in lacrosse of the sport's initial codification in 1856.<sup>30</sup> It was no coincidence, therefore, that the sport's most prestigious award, the Claxton Flags, donated in 1867 to the National Lacrosse Association by a charter member and sometime President of the Montreal Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA). In the deed of gift millionaire, philanthropist, and social reformer James T. Claxton "laid down his desire to promote by every means in his power the fostering of clean, amateur athletics amongst the youth of Canada."<sup>31</sup> Interestingly, this move, which cemented the relationship between lacrosse and the reform-minded YMCA, occurred at a time when the organization held a decidedly evangelical orientation -- long before it formally considered promoting physical programs as part of its overall mandate.<sup>32</sup>

The rhetoric surrounding lacrosse was compelling to the reform-minded, but discrepancies existed between ideology and behaviour. The adoption of lacrosse in Ingersoll and Woodstock between 1871 and 1895 sheds insight into the relationship between sport and local society. In both communities lacrosse touched certain dominant themes in the relationship between sport and society: in particular, the grave local concerns over the moral and physical welfare of boys and young men in both town's rapidly expanding urban environments, and the search for a mechanism through which youth could be taught the "right" ways to behave according to middle class social and moral

precepts. In the final analysis, however, despite its institutionalization through the Amateur Athletic Associations and schools lacrosse never lived up to its social and moral pedigree. Through time, as the gap between ideation and behaviour widened, lacrosse increasingly became the antithesis -- rather than thesis -- of the vision of youth and sport first expounded by middle class lacrosse proselytizers.

## II. Lacrosse and the Ingersoll and Woodstock Scene

Ingersoll and Woodstock did not turn to lacrosse until the point at which local baseball clubs lost their single-handed dominance in competitive interurban organized baseball in 1871.<sup>33</sup> The creation in 1867 of the National Lacrosse Association went entirely unnoticed in both towns. Instead, the local gaze was fixed upon the successes of hometown baseball teams who competed intensely for the coveted Silver Ball.

By the early 1870's, an era when a growing emphasis on winning undercut organized baseball's early social orientation, opened the floodgates for baseball's "clean" image to be tarnished in the public eye.<sup>34</sup> Associations between baseball and rowdiness surfaced among players and fans. Baseball's respectability wavered as teams turned to paying players "under-the-table" payments, and heated competition sparked lively betting amongst over-zealous fans. This caused considerable concern to social reformers who strove to mold baseball into a respectable sport.

Not surprisingly many turned to lacrosse at this time. Lacrosse's distinct amateur orientation, codified into the sport from its outset, made it appeal to those who decried rowdy sports

traditions. As a vehicle for youth reform organized lacrosse posed key ingredients that legitimized and distinguished it from other sports. Because of its relative newness, it did not have the so-called "debasement accompaniments, the bar room association" that rowdy sports possessed.<sup>35</sup> Therefore it was better insulated socially than other sports.

The energy and enthusiasm formerly directed solely upon baseball strongly influenced Ingersoll and Woodstock lacrosse. In 1871 the Woodstock press reported, "with the loss of the late lamented Silver Ball lacrosse seems to be favoured game this season."<sup>36</sup> Former baseball players comprised at least one half of the Beavers, the town's first lacrosse club. Seemingly picking up where baseball left off, lacrosse captivated the hearts of local sporting enthusiasts. The preceding decade of community-based local baseball activity had created a welcoming environment for the new Canadian team sport. Through baseball the towns gained experience in organizing urban team sport. Middle class holiday organizers began using respectable sport to foster and maintain a sense of local identity and communal purpose, team sport competition highlighted civic holiday celebrations. Believed to represent the town's merit, teams had become legitimate agents of local boosterism.

Newly-formed lacrosse clubs received sudden support for their sporting efforts. As soon as the Ingersoll Shamrock's made their intentions to compete known in 1871, and Gillespie furnished them with blue and white suits.<sup>37</sup> In Woodstock the local Ladies Benevolent Society graced the newly-formed Beavers with a fifteen dollar donation and painstakingly made goal flags. The flags were "worked

in gold, surmounted by a Beaver, with B.B.C. embroidered underneath." Like the Claxton Flags, the emblem of the Canadian Lacrosse championship, they were a treasure to behold.<sup>38</sup>

Yet other reasons besides simple boosterism made lacrosse "ripe for the picking." Through local lacrosse middle class men capitalized on organized sport's already apparent momentum and increasing popularity to solve in their own way the myriad of social problems connected with male youth. Lacrosse was to be a panacea for the ills that plagued society and sport. Lacrosse's particular attributes, its fast-paced, heavily institutionalized, muscular Christian emphasis made it seem an ideal vehicle for wrestling with issues of social reform concern. Through lacrosse clubs middle class men believed they could create in youth values appropriate to uphold the dominant culture as well as succeed in it.

The example of Ingersoll's very first exposure to lacrosse provides an ideal entree into the mechanics of this process. In June 1871 the neophyte players of the Shamrock club devoted themselves to learning lacrosse. They spent their time assiduously practising the difficult throwing, catching, and dodging skills demanded by the sport. Pleased with their progress, yet lacking any local opposition, they challenged the old Victoria baseball club "to awake from their lethargy and take up the lacrosse stick" for a match on Dominion Day.<sup>39</sup>

Three thousand spectators reportedly attended this unusual event. There many witnessed lacrosse for their very first time. Themselves totally unfamiliar with the sport, the baseball players resorted to near-violent physical force to vanquish their younger, though more highly skilled opponents. This modus operandi, labelled

"a gross libel upon lacrosse, and a outrage upon common sense," drew widespread criticism and public castigation by lacrosse men as being "cowardly and unmanly."<sup>40</sup> The Chronicle directed harsh words at the offenders: "we would suggest that lacrosse is a game entirely distinct from either foot ball or shinney, and that it has certain rules, the strict observance of which are the very essence of the game."<sup>41</sup>

Doubtless the Victorias wondered what all of the fuss was about. Their competitive background in baseball, coupled by a basic unfamiliarity with lacrosse, presumably led them to adopt the most expedient means by which victory could be achieved. In the eyes of those familiar with the esoteric aspects of lacrosse the Victorias' transgressions were blasphemous regressions into the "barbarism" that characterized both the Indian game and rowdy sports.

Organized lacrosse emphasized competition as a character-building process: victory was a means to an end, not an end in itself. Its rational roots, lay precisely in the physical and social restrictions inherent in this emphasis.<sup>42</sup> The key rested in the dual elements of strenuous physical exertion bordering on combat, coupled with potential for violence as twenty-four players on the field, sticks in hand, charged after a single ball. Bruises, cuts, scrapes, broken bones, and hacked appendages logically were all components of unrestricted lacrosse competition. The adoption of a "scientific" approach aimed at eliminating this very situation by emphasizing certain skills over sheer physicality.<sup>43</sup> The science was, in turn, informed by muscular Christian precepts stressing the concomitant development of social and sports skills on the playing field.



According to such beliefs brute force was inherently unmanly.

Organized lacrosse demanded that players possess an educated strength, manifested in speed and agility carefully circumscribed by a concept of "right action."<sup>44</sup> The muscular Christian precepts informing this educated strength demanded players exhibit gentlemanliness on the playing field. To cultivate this, players were admonished to "learn by heart and practice in conscience that beautiful verse of Thackeray's":

Who misses or who wins the prize,  
Go, lose or conquer as you can,  
But if you fail, or if you rise  
Be each, pray God, a gentleman.<sup>45</sup>

Rather than referring to a player's socio-economic standing this concept of gentleman refers to a code of acceptable playing field conduct: a quintessential respectability characteristic of the "games-build-character" approach found in amateur sport. Players maintaining acceptable standards of social conduct while playing presumably would evidence social and moral victories in the name of respectability. Organized lacrosse clubs aimed at reinforcing these learning experiences through a cooperative community of like-minded individuals who valued these traits. As a system of indoctrinating youth into the dominant order, lacrosse created, in the words of Beers, a sort of "freemasonry"<sup>46</sup> of people sharing the same tastes and sympathies.

Lacrosse club solidarity was expressed in members shared grief for each other's losses, and shared celebration in each other's accomplishments.<sup>47</sup> Local merchant Edward W. Nesbitt, secretary of Woodstock's Beavers and sometime president of the Canadian Lacrosse Association, received an exquisite silver tea service from the club

at a testimonial honouring his forthcoming marriage in 1879. A beautiful parchment scroll, elaborately detailed in gold accompanied the gift. Its inscription speaks volumes about the club's social and moral goals:

We feel it is no empty boast when we say that it is an honor to belong to the Beaver Lacrosse Club of Woodstock. The Young men who organized this Club nine years ago have retired and now occupy positions of trust and honor in our community leaving their places in the Club to be filled by other and younger men who bid fair to follow in the footsteps of their predecessors. At home and abroad the name of the Beaver Lacrosse Club has been and is now a synonym of honesty, uprightness, and fair dealing. Taking defeat in the same good natured and gentlemanly manner that they have scored victories, and on all occasion, recognizing the golden rule "To do to others as they wished to be done by."<sup>48</sup>

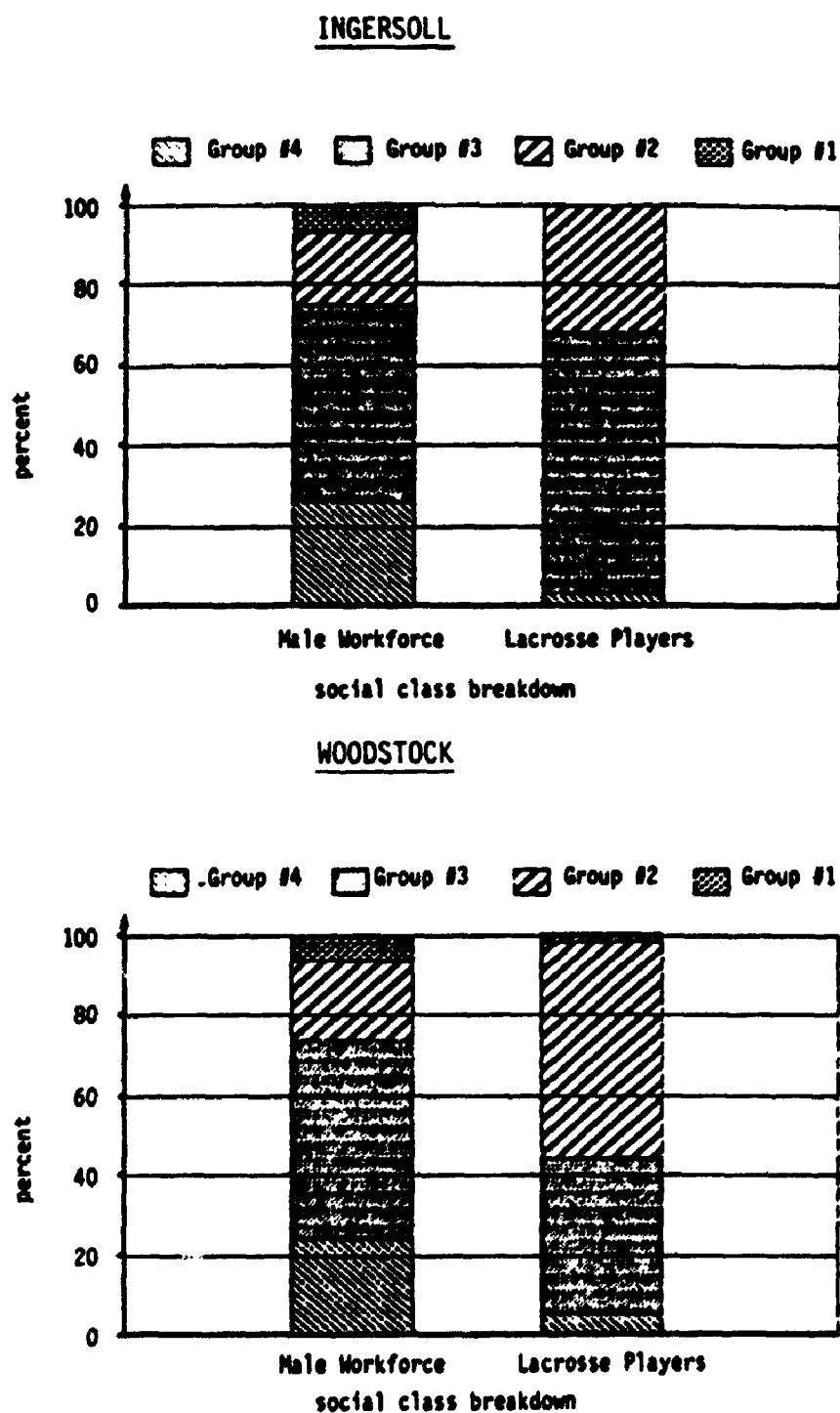
As well as showing solidarity, this "golden rule," a variation of the theme from Christ's Sermon on the Mount, voices the muscular Christian underpinnings of local lacrosse clubs.

