Building Canadian National Identity within the State and through Ice Hockey: A political analysis of the donation of the Stanley Cup, 1888-1893

Jordan Goldstein
The University of Western Ontario

Supervisor
Dr. Robert K. Barney
The University of Western Ontario

Graduate Program in Kinesiology

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree in Doctor of Philosophy

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Stanley’s Political Scaffold
Building Canadian National Identity within the State and through Ice Hockey:
A political analysis of the donation of the Stanley Cup, 1888-1893

By
Jordan Goldstein

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The School of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
The University of Western Ontario
London, Ontario, Canada

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Abstract

The Stanley Cup elicits strong emotions related to Canadian national identity despite its association as a professional ice hockey trophy. This strong link between the Cup and Canadian national identity emerged in its creation and donation. Lord Stanley, in addition to his love of ice hockey, donated the Cup partly as a political action. The cup stood as a physical symbol to unite the disparate Canadian population around a new national sport. Given Lord Stanley’s position as Governor General (1888-1893) this donation carried political authority. The purpose of this study is to investigate the donation of the Stanley Cup as a partially political act concerning the construction of a Canadian national identity.

The Canadian State stood at a crossroads concerning the future direction of the country during Lord Stanley’s appointment. The country’s leaders debated over pursuing freer trade and greater connection to the United States, or about pivoting to a stronger, more autonomous role within the British Empire. The debate over Canada’s future directly impacted the proper identification of a ‘Canadian.’ Sport served as an important element to demarcate national identity in Anglo political thought in the nineteenth-century. Specific sports established as national could create cultural unity amongst disunited Canadians. For Lord Stanley, his promotion of ice hockey as a nationally important activity confirmed a particular political argument about the nature of Canadian identity.

The changes in Anglo liberal political thought over the second half of the nineteenth-century underscored this development in Canadian sport history. Classical Liberal philosophy receded in the face of emergent Progressivism or New Liberalism. This transformation left no opponent to the idea that the State held a positive role to promote ambiguous collective aspirations. At a moment when Canadian leaders sought a great national destiny for the Canadian State, the new political environment legitimated the State’s authority to act. When viewed alongside both Canadian national political development and the transformation of Liberal political philosophy, the Stanley Cup serves as a political act of nation building from the highest ranking Canadian political official.

Keywords: Stanley Cup, Ice Hockey, Lord Stanley, Canada, Nationalism, National Sport, Intellectual History, Political History, Sport History, Classic Liberalism, Progressivism, Nineteenth-century
# Table of Contents

Abstract .................................................................................................................. ii  

Acknowledgements ................................................................................................ viii  

Chapter I – Introduction ....................................................................................... 1  
  Literature Review ................................................................................................. 8  
  Contribution to the Body of Knowledge ............................................................... 13  
  Method and Methodology ...................................................................................... 15  
  Limitations ........................................................................................................... 20  
  Delimitations ........................................................................................................ 20  
  Recommendations for Future Research ............................................................... 22  
  Chapters ................................................................................................................ 22  

Chapter II - The State of Canada as Lord Stanley Met Her in 1888 .................. 26  
  Canada Inside: Expansion and Consolidation .................................................... 28  
  Canada Outside: Sovereignty and Dependence ................................................... 45  

Chapter III - 19th Century Nationalized Sport: Great Britain and the USA ...... 56  
  The Genesis of Nationalized Sport ...................................................................... 60  
  Nationalized Sport in North America ................................................................. 70  
  Changes in Liberal Political Thought and the ascension of nationalized sport .... 84  

Chapter IV - The Emergence of Canadian Nationalized Sport ....................... 87  
  Confederation: Mixed Political Heritage ............................................................ 88  
  British Origins of Canadian Sport: Pre-Confederation ....................................... 92  
  American Permutation of Canadian Sport ............................................................ 104  
  Canadian National Sport ....................................................................................... 114  
  Summary ............................................................................................................. 135
Chapter V - Lord’s Stanley’s Political Career in Great Britain .......................... 138

Frederick Arthur Stanley: Early Life ...................................................... 139

The Politics of the 14th Earl of Derby ................................................. 140

The Politics of Frederick Stanley: Practical Governance ....................... 151

The Politics of Frederick Stanley: Emergent Progressivism ................. 162

Summary .............................................................................................. 175

Chapter VI - Lord Stanley’s Political Activity as Canadian Governor General... 178

Lord Stanley’s Governance in Canada .................................................. 181

A) Domestic Governance ................................................................. 183

B) International Governance ............................................................ 191

C) Canadian Travels ......................................................................... 206

The Role of Sport ............................................................................... 215

A) Sport and the Stanley Family ....................................................... 215

B) Stanley and Canadian Sports ....................................................... 222

C) The Stanley Family and Winter Sport .......................................... 226

Summary .............................................................................................. 230

Chapter VII - The State of Nationality in Canada During Lord Stanley’s Tenure ... 234

Debates over Canada’s Future .............................................................. 236

A) The Birth of Canadian Nationality: Canada First ....................... 236

B) Unlimited Reciprocity, Continental Union, and Annexation .......... 244

C) Wilfrid Laurier and Unrestricted Reciprocity ............................... 254

D) Imperial Federation ...................................................................... 256

E) Federal Election of 1891 ............................................................... 266

F) Stanley’s Position .......................................................................... 275
The Use of Sport to Promote National Identity ........................................... 279

A) Imperial Federation: A Progressive Ideology .......................... 280

B) Sport in the Promotion of Imperial Connection ......................... 283

C) The Place of Ice hockey ............................................................... 289

D) The Role of the Stanley Cup .......................................................... 295

Summary ........................................................................................................ 303

Chapter VIII – National Sport, the State, and Political Thought .............. 307

Philosophical Revolution ........................................................................... 307

Lord Stanley and Canada ........................................................................... 318

Bibliography .................................................................................................... 325

Primary Sources ............................................................................................ 325

Secondary Sources ........................................................................................ 335

Appendices ....................................................................................................... 347

Appendix 1 ...................................................................................................... 347

1.1 Map of Canada at Confederation after the passage of the ... 347
British North America Act in 1867.

1.2 Table showing Canadian related materials up to and ....... 348
including 1888 found in Lord Stanley’s archives at the
Liverpool Central Library

1.3 Map of Canada after purchase of the Northwest ............ 349
Territories and Rupert’s Land and admission of Manitoba as
the fifth Province in 1870.

1.4 Map of Canada after the admission of British Columbia ..... 349
and Prince Edward Island in 1873.

1.5 Donald Alexander Smith, Lord Strathcona, ............. 350
“hammering home” the final spike in the Canadian Pacific
Railway on 7 November 1885 at Craigallachie British Columbia.
1.6 Joseph Colmer’s calculations of aggregated average yearly trade from 1867-1886 given in a speech before the Royal Statistical Society in London, UK on 21 February 1888.

Appendix 2 ................................................................. 351

Appendix 2.1 – Map of Upper and Lower Canada after 1791 ..... 351

Appendix 2.2 – Yearly Trade figures between British North America and the United States showing twelve years prior to, the period of, and twelve years after Reciprocity and the averages of these cohorts.