The social structure of the clubs themselves reveals that middle class men constructed lacrosse with cultivating respectability in youth in mind. In both towns junior clubs far outnumbered senior level ones. Between 1871 and 1895 eighteen of the twenty local lacrosse clubs in Woodstock, and ten of the twelve clubs in Ingersoll which survived one full season, were junior organizations. Club membership was touted as a matter of prestige, "the boys who are envied are the captains of the lacrosse teams," reported the Sentinel.<sup>49</sup>

While senior level activity was typically directed toward a district or regional championships, intratown and house league play characterized junior level activity. Junior clubs, however, possessed other ends than the single-minded replenishment of senior teams. Only one in every seven or eight junior players could ever hope to graduate into the senior level in "farm-team" style.<sup>50</sup>

FIGURE 17

Social Class Background of Ingersoll and Woodstock  
Lacrosse Players and the Male Workforce, 1880-1889



\*Source: Ingersoll and Woodstock census (1881, 1891), sport data base.  
Ingersoll male workforce (over 14 years) n=1,276 (1885 est.) lacrosse players  
n=63.  $\chi^2(3)=29.03$ , p .001. Woodstock male workforce (over 14 years)  
n=2,397 (1885 est.), lacrosse players n=34.  $\chi^2(3)=64.83$ , p. 001.

constitutions and bylaws were much more part and parcel of lacrosse than was the case for baseball which held a resilient tradition in the informal culture of shop and factory, not to mention of children. Baseball was a tradition passed from parent to child, from older sibling to younger sibling. Lacrosse, by contrast, held no such roots in social tradition because, for all intents and purposes, it had been created as a sport without a past.<sup>57</sup> This made it better insulated from rowdy associations than baseball, and therefore a more viable vehicle for reformers' efforts.

### III. Idealized Middle Class Sport Impaled on its own Sword of Boosterism

Ingersoll and Woodstock lacrosse clubs, which lasted for decades, were heavily institutionalized. Ingersoll's Dufferins and Woodstock's Beavers, for example, were each charter members of the each town's respective AAA. They competed in regional divisions of senior and intermediate play in the National Lacrosse Association and, after 1887, in the newly-formed Canadian Lacrosse Association (CLA).<sup>58</sup>

Lacrosse club victory brought glory to a home town. In turn, winning clubs received ample community support. In 1888 Ingersoll citizens petitioned the Mayor to declare a half holiday to celebrate the Dufferin's advancing in the Southern District Championship so all could attend the match.<sup>59</sup> In 1901 on the occasion of Woodstock's birth as a city, the Sentinel-Review's "Inaugural Edition" was to argue that the Beavers had given Woodstock "an enviable reputation in the realm of sport."<sup>60</sup> This reputation, it implied, was both a symptom and an emblem of type of drive and determination which had culminated in the town's achievement of city status.<sup>61</sup>

Community festivities show the intricate ties between lacrosse clubs and community identification. Holiday lacrosse contests reflected a small town's sense of place and purpose in the developing Canadian nation. From the early 1870's on, lacrosse matches highlighted the Queen's Birthday and especially the Dominion Day holiday held under the auspices of local clubs. On those occasions thousands flocked to the town for the celebrations. The profits derived from ten cent admission fees to holiday matches alone funded a club's entire season.<sup>62</sup>

To ensure successful holiday sport, Woodstock clubs arranged exhibition matches with Brantford area Indian teams.<sup>63</sup> The war-painted Indians performed War Dances and Indian Concerts after the match. Pandering to the tastes of middle class holiday organizers, such extravaganzas symbolically juxtaposed and celebrated what Canada 'had been' against what 'it had become'. Combining the themes of 'Canada of Old' and 'New Canada', they fortified and exemplified pride in locality and nation and appealed to the sport's distant origins in Indian culture.<sup>64</sup> In 1893 the Sentinel-Review captured the relationship between lacrosse and the nation in the Dominion Day tribute in which a lacrosse stick and Canadian shield united Canada's vast and rugged geography.<sup>65</sup>

Yet community-based support of, and identification with, organized lacrosse went far beyond the civic celebrations. Frequent newspaper reports kept local people kept abreast players' social activities. Ingersoll's Chronicle noted Dufferin player Willy Smith's move to Wisconsin and club executive James Vance's election to the Presidency of the CLA in 1891.<sup>66</sup> Woodstock's Sentinel followed

the careers of Beaver players: Bob Matheson and Harry Totten, for example, moved to Manitoba and assumed executive positions on the Brandon lacrosse club; Tom Wood and Walter Old moved to Detroit; R.A. Douglas, Harry Fenn, and Tom Lees became members of the Minneapolis lacrosse club; and, in 1889, E.W. Nesbitt assumed the CLA Presidency.<sup>67</sup>

Leading citizens of both towns, like town Mayors, local professional men, and merchants, supported the clubs in highly visible way. In the hopes of molding a winning town team they offered rewards to club players for their social and sport skills. In 1871, for example, Ingersoll citizens banded together to offer a ten dollar prize for the best team in the local Dominion day match<sup>68</sup>; in 1885 H. Richardson, a local jeweller, offered a gold pencil prize for the Dufferin benefit garden party at Embro<sup>69</sup>; two years later Mason and Co. donated a gold-lined silver cup for throwing competition amongst Oxford County players<sup>70</sup>; finally, in 1885 James Vance, local barrister, sometime IAAA and Dufferin lacrosse club president, 1891 CLA President, executive member of the Sons of Scotland, and five year Town Councillor, commissioned a gold medal for local running competition amongst lacrosse club members.<sup>71</sup>

Woodstonian efforts in this regard were equally impressive and, in fact, more frequent: in 1874 Dr. Turquand, prominent local physician, sometime executive of the Royal Arcanum, ten year Town Council veteran and sometime Mayor donated a silver cup for the best general lacrosse player in town<sup>72</sup>; in 1880 Samuel Woodrooffe, local jeweller, sometime executive member of the WAAA, the bicycle club, and the Beaver lacrosse football club donated a silver medal for running competition between club members. It sat on display in his

store window for one week prior to the competition <sup>73</sup>; four years later Dr. Welford, executive member of the IOF and the OCF, sometime member of the tennis and bicycle clubs, and honorary president of the Beaver and Otter lacrosse clubs, along with lawyer F.W. McQueen, Division Court Clerk, cricket-playing Trinity College graduate, longtime executive of the AOUW, sometime president of the WAAA, the Beavers and the local roller-polo club, donated a gold medal for the best all round player in the club <sup>74</sup>; in 1887 the WAAA awarded medals to players on any winning championship team <sup>75</sup>; and in 1888 E.W. Nesbitt, grocer, sometime President of both the Canadian Lacrosse Association and the WAAA, executive member of the Beavers and Beaver lacrosse football club, donated a diamond pin for the best all round player who attended all practises punctually.<sup>76</sup>

While local sanctioning came from middle class community leaders, lacrosse clubs also received substantial grass roots support. In fact, local fans, intent upon making team victories their own, often transcended behavioural boundaries of respectability much to the abhorrence of lacrosse organizers. Though betting contravened the essence of amateur lacrosse, local sporting men repeatedly staked their money on their home team in interurban competition.<sup>77</sup> In 1879 Simcoe's team and their backers arrived for a match in Woodstock "supplied with heaps of wealth" which Beaver supporters "readily took up." Similarly, in 1887 Woodstock fans arrived in Ingersoll "with their pocket books well loaded" offering odds in favour of their team. Ingersoll supporters responded by putting up \$200 against their foes, placing bets "in sums ranging from ten to fifty dollars."<sup>78</sup>

Occasionally betting led to game fixing and "under-the-table" payments to amateur players. In July 1887 certain Brantford fans reportedly offered Beaver player and Patterson Factory worker Ed Kennedy twenty dollars to throw a game.<sup>79</sup> The local press decried this action and praised Kennedy's refusal to take part in the scheme.<sup>80</sup> One week earlier the Brants reportedly had unsuccessfully courted Beaver players Kennedy, Kelly, and Laird with offers of jobs with "a guarantee salary of not less than \$20 per week during the playing season."<sup>81</sup> These activities undermined the very essence of amateur lacrosse the Sentinel wrote: "this is the sort of thing that is ruining lacrosse, it is the betting spirit that leads to such attempts at fraud. Unless betting and the influence of betting men is stamped out, amateur lacrosse is dead - in fact it don't deserve to live."<sup>82</sup>

Lacrosse organizers responded to the pervasiveness of betting amongst spectators by placing stern warnings that transgressors would be ordered off local playing grounds -- yet frequent newspaper reports of money won and lost by sports fans confirm that many resisted, and few heeded the signs. In their opinion the situation was grave; betting contravened the very essence of the sport's underpinnings as a rational recreation. This moral danger, organizers believed, undermined the very social fabric of the community in two ways. Firstly, it very simply encouraged dishonesty in the form of game fixing. Secondly, and more importantly, by emphasizing chance, rather than effort, it undercut dominant reform values of rationalism, hard work, and social responsibility. Each was a bulwark of the sport as constructed and promoted by lacrosse proselytizers.



Game organizers had great difficulties in restraining fans whose zeal and enthusiasm led to what they deemed to be entirely inappropriate rowdy behaviours. Lacrosse's very success as an interurban sport thus had both its merits and its drawbacks. On the one hand, lacrosse clubs acted as an agent of social cohesion and as a vehicle of community improvement by projecting middle class versions of local identity, by stressing the sense of locality in the context of the nation-state through nationalism, and by attending to the moral and physical welfare of urban youth through a rationally-based recreation program. Yet on the other hand, strong identifications between team and town fortified by these very elements themselves fed, rather than undermined, resistance to this aspect of the dominant order. The sport's very success, regardless of whatever reform beliefs lacrosse organizers held, undermined reform aims. This impaled middle class idealism on its own sword of boosterism, so to speak.

Numerous incidents attest to this. The Tillsonburg Liberal wrote after a visit to Ingersoll in 1888 that "the big trouble at matches are the spectators." Local "treacherous whelps" had pelted Tillsonburg's team with stones. The paper argued that if the spectators "would keep their mouths shut and not interfere with the players disputes which occur on the field would be settled much quicker and a better feeling would prevail."<sup>83</sup> The Chronicle quickly responded to the indictment: "if you expect the spectators in rival towns to keep quiet you make a great big mistake."<sup>84</sup> Two weeks after the incident the Chronicle took great pleasure in reporting that Tillsonburg audiences "seemed rather to enjoy hoodlism" [sic].<sup>85</sup>

When the Paris Brants visited that town "a crowd of small boys gathered around a stand in the centre of the field with kazoos, bugles, etc.," making "a far from harmonious noise" whenever a Brant player bungled a play.<sup>86</sup> Their discordant music, reminiscent of Callathumpian parades, undermined the intended rationality, respectability and order of the matches. Generally, extreme partisanship prompted fans from almost every urban place to "howl like maniacs for their own team and act with little short of brutality towards their opponents."<sup>87</sup> Newspapers admonished locals to treat visitors "in a gentlemanly and generous way." This, of course, suggests that quite the opposite prevailed.

The problem, however, did not entirely rest on spectators' shoulders. Greater player commitment to winning for the glory of the team and the honour of the town stretched acceptable playing field behaviours. This led to a far from ideal situation from the standpoint of the original intent of organized lacrosse. When the sport's emphasis increasingly shifted from process to goal, that is, from lacrosse as a means to character-building-building to lacrosse victory being an end in itself, lacrosse physicality also shifted from an "educated" strength toward unrestrained brutality. The sport's sheer physicality accentuated player violence.

On one visit to Ingersoll, Woodstock players were brutally treated by the town's fans and players alike. During the match (presided over by what Woodstonians referred to as "daisy" umpires) Woodstock player Matheson fiercely body checked an opponent. This caused several hundred locals to retaliate by rushing onto the playing field and mobbing him. The melee between angry Ingersoll spectators and the Woodstock team lasted fifteen minutes before the

field was finally cleared and play re-commenced. Five minutes later Ingersoll's Chief of Police, himself an outraged spectator, chased down Woodstock's Herb Clarke for roughing up another Ingersoll player. He screamed obscenities as he caught the youth by the throat and throttled him. <sup>88</sup>

The heartfelt antipathy between the two towns prompted by playing field battles was well known. Commenting on this state of affairs a reporter from the Embryo Courier pointed a harsh finger at overzealous fans: "if the spectators of these two towns would keep quiet and not interfere so, much of the bad feeling between the boys would die out."<sup>89</sup> The paper, however, was uttering only part of the story. Organizers and players themselves were equally to blame.