Appendix 3 ................................................................. 354

3.1.1 Map of Knowsley Estate and its situation referent to Liverpool 354

3.1.2 Map of England highlighting Knowsley and Liverpool ....... 354

3.1.3 A depiction of the Southern Front of Knowsley Hall c. 1880 ..... 355

3.2: Topics of Frederick Stanley’s speeches in Parliament ........... 356

1871-1877

3.3: Lord Stanley’s Canadian holdings up to and including 1888 ..... 358

3.4: Emigrant Guidebooks for Canada held by Frederick Stanley ..... 359

3.5: Frederick Stanley’s 1849 Prayer book .............................. 360

Appendix 4 ................................................................. 361

4.1 – Pictures of Esquimalt Harbour taken by Isobel Stanley ..... 361

4.2 - A Map of the route of the CPR with its connecting lines .... 362

in Canada and the United States

4.3 – Drawing Room in the Stanley’s Victoria Car on the CPR .... 363

4.4 – Itinerary of SW Tour 1893 ............................................ 364

4.5 – Fishing on the Cascapédia River 1889 ............................. 365
4.6 – Paper cut out of large Salmon caught by Victor Stanley .... 366 on June 23, 1892
4.7 – 1890 Stanley fishing tally on the Cascapédia River .......... 367
4.8 – Lord Stanley’s Monograph Racing Wallet ......................... 368
4.9.1 – Knowsley Household Expenditure 1894/95 to 1897/98 .. 369
4.9.2 – Knowsley Household Expenditure 1904/05 – 1905/06 ... 370
4.10 - "The Toboggan Party", Rideau Hall. This illuminated ...... 371 composite photograph is from Lady Dufferin's personal album. c. 1872-1875
4.11 - Isobel Stanley photo of the Ice Palace in MTL 1889 ........ 372
4.12.1 - Stanley Family Snowshoe Tramp .......................... 373
4.12.2 – Stanley Family on Ice c. 1892 ................................. 374
4.12.3 – Fancy Dress Skating Party at Rideau Hall with Press ... 375 Clipping
4.13 – First recorded Ladies Ice hockey Game in history. ....... 376 Played at Rideau Hall featuring Isobel Stanley.

CV .......................................................... 377
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Chapter I

Introduction

On 7 February 2006 two Toronto lawyers, Gad Shelley and David Burt, and the National Ice hockey League (NHL) agreed to an out of court settlement. Shelley and Burt sued the league over the custodianship of the league’s most important symbol, its championship trophy the Stanley Cup. Writing in the Kingston Whig-Standard regarding the settlement journalist Steve Erwin proclaimed, “Stanley has won the right to free agency.” The ruling stipulated what Shelley and Burt suspected; the NHL legally borrows the cup but does not own it. Edmonton lawyer Rod Payne argued during the 2004-05 lockout that Governor General of Canada Lord Stanley donated the cup in 1892 to the people of Canada, represented by their ice hockey clubs across the Dominion. The third stipulation laid out by Lord Stanley in the original trust read, “The cup [is] to remain a challenge cup, and not to become the property of any team, even if won more than once.” Stanley left the country in 1893 to become the 16th Earl of Derby. He bequeathed the governance of the Cup to two personally handpicked trustees: Philip Dansken Ross and Sheriff John Sweetland. Stanley’s original intent led Shelley and Burt to file a lawsuit on behalf of Canadian citizens to reclaim the cup. Their lawyer, Tom Gilbert, argued that the trustees

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1 The suit originated when the NHL and the National Hockey League Players Association (NHLPA) failed to reach a labour contract for the 2004-05 hockey season. This resulted in a cancelled season. The Stanley Cup, the league’s championship trophy, lay dormant as a result. Shelley and Burt hired lawyer Tom Gilbert in order to free the cup from the NHL in the event of a future work stoppage.
3 The cancelled NHL season of 2004-05 resulted from the NHL locking out the player’s due to an expired Collective Bargaining Agreement (CBA) and the inability of the two sides to broker a new CBA.
4 Canada became a self-governing Dominion of the British Empire upon Confederation between the present day provinces of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick on July 1, 1867. The Dominion is the official legal status of Canada to this day, despite the autonomy gained by the country over that past one hundred and forty-seven years.
6 Kevin Shea and John Jason Wilson, Lord Stanley: The man behind the cup (Toronto, ON: Fenn Pub., 2006), 373.
7 Erwin, “Stanley Cup available if season lost”.
lacked the legal authority to broker a deal with the NHL in 1947 to hand over custodianship to the NHL.\(^8\) The settlement clarified the legal status of the cup. It also allowed the Trustees to award the cup in the event of another cancelled season.\(^9\)

What compelled Shelley and Burt to sue the NHL over awarding the Stanley Cup? Why was it important for them to elucidate legally that the NHL merely borrows the Cup from the people of Canada? Why did they use Lord Stanley’s original intent as evidence against the NHL? Shelley contended that: “We [Shelley and Burt] decided there was merit to the thing [lawsuit], and that your average Canadian doesn’t want to see the thing [Stanley Cup] put away and hidden just because of a commercial dispute in a professional ice hockey league.”\(^10\) Mentioning the average Canadian, he inferred about the intrinsic Canadianess of the Stanley Cup. For Canadians, the Cup represents more than the symbol of professional ice hockey supremacy. It retains strong cultural value for national identification. That value originated from Lord Stanley himself. His original letter addressing his intent to donate a championship cup to promote ice hockey across the country affirms this. At the year-end banquet for the three-time champion Ottawa Ice hockey Club held at the Russell House Hotel in Ottawa on 18 March 1892, Lord Stanley’s aide-de-campe Lord Kilcoursie rose and read Lord Stanley’s intentions. Reported by the *Ottawa Journal*, Lord Stanley’s letter read:

> I have for some time been thinking that it would be a good thing if there were a challenge cup which should be held from year to year by the champion ice hockey team in the Dominion [of Canada]. There does not appear to be any such outward sign of a championship at present, and considering the general interest which matches now elicit, and the importance of having the game played fairly and under rules generally recognized, I am willing to give a cup which shall be held from year to year by the winning team.
>
> I am not quite certain that the present regulations governing the arrangement of matches give entire

\(^8\) The first stipulation of that agreement read, “The Trustees hereby delegate to the League full authority to determine and amend from time to time the conditions of competition for the Stanley Cup, including the qualifications of challengers, the appointment and distribution of all gate receipts, provided always that the winners of the trophy shall be acknowledged World’s Professional Hockey Champions”. PD Ross, J. Cooper Smeaton, and Clarence Campbell, *Memorandum of Agreement*, June 13, 1947. PD Ross File, The Hockey Hall of Fame Archives, Mississauga, Ontario, 3.

\(^9\) Erwin, “Stanley Cup available if season lost”.

\(^10\) Ibid.
satisfaction, and it would be worth considering whether they could not be arranged so that each team
would play once at home and once at the place where their opponents hail from.\footnote{11}

Lord Stanley donated the cup to stimulate competition amongst all the regions of the Dominion. He
hoped to harness the popularity of ice hockey into a nationally-sponsored championship. His wish that
these championship games occur on a home-and-home basis further promoted travel across the
country. The donation of the cup demonstrated an attempt, by Lord Stanley, at nation-building through
sport. Lord Stanley’s role as the head of the Canadian State distinguished this act as political. Therefore,
there are political implications surrounding the creation of the Stanley Cup. These political implications
form the basis of this study.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the donation of the Stanley Cup as a partially political
act concerning the construction of a Canadian national identity. Two premises guide this study. The first
is the reinterpretation of the donation of the Stanley Cup as a political act. This interpretation places
great importance on the political aspects of sport organization, particularly the fostering of nationalized
sport in the Anglo-American Triangle (Great Britain, the United States of America, and Canada) during
the late nineteenth-century. The term nationalized sport refers to a particular sport that embodies,
represents, and generates perceived national character traits and values important in the creation and
maintenance of national identity.\footnote{12} For this study, sport refers to a variety of games, all dependent on a
display of physical prowess, that are institutionalized, regulated, instrumental, and in some cases
utilitarian.\footnote{13} Sport in this study is understood in its modernized form, and understood in a normative
framework, that is that sport had the ability to inform and educate participants and spectators alike