Once on the side of lacrosse as a suitable means of keeping youth out of trouble and off the streetcorners, local police ironically were now keeping themselves busy trying to curb playing-field violence which in some cases they actively engaged in. Even the press, the stalwart voice, if not conscience, of the rational recreation movement acted in similar paradoxical fashion. Regarding the incident in question the Chronicle vindicated the local reaction to the Woodstock team: "had the spectators stepped in and hammered some of them and maimed them for life the punishment would be no less than they deserve."<sup>90</sup>

This situation, while testifying to lacrosse's immense popularity as an urban sport for youth, decidedly undercut arguments made in the sport's favour as a medium for instilling nationalism in players, and, further, as a carefully construed rational recreation emphasizing muscular Christian precepts. In fact, with its rising

popularity, this fast-paced game increasingly became the antithesis -- rather than the thesis -- of the vision of youth and sport first expounded by amateur lacrosse proselytizers. As the gap between ideation and behaviour widened, lacrosse clearly did not live up to expectations of it as a truly national game which united social groupings. Even so, as the earliest example of a carefully construed rational sport which wholeheartedly embraced at its very outset the "games-build-character" ideology and amateurism, lacrosse contributed significantly to a middle class hegemony. Embraced by local social reformers, religious leaders, and educationalists, amateur lacrosse led the way in the local acceptance of this variation of the muscular Christian ideal. Its active promotion among youth in both educational and social settings signifies that from the mid-1870's on organized amateur sport became sport's dominant expression.

FOOTNOTES

1. On the origins of the modern game include: Robert W. Henderson, Ball, Bat and Bishop (New York: Rockport Press, 1947); Marvin H. Eyer, "Origins of Some Modern Sports" (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois, 1956); Alexander M. Weyand and M.R. Roberts, The Story of Lacrosse (Baltimore: H & A Herman, 1965); Michael A. Salter, "The Effect of Acculturation on the Game of Lacrosse and on its role as an Agent of Indian Survival," CJHSPE 3 (1)(May, 1972), 28-43; T.G. Vellathottam and Kevin G. Jones, "Highlights in the Development of Canadian Lacrosse to 1931," CJHSPE 5 (2)(December, 1974), 37; Christina A. Burr, "The Process of Evolution of a Competitive Sport: A Study of Lacrosse in Canada, 1844 to 1914" (M.A. thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1986); Donald Morrow, A Sporting Evolution: the Montreal Amateur Athletic Association (Montreal: M.A.A.A., 1981); and Alan Metcalfe, Canada Learns to Play. The Emergence of Organized Sport 1807-1914 (Toronto: McLelland & Steward, 1987), 181-218. Earlier scholarship on Native lacrosse can be found in: Stewart Culin, "Games of the North American Indians," Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1907) and George Catlin, Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs and Condition of the North American Indians vol.2 (London: The Egyptian Hall, 1871).
  
2. On structural changes to the game as a result of its codification see Peter Lindsay, "A History of Sport in Canada, 1807-1867" (Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, 1969), 114-132; and Burr, "The Process of the Evolution of Lacrosse."
  
3. On escalating violence and rowdyism in lacrosse see Metcalfe, Canada Learns to Play; "Sport and Athletics: A Case Study of Lacrosse in Canada, 1840-1889," JSH 3 (1)(Spring, 1976), 1-19; Burr, "The Process of the Evolution of Lacrosse."
  
4. J.E. Wells, "Canadian Culture," Canadian Monthly and National Review (1875), 459.
  
5. Ibid.
  
6. Ibid.
  
7. Express Industrial Edition February 1906. On Wells and the College see Woodstock College Memorial Book (Woodstock: Woodstock College Alumni Association, 1951).
  
8. On Beers see Peter Lindsay, "George Beers and the National Game Concept. A Behavioural Approach," Proceedings of the 2nd Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education (Windsor: University of Windsor, 1972), 27-44; Don Morrow, "Lacrosse as the National Game," in A Concise History of Sport in Canada (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1989), 45-68. On matters related to nationalism in sport refer to Alan Metcalfe, "Towards and Understanding of Nationalism in Mid-Nineteenth Century Canada -- A Marxian Interpretation," Proceedings of the 2nd Canadian Symposium on

the History of Sport and Physical Education (Windsor: University of Windsor, 1972), 7-14; and R. Gerald Glassford, "Sport and Emerging Nationalism in Mid-Nineteenth Century Canada," Proceedings of the 2nd Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education (Windsor: University of Windsor, 1972), 15-26.

9. George Beers, Lacrosse. The National Game of Canada (Montreal: Dawson Bros., 1869). Beers' other lacrosse-related publications include: "Canadian Sports," Century Magazine v.14 (May-October, 1879), 506-527; Goal Keeper (pseud.) The Game of Lacrosse (Montreal: The Montreal Gazette Steam Press, 1860); "The Ocean Travels of Lacrosse," Athletic Leaves (September, 1888), 42; "A Rival to Cricket," Chambers Journal v.18 (December, 1862), 366-368. Contemporary, through erroneous, assumptions regarding lacrosse as Canada's national sport have found their origins in Beers' efforts. In fact, the motto of the National Lacrosse Association, "Our Country, Our Game" reinforced the myth. See Kevin G. Jones and T. George Vellathottam, "The Myth of Canada's National Sport," CAPHER Journal (September-October, 1974), 33-36; and "By Dick Beddoes," Globe and Mail 20 December 1868.

10. Beers, Lacrosse: the National Game of Canada. He writes: "It may seem frivolous, at first consideration to associate this feeling of nationality with a field game, but history proves it to be a strong and important influence. If the Republic of Greece was indebted to the Olympian games; if England has cause to bless the name of cricket, so may Canada be proud of Lacrosse. It has raised a young manhood throughout the Dominion to active, healthy exercise; it has originated a popular feeling in favor of physical exercise and has, perhaps, done more than anything else to invoke the sentiment of patriotism among young men in Canada; and if this sentiment is desirable abroad, surely it is at home."(p.59)

11. Ibid. Also see W.K. McNaught, Lacrosse and How to Play it (Toronto, 1873).

12. On this matter refer to Carl Berger, "True North Strong and Free," in Peter Russell (ed.) Nationalism in Canada (Toronto, 1966), 3-26; The Sense of Power. Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism 1867-1914 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), Chapter 5, "The Canadian Character," 128-153; and Dave Brown, "The Northern Character Theme and Sport in Nineteenth Century Canada," Canadian Journal of History of Sport vol. xx (No.1)(May 1989), 47-56.

13. Ibid., 32, see also W.K. McNaught, Lacrosse and How to Play it (Toronto, 1873). Not surprisingly such notions rested on powerful racist assumptions. They denied the game any integrity as it had been played by Indians culture presumably because by their standards Indians had no culture. By making the association between the Northern theme, climate, and lacrosse as something particularly Canadian they conveniently neglected the fact that both Amerindians and lacrosse were to be found throughout the continent: not just north of the 49th parallel. Beers in particular capitalized on the prevailing association between climate, nationhood, and sport. See George Beers, "Canadian Sports," Century Magazine 14 (May-October, 1877), 506-527; "Canada in Winter," British American Magazine 2 (1864), 166-171;

"Cheek," Canadian Monthly 11 (1872), 256-262; "Canada as a Winter Resort," Century (1854-55), 514-529.

14. Beers, Lacrosse the National Game, 33.

15. Ibid., 32.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid., 33.

18. Ibid., 42-43. Beers includes: "fellows who 'spree', who make syphons of their oesophagi, and who cannot make better use of their leisure than to suck mint juleps through straws, those model specimens of propriety who think a man on the road to perdition unless he is always reading good books, and making himself a bore to his friends by stale, hypocritical conversation those nice young men in black broadcloth who never can take a joke, [and] those whining schoolboys who 'creep unwillingly to school.'"

19. This point is taken from E. Anthony Rotundo. "Body and Soul: Changing Ideals of Middle Class Manhood," Journal of Social History 14 (1983), 23-38. On related issues see J.A. Mangan and James Walvin eds. Manliness and Morality. Middle Class masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987); E. Anthony Rotundo, "Learning About Manhood: Gender Ideals and the Middle Class Family in Nineteenth Century America," 35-51; and Joseph Maguire. "Images of Manliness and Competing Ways of Living in Late Victorian and Edwardian Britain," BJSH v.3 (3) (December, 1986), 265-287.

20. This information has been gleaned from the annual reports of the Normal, Model, Grammar and Common Schools in Ontario found in the Sessional Papers 1868, (no.3) 1869, (no.5) 1872-1873, 1878, (no.5) 1883, (no.7) 1888, (no.3) 1893.

21. Chronicle 7 November 1872.

22. The local press often reprinted these sermons in whole or part. See, for example, Sentinel 20 November 1887; Herald 14 March 1845; Chronicle 25 October 1888, 30 January 1868.

23. In 1867 one unnamed writer exhorted to male youth "Don't make a great bluster and be rough and hard, thinking to be manly. Be a little quiet in the house, gentle with your little sisters, and not tiring mother with a great deal of noise... When your work is over and its the right time for sport kick up your heels and have lots of fun outdoors.(Chronicle 20 June 1867) One Mr. Harstone from nearby St. Mary's shared similar sentiments. In his appeal to the Town Council for the establishment of a public park he spoke clearly on the connection between the issues of youth, social reform, and sport: "...boys who grow up fond of sports make the best citizens. Cultivate the spirit of good manly sport and they will avoid many vices. Where towns do not give support to athletic sports, the greatest numbers are found going into the wrong paths." On 29 January 1889 the Sentinel

reported on a lecture given in nearby Brantford by the Rev. Dr. Nichol who spoke at the YMCA rooms on vices peculiar to young men. He "warned his hearers very strongly against practices that were destroying the manhood of thousands and supplying our insane asylums with occupants." Presumably both sexual urges and the dreaded practice of masturbation could be alleviated in cathartic fashion on playing fields.

24. For example, Chronicle 23 March; 24 September 1868; 10 April 1873; 16 May 1878; 27 November 1884; 4 December 1884. To keep its customers abreast of local developments in 1876 the Chronicle instituted a new regular column "Crimes of the Week."

25. Ibid., 10 April 1873.

26. Ibid., 27 November 1884.

27. Sentinel 19 April 1880.

28. Ibid., 24 October 1880.

29. See Chapter One. The notion of 'muscular Christianity' is best exemplified in Thomas Hughes' widely-read classic Tom Brown's Schooldays and in the fiction of Charles Kingsley and Canadian novelist Ralph Connor. For discussions of this theme see David W. Brown, "Athleticism in Selected Canadian Private Schools for Boys to 1918" (Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, 1984); Bruce Haley, The Healthy Body and Victorian Culture (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978); and J.A. Mangan, Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: the Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

30. See Lindsay, "A History of Sport in Canada, 1807-1867."

31. Excerpt from Claxton's obituary in the Toronto Sunday World, 1908, as cited in Harold Clark Cross, One Hundred Years of Service with Youth: The Story of the Montreal YMCA. (Montreal: Southam Press, 1951), 144. The flags, valued at \$250, were donated in November 1867 by Claxton, the millionaire Montreal wholesaler. On the flags see Burr, "The Process of the Evolution of a Competitive Sport"; Lindsay, "A History of Sport in Canada, 1807-1967," 130.

32. Sentinel 3 March 1871. On the Woodstock YMCA see W. Stewart Lavell, All this Was Yesterday. The Story of the Y.M.C.A in Woodstock, Ontario, 1868-1972. (Woodstock: Talbot Communications, 1972). Unfortunately this particular author devotes very little attention to YMCA sport. Local connections between lacrosse and the YMCA in Woodstock also predated the Association's full-scale involvement in sport. At its outset in 1871 the Woodstock YMCA did not include sport in its aims which were "the improvement of the religious, mental, and social conditions of young men in Woodstock." Yet within two years the association made an informal alliance with lacrosse: in 1873 the Beavers and the YMCA contemplated combining their energies to form a gymnasium. One year later the YMCA allowed the Beavers to use its club rooms for lacrosse meetings. (Sentinel 24



October 1873, 29 May 1874).

33. Historian Henry Roxborough argues that the adoption of lacrosse generally lagged in Southwestern Ontario compared to other areas of the province and compared to Montreal owing to baseball's tremendous popularity in that area. See One Hundred Not Out. The Story of Nineteenth Century Canadian Sport (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1966), 40.
34. See Chapter Six.
35. Beers, Lacrosse the National Game of Canada.
36. Sentinel 16 June 1871.
37. Chronicle 6 July 1871.
38. Sentinel 7 July 1871, 28 November 1871.
39. Ibid., 6 July 1871.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid., 13 July 1871.
42. By rational recreation I mean the variety of socially regulated amusements (including sport, plays, lectures, libraries, music recitals, picnics, etc.) used to instill social discipline by members of the middle class. For a fuller discussion of the matter refer to Chapter One as well as Peter Bailey, Leisure and Class in Victorian England. Rational Recreation and the Quest for Control, 1830-1885 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978); "A Mingled Mass of Perfectly Legitimate Pleasures: the Victorian Middle Class and the Problem of Leisure," Victorian Studies v.21 (2) (Winter, 1978), 7-28.
43. Beers, Lacrosse the National Game of Canada, 51-56. On the matter of the 'scientific' aspects of the game Beers argued: "that there is a science in the game is proved by the fact that many throws, dodges, checks, etc., are explained by fixed principles, from which no one can deter and be successful. The throw of the ball, for instance, is not under the factors of chance." An analysis of the increasing 'scientification' of lacrosse is found in Burr, "The Process of Evolution of a Competitive Sport."
44. This point is taken from John Weiler, "The Idea of Sport in Late Victorian Canada," in Michael Cross (ed.) The Workingman in the Nineteenth Century (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), 228-231.
45. Beers, Lacrosse the National Game of Canada, 42.
46. Ibid. Beers' use of the term "freemasonry" is apt and intended to appeal to his middle class male audience. Both lacrosse and nineteenth century freemasonry involved i) shared values ii) secret bonding iii) a subcommunity within a corporate community and iv) a provincial subcommunity which transcends particular corporate

communities v) an esoteric body of knowledge and vi) a particular style of dress.

47. See Sentinel 22 January 1887, when the Beavers paid for the funeral of their mascot, little Jimmy Kinsella, who died in an accident at Karn's Organ Factory.

48. Testimonial to Edward W. Nesbitt, Woodstock 26 November, 1879, Woodstock Museum. See also when Beaver player Pat Kelly was given a dinner set by the club on the occasion of his marriage Chronicle 7 July 1887 and Sentinel 30 June 1887.

49. *Ibid.*, 20 June 1887.

50. Chronicle 31 May 1888. The paper reported that the town's junior twelve should "scare up a first class twelve in a few years."

51. In fact, there is a statistically significant relationship between age and lacrosse club membership. In Ingersoll the chi square measure for the relationship between age and lacrosse club participation for the above cohorts with three degrees of freedom is 31.30, at a significance level of .001. In Woodstock the chi square measurement is 37.04, at a .001 significance level.

52. In Ingersoll 85% of 59 record-linked players were under the age of 21, whilst in Woodstock 78% of 60 players were under 21. On the age distribution through the male population see above Figure 5.

53. Of the 64 record-linked Ingersoll lacrosse players between 1880-1889, 97% were Protestant, 95% were single, and 90% were Ontario-born. Of the 75 Woodstock record-linked players were 92% Protestant, 90% were single, and 84% were Ontario-born.

54. The graphs illustrate the social class of lacrosse players determined by the social class of the male household heads.

55. As the graphs on cricket and baseball show in earlier Chapters, working class men were almost completely absent from organized sports.

56. This appears to have been the standard by which players and organizers presumed the game was to be played, as the paper once commented: "...no one who ever heard of lacrosse would suppose for a moment that it could exist without a head to govern it, to form rules, etc... There is not in Canada one club that could really be called a lacrosse club that does not belong to some one of the associations."Chronicle 13 September 1888. See also 8 August 1888.

57. See Metcalfe, Canada Learns to Play, Chapter 6, 181-218.

58. Local lacrosse club records are unavailable, however, lacrosse club activity has been identified through newspaper accounts. Woodstock boasted twenty clubs between 1871 and 1895. They included the Beavers 1871-1890, which reformed as the Actives 1893-1894; Mowhaws 1871-1872; Junior Beavers/Young Beavers 1873-1887; Tecumsehs 1871; Mechanics 1873; Young Delawares/Delawares 1875-1878; Woodstock

juniors 1879; Lornes 1880-1887; Otters 1880-1884; High School club 1880; Imperials 1881-1882; Maple Leafs 1885; Oxfords 1883-1887; Comets, Clippers, Stars, and Victors, 1887; and the Woodstock Baptist College Club 1890. Ingersoll boasted only a dozen clubs in the same period. They included the Shamrocks, later Dufferins 1871-1895; Mountain Rovers 1873; Oxfords 1880; Victors 1881-1886; Lisgars 1881; Clippers 1884; Junior Beavers 1886-1895; Chippewas 1886; Ontarios 1886-1889; Junior Dufferins 1888-1889; Globes 1895.

59. Chronicle 14 September 1888.

60. Sentinel "Birth of the Industrial City" 9 July 1901.

61. To perfect their lacrosse skills players attended thrice weekly practises at six o'clock in the morning. The Beavers' extensive training program included an adherence to a strict dietary regimen. In 1886 the Norwich Gazette noted with some amusement that "the [Beavers] are already feeding on dried beef and drinking milk and raw eggs for their 'wind'. We hardly think they need any extra supply of that commodity" (Norwich Gazette 15 July 1886).

62. Lacrosse matches occurred on the 24th of May or Dominion Day in Woodstock in 1871, 1872, 1874, 1877-1880, 1882-1885, 1887, and 1889. In Ingersoll they occurred in 1871, 1873, 1881-1883, 1887, 1889-1890.

63. In 1871 the Beavers paid the Grand River Indians \$60 to compete against them in the May 24th match. Ten cent admissions covered this outlay and brought a \$159 profit to the club. Sentinel 7 July 1871. See Sentinel for match vs Grand River Indians 7 July 1871; vs Grand River 31 May, 23 August 1872; vs Tuscarora Indians 26 June 1874; Chronicle vs Onodaga Indians 9 May 1877; Sentinel vs Muncitown Indians 23 May, vs Captain Gibson's Six Indians 4 July 1879; vs Sioux 30 April 1880; vs Six Nations Indians 23 June 1882; vs Captain Gibson's Indians 25 May 1887. Ingersoll appears never to have adopted the practise. William Grey, a Woodstock resident, recorded his observations about two such matches in his diary 3 July 1871 and 24 May 1872, (Woodstock Museum).

64. This is very much in keeping with the dominant theme of the 1876 and 1883 Canadian Lacrosse tours to Britain. On this matter Morrow, Ibid., writes, that the tours "projected images of Canada that were contrived, sport-related, mythically-induced by a British fascination for aboriginals and a Canadian willingness to cater to that interest and geared toward promoting Canadian immigration." (17)

65. See Figure 11.

66. Chronicle, 30 April 1885, 28 April 1891.

67. Sentinel 17 April, 15 May 1885, 13 April 1887, 22 June 1887, 5 February 1888, 22 July 1888.

68. Chronicle 13 July 1871.

69. Ibid., 30 June 1885.

70. Ibid., 19 May 1887.
71. Ibid., 10 May 1888.
72. Sentinel 1 April 1874.
73. Ibid., 21 May 1880.
74. Ibid., 21 November 1884.
75. Ibid., 27 April 1887.
76. Ibid., 16 May 1888.
77. For example, Sentinel 22, 29 August 1879, 25 August 25 1882, 15 September 1886, 28, 30 June 1887, Chronicle 23 June 1887.
78. Sentinel 22 August 1879.
79. Chronicle 23 June 1887.
80. Sentinel 30 July 1887.
81. Ibid., 20 July 1887.
82. Ibid.
83. Ibid., 30 July 1887.
84. Tillsonburg Liberal editorial reprinted and commented upon in the Chronicle 28 June 1888.
85. Ibid.
86. Ibid., 6 September 1888.
87. Ibid.
88. Sentinel 28 July 1887.
89. Sentinel 7, 14 August 1885; Chronicle 6 August 1885. The Embro Courier wrote of the "bad blood" between Ingersoll and Woodstock that "we believe if the spectators of these two towns would keep quiet and not interfere so much of the bad feeling between the boys would die out," (reported in Sentinel 7 August 1885).
90. As reported in the Sentinel 6, 7 August 1885.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### Conclusions:

#### "For the Love of the Game and the Honour of the Town:" The Paradox of Middle Class Sport

During the period under study Ontario moved from an agrarian subsistence to an industrial capitalist economy. In the process, its inchoate gentry class declined, and a middle class and industrial worker class emerged. Within this context Ingersoll and Woodstock, which had developed very different societies before the Great Western Railway broke down their inland isolation, became increasingly similar in socioeconomic structures. An industrial worker class and a middle class of merchants, professionals, and bureaucrats arose in both towns. Further, community leadership came from a potent minority of socially and politically active middle class men.

During the course of the social and economic transformation, community-based sport changed from informal communal parochial activities to formal codified activities marked by inter-urban as well as local competition. Whereas early sports participation included activities for both sexes and most ages, later participation came predominantly from males, aged 15 to 29, in a broadly defined middle class. This population, with the exception of worker-players in factory baseball clubs developed in the 1890's, alone possessed the time and money resources for participation.

In this context of social and structural change that through time sport acquired characteristics which disturbed its middle class clientele: rowdiness, gambling, and professionalism. These features, in turn, linked to other sources of disorder in the middle class vision of the world: the prevalence of drinking, vices associated with idleness among youth, and at the same time a social concern that

young males were becoming effeminate. The amateur movement addressed these broad middle class concerns. It strove to reshape sport according to middle class values, while suppressing unwanted sport behaviours. This middle class reform program was abundantly evident in the local histories of Ingersoll and Woodstock civic holiday celebrations, IAAA and WAAA activity, and in the team sports of cricket, baseball, and lacrosse.

Yet middle class reform through sport enjoyed limited success. Unwanted behaviours were never entirely snuffed out, in part because of worker resistance to the imposition of middle class norms and controls. More importantly, the middle class itself held conflicting values which seriously compromised the amateur cause it espoused. On the one hand, their endorsement of amateurism (or opposition to rowdiness, gaming, drinking, and professionalism) expressed a desire for social order and reform under middle class control. On the other hand, their capitalistic competitiveness, for themselves, their corporate class, and also for their town, caused them to ally sport with urban boosterism. In this context, organized sport behaviour in the towns fluctuated between moral progress (the altruistic goal of muscular Christianity) and regression (the selfish goal and its frequent companions of violence and betting). As baseball morality floundered in the early 1870's, for example, a purer lacrosse emerged. Lacrosse, in turn, encountered the same moral regression a decade later.

In a sense, the linking of sport to middle class hegemony is misleading. Working through the amateur movement, middle class townsmen desired to clean up urban leisure behaviours. Yet working

class activities were already checked primarily through structural constraints, not middle class control. A much more serious threat to middle class amateurism was the enemy within based upon boosterism.

This was by no means peculiar to Ingersoll or Woodstock. Numerous small cities, towns, and villages throughout the country experienced the same dilemma as they strove to develop their own niche in developing networks for interurban sporting competition. In 1884 a disgruntled George Sleeman uttered strangely similar words: baseball, he argued, would only be a success when it "is played in Canada as it used to be, for the love of the game and the honour of the city or town represented."<sup>1</sup>

But what precisely did "honour" and "representation" entail? From the 1850's until the closing years of the century representativeness was clearly circumscribed by the amateur tenet that players who played for the love of the game, rather than for pecuniary profit, somehow more legitimately represented the urban community. Their moral standing, as implied in their adherence to the muscular Christian principles of amateurism, was presumed to indicate the relative social and moral health of the town.

Despite the amateur code's meritocratic illusion (i.e., the suggestion that sporting grounds were one of the few places where there existed an equality of opportunity and equality of outcome), and contrary to how the IAAA and WAAA presented themselves as community representatives, the AAAs were undeniably "pets of a class."<sup>2</sup> The notion that team players could somehow represent the urban community, was merely another such "pet." The claims of representativeness quite simply thus beg the questions "whose representative?" and "what is being represented?"

There can be no doubt regarding the question of "whose representative?" In case, after case, after case, the quantitative data shows that middle class men and their sons dominated both the civic holiday committees and organized amateur sports club executives. They also dominated the playing fields of the town's representative teams. In almost every instance this relationship between between social class and organized sport involvement is statistically significant. Unskilled workers did not exist in this world. Nor did Roman Catholics. Even though structural constraints impinged on their leisure activities, considerable qualitative evidence strongly suggests that workers were never intended to be included.

The answer to the question "what is being represented?" accounts for much of this situation. This study shows that, qualitatively speaking, the values inherent in the ideology of amateurism were from their outset classed-based and highly discriminatory. Amateurism itself was a vehicle for establishing and maintaining a middle class hegemony. Its emphasis upon the moral and character values believed to be inherent in sporting competition were just another manifestation of the values emblematic of their self-consciousness as a distinct social formation: respectability, self-improvement, temperance, and piety. This was achieved in much the same way that the English aristocracy used their antiutilitarian approach to sport as a means of asserting and perpetuating their own class identity. Both groups used their sports to perpetuate and inculcate their own value system in group members.

Why so much effort for something as "simple" as sport?



Clearly, when removed from the playing field, sport was by no stretch of the imagination a simple phenomenon. Like any other aspect of culture it was serious business -- a contested social territory. This is apparent in the ways in which sport changed throughout the period of massive social and structural changes under study. From the time that industrialism created for large segments of the population the structured time necessary to the organization of regularized sporting competition, and from the moment that the boundaries of locality and inland isolation were broken down by mid-century transportation improvements, sport in both Ingersoll and Woodstock, like many other places in the province, reared its head as a social issue. The question of idle diversion or rational recreation, the rowdy or the respectable, lay at the basis of the matter. In Ingersoll and Woodstock the rise of a conscious and clearly articulated philosophy of sport, first in the early 1860's in the rise of baseball clubs, through to the 1880's with amateur multisport associations, and well into the next century, evidences the importance of sport to local society. So too does the perpetuation of the notion that in the world of sport some sports (namely amateur ones) were more legitimate than others.