\footnote{11} “Stars of the Ice – The Dinner to the Ottawa Hockey Team. Lord Stanley Gives a Challenge Cup Open to the
Dominion, to be Competed for Next Year – A Successful Reunion,” The Ottawa Journal, March 19, 1892.
\footnote{12} This concept is my own concept. I employed the use of nationalized against national to demarcate the
difference between sports that reflect the preferences of a national culture to a sport participated in that
generates characteristics which demarcate national identity.
\footnote{13} This definition closely relates to Mel Adelman’s use of sport in his work investigating the roots of modern sport
in nineteenth century America. Mel Adelman, A Sporting Time: New York City and the Rise of Modern Athletics,
concerning morality. Scholar Dominic Malcolm described the development of cricket into the English national game in *Globalizing Cricket*. He argued that cricket developed simultaneously alongside the notion of an English national character in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.¹⁴ S.W. Pope illustrated in *Patriotic Games* that the nationalized games of baseball and American football emerged in the mid to late nineteenth-century alongside the substantial promotion of national American character. Civic holidays created the opportunity to inculcate a sense of Americanness through football (Thanksgiving Day)¹⁵ and baseball (the Fourth of July).¹⁶ Montreal dentist George Beers attempt to forge a nationalized sport in Canada as early as 1867 and promoted through his 1869 work *Lacrosse: The National Game of Canada*.¹⁷ The first Canadian to link explicitly Canadian national culture and sport, Beers promoted the Canadian game of Lacrosse as the national sport that supported and promoted Canadian national identity.¹⁸ Beers specifically alluded to other nationalized Anglo sports for justification for the nationalizing tendencies of Lacrosse in Canada. He argued, “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. Whatever tends to cultivate this nationality is no frivolous influence, even should it be a boyish sport.”¹⁹ The political application of sport to promote a national culture and character type appeared in each of the three Anglo-Atlantic triangle countries. The creation of the Stanley Cup fits into this overall development conflating national identity with sport.

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¹⁵ The Thanksgiving Day game started in New York City in 1876. The press reports of the large crowds and spectacular play spread the game across the country as other regions and cities began staging their own Thanksgiving Day games. S.W. Pope, *Patriotic Games: Sporting Traditions in the American Imagination, 1876-1926* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1997), 88-91.
¹⁶ Ibid, 103.
¹⁷ After codifying the rules of Lacrosse in 1860, and publically claiming it as Canada’s national game during the year of Confederation (1867), Beers published *Lacrosse* explicitly to “perpetuate it [lacrosse] as the National game of Canada.” George Beers, *Lacrosse: The National Game of Canada* (Montreal, PQ: Dawson Brothers, 1869), v.
¹⁹ Beers, 59.
The second premise posits that because the donation of the Cup is a political act, it serves as one solution to the political problems regarding Canadian national identity at the time. The experiment in Canadian Confederation for its first thirty years yielded a national pessimism – especially in regards to a national identity and culture.\textsuperscript{20} Scholar Patricia Wood outlined this pessimism stating, \textquote{Ever since 1867, when some of the remnants of Britain's North American empire were thrown together for political and economic reasons--many concerning the United States--the citizens of these provinces had struggled to give some cultural meaning to their new "Canadian" identity. From the Canada Firsters to the Imperial Federation League and beyond, the preoccupation with the concept of nationhood was enormous.}\textsuperscript{21} Historian Duncan Bell asserted in \textit{The Idea of Greater Britain} that Victorian political thought rested upon the notion that a well-functioning State required a sense of strong nationality.\textsuperscript{22} He further stated the ambiguous nature of the Victorian concept of nationality. That ambiguity meant that any number of characteristics, in myriad combinations, would produce a strong nationality.\textsuperscript{23} Canada’s position directly after Confederation, between Great Britain (slow process of autonomous rule in Canada) and the United States (increasing economic, cultural, and social connections), necessitated a national identity both reflective of these influences, yet distinct from both of them. Therefore, the men

\textsuperscript{20} Historians Robert Brown and Ramsay Cook asserted that Canada in 1896 still suffered from the economic depression of the 1870’s (the Panic of 1873) leading to a national pessimism regarding Canada’s economic performance. Economic difficulties produced cultural and religious animosities that stymied the development of a positive national spirit. R.C. Brown and Ramsay Cook, \textit{Canada, 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed} (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1974), 8. Scholar Carl Berger echoed this sentiment arguing: “Twenty years after Confederation [1887], there was a good deal of concrete evidence in support of those who predicted Canada’s collapse, there was only faith on the side of those who defended it.” Such evidence included the cultural schisms over Louis Riel and the Red River Rebellions, religious turmoil in Quebec and other French speaking communities, the depressed economy (despite the National Plan of John A. Macdonald’s Conservative governments), the continued sacrificing of Canadian interests in negotiations between the British Empire and the United States of America, and the continued hostility of the United States and the spectre of annexation and even war. Carl Berger, \textit{The Sense of Power: Studies in the ideas of Canadian Imperialism 1867-1914} (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1970) 4.


\textsuperscript{22} The Victorian era covers the reign of Queen Victoria (1837-1901).

who attempted to fashion a distinct Canadian national identity explored many avenues to find a suitable national definition. Sport offered a means for differentiation upon established nationalized practice, especially for the Dominions of the British Empire. Scholar Patrick McDevitt stated that permutations to British sporting forms in the Dominions emerged from a need to create particularly local definitions of masculinity to suit their own conception of nationality apart from the British.\textsuperscript{24} Sport offered an avenue to create a Canadian national identity, similar to but apart from Great Britain and the United States.

To contextualize further the donation as a political act, the study seeks to situate the donation within the intellectual debates in Canada regarding Canadian national identity during Lord Stanley’s tenure as Governor General. Wood indicated that locating and defining a Canadian national identity permeated Canadian society in the decades following Confederation. Intellectuals grappled with many ideas, often in direct conflict with each other. Some wished to strengthen formal political ties with the British Empire in a newly imagined Imperial Federation.\textsuperscript{25} Others wished to eschew formally any connection with the British Empire in favour of political annexation into the United States of America. Most Canadians lay somewhere in between these two extremes. Canadian nationalists of this persuasion hoped to maintain strong bonds with the British Empire yet simultaneously foster stronger economic ties to the United States. A burgeoning French-Canadian nationalism operated within the British political framework rather than attempting secession and independence. Despite their differences in means, each group asserted essentially the same ends. All promoted a Canadian nation predicated on a Canadian nationality.

\textsuperscript{25} The Imperial Federation League lobbied in the mid 1880’s and early 1890’s for this political reconfiguration of Empire. Founded in 1884, its charter stipulated that: “the object of the League be to secure by Federation the permanent unity of the Empire.” \textit{Toronto Branch of the Imperial Federation League in Canada} (Toronto, ON: Johnson & Watson, The Art Printers, 1891), 3.
Ultimately, the donation of the cup illustrated a general turn in liberal political theory from the mid nineteenth to the beginning of the twentieth century. Underpinning both the politicization of sport into a nationalized form and the need to create a strong nationality rested upon a deviation in the Anglo-Atlantic triangle from politics guided by classical Liberalism\textsuperscript{26} to politics guided by collective ideas, mainly the emergent Progressive movement.\textsuperscript{27} This turn in political philosophy subordinated individual rights in order to achieve collective goals – mostly related to the national and international spheres of politics. Progressivism represented a reaction to the domestic and international flux of the nineteenth-century.\textsuperscript{28} Rather than retreating into traditional philosophies like most reactionaries, Progressive’s reacted to these turbulences by focusing upon optimistic visions of the future based on the technological, political, social, economic, and scientific progress that initially caused the disruptions. Just as a new product emerged from scientific discovery or a new business practice developed to improve efficiency, Progressives turned those ideological underpinnings towards the problems in society, both at home and abroad.

Sport offered a particularly valuable arena for Progressives to cure the many social ills, both domestic and foreign, they encountered. In particular, sport affected the raising of the nation’s youth. Domestically, sport provided physical training for the sedentary and unhealthy lifestyle brought about by the transition to urbanization. Furthermore, children also learned valuable character traits including

\textsuperscript{26} Classical Liberalism places primacy in securing the rights of individuals and restrains government from violating those rights.