Even so, the comparative case approach elucidates subtle differences between the two communities. This is one of this study's chief contributions to the existing literature on Canadian sport. Since scholars have typically ignored sport in small communities they have implicitly perpetuated the unproven assumption that sport change occurring in large cities set the tone and direction for the development of sport throughout the nation. This denies small urban places their place in the greater scheme of Canadian social history

by failing to view them as important sites for their own social and structural processes. Put another way, the community case approach puts sport back into society.

For example, apparently certain differences in local social practices resulting from Ingersoll and Woodstock's rather different early settlement histories lingered and affected the local social construction of sport for some time. Woodstock was characterized as late as the 1870's as an "aristocratic" enclave even though the old retired officer elite had been long gone; Ingersoll, by contrast, upheld no such pretensions of grandeur. Did the rising class of middle class men in Woodstock have to push harder to establish their local hegemony? If so, could this account for Woodstock's decided lead in adopting sporting innovations throughout the latter part of the century?

The evidence provided by the communities, although only suggestive, would seem to support the case. Throughout the period studied there existed a recurrent subtle difference between the two towns: Woodstock sports organizers acted, often without going to great lengths to justify their actions. By contrast, Ingersoll sports organizers spoke volumes, however, they did not act so aggressively nor did they achieve the same competitive heights or breadth in organizational involvement. Woodstock seems to have led; Ingersoll seems to have followed.

Take league formation, for example, Woodstock was an active leader of certainly regional renown. In 1864 the town inspired and hosted the organization of the Canadian Association of Baseball Players during meetings held at the Royal Hotel. Further,

Woodstonians were responsible for creating the Silver Ball award, emblem of the Canadian Championship. What was known throughout the province simply as the "Woodstock rules" appear to have governed interurban competition throughout the province until the 1876 formation of the Toronto-based CABBP. After the town had been displaced by rival Guelph in senior-level competition, it turned toward cultivating junior level competition: in 1877 the Royal Hotel was again the site for the creation of a junior baseball league for Southwestern Ontario, modelled on the 1876 CABBP. In January 1882, John Forbes' Commercial Hotel hosted the founding of a provincial-level trotting and turf association.

Beyond this, Woodstonians tended to much more heavily involved in provincial and national-level sport governing bodies than Ingersoll sportsmen. Whether, in fact, the WAAA was, as it claimed to be, the second Amateur Athletic Association created in Canada has not been ascertained. Clearly it was one of the earliest. The IAAA's creation in 1889 simply followed occurrences elsewhere. Ingersoll men were not so conspicuously present in the inner circles of sports associations: only Michael Walsh, 1886 vice-president of the Western Ontario Lawn Tennis Association and C.L. Vance, 1891 president of the Canadian Lacrosse Association, appear to have stood at the helm of a provincial or national sport governing agency. In both cases their term in office began as second in command to a Woodstonian. By contrast, the names of Woodstonians frequently graced the executives of national agencies: in 1864 C.L. Wood was the first president of the CABBP; in 1886 Judge Finkle sat as the first president of the Western Ontario Lawn Tennis Association; in 1887 W.A. Karn was the president of the Canadian Wheelmens Association,

and, later, Samuel Woodroffe and Andrew Pattullo held the same office; in 1889 E.W. Nesbitt presided over the Canadian Lacrosse Association; and, finally, in 1901 Frank Hyde was elected president of the Ontario Hockey Association. Woodstock's hosting of national-level competitions (the 1875 Queen's Plate, the 1885 CWA championships) while Ingersoll hosted none of the sort presumably were outward manifestations of "inside" institutional affiliations.

Woodstock thus set its sights on higher goals; this, however, did not catapult the town outside the orbit of its not terribly high status in the urban hierarchy. Despite its visions of itself as "the Industrial City," Woodstock held much more in common with its rival Ingersoll, than it did with Toronto or Montreal. This is apparent when the prominent role that the WAAA occupied in local civic holidays is considered. Further, while nevertheless everpresent, the social distance between WAAA members and the "undesirables" that they sought to avoid was far less than, say, than the distance effectively maintained by the Associations of the larger cities. The fact that the WAAA, like its sister association, identified so strongly with its role as the legitimate arbiter of the community's sport suggests that it was much closer to the grass-roots that it might have imagined itself to be.

Much of the emphasis, is thus one of degree, though not of kind. That being said, contrary to the commonly held perception that the national sport regulatory agencies, which were predominantly Toronto and Montreal based, carried considerable power at the expense of other areas, the Ingersoll and Woodstock cases suggest that local self-interest played its own role in shaping the activities of the

lesser AAAs. Woodstock, for example, chose to affiliate with the AAA of C only when practical reasons (i.e., having an athlete reinstated) prompted it to do so.

By focussing on civic celebrations this study presents a new perspective on the AAA phenomenon and its relationship to urban boosterism. Much of what has been written about Canadian civic celebrations has made only limited suggestions about sport and vice versa. AAA - urban booster connections have been ignored in the holiday context. Although Morrow documents that the prestigious MAAA was the principal organizer of the world-famous Montreal Winter Carnivals staged between 1883 and 1889, he says little about the connection, and he views sport to be secondary to other aspects of the holiday. When one considers MAAA involvement in the Montreal social and sporting scene, however, the Winter Carnivals would seem to be only the tip of the iceberg. Could an investigation of MAAA involvement in Queen's Birthday and Dominion Day celebrations present a more dynamic picture of the interrelationship between urban boosters and this amateur agency? This study's findings, as well as those produced by Abbott's examination of the Quebec Winter Carnival suggest that this might be so. Abbott notes the tremendous overlap between officers of both the Quebec Amateur Athletic Association and the Association Athletique de St. Roche de Quebec and the Quebec City Chamber of Commerce responsible for organizing the Carnival.<sup>3</sup>

Beyond this, this study gives a local context to the machinations involved in the amateur ascendant. Ingersoll and Woodstock's cases produce essentially the same result: a new social order strove to equate the town's interests with that of their own. At the same time it pursued ways in which it could socially control

and/or define reality for others. In the final analysis, however, the results of their efforts were neither simple nor straightforward. Although the AAAs achieved a measure of accomplishment in ordering and structuring civic holiday sports (and the messages of respectability encoded therein), they failed to totally obliterate rowdiness from local sports and local society.

Focussing on two small towns affords an ideal entree into patterns of resistance to this mechanism of the dominant system. Those who sat on cemetery hillsides, or played in the streets, of course, were expressing only one type of opposition. Other forms abounded. They are apparent in workers' August holiday sports where dog-racing, catch-as-catch-can wrestling, and traditional games of inversion were competed for cash rewards; in the resilient legacy of spectator gambling and betting on interurban contests; in the ways in which bylaws concerning Sabbath observance and horseracing were persistently broken; in the frequency with which cockfights and pugilistic contests garnered the attention of the local press (paradoxically despite its own protestations of the very illegality of the contests); and in the ways in which local people quite simply ignored AAA land use and behavioural regulations. Reformers repeated exhortations about organized amateur sport being a cure-all for the ills of society simply point out that the world was not as rosy-coloured as they would have it.

Even so, as the case of factory baseball players using AAA grounds for professional competition shows, the AAA's control of local athletic facilities reinforced at the very least an illusion that they controlled local sport. Workers, like others, at times

deferred to this authority to achieve their own ends. Town sanctioning of AAA holiday organization control reinforced this authority.

If the machinations involved in the amateur ascendant were the same in both towns so too were the results. Their very reliance upon the ideology of amateurism, an ideology whose most basic premise denied the ultimate importance of victory (that is, sport was a means to a character-building end, and not an end in itself; that the social and moral lessons of sport were more important than winning), repeatedly created for sports organizers a tremendous paradox. If the social construction of local sport emphasized the notion that sports teams represented the town, and that playing field victories were, in effect, the town's victory, then the moral underpinnings of the amateur code would be constantly at issue as towns and their teams persistently sought victory.

This paradox is perhaps our most resilient legacy from the sports-conscious decades of the last century. The notions of "love of the game" and "the honour of the town" inherent in the rise of representative amateur team sports were, in themselves, representative of the views of only a handful of men whose logic was, at best, ill-founded. In neither Ingersoll nor Woodstock could these two notions be comfortably fit together; the cultivation of one necessarily undermined that of the other.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Globe 17 May 1884
2. Chronicle 13 February 1890
3. Frank Abbott, "Cold Cash and Ice Palaces: The Quebec Winter Carnival of 1894," Canadian Historical Review LXIX (2)(June, 1988) pp.167-202.



APPENDIX A  
List of Dates of Sport Governing Bodies

<u>sport</u>	<u>national association</u>
*amateur	Amateur Athletic Association of Canada (1884)
*baseball	Canadian Association of Baseball Players (1864, 1876) Canadian Amateur Association of Baseball Players (1880)
basketball	Canadian Basketball Association (1923)
canoeing	Canadian Canoe Association (1900)
*cricket	Canadian Cricket Association (1892)
*curling	Canadian Branch of the Royal Caledonian Curling Club (1852)
*cycling	Canadian Wheelmen's Association (1882)
golf	Royal Canadian Golf Association (1894)
gymnastics	Canadian Gymnastic Association (1899)
*trotting	National Trotting Association (1889)
*harness racing	Canadian Jockey Club (1895)
*ice hockey	Amateur Hockey Association (1886)
*lacrosse	National Lacrosse Association (1882) Canadian Lacrosse Association (1887) National Amateur Lacrosse Association (1892)
*lawn tennis	Canadian Lawn Tennis Association (1890)
rowing	Canadian Association of Amateur Oarsmen (1880)
*rugby	Canadian Intercollegiate Rugby Football Union (1897)
*shooting	Dominion of Canada Rifle Association (1869)
*skating	Amateur Skating Association of Canada (1888)
*snowshoeing	Canadian Snowshoe Union (1907)
soccer	Dominion Football Association (1878)
swimming	Canadian Amateur Swimming Association (1909)
yachting	Canadian Yachting Association (1931)
*sports clubs found in Ingersoll and Woodstock	

Source: Gerald Redmond, "Some Aspects of Organized Sport and Leisure in Nineteenth Century Canada", Society and Leisure 2(1)(1979):73-100

APPENDIX B  
Notes on Newspaper Sources

A number of steps were involved in obtaining primary source materials on sport in Ingersoll and Woodstock. Few, if any, sport club records remain from the period under investigation therefore this study relies heavily upon sport reporting in the local and regional newspapers listed in the Bibliography as well as the Canadian and American sport periodicals listed below.

1. To obtain information on sport in the two towns every issue of every available local newspaper was examined for the period between 1842 and 1895. In instances when either community boasted more than one newspaper (i.e., during the period when the Woodstock Weekly Review and the Woodstock Weekly Sentinel were local competitors) the sport reporting of both newspapers was examined and compared. In almost every case sport reporting in competing newspapers overlapped tremendously. This suggests that local organized sport events were fully covered in the news.

2. No local newspapers remain from the 1850's and 1860's in Woodstock therefore information on Woodstock sport was gleaned from the Ingersoll newspapers and from selected corresponding issues of Hamilton, Guelph, London, Stratford, St. Mary's and Toronto papers. Fortunately Ingersoll newspapers covered Woodstock sport and social events extensively (and vice versa for later periods). Information on Woodstock sport was also available in the various special edition issues of Woodstock newspapers listed in the Bibliography.

3. When available sport specialty periodicals were also a rich source of information on Ingersoll and Woodstock sport.

A. Local Newspapers

Daily Chronicle (Ingersoll) 1879-1895.  
Daily Sentinel (Woodstock) 1886-1890.  
Herald and Brock District General Advertiser (Woodstock) 1840-1848.  
Monarch (Woodstock) 1842-1845.  
Oxford Star and Woodstock Advertiser 1848-1849.  
Spirit of the Times (Woodstock) 1855.  
Tribune (Ingersoll) 1876-1879.  
Weekly Chronicle and Canadian Dairyman (Ingersoll) 1853-1895.  
Weekly Review (Woodstock) 1869-1878.  
Weekly Sentinel (Woodstock) available issues 1858-1869.  
Weekly Sentinel-Review (Woodstock) 1870-1895.

B. Local Newspaper Special Editions

Chronicle (Ingersoll) 13 December 1894.  
Sentinel-Review (Woodstock)  
 The Garden of Ontario Special Edition, May 1897.  
 Diamond Jubilee Edition, 25 October 1947.  
 50th Anniversary Edition, 11 September 1936.  
 Inaugural Edition, 1 July 1901.

Express Industrial Number, February 1906.  
50th Anniversary Edition, 11 September 1936.  
Sun (Ingersoll) Industrial Ingersoll Illustrated, February 1907.

C. Non-local Newspapers

Globe (Toronto) selected issues.  
Mercury (Guelph) selected issues,  
Spectator and Times (Hamilton) selected issues.  
Journal-Argus (St. Mary's) 1857-1897.  
London Free Press selected issues .  
Gazette (Montreal) selected issues.  
Stratford Beacon selected issues.

D. Sport Specialty Periodicals and Others

Athletic Life (Cdn) 1885-1896.  
Canadian Cricket Field 1880's.  
Canadian Gentleman's Journal and Sporting Times 1875-1877.  
Canadian Monthly and National Review selected issues.  
Canadian Wheelman 1883-1887.  
Century Magazine selected issues.  
Dominion Illustrated selected issues.  
New York Clipper 1853-1870.  
Sporting Life (Philadelphia) 1883-1887.

APPENDIX C  
Collecting, Collating, Classifying and Presenting  
Occupational and Demographic Data

A number of steps were involved in collecting, collating, classifying and presenting the demographic data on people involved in sports.

A. Collecting and Collating Data

1. The names of sport players and executives were extracted from reports in local newspapers and Canadian and American sport periodicals, team photographs, various local history sources, and sport-related collections held in the Public Archives of Canada, the Regional Collections of the D.B. Weldon Library (University of Western Ontario), the Woodstock Public Library Local History Room, the Woodstock Museum, and other smaller repositories (see the Bibliography for a list of these primary sources). Often these documents listed the player/executive by last name only, or sometimes by last name and first initial, both of which were considered insufficient unless corroborated by other data. Many names have thus been omitted from the analyses.

2. The names were linked to a corresponding manuscript census. To facilitate these linkages the manuscript censuses for the urban populations of Ingersoll and Woodstock (1851, 61, 71, 81, and 91) were made machine-readable and alphabetically sorted.<sup>1</sup> In this process households consisting of people with the same surname were kept intact (i.e., a father, mother, and children bearing the same name listed in sequence for a household). Record linkage was done forward as well as backwards (i.e., a name from 1866 was linked to both the 1861 and 1871 census). Certain people were eliminated from the list if there was more than one individual with that name and the process of elimination could not be used.

3. The following information was recorded for each sport player/executive: surname, first name, occupation, age, place of birth, religion, marital status, with whom the person lived (i.e., if a married man, his wife and number of children), and, if the person was a child/dependant the occupation of the head of the household was recorded.

4. Occupational information was corroborated, supplemented, and/or verified with the following sources of information (listed in the Bibliography): town, village, and provincial directories, tax assessment rolls, published and unpublished local histories, genealogical collections at the Oxford County Library, name indexes in the Woodstock Public Library Local History Room, Town Council lists, and fraternal order membership lists compiled by Christopher Anstead.

Several caveats must be noted. First, no single primary source of information stands alone. Occupational designations, for example, taken from primary sources sometimes give conflicting information

about occupation, partly because individuals sometime changed employment. Since data is classified according to the broad categories described below, however, these shifts generally did not change the data substantially. Further, gazetteers and directories focused mainly, although not exclusively, on household heads, therefore they were of little help in identifying young, single people involved in sport. The censuses, on the other hand, recorded these people and were a source of information regarding the occupations of household heads (if the surname corresponded).

A second and more serious problem is the systematic discrimination of town and village directories against the working classes. Directories and gazetteers by their very nature involved only the certain segment of the population who chose to have their names recorded for advertising purposes. The use of census records partially corrects for this imbalance, yet the censuses also pose problems. First, censuses were more sporadic than the directories (being published at decadal intervals as opposed to every three or four years) Second, the censuses were more likely to record property holders who remained in the community for a period of time than transients who did not own property.

That being said, when used cautiously and when applied in combination with other primary sources, the information derived from the above sources is invaluable. The relatively small size of Ingersoll's and Woodstock's urban populations facilitated the process by limiting the size of the pool of potential linkages.<sup>2</sup>

### B. Classifying Occupational Data

1. This study uses the occupational taxonomy devised for the Saguney Project by Gerard Bouchard and Christian Pouyez to categorize the occupations of sport players/executives.<sup>3</sup>

2. As the grid illustrates, this taxonomy is based upon two fundamental criteria:

- i) -the manual/non-manual nature of effort required by the occupational task (A and B on the grid)
- ii) -the complexity of the task including technical difficulty and level of responsibility, or how much control over one's own, and others' task an individual possesses (II and III on the grid)

The first criterion theoretically accounts for all community occupations, while the second allows for degrees of variation within the occupational task: non-manual complex, non-manual simple, skilled manual, unskilled manual, and unclassifiable degrees.

For greater sensitivity to occupational variation, three auxiliary criteria further subdivide occupations:

- i) - the geographical area of management unit (IV on the grid).

OCCUPATIONAL TAXONOMY

BASE CRITERIA		AUXILIARY CRITERIA		ORDERED CATEGORY ZITS		
nature of work	ii. tech. difficulty	iii. responsibility	iv. management unit geographic scope	v. management unit legal jurisdiction	vi. econ. sector of task	
A. NON-MANUAL	A. complex	A. high level	A. extra-municipal, or regional	A. private	1. directing large enterprises	
			B. municipal	B. public or semi	2. high level functions	
	B. simple	B. inter. level	C. other	C. other	C. other (1-2)	3. other (1-2)
				D. low level	D. private	4. small business & industry
B. MANUAL	A. complex	C. low level	C. other	E. public or semi	5. local functions	
				F. other	6. other (4 b)	
	B. simple	D. other	C. other	G. private	A. manuf. & sales	7. businessmen
				H. public or semi	B. professional services	8. liberal professionals
	C. other	E. high level	C. other	I. other	C. professional services	9. public administrators
				J. other (7-8-9)	D. other (7-8-9)	10. other (7-8-9)
	D. other	F. low level	C. other	C. other	K. intermediate managerial staff	11. intermediate managerial staff
					L. scientific, white collar spec	12. scientific, white collar spec
	E. other	G. other	C. other	C. other	M. office workers, wh. collar non-spec.	14. office workers, wh. collar non-spec.
					N. other (1-14)	15. other (1-14)
F. other	H. other	C. other	C. other	O. primary prod.	C. primary prod.	
				P. farmers, builders, and other	16. farmers, builders, and other	
C. UNDETERMINED	G. other	C. other	C. other	Q. secondary prod.	D. secondary prod.	
				R. other (16-17)	17. artisans	
D. UNCLASSIFIABLE	H. other	C. other	C. other	S. other (16-17)	E. other (16-17)	
				T. craftsmen	19. craftsmen	
E. other	I. other	C. other	C. other	U. working men (16-19)	20. working men (16-19)	
				V. semi & unskilled workers	21. semi & unskilled workers	
F. other	J. other	C. other	C. other	W. manual labour	22. manual labour	
				X. undetermined (1 to 22)	23. undetermined (1 to 22)	
G. other	K. other	C. other	C. other	Y. others	24. others	
				Z. others		

\*Source: translated from Gerard Bouchard and Christian Pouyez. "Les Categories Socio-Professionnelles: Une Nouvelle Grille de Classement". Le Travail/Labour (15)(Spring, 1985):145-163.

- ii) - the task's legal jurisdictional status (public or private) (V on the grid)
- iii) - the economic sector that the task is found in (VI on the grid).

3. From the above, the study uses Pouyez and Bouchard's taxonomy, and uses four occupational categories as a proxy measure for social class (undetermined and unclassifiable data are excluded from this study):

- Group #1: occupations 1 through 3.
- Group #2: occupations 4 through 15.
- Group #3: occupations 16 through 20.
- Group #4: occupations 21 through 24.

Groups #1 through #3 are used to loosely indicate the occupational sectors from which the middle class was recruited. They show the internal differentiation among the population from which the middle class is recruited, and, through comparison, both inter-sport variation and temporal change in middle class organized sport participation. Not everyone in these three groups, however, consumed middle class culture. For example, the men who were vestiges of the Woodstock retired officer elite were found in group #1, yet certain of them comprised a residual elite, not a dominant middle class. Further, while almost without exception sport players and organizers came from the ranks of groups #1 through #3, structural constraints apparently prohibited some group #3 members -- i.e., some artisans, builders, and farmers -- from engaging in organized sport and other reform activities. The Figures throughout the study show fact; although present, group #3 sportsmen typically underrepresent their proportion of the local male workforce.

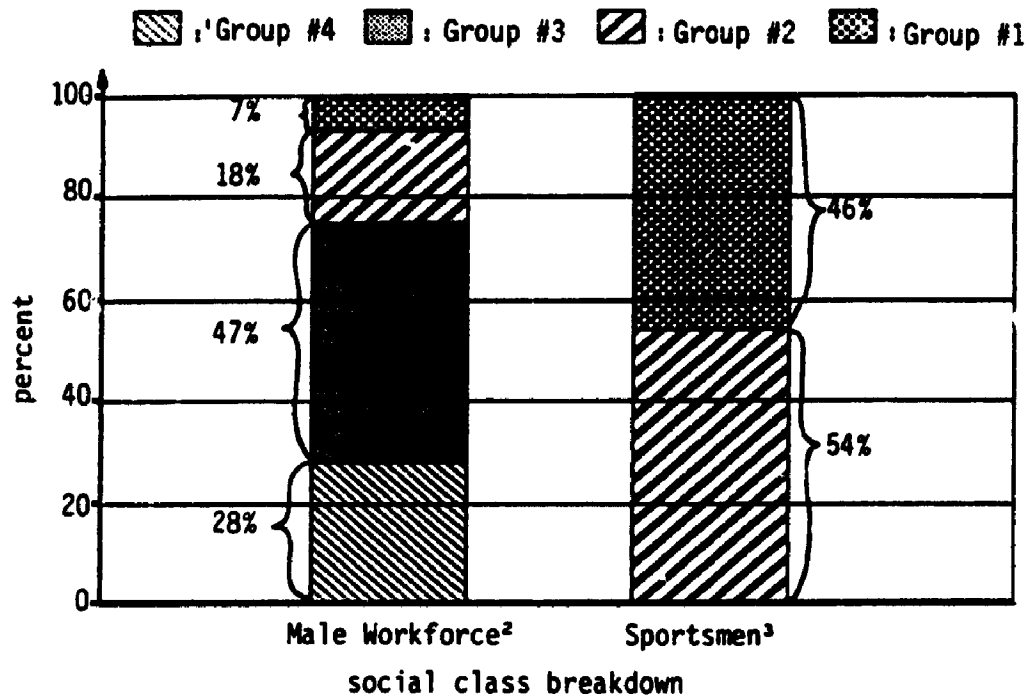
### C. Presenting the Data: Statistical Approaches and Applications.

1. Graphs. In each case graphs are used to summarize the data in a simple, easy to understand way. As the example illustrates, the demographic data on sport participants is presented in percentage distribution (rather than actual frequencies) to allow for coherent comparisons to be made between the various graphs. For contextual purposes the breakdown of the characteristic under study (i.e., social class) amongst the male population over the age of fourteen years throughout the community is presented alongside the data on sport participants.

2. Tests of statistical significance. To add meaning to the demographic materials presented in this study uses the chi square test of statistical significance.<sup>4</sup> Simply put, the chi square indicates whether a systematic relationship exists between two distributions.

When the chi square test is applied to the data on the social class attributes of sport participants and males in the town over the age of fourteen the expected values are generated in the following manner:

## EXAMPLE OF GRAPHIC PRESENTATION OF DATA



<sup>1</sup> represents the four occupational classification groups hierarchically arranged from Group #4 (low) to Group #1 (high)

<sup>2</sup> represents the breakdown of the four Groups amongst the local male population over the age of 14 years. In this instance the information reads as follows (bottom to top):

Group #4 accounts for roughly 28% of the male workforce  
 Group #3 accounts for roughly 47% of the male workforce  
 Group #2 accounts for roughly 18% of the male workforce  
 Group #1 accounts for roughly 7% of the male workforce  
 totalling: 100% of the male workforce

<sup>3</sup> represents the breakdown of the four Groups amongst the Sportsmen. In this instance the information reads as follows (bottom to top):

Group #4 is entirely absent from the population of sportsmen  
 Group #3 is entirely absent from the population of sportsmen  
 Group #2 accounts for roughly 54% of the sportsmen  
 Group #1 accounts for roughly 46% of the sportsmen  
 totalling: 100% of the sportsmen



$$\text{EXPECTED} = \frac{(\text{n. in town population})(\text{column total for town population})}{\text{column total for population of sport participants}}$$

Using this formula the expected values are generated from a theoretical distribution which is based upon the town population. This is done to avoid the pitfall associated with examining two dependant variables (i.e., the population of sport participants is a subset of the town population).<sup>5</sup>

The conventional significance level of .05 was chosen for this study, that is, this study would accept as statistically significant relationships which have a probability of occurring by chance 5 times in every hundred or less. In every case, however, a significance level of .001 was obtained.