\textsuperscript{27} Progressivism places primacy in the advance of human society through successive progress in science, social organization, technological innovation, and economic development. Progressivism views government as the best means of which to secure their desired ends.

\textsuperscript{28} Edward Kohn forwarded the idea of racialism as a Progressive tool for both international and domestic disturbances. Molding both citizens and immigrants within a country and foreigners across the world in their homelands in the Anglo-Saxon mold ensured human progress. Edward Kohn, \textit{This Kindred People: Canadian-American Relations and the Anglo-Saxon idea, 1895-1903} (Montreal, PQ: McGill-Queens University Press, 2004), 6-7.
For foreign conflict and competition, inculcating children with the proper physical and moral training provided strong and able businessmen, scientists, and soldiers. This led to a strong domestic economy to outpace foreign rivals, and security in a world of imperial militarist ambitions. Sport fused with political ideology into practical action. The donation of the Stanley Cup exemplifies this development in Canadian national identity construction.

Literature Review

Despite its immense popularity in Canadian culture, Canadian academics largely gloss over ice hockey as a subject of its own merit worthy of study. Over the past few decades, the work of sport historians, sociologists, and cultural theorists provided a remedy to this lack of attention. Within Canadian sport history literature, a growing number of books related specifically to ice hockey appeared. These studies provided different styles of analyses, investigated multiple chronologies and geographic regions, and importantly promoted the study of ice hockey as an academic subject. This section examines the academic works related to ice hockey history in Canada around the close of the nineteenth-century. Additionally, since this study seeks to forge national identity and sport in a political

29 Alan Metcalfe discussed the changes in society wrought from industrialization, specifically the changes in spatio-temporal measurement that produced changes in Canadian sport organization. Metcalfe, 48-50. Colin Howell discussed the concept of muscular Christianity in late nineteenth century Canada. This religious doctrine asserted the equal value attended to full cultivations of the body, spirit, and, mind. This outlook necessitated healthy bodies for healthy, righteous, and productive members of society. Colin Howell, Blood, Sweat, and Cheers: Sport and the making of Modern Canada (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 32. Steven Reiss investigated the emergence of the public health movement to combat physical degeneracy in urban areas in the mid nineteenth century United States. Sport provided a means to physically train and invigorate both adults and the youth. Reiss also discussed how sport mirrored changes in business and labour practices. Businesses lured workers with sport as an added bonus, while sport served as a means to control workers and train them to the rhythms of industrial work. Steven Reiss, City Games: The Evolution of American Urban Society and the Rise of Sports (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 27-29, 83-85. Ultimately, sport served as both physical and moral training in order to promote national greatness. J.A. Mangan discussed the importance of the self-sacrificial warrior masculine type in late nineteenth century Great Britain. The national hero type in the late Victorian era embraced colonization, imperialism, and Christian mission. In order to further these goals, citizens increasingly valued disciplined, physically tough, and pious men to promote Empire around the world. J.A. Mangan, “Duty unto Death: English Masculinity and Militarism in the Age of the New Imperialism” The International Journal of the History of Sport, 27, no.1-2, (2010): 129-130. Across the Anglo-Atlantic triangle, sport represented the penultimate arena to imbue the character traits associated with Progressive definitions of national greatness.
understanding, I provide a brief review of the literature specifically regarding Canadian national identity during the last quarter of the nineteenth-century. Ultimately, this project seeks to synthesize these two avenues of investigation, a point discussed thoroughly in the next section. In order to focus solely on these topics, this section forgoes discussion of the literature regarding Canadian, American, and British sport history of the nineteenth-century.

Over the past two decades, scholars took a growing interest in ice hockey as a subject worthy of academic attention, particularly in Canada. Cultural and social historians largely undertook this work. This is particularly true when the issue of national identity intersected with ice hockey history. Richard Gruneau and David Whitson provided perhaps the most comprehensive attempt to forge Canadian national identity with ice hockey in their 1993 book *Ice hockey Night in Canada*. This book offered a sociological perspective of the twinning of ice hockey and Canadian national identity. The study looks first at present circumstances and proceeds backwards, like other sociologically driven works on this topic. Michael Robidoux’s article “Imagining a Canadian Identity through Sport” deals more directly with the nineteenth-century. This study also directly addressed the fomentation of nationalized sport, specifically ice hockey and lacrosse, as a constructive process. Yet, along with Gruneau and Whitson, Robidoux’s study employed present-day theoretical interpretive models as the primary analytical framework. In addition to these two examples, the vast majority of academic works on this subject concern the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Furthermore, the explicit acceptance of theoretical frameworks to explain past events places their interpretations largely in the sociological realm. No

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current academic effort to study the connection between Canadian national identity and ice hockey in the late nineteenth-century exists outside of these sociological interpretations.

Other historical attempts concerning ice hockey history largely come in the form of edited compilations. These endeavours mostly contain social, cultural, and economic analyses. The works also entail large chronologies in addition to a regional perspective in their organization. John Wong’s 2009 edited compilation *Coast to Coast* provides a regional investigation regarding the meaning attached to ice hockey in various Canadian communities. The book contains seven chapters, each by a different author and about a different region in Canada. The chronology revolved around ice hockey in the early twentieth century. Andrew Holman’s 2009 edited work *Canada’s Game: Ice hockey and Identity* provides another example of this type of anthology. This book contains a heavier sociological focus than *Coast to Coast*. Its chronology spans from the mid-twentieth to the early twenty-first century. The focus between regional and national identities marks a main difference between these two works. However, neither collaboration reveals historical interpretation regarding Canadian national identity and ice hockey in the late nineteenth-century.

There are fewer books recounting ice hockey history prior to the twentieth century. Of these, John Wong’s 2005 work *Lord of the Rinks* specifically details the business history of professional ice hockey from 1875 to 1936. Wong’s work is the most comprehensive discussion of ice hockey history prior to the twentieth century in academic studies of ice hockey. This historical interpretation exclusively focuses on the professionalization of the game and its eventual cartelization into the professional leagues of the early twentieth century. He places great attention on discussing the business decisions of ice hockey entrepreneurs. Within the general body of Canadian sport history, ice hockey receives some treatment, but nothing approaching the depth and intensity of Wong’s investigation. Yet, his analysis says little about Canadian national identity and its connection to ice
hockey in the late nineteenth-century. Furthermore, given Wong’s business interpretation, there is no mention of national identity through sport and its relation to politics.

Many political history books investigate the notion of Canadian national identity after Confederation and approaching the turn of the twentieth century. These works break down primarily into two camps, those that deal with Canada and the British Empire and those that concern Canada and the United States. Many scholars study Canada’s position within the British Empire in terms of national identity in the late nineteenth-century. Carl Berger’s seminal 1970 work on Canadian imperialist thought, Sense of Power, remains an excellent place to investigate Canadian nationalism in an Imperial context. Written in 2007, Duncan Bell’s detailed The Idea of Greater Britain investigated the push for Imperial Federation across the Empire and on the tremendous amount on the criticisms of Canadians (specifically Goldwin Smith) towards that idea. An edited compilation, Philip Buckner’s 2008 Canada and the British Empire, discussed Canada’s historical connection to Great Britain through a variety of avenues. Scholar J.I. Little expanded the historical discussion of identity by investigating the foundations of English-Canadian identity in the 2004 work Borderland Religion: The Emergence of an English-Canadian Identity, 1792-1852. These four works display a sample of political historiography concerning an imperial Canadian national identity.

Complete studies of Canadian national identity in the late nineteenth-century must include the increasing influence of the United States on Canadian society and culture. Three books in particular investigate the link between American influence and the creation of Canadian national identity during that time. Edward Kohn studied the use of racial language to foster community across the Canadian-American border in his 2004 book This Kindred People: Canadian-American Relations and the Anglo-Saxon idea, 1895-1903. The racialized notion of nation, prevalent in the late nineteenth-century, helped Canadians increasingly view the United States in a more favourable light than in the preceding decades.
Damien-Claude Belanger examined the differences between Canadian intellectuals over the Imperial or American connection in his 2011 book *Prejudice and Pride: Canadian Intellectuals Confront the United States, 1891-1945*. This book largely focuses around twentieth-century chronology. It largely simplifies the complex debate surrounding Canadian national identity by creating a dichotomy between Imperialists and Continentalists over acceptance or rejection of modernity. Scholar Allan Smith explored the American nature of Canadian national identity is his 1994 compendium of essays *Canada – An American Nation?* These three works approach Canadian national identity creation from a political angle. Alongside the historiography concerning Canadian national identity and the British Empire, these works all investigate the political motivations, creations, and discussions regarding Canadian national identity approaching the twentieth century. As well, other works study Canadian national identity outside of the British-American dichotomy.31 Yet none of these books investigated sport as an arena where this political battle took place.

The issue of French-Canadian nationalism, within and outside of the British framework, necessitates mention here. English-language literature regarding Canadian national identity in the late nineteenth-century cursorily discusses French Canada. However, at this time, French Canadian nationality represented one pillar of and not a competing notion against British conceptions of Canadian national identity. The books and works listed previously discussed the French-Canadians in that regard. Given that this study focuses on Canadian national identity and the lack of French-Canadian nationalism outside the general accepted conception of Canadian identity (British in nature), there is little gained in a detailed diversion into language, regional, and inter-racial conceptions of national identity.

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Contribution to the Body of Knowledge

This work differentiates itself from the previous studies in two important ways. First, the study focuses the chronology around one specific event, the donation of the Stanley Cup. Secondly, the investigation proceeds along a political interpretive framework, rather than along social, cultural, or economic guides. These differences give a unique imprint onto this study. This work produced the first detailed study of the donation of the Stanley Cup in an academic setting. Furthermore, it is the first academic study of ice hockey to focus on the political aspects of ice hockey’s association with Canadian national identity, rather than from the cultural or social perspectives. Additionally, the study is the first to investigate ice hockey and Canadian national identity solely in the chronology of the late nineteenth-century.

In addition to scholarship concerning ice hockey and Canadian national identity, this paper adds to the political and intellectual history of Canada and the wider British and Anglo world. There are vast numbers of works studying the creation of national identity from a political or cultural perspective and the many iterations it took in late nineteenth-century Canada. Yet, none of these political books incorporated a detailed discussion of the use of sport as a vehicle of national identity. Only works specific to sport investigate this theme. Of the historical works that do investigate this theme, many

proceed along cultural and social perspectives, and do not solely focus on ice hockey.\textsuperscript{33} One notable exception is the 1994 compilation \textit{The Beaver Bites Back} edited by David Flaherty and Frank Manning. This work investigates myriad ways in which Canadians altered American cultural forms to produce their own Canadian cultural products, sport serving as one such vehicle. Yet this study does not include a chapter relating to ice hockey as a form of Canadian national identity capital. This study represents the first attempt to situate sport as a primary political factor into the political interpretations regarding the creation of a Canadian national identity. Additionally, this work signifies the first attempt to position sport generally, and the donation of the Stanley Cup specifically, within the political debates surrounding the construction of Canadian national identity during the late nineteenth-century.

This study is unique in both sport history and political history. It attempts to bridge the two areas of study, through the donation of the Stanley cup. Ultimately, the completed study contributes to the literature in the following ways. First, the study fills a gap in both sport and political history regarding the donation of the Stanley Cup as a motivated effort in Canadian nation-building. No detailed works in either area explores this specific connection. Furthermore, no specific study attempts a political analysis of the use of sport to create a Canadian national identity in the late nineteenth-century in the framework of nineteenth-century political thought. Kevin Wamsley’s dissertation \textit{Leisure and Legislation in 19th Century Canada} dealt with legislative attempts to control, harness, promote, and ban sport. Wamsley focuses on the legislative aspect of politics. This study investigates the intellectual foundations of political philosophy and its impact on sport. Second, the study integrates the history of political thought into the realm of sport history. The conclusion asserts that changes in Anglo political thought legitimated nation-building through energetic State activity. The study highlights the political

philosophy that undergirded racial nationalism and military imperialism of the late nineteenth-century and connects it to the fusing of national identity with sport. Many authors explore this avenue tangentially in sport history, but do not focus on it in specific detail, and particularly from the political frame of reference. Finally, this study is specific to the Canadian experience. No literature in Canadian history exists that explicitly connects sport, politics, political thought, and the construction of national identity. Therefore, the study not only contributes to Canadian sport and political history, but to general Canadian history. By synthesizing multiple narratives about sport, nationalism, politics, and political thought, this study highlights how influential Canadian nation-builders viewed the nature of national identity during the nineteenth-century, especially through the vehicle of sport.

Method and Methodology

A narrative and contextual thematic approach forms the methodological outlook of this study. The study, rather than relying on a chronological story, follows a contextual style in the presentation of evidence. A contextual thematic style allows for a synthesis of the important elements of political history, intellectual history, and sport history to tell the political story of the donation of the Stanley Cup. Sport history serves as a strong backdrop to tell the stories of political and intellectual history in the context of crafting a Canadian national identity post Confederation. Narrative historian’s base their interpretations primarily on the primary source evidence and communicate these interpretations in a story format. All historians predicate their studies off primary sources, yet the narrative style lacks explicit use of theory as a guide. Formal application of contemporary social and cultural theories is unsuited to historical analysis. Historians work at a disadvantage given either the limited availability or consequently an overabundance of sources. However, the reliability of interpreting these sources

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34 Application of these theories represent a deterministic approach to historical inquiry. These theories themselves have not been objectively verified to be true, which further casts doubt upon their veracity as appropriate lenses upon which to interpret past events.
accounts for responsible history.\textsuperscript{35} The heart of this reliability rests upon the proper contextualization of
the primary sources within their own time.\textsuperscript{36} By analogy, writing history is similar to looking through
either a microscope, or telescope when viewing the past. A narrative historian may view events or
people through too specific or too general a lens, yet that lens remains clear and reliable to the sources.
Adding theory renders a shade of colour onto the lens, distorting the events and actors of the past with
theoretical implications, many of which are anachronistic. Narrative historians are beholden to their
own ontology, but no human escapes this subjective reality. Yet, this reality does not mean historians
should not strive for objectivity. Economist and intellectual historian Thomas Sowell asserts that, “The
unattainability of objectivity is too often a distraction from something more mundane that is quite
attainable but is often absent – honesty.”\textsuperscript{37} This study seeks an honest accounting of history based on a
reliable reading of the primary sources, placed firmly within their historical context.

Of particular importance to this study are the primary archives of Lord Stanley. His materials are
located in a few repositories. Firstly, Library and Archives Canada located in Ottawa, Ontario hold a
good deal of Lord Stanley’s personal correspondence. That location also contains the diary of Lady
Stanley, Lord Stanley’s wife. Her insights on the Stanleys’ cross-Canada travels, sporting leisure, and
general business of an acting Governor General are valuable in understanding Lord Stanley’s actions and
thoughts. Two repositories in England hold a considerable amount of primary sources. The Liverpool
Central Library and Archive has an extensive holding of Lord Stanley’s correspondence. These holdings
contain three boxes from Lord Stanley’s tenure as Governor General of Canada 1888-1893. These boxes
primarily relate to official matters of the Governor General and Lord Stanley’s many social engagements,

\textsuperscript{35} Historians Martha Howell and Walter Prevenier assert in their historical methodology text \textit{From Reliable Sources}
that “the historian’s basic task is to choose reliable sources, to read them reliably, and to put them together in
\textsuperscript{36} Ibid, 19.
\textsuperscript{37} Thomas Sowell, “History versus Visions,” in \textit{Black Rednecks and White Liberals}, by Thomas Sowell (San Francisco,
offering a fascinating look into Lord Stanley’s views regarding Canadian national politics. This repository held over thirty boxes of material without the help of a finding aid. Some of the boxes contained thousands of letters, bundled together, but without reference to the dates, who the correspondence was between, and the content of any of these letters. Given my time limitations for international research, I focused mainly on the boxes that contained information only concerning Canada. The second repository in England that holds primary sources from Lord Stanley is the Parker Library at Corpus Christi College at Cambridge University. This repository holds an extended amount of political correspondence from Stanley’s time spent in Canada. Viewing these sources allows for an extended look into Lord Stanley’s political views regarding Canadian national identity and his duty to promote Canadianess as Governor General. Specifically, these holdings illuminate the importance of sport to Lord Stanley and if he viewed it as a vehicle to promote Canadian national identity. This repository had a detailed finding aid that not only organized the correspondence by date and by recipient, but also gave a brief summary of each letter’s content. In addition to Stanley’s personal files those of his closest aide in Canada, Lord Kilcoursie, also merit attention. The Churchill Archives Centre in Cambridge hold an unpublished manuscript of Lord Kilcoursie. Along with Stanley’s own files, those of his closest aide shed light on Stanley’s experiences and ideas while serving in Canada.

Another area to find primary sources related to Lord Stanley are the debates in the English House of Commons. Lord Stanley served as a Conservative MP for Preston from 1865-1868, for North Lancashire from 1868-1885, and for Blackpool from 1885-1886. These records indicate Lord Stanley’s political positions on all matters. Of particular importance to this study are speeches which revealed his political philosophy. These records also provide primary information about his father. Edward Stanley served in the British Parliament for almost forty years, serving three times as Prime Minister, first in 1852, secondly from 1858-1859, and finally from 1866-1868. Edward’s tremendous influence on his son’s political beliefs warrants consideration. The House of Commons debates and proceedings
therefore offer a treasure of primary information to gauge the politics of these Stanley men. The DB Weldon Library at Western University holds the House of Commons Parliamentary Papers that documents the entire proceedings of the British House of Commons from 1803 to 2005.

Another set of primary documents that warrant attention are the contemporary debates between public intellectuals regarding Canadian national identity during Lord Stanley’s tenure. Some principal intellectuals include continentalists Goldwin Smith and Erastus Wiman and imperialists George Taylor Denison III and George Parkin. Goldwin Smith’s 1891 book *Canada and the Canadian Question* and George Parkin’s 1892 book *Imperial Federation* represent core texts from opposite ends of the political spectrum regarding Canadian national identity in that period. Politicians who also discussed Canadian national identity in public include Canadian nationalist Wilfrid Laurier, French-Canadian nationalist Honoré Mercier, and Sir John A. Macdonald. Additionally, the study relies upon primary source material from Canadian confederation until Lord Stanley’s return to England in 1893. Of particular importance is the Canada First movement, a movement devoted to the promotion and development of Canadian nationality, of the late 1860’s and 1870’s. Both Goldwin Smith and George Taylor Denison III graced this group as members. Other individuals of particular interest are Robert George Haliburton and Edward Blake. Other Canadian nationalists from this time include William Norris and William Caniff. Furthermore, George Beers warrants special attention for his role in promoting Canadian national identity through sport. His efforts to create a national game, lacrosse, in 1867 and his constant public promotion of sporting nationalism in the 1870’s makes him especially important in the context of fostering Canadian nationality through sport. Speeches, pamphlets, books, and articles from
each of these individuals are found in the DB Weldon Library located at Western University in London, Ontario in microform holdings, and are also obtained online using the Internet Archive.  

The study also rests upon key secondary sources. In particular, secondary literature concerning Canadian nationalist thought and Lord Stanley’s biography form key components of study. Regarding Canadian nationalist thought, the research leans on the work of two key scholars: Carl Berger and Duncan Bell. These books focus primarily upon the connection of Canada to Great Britain, and little towards the United States. Ultimately, this reflects the context of late 1880s and early 1890s Canadian public thought, as movement towards the United States generated anxiety and fear. This in turn resulted in a strong pivot towards the British Empire. American cultural and political influence ultimately overtook the Empire, but this did not occur until well into the twentieth century. In addition, given Lord Stanley’s position as an Imperial minister, appointed from Great Britain to Canada, the study focuses strongly on the British connection. Lord Stanley’s 2006 biography Lord Stanley, written by Kevin Shea and John Jason Wilson, acts as the other main secondary source employed in this study. That biography provides excellent reference material on Lord Stanley’s life in politics and in sport. Additionally, many sources concern the evolution of political thought in the nineteenth-century, specific to Great Britain and the larger Anglosphere. This study leans upon the work of H.S. Jones’s 2000 work Victorian Political Thought, Crane Brinton’s 1949 English Political Thought in the 19th Century, and Michael Freedén’s 1978 The New Liberalism: An Ideology of Social Reform. These sources document the myriad developments in English political thought that reverberated through the British Empire. 

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38 The Internet Archive is a non-profit based in San Francisco, California that digitizes any source it can without infringing on copyright law. Given that law only covers seventy-five years, the site houses an extensive array of digitized sources from the 19th century. The Internet Archive. www.arcive.org.

39 The Federal Elections of 1891 and 1911 both demonstrated this tendency. Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Liberal Party lost both elections due to their policy of unrestricted reciprocity with the United States. The Conservatives in both instances riled up anti-American sentiments, engendering fear over a loss of British and Canadian nationality. For the 1891 election see; Wood, 50. For the 1911 election see; Laurier Lapierre, Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Romance of Canada (Toronto, ON: Stoddart Publishing Co. Limited, 1996), 327-330.
together, these secondary sources act as a bulwark to appraise and interpret the primary source information.

Limitations

Any study based on primary source analysis suffers from one key limitation, either an overabundance or dearth of sources. For this study, the limitation is too few primary sources relating directly to Lord Stanley and the donation of the Cup. Attempting to piece together a narrative from fragmented evidence offers a great challenge. There remains a high probability that some documents required as prime evidence for this study do not exist in archival holdings. Additionally, archival holdings of one individual contain primarily correspondence received by that individual. These holdings rarely possess responses or letters written by the holding’s subject. It remains possible that a letter exists in a different archival location, in another individual’s holdings, that sheds light onto the object of this study.

The lack of newspaper analysis poses another limitation to the study. The research focuses on top-down approaches of nation-building from political leaders and through the debates of public intellectuals. The study does not focus on the reception of these messages by the masses. The paper necessitates allusions to popular perception in appropriate areas. Yet, another paper remains the best option to investigate this line of inquiry. As such, presentations to the public, through mass media, do not warrant investigation.

Delimitations

The chronology of the paper spans 1888-1893. The period covers the tenure of Lord Stanley’s appointment as Governor General in Canada. The study focuses on his tenure due primarily to the fact that Lord Stanley forms the major research object of the study. Since the definition of Canadian
nationalism through sport represents the study’s interpretive framework, correlating the chronology from the time Lord Stanley arrived in Canada to his departure to England places emphasis on his Canadian experiences. Furthermore, many political events during this time shaped definitions of Canadian national identity. The Federal election of 1891 perhaps best illustrated the turn towards the British Empire and the ascension of Imperialism in Canadian political thought. Furthermore, two seminal intellectual works regarding national identity published during this period established the opposite parameters of conceptions of Canadian national identity.40

The main thrust of the paper investigates the political aspects of the Stanley Cup’s donation. Much of the text details political and intellectual history related to Canada after Confederation. In order to fully investigate this theme, there are in-depth studies into these aspects in the United States, and Great Britain in the nineteenth-century. Specifically, the study documents the rise of nationalism in each country, how this rise correlated to a transition in liberal political philosophy, and how this transition reflected itself through the avenue of team sports. Canada during this time represented a philosophic and political middle ground between the United States and Great Britain. Both sport and political national development in Canada are investigated in this fashion. This provides a strong framework to view the synergy between each process in developing a conception of Canadian national identity. Team sports during this time most accurately reflected the desires of sport reformers to induce national characteristics through sport participation. Correspondingly, this paper does not provide a detailed account of the evolution of modern sport in its entirety in these three countries. It focuses exclusively on the development of national team sports. This includes a detailed discussion of the nationalization of cricket in England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the nationalization of baseball in the United States in the second half of the nineteenth-century, and the attempts of national sport evangelizer George Beers in Canada to nationalize lacrosse after Confederation. With

40 Goldwin Smith’s Canada and the Canadian Question in 1891 and George Parkin’s Imperial Federation in 1892.
specific reference to ice hockey, this study focuses on the political and intellectual aspects of that sport’s maturation and the relationship the Lord Stanley and his family with the sport. In that respect, the story presented about hockey relates specifically to the Stanley family and the elements of the sport in the early nineteenth-century that predicated and legitimated the sport as a national sport for Canadians. Sport in this paper provides a backbone to the political and intellectual investigation into the nationalization of political life in the late nineteenth-century in the Anglo-Atlantic Triangle (Canada, Great Britain, and the United States).

Recommendations for Future Research

Synthesizing the intellectual and political arguments in this study with the practical evolution of ice hockey as a Canadian national sport provides the next step for further research in this topic. This study provides a framework from which to view sport history from the perspective of a political and intellectual historian. Integrating this perspective with the history of ice hockey in Canada in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries would further substantiate the intellectual arguments concerning transitions in political philosophy. Specifically of importance is examining the link between the politics of Lord Stanley with the competitions over the Stanley Cup during the Challenge Cup Era from 1893 to 1914. Furthermore, future research should investigate the philosophy of amateurism, its history in ice hockey in Canada during this time period, and its connections as an ideology to political ideals identified in this study as vital to the development and legitimation of national sports.

Chapters

The study is organized into four sections. The first section encompasses the first two chapters. These detail the introduction to the study and also to Canadian political history from 1867 to 1888. Chapter I forms a crucial part of the study. This section outlines the interpretive framework, identifies the object of study, introduces the argument, and the sources to be used. Chapter II provides historical
context of the development of the Canadian nation-state after Confederation. This context largely focuses on political, economic, demographic, and technological developments.

The second section deals with the development of national sport development in Great Britain, the United States, and Canada in the nineteenth-century. Chapter III details the emergence of national sport in Great Britain and the United States. It documents both the rise of organized sports in these locations along with the specific instances of national identity formation through sport. Furthermore, it discusses the underlying processes that grafted national identity onto sport, namely the growth of imperial militarism and racial nationalism. Primary source material from Great Britain and the United States inform this chapter, alongside secondary literature. Specifically, newspaper and magazine articles, speeches, and pamphlets from each country document the rise not only of organized spots, but also of nationalist forms of sport. Importantly, it discusses this development in relation to the political development of each country. Furthermore, the Chapter investigates the changes in political thought which precipitated a quest to define a national sport. Chapter IV follows the same formula and uses similar sources, but documents the rise of national sport in Canada post-Confederation but before Lord Stanley arrived.

The third section investigates the political philosophy of Lord Stanley and his actions while in political office. Chapter V documents the political activity of Lord Stanley before he arrived in Canada. It contains a detailed discussion of his father’s political philosophy and activity. Additionally, it examines both Edward Geoffrey and Frederick’s political beliefs in contrast to the mainstream Liberal and Conservative tendencies of their time. This chapter relies heavily on the Stanley files located in Ottawa, Cambridge, and Liverpool. The House of Commons Parliamentary Papers also provide crucial evidence for this chapter for both Lord Stanley, and his father Edward. The chapter illuminates the liberal political tendencies harboured by both men and how these reflected changes in that stream of political thought
from the father’s time to the son’s. Chapter VI documents Lord Stanley’s political activity in Canada. It
details how Stanley strove to foster strong Imperial ties and strong Canadian national identity in his
political activities in Canada. Through political controversies, both domestic and foreign, Stanley
became aware of the political difficulties of uniting Canada. The Chapter also discusses Stanley’s
sporting heritage and his embrace of Canadian sports. It documents Stanley’s travels across the country
and his experiences in both summer and winter sports in Canada. Importantly, it examines the genesis
of the Stanley family’s embrace of ice hockey and the budding association of that game as a national
sport of Canada. Use of Lord Stanley’s correspondence, and the manuscript from his aide-de-campe Lord
Kilcoursie offer insight into the political and sporting activity of Lord Stanley while in Canada.

The final section analyzes the donation in relation to both Canadian debates over identity and
the promotion of nationalized sports as a consequence of the changes in Liberal political thought over
the final half of the nineteenth-century. Chapter VII discusses in detail the debate over Canadian identity
during Stanley’s tenure as Governor General. The chapter investigates the arguments made by
Continentalists, Imperial Federationists, and Canadian independence proponents. The Federal election
of 1891 represented a bellwether to ascertain the desires of the Canadian population on their self-
definition. The turn towards Great Britain in the 1890s shows the essentially British character of
Canadian national identity. However, subtle American influences as well crept into this calculation of
Canadian nationalism. This chapter provides context as to the national mood in Canadian intellectual
and political circles at the moment of Lord Stanley’s donation. The fierce debate over nationality
impressed upon Stanley the need to promote unity through sport. The sport of ice hockey fully
represented the ideals of Canadian nationality to those who thought like Stanley politically. The chapter
argues that ice hockey fulfilled many of the unique demands needed in a nineteenth-century national
identity, particular to the Canadian context. In order for the Stanley Cup to serve as a physical symbol of
Canadian national identity, the Cup needed to reflect elements unique to the Canadian nation. His love
of ice hockey also facilitated such a conflation. Linking this love with his progressive politics, the chapter demonstrated that he both understood and promoted nationalism through sport in Canada. This chapter relies on primary source data supplied by Canadian public intellectuals in speeches, pamphlets, books, and in the political debates in the Canadian House of Commons. Chapter VIII discusses the general atmosphere in political thought which legitimated the State actively promoting national sports. The chapter also discusses political theory of the second half of the nineteenth-century and the rise of nationalism, using primary sources from the influential political theorists of that era. This chapter situates the political donation of the Stanley Cup into the larger transformation in Anglo political thought during the nineteenth-century. The evidence in this chapter relies upon primary sources of nineteenth-century political thought and secondary sources concerning that same topic. The evolution of Anglo political thought from Classic Liberalism to a New Liberalism or Progressivism altered the British definition of the State and its function in a free society. The rise of nationalism fused with social Darwinism and connected to emerging socialist narratives regarding the collective nature of politics. This transformed the State into a positive energetic agent that not only could order society, but should in order to foment national and ultimately racial greatness. This turn of political thought ceded an immense authority to national political leaders and their ability to construct and create national identities tied to the growing state. Furthermore, it legitimated such acts of central activity. The Stanley Cup displays this turn in political philosophy, ultimately underpinning the entire political side of the act of donation.
Chapter II

The State of Canada as Lord Stanley Met Her in 1888

Symptoms of restlessness, on account of our position being merely colonial, and the discussion of plans, whereby we may emerge into a position of recognized nationality and stable political equilibrium, also shows that we are nearing that point in our history when we must assume the full responsibilities of nationhood, or abandon the experiment altogether.¹

– George Grant 1887

When Lord Stanley arrived in Canada on 10 June 1888, what type of country, nation, did he encounter?² Almost twenty-two years elapsed since Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick joined together in Confederation, under the British North America Act on 1 July 1867.³ Internally, the country enlarged its geography, economy, and population. Conquest over the harsh Canadian terrain, its native inhabitants, and swells of immigrants from other provinces and countries stretched the reach of the Dominion from Ocean to Ocean to Ocean. Aided by the extension of rail and communications technology, Canadian political leaders envisioned plans to enact effective governance of a large and sparsely populated country. Industrialism also began to transform Canadian society from a predominantly agricultural and rural nation, to a slightly more urban and manufacturing nation. Externally, the Canadian State sought to situate itself within the international family of nations. Canadian statesmen pushed for greater authority in determining the country’s international affairs. Furthermore, Canadian intellectuals grappled with political schemes that outlined the Canadian State’s relationship to Great Britain and the United States. Canada, as a country and a nation, stood upon a precipice of transformation both internally and externally.

Lord Stanley embarked in Ottawa to steward the country through this transition. How would the Canadian State emerge from a loose and fragmented federation of geographically dispersed provinces, one with a majority French-speaking population, into not only a strong nation, but also a

¹ George Grant, “Canada First.” Speech Given at the Canadian Club, New York, New York. 1887.
² Kevin Shea and John Jason Wilson, Lord Stanley: The man behind the cup (Toronto, ON: Fenn Pub., 2006), 1.
³ Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Sixty Years of Canadian Progress, 1867-1927 (Ottawa, ON: F.A. Acland, printer, 1927), 8. A Map of the new Canadian Dominion can be found in Appendix 1.1.
functioning centralized state? This moment in the Canadian State’s maturation greatly influenced how Lord Stanley both understood where it came from, and its trajectory into the future.

Stanley did not enter his role as Governor General without a working knowledge of the Canadian Dominion. He served as Secretary of State for the Colonies in the Imperial Parliament from 1885 to 1886. Furthermore, Stanley himself amassed a great deal of information on Canada prior to 1888. His personal archives, held at the Liverpool Central Library, contain many informational brochures, journal articles, and contemporary Canadian history volumes stretching from 1873 to 1888. From these sources, Stanley’s knowledge regarding Canada prior to his arrival comes into focus. Ten sources garner particular importance. Displayed in chronological order they are: “American Protection vs. Canadian Free Trade” speech by John Wood (1880), “The Canadian Northwest” speech by the Governor General the Marquess of Lorne (1881), “The Future of the Dominion of Canada” speech by Alexander Galt (1881), “The Commercial Independence of Canada” speech by James Edgar (1883), By the East to the West a memorandum on the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway (1885), “Recent and Prospective Development in Canada” speech by Joseph Colmer (1886), “Local Government in Canada” journal article by John Bourinot (1887), An official handbook of information relating to the Dominion of Canada a Government information guide (1887), Canada’s contribution to defense and unity of the Empire an unpublished Government pamphlet (1888), Some Canadian Railway and Commercial Statistics a government published pamphlet (1888). Using Stanley’s own materials as a guide, this chapter explores the evolution of the Canadian State as a political entity from 1867 to 1888.

4 For a detailed discussion of Stanley’s political career in Great Britain, please refer to Chapter V.
5 These thirty-four documents, ranging from 1873 to 1888, include two letters, one historical journal, one Canadian government statistical guide, one travel brochure, one official government department report, and twenty-eight pamphlets. Of the twenty-eight pamphlets, six communicated speeches given by Government (both Canadian and British) officials and representatives, ten related domestic information about Canadian cities and regions, five provided in depth information for British immigrants, two communicated detailed Canadian House of Common’s debates, two advertised travel within Canada, one related unpublished Government information, one pamphlet related French concerns in the French Language, and one advertised sport in Montreal. A table showing all of these materials can be found in Appendix 1.2.
To contextualize the place of Canadian sport and the Canadian nation during Lord Stanley’s tenure as Governor General necessitates a broad discussion of Canada’s political growth after Confederation. Where the country stood politically helped frame the development of sport and the Canadian nation.

Geography, demographic expansion, political control, and economic development highlighted the internal maturation of the Canadian state. Trade agreements, international treaties, Imperial connection and the international position of the Dominion represented the Canadian State’s external maturation. Using sources from Stanley’s own archival collection provides a unique glance into his knowledge concerning Canada before he arrived.

Canada Inside: Expansion and Consolidation

After Confederation, Canadian politicians prioritized uniting the Country from the Atlantic, to the Pacific, to the Arctic. A Stanley source highlighted this drive for consolidation. At a 25 January 1881 speech given at the Royal Colonial Institute in London, UK, Canadian High Commissioner Alexander Galt spoke to this geographic necessity. Galt, discussing the future of the Dominion, expressed the haste of Canadian geographic expansion. He noted that geographic consolidation of all the British-held territories under one Federal Government, the Dominion Government, secured and fulfilled Confederation. Spoken before a crowd in London, Galt’s statement impressed the rapidity of expansion. For Stanley, the passage communicated elements of both Canada’s relative youth as a country and its orchestrated destiny as a North American continental state.

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Between 1867 and 1881, the Canadian State grew almost tenfold in size from 350,188 square miles to 3,470,392 square miles. In 1870, the Canadian Government, under Sir John A. Macdonald, made an enormous land purchase. In separate transactions, the Canadian State took ownership of Rupert’s Land and the North-Western Territory. In 1870, out of the Red River Rebellions, the small province of Manitoba negotiated itself into the Dominion.\(^8\) British Columbia and Prince Edward Island joined the Union as Provinces in 1871 and 1873 respectively.\(^9\) Historian W.L. Morton argued that expansion to the East and the West ensured the survival of Confederation.\(^10\) Upon consolidation of the northern half of North America Morton stated, “The moral purpose of confederation, the union of the provinces in a partnership of English and French, was at last embodied in a territory reaching from sea to sea.”\(^11\) Now connected through political union and purchase, the Canadian territory needed to connect physically through modern transportation, railways.

Ever since the introduction of the railway onto the North American continent, both American and Canadian politicians, speculators, and entrepreneurs dreamed of uniting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans via the continent.\(^12\) Canadian Nationalist George Munro Grant explained that as early as 1857, Her Majesty’s Government sponsored an expedition tour west of Lake Superior to ascertain any transportation networks that could link the Pacific Coast to Central Canada and the beginning of the

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\(^8\) A Map of Canada after the land purchases and admission of Manitoba in 1870 can be found in Appendix 1.3. Footnote 31 outlines the Red River Rebellion in conjunction with the Northwest Rebellion of 1885.  
\(^9\) Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 12. A Map of Canada in 1873 can be found in Appendix 1.4.  
\(^10\) Morton argued that the design of Confederation hinged around the completion of a continental railroad, solely run through Canadian soil. The acquisition of the Northwest and the union with British Columbia secured the geography needed to make a northern continental railroad. Morton also alluded to the United States and Great Britain abstaining from participation in the first Northwest Rebellion as a signal that Canada would hold supremacy over the northern half of North America. W.L. Morton, *The Critical Years: The Union of British North America 1853-1873* (Toronto, ON: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1964), 245.  
\(^11\) Ibid, 277.  
\(^12\) George Grant, *Ocean to Ocean. Sanford Fleming’s Expedition through Canada in 1872* (London, UK: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1877), 1.
Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence Waterway.\textsuperscript{13} The push for Confederation of the British Provinces extended into governance and ownership of the Northwest Territory.\textsuperscript{14} The construction of the publicly financed Intercolonial Railroad between Quebec City and Halifax, beginning in 1869, represented the linking of the Maritimes with Central Canada.\textsuperscript{15} This denoted only the beginning of a railway revolution in Canada.

Constructing a continental transportation link completely outside of the United States represented the penultimate goal of Canadian geographic expansion.\textsuperscript