Finally, to ensure that the chi square results are meaningful in light of the small numbers obtained in this study, no statistics have been derived for chi square tests with a degree of freedom larger than 1 when fewer than 20% of the cells have an expected frequency of less than 5, and no cells have an expected frequency of less than 1.<sup>6</sup>

The following is an example of the chi square notations found at the bottom of every graph relating to social class and sport;

$$\chi^2 (3) = 120.26, p < .001$$

This chi square indicates that a systematic relationship exists between the two distributions. There is one chance in one thousand that the difference between the two distributions is attributable to chance.

The notation should be read in the following manner:

- $\chi^2$  represents chi square
- (3) represents three degrees of freedom (when looked up at the .05 significance level gives a score of 7.815; at the .001 level is 16.268)
- 120.26 represents a raw chi square score achieved in the analysis (which, in this example, substantially exceeds both the 7.815 and 16.268 scores).
- $p < .001$  reveals that the probability of this score occurring by chance is one time in a thousand.

## Footnotes

1. This procedure eliminates any sport participants/executives who may have lived outside either town's corporate boundaries. This is not a pressing issue in this study for a number of reasons. First, this study is concerned with the relationship between urban life and organized sport, and, therefore, rural inhabitants from the outlying townships are not theoretically part of the target population in question. Second, even if they were, the corporate boundaries of the towns changed through time so that potential sport participants-executives living just outside the town boundaries would be picked up in the analysis through time. Third, preliminary research using township census lists facilitated no record linkages for sport club participants/executives, although it was responsible for linkages of people involved in civic holiday sports events. This fact strongly reaffirms both the centrality of sports clubs as a decidedly urban phenomenon, and the notion of civic holiday celebrations being the meeting place for urban and rural populations.

2. This size issue is a double-edged sword. For a variety of reasons sport club minute books and records are much more easily available for metropolitan places like New York, Montreal, and Toronto than for small towns and villages like Ingersoll and Woodstock. This fact makes research on a small town a much more arduous task because only rarely will sport-specific primary and secondary sources be available. Further, no scholarly local histories have been written for either Ingersoll or Woodstock as there have been for larger places therefore much of the material used in this study has been derived from primary sources. That being said, however, there is merit to studying small towns. Once historical actors are identified (though they are few in number), it is relatively easier to achieve record linkages with some certainty than can be done for a large city. Whereas this study uses actual manuscript census returns as sources for individual and community demographic characteristics, other works like Melvin Adelman's massive study of the rise of sport in New York City have to rely upon city directories to obtain such information.

3. Gerard Bouchard and Christian Pouyez, "Les Categories Socio-Professionnelles: Une Nouvelle Grille de Classement," Labour/Le Travail 15 (Spring, 1985) pp.145-163. The following other occupational classification schemes were considered less suitable for reasons outlined in the Bouchard/Pouyez article (of imprecision, of inadequately dealing with issues of spatial difference and temporal change, and of confusing occupational task with social hierarchy): Margo A. Conk, "Occupational Classification in the United States Census: 1870-1940," Journal of Interdisciplinary History IX (1)(Summer, 1978); T. Hershberg, et.al., "Occupation and Ethnicity in Five Nineteenth Century Cities: A Collaborative Inquiry," Historical Methods Newsletter VII (3)(June, 1973) pp.174-216; T. Hershberg and R. Dockhorn, "Occupational Classification," Historical Methods Newsletter 9 (2-3)(March/June, 1976) pp.59-98; Michael Katz, "Occupational Classification in History," Journal of Interdisciplinary History III (1972-1973) pp.63-88, and The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth Century City (Cambridge: Cambridge

University Press, 1975); and S. Thernstrom, Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City. (New York: Athenum, 1972).

4. See Norman H. Nie, et. al., Statistical Package for the Social Sciences. Second Edition. (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1975) p.224.

5. See J.P. Guilford, Fundamental Statistics in Psychology and Education. Third Edition. (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1965). Chapter 11 "Chi-Square and other Statistical Tests." pp.228-254.

6. See S. Siegal, Nonparamtric Statistics for the Behavioural Sciences. (New York: McGrall-Hill, 1956), p.178.

APPENDIX D  
Summary of Urban Growth and Local Services,  
Ingersoll and Woodstock, 1830-1901

	<u>Ingersoll</u>	<u>Woodstock</u>
<u>date of incorporation</u>		
village	1852	1851
town	1861	1857
city	-	1901
<u>railway communications</u>		
1st rr	1853 GWR	1853 GWR
2nd rr	1879 CVR	1876 PDL
3rd rr	1903 CPR	1879 CVR
<u>electricity</u>		
first established	1900	1881
municipal takeover	1910	1901
<u>street rail</u>		
electric interurban	1901	1900
<u>waterworks and sanitation</u>		
private	1891	1880
municipal	1913	1890
sewage	1948	1895
<u>public library</u>		
1st library service	1872	1835
Carnegie library	1910	1909
<u>hospital</u>	1909	1895

Source: Elizabeth Bloomfield, Urban Growth and Local Services. The Development of Ontario Municipalities to 1981. Guelph: Univ. of Guelph, 1983.

APPENDIX E

A Guide to the Events Found in May 24th and July 1st  
Civic Holiday Celebrations, 1851-1895

YEAR	INGERSOLL							WOODSTOCK						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1855	X													
1856		X												
1857			X											
1858				X										
1859					X									
1860						X								
1861							X							
1862														
1863														
1864														
1865														
1866														
1867														
1868														
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1890														
1891														
1892														
1893														
1894														
1895														

\*Source: Ingersoll and Woodstock Sport Data Base.

APPENDIX F  
Local Advertisements for Holiday Sport

**CELEBRATION OF HER MAJESTY'S BIRTHDAY**  
IN INGERSOLL.  
A ROYAL SALUTE  
THE INGERSOLL BAND  
AT 10 O'CLOCK  
AND EVERY YEAR HEREON

INGERSOLL 1857

**Public Inquiry**  
**REQUISITION**  
Adam Oliver, Esq.  
MELTON  
MELTON

INGERSOLL 1865

**GRAND SQUAD**  
THEIR TOWN HALL  
ADMISSION TO TAKE IN ON  
ADMISSION, THREE HALL, IN ON  
ADMISSION, THREE HALL, IN ON  
ADMISSION, THREE HALL, IN ON

INGERSOLL 1882

**WOODSTOCK 1874**  
WOODSTOCK 1874  
WOODSTOCK 1874  
WOODSTOCK 1874

**WOODSTOCK 1882**  
WOODSTOCK 1882  
WOODSTOCK 1882  
WOODSTOCK 1882

**WOODSTOCK 1886**  
WOODSTOCK 1886  
WOODSTOCK 1886  
WOODSTOCK 1886

**WOODSTOCK 1888**  
WOODSTOCK 1888  
WOODSTOCK 1888  
WOODSTOCK 1888

**CHAMPIONSHIP Baseball Match**  
At the conclusion of the match...  
**FOOT RACES**  
In this race...  
**BIKE RACER**  
The best...  
**A GRAND PRIZE**  
The best...  
**FREE LACROSSE MATCH**  
The best...

**WOODSTOCK 1874**  
WOODSTOCK 1874  
WOODSTOCK 1874  
WOODSTOCK 1874

**WOODSTOCK 1882**  
WOODSTOCK 1882  
WOODSTOCK 1882  
WOODSTOCK 1882

**WOODSTOCK 1886**  
WOODSTOCK 1886  
WOODSTOCK 1886  
WOODSTOCK 1886

**WOODSTOCK 1888**  
WOODSTOCK 1888  
WOODSTOCK 1888  
WOODSTOCK 1888

\*Source: Ingersoll Chronicle and Woodstock Sentinel.

WHOLESALE LIQUORS

GROCERS

A PORTER ABOUT THE GAMES... McClelland Bros... 100 CIGARETTES FOR 50c...

SEASON OF 1887. The Woodstock Amateur ATHLETIC ASSOCIATION. PROGRAMME

FOURTH ANNUAL MEET AND RACES! AT WOODSTOCK.

QUEEN'S BIRTHDAY MAY 24th 1887.

A GRAND JUBILEE CELEBRATION... PROGRAMME OF THE DAY... RACES... GOLF... BOAT RACES...

WAMMOTH DRY GOODS STORE

Wholesale and Retail... Fine Goods...

C. A. LEWIS PHOTOGRAPHER... RETAIL AND WHOLESALE... 100 CIGARETTES FOR 50c...

A Grand (Cathartic) Procession

Prizes will be Awarded for the best Gentlemen... The winning Gentlemen will receive from the Society...

A CHAMPIONSHIP LACROSSE MATCH!

Will be played between the W.A.A.C. and a VISITING CLUB... The winner of the Trophy will be presented with a silver cup...

FIRST PART - BICYCLE RACES

Table listing bicycle races: FIVE MILE, TEN MILE, FIFTEEN MILE, TWENTY MILE. Includes names of participants and prizes.

C. W. A. Rules to govern all Races... The W. A. A. C. for the County Championship...

HURRAH for the 24th of MAY.

F. CHALMERS... 100 CIGARETTES FOR 50c... A PORTER ABOUT THE GAMES...

G. L. WHITNEY.

STOVES, PUMPS, MILK CANS, MILK PAIRS... 100 CIGARETTES FOR 50c...

JAMES H. McLEOD, MERCHANT TAILOR... HATS AND CAPS... Gentlemen's Furnishing Goods!

WOODSTOCK 1887

JOS. CODVILLE... Hardware, Paints, Oils, Glass, Etc... WOODSTOCK, ONT.

Patterson Fruit & Confectionery Depot... 100 CIGARETTES FOR 50c...

Odell's Bookstore... 100 CIGARETTES FOR 50c...

TO THE PUBLIC. The Officers and Members of The Woodstock Amateur Athletic Association... 100 CIGARETTES FOR 50c...

WILL TAKE PLACE BETWEEN THE W.A.A.C. and THE PATTERSON WORKS

A MAGNIFICENT PRIZE!

WILL BE AWARDED THE BICYCLE CLUB HAVING The Largest Representation of Riders to the Parade... A PRIZE VALUED AT \$75.00 WILL BE GIVEN.

SECOND PART - FOOT RACES

Table listing foot races: ONE MILE, TWO MILES, THREE MILES, FIVE MILES, TEN MILES. Includes names of participants and prizes.

C. W. A. Rules to govern all Foot Races... The W. A. A. C. for the County Championship...

A. F. PARKER, GENTS' FURNISHINGS... HATS, CAPS, ETC... FINE ORDERED CLOTHING...

FRASER & GUNN, PRESCRIPTION DRUGGISTS... TOILET ARTICLES AND PATENT MEDICINES...

S. WOODROOFE, The Jeweller... GOLD AND SILVER WATCHES, JEWELRY, SILVERWARE, ETC...

APPENDIX G

A Guide to the Sports Found in May 24th and July 1st  
Civic Holiday Celebrations, 1851-1895

Events:

- 1. running, jumping events
- 2. sack race, greased pig, slippery pole
- 3. horse races
- 4. baseball
- 5. lacrosse
- 6. cricket
- 7. football
- 8. caledonian competition
- 9. amatr athletics and cycling

INGERSOLL

YEAR	x - 24th MAY					o - JULY 1st					WOODSTOCK							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1855	x																	
1856	x																	
1857	x			x														
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1893	x			x														
1894	x			x														
1895	x			x														

\*Source: Ingersoll and Woodstock Sport Data Base.



APPENDIX H  
Civic Holiday Sponsors, 1850-1895

	Ingersoll	July 1st	May 24th	Woodstock	July 1st
1868			1868	1868	
1869	Driving Park		1869	1869	
1870	Driving Park		1870	1870	
1871	Driving Park		1871	1871	
1872			1872	1872	
1873	Ruffiana lacrosse club/ cricket club		1873	1873	
1874			1874	1874	Driving Park/BAVARIA lacrosse
1875			1875	1875	Driving Park
1876		Caledonian Society	1876	1876	Driving Park
1877			1877	1877	Driving Park/BAVARIA
1878			1878	1878	Driving Park/BAVARIA
1879			1879	1879	Driving Park/BAVARIA
1880			1880	1880	Driving Park/BAVARIA
1881	Caledonian Society		1881	1881	Driving Park/BAVARIA
1882	Caledonian Society		1882	1882	Driving Park/cricket club
1883	Caledonian Society		1883	1883	
1884	Caledonian Society	Fire Brigade	1884	1884	
1885	Caledonian Society		1885	1885	
1886			1886	1886	
1887	Board of Trade	Knights of Labor	1887	1887	
1888		Board of Trade	1888	1888	
1889		I.A.A.A	1889	1889	
1890		I.A.A.A	1890	1890	
1891		I.A.A.A	1891	1891	
1892	Sons of Scotland	I.A.A.A	1892	1892	
1893	Sons of Scotland		1893	1893	
1894	Sons of Scotland		1894	1894	
1895			1895	1895	

\*Source: Ingersoll and Woodstock Sport Data Base.

APPENDIX I  
Constitutions and Bylaws of the IAAA and the WAAA

Constitution and Bylaws of the Ingersoll Amateur Athletic Association

ARTICLE I The Association shall be called the "Ingersoll Amateur Athletic Association".

ARTICLE II Object The object of the Association shall be the encouragement of athletic sports, the promotion of physical and mental culture among, and the providing of rational amusements and recreations for its members.

ARTICLE III Badge and Colors The badge of the Association shall consist of a plain oval bar with the association initials across the face of the same. The colors shall be navy blue and white.

ARTICLE IV New Comers The Association is to consist of Amateurs in good standing of the age of seventeen years or over, who shall be elected by ballot at the different meetings of the Association.

An Amateur is one who has never competed for a money prize or related bet, or with or against any professional for any prize, or who has never fought, pursued or exhibited in the practice of athletic exercises as a means of obtaining a livelihood.

ARTICLE V Membership Fees To defray the expenses of the Association there shall be an annual membership fee of ten dollars (\$10.00) payable on the first day of April and October every year.

ARTICLE VI Election of Members

1. Every candidate for election as a member of this Association shall sign an application to be furnished by the Secretary, agreeing to pay the fees fixed by the laws of the Association and to otherwise comply with its rules; two members must recommend the applicant by also signing the application.

2. This application shall be passed by the Secretary and shall be read at the next ensuing meeting of the Association, the names, occupations and residences of the candidates as well as the names of the members who have recommended them, when the election shall take place.

3. Elections shall be by ballot, three blank balls to exclude the applicant.

ARTICLE VII Resignations

1. All resignations of office or membership shall be made in writing addressed to the Secretary to be submitted to the next regular meeting of the Association for action thereon.

2. All dues must be paid in full before any resignation is considered.

ARTICLE VIII Expulsions

1. Any member who may have been guilty of ungentlemanly conduct, or who is in arrears for membership fees for over one year shall be liable to expulsion and may be expelled by a two-thirds vote of the members present at any duly constituted meeting of the Association.

Provided that the motion to expel shall be posted in the rooms of the Association and a copy thereof sent by registered post to the last known address of the member concerned at least one week before the meeting is held.

2. Such expulsion shall not relieve the member of his liability to the Association for any arrears of fees or the fees for the then current year.

Constitution and Bylaws of the Woodstock Amateur Athletic Association

ARTICLE I The Association shall be called the "Woodstock Amateur Athletic Association".

ARTICLE II Object (same)

ARTICLE III Badge and Colors The badge of the Association shall consist of a plain oval bar with the Association initials across the face of the same. The colors shall be cardinal, black and gold.

ARTICLE IV New Comers (same)

ARTICLE V Membership Fees To defray the expenses of the Association there shall be an annual membership fee of twelve dollars (\$12.00) payable on the first day of January in each year. Provided, however, if the fee is paid on or before the 31st day of January the sum of ten (\$10.00) dollars will be accepted in full payment thereof.

2. Each newly elected member shall pay an initiation fee of five (\$5.00) dollars in addition to a proportion of the annual membership fee until the first day of January next after election, calculated at the rate of one dollar per month. Provided that if full payment be made within fifteen days after election the proportion shall be calculated at the rate of eighty-four cents per month.

ARTICLE VI Election of Members (same)

ARTICLE VII Special Provision as to Election of Members from Chartered Bank Staffs When a member of the Association, who is also a member of the staff of any chartered bank having an office in the City of Woodstock, reserves from the City and does not wish to retain personally the privileges of the Association, his rights shall be assignable to his successor or any other member of the staff of the same bank in the following manner:

Two of the remaining members of the same Bank Staff, who are also members of the Association, shall propose such successor or the member of the same staff and he shall make an application in, or to the effect of the following form:

Such application shall be dealt with in the same manner as ordinary applications, and, if elected, the applicant shall be entitled to all privileges of his predecessor and shall assume all his obligations but shall not be liable to payment of any initiation fee or other fees proposed by his predecessor.

2. Members elected from Bank Staffs having already three or more members in good standing in the Association, shall be exempt from the payment of an initiation fee.

ARTICLE VIII Resignations (same)

ARTICLE IX Expulsions (1 and 2 same)

3. Any member having disqualified himself by any violation of the Amateur Clause in Article IV of this Constitution shall forfeit his membership on the proof of such violation being furnished to the Executive Committee.

**ARTICLE IX Privileges and Liabilities of Members (same).**

**ARTICLE IX Privileges and Liabilities of Members**  
1. The election and payment of fees as herein provided shall entitle a member to all the privileges of the Association, visit to the use of the rooms and property of the Association and its various departments in common with all other members in accordance with the bylaws and under supervision of the committee or committees in charge.  
2. No member of this Association shall be liable for any of the debts of the said Association no matter how or for what such indebtedness may have been contracted beyond the amount of any unpaid fees or dues which may be in arrears due from him to the Association and the amount of one year's subscription in addition as provided in Article V and having paid such fees in full he shall not be liable for any further amount on account of the Association.

**ARTICLE XI Appropriation of Receipts (same).**

**ARTICLE XI Appropriation of Receipts**  
All rents, profits, gate-money, entrance fees, members' dues and other moneys received or collected by the said Association, or arising out of every description of property of the Association, shall be appropriated and employed to the exclusive use of the Association, to purchase or leasing of suitable grounds or buildings in the town of Ingersoll or its vicinity, to the construction and repair of buildings, trucks and other necessary appliances, and to the payment of the wages of janitors, servants, employees and of debts properly contracted and incurred by the said Association.

**ARTICLE XII Meetings**

1. The annual meeting of the Association shall be held on the last Thursday in the month of March in each year for the reception of the report of the Executive committee, Treasurer's report and statement, which statement shall be audited at least three days before the meeting, and for the transaction of such other business as may be brought before it, and for the election of officers and auditors for the ensuing year.  
2. The regular meetings of the Association are to be held at the Association rooms on the third Thursday in each and every month.  
3. A special meeting of the Association may be called whenever the Executive Committee shall deem it expedient, or whenever the President or Vice-President shall be desired to call one at the written request of ten members setting forth the purpose thereof.  
4. None but members in good standing shall be present at a meeting and five members shall form a quorum for the transaction of general business.  
5. Order of Business. Minutes of last regular meeting. Reports of Committees. Communications. Proposals for Membership. Elections. Unfinished Business. New Business. Adjourn.

**ARTICLE XIII Officers** The Officers of the Association shall consist of a President, a Vice-President, a Secretary and a Treasurer, who shall be elected annually.

**ARTICLE XIII Executive Committee** The Executive of the Association shall consist of the Officers and the Nominating Committee.

**ARTICLE XIV Rules of President**

**ARTICLE XIII Meetings**  
1. The annual meeting of the Association shall be held on the first Thursday after the first day of January in each year...  
2. The regular meetings of the Association are to be held at the Association rooms on the first Thursday in each and every month.  
3. A special meeting of the Association may be called whenever the Executive Committee shall deem it expedient, or whenever the President or Vice-President shall be desired to call one at the written request of ten members setting forth the purpose thereof.  
4. All meetings shall be called by written notice setting forth the time and place of the meeting, properly addressed to each member in good standing duly posted at least two days before.  
5. None but members in good standing shall be present at a meeting and five members shall form a quorum for the transaction of general business.  
6. Order of Business. (same)

**ARTICLE XIII Officers (same)**

**ARTICLE XIV Executive Committee** The Executive of the Association shall consist of the Officers, together with all past Presidents thereof, who continue to be active members in good standing.

**ARTICLE XV Rules of President**

**ARTICLE IV Duties of Secretary**

1. The Secretary, shall keep the minutes of all meetings of the Association and of the Executive Committee, shall conduct all correspondence and have charge of and be responsible for all the books and papers of the Association. He shall notify candidates of their rejection but in the case of election he shall mark upon the original application the date of such election and transmit same to the Treasurer who shall notify the member.  
2. The Secretary shall sign all deeds, contracts, . . . required by law to be in writing or under seal as hereinafter mentioned.

**ARTICLE V Duties of Treasurer**

**ARTICLE XVII Auditors**

**ARTICLE XVIII Executive Committee**

**ARTICLE XIX Recess Committee**  
There shall be a Recess Com. . . composed of five members in good standing elected at the annual meet. . . each year which committee shall have full authority over the Club Reens and other property of the Association. The duties of the Reens Committee shall be:  
1. To see that the reens, furniture and equipment of the Association maintained in good repair and improved from time to time in so far as neccessities and comfort of the members require and the funds of Association will allow;  
2. To maintain order within the reens and require a strict observance of all rules and to report any serious breach of regulations to the Executive Committee of the Association in regular meeting;  
3. To formulate and enforce such rules as may be found necessary for the regulation and equipment.

4. To formulate rules for the guidance of the servants of the Association, to instruct them in their duties and supervise their work, and subject to the approval of the Executive Committee engage and dismiss servants as may be found necessary.

**ARTICLE XX Special Committees**

**ARTICLE XXI** (vis: making contracts on behalf of the Ass)

**ARTICLE XXII Association Property and Apparatus**

**ARTICLE XXIV Visitors** Any member may at any time introduce a non-resident of the Town and shall register his name and address with date of introduction together with his own name, in a book kept for that purpose, giving him the privilege of the reens for the week.

**ARTICLE XXV** Reens but members or visitors introduced by members shall be admitted into the reens or take part in the amusements provided for the members.

**ARTICLE XXVI**

1. All gambling, betting, raffling, lotteries, pool-selling or anything of a like nature is strictly prohibited in the reens.

**ARTICLE XVI Duties of Secretary (same)**

**ARTICLE XVII Duties of Treasurer**

**ARTICLE XVIII Auditors**

**ARTICLE XIX Executive Committee**

**ARTICLE XX Management Committee (same Committee) (1 to 4 same)**  
5. To see that the athletic grounds of the Association are maintained in proper repair, to arrange such repairs or other work of the grounds as may be deemed in the best interest of the Association and to formulate and enforce such rules as may be found necessary for the regulation of the use of the grounds.

**ARTICLE XXI Special Committees**

**ARTICLE XXII** (same)

**ARTICLE XXIII Private Property and Apparatus**

**ARTICLE XXIV Association Property and Apparatus (same)**

**ARTICLE XXV Visitors (same)**

**ARTICLE XXVI** (same)

- 2. Refreshments shall not be introduced except with the sanction of the Executive Committee.
  - 3. Intoxicating liquors shall not be introduced into the rooms under any pretense whatever.
  - 4. No profane language shall be used in the Rooms.
- Any breach of these rules renders the member guilty thereof liable to suspension on order of the President or the Executive Committee and to expulsion under Article VIII

ARTICLE XVIII No person shall take any paper or property of the Association from the Rooms. The President is empowered to make a like order and such person shall be subjected to the penalties as mentioned in Article XIII hereof for any breach of this Bylaw.

ARTICLE XVIII Rules and Regulations for Billiards, and Pool Rooms

- 1. The billiard and pool and card tables and other appliances connected therewith are for the exclusive use of the members of this Ass. and of such visitors as are included under Article XIV of the general Bylaws of this Ass. and no other person or persons shall use or play on the same under any pretense whatever.
- 2. For the purpose of keeping the said billiard and pool and card tables in repair, and renewing the same when worn out, a fee shall be charged each member of the Association making use of the said tables, and other appliances, which fee and its mode of collection shall be posted up in the Rooms.
- 3. Such fee is payable by members only and shall not be charged to or collected from any visitor or other person not a member of the Association on any pretense whatever.
- 4. Such fee is a voluntary contribution from the members of the Association to the funds of the Association for the said purposes, and is not a consideration for the hiring or use of the tables, and other appliances connected therewith, such member being as a member of the Association, a joint owner of the said tables, etc.
- 5. For the purpose of facilitating the collection of the said fee, tickets may be procured from the Secretary at rates hereinafter mentioned.
- 6. No member shall be allowed to play more than three consecutive games of billiards or pool, if others present wish to play.
- 7. The following shall be the charges for the different games:  
 For billiards: 50 point game, ten cents  
 For pool: Boston, Pin or Single French five cents; 25 Ball, ten cents  
 Cards, Five cents for each player for each sitting.
- 8. Tickets for the above games may be procured from the Secretary at the following rates: 20 tickets for \$1; 10 tickets for .50 cents; 5 tickets for 25 cents; and are to be deposited in cash. \$ for that purpose (or their equivalent in cash) when the games are played.
- 9. Any member leaving the Rooms without paying for the number of games played for which he is liable, shall be suspended from all privileges of the Rooms until paid and on a second offense he shall be liable to expulsion from the membership of the Ass

ARTICLE XVIII (same)

ARTICLE XIX Amendment or Repeal

ARTICLE XIX Amendment or Repeal

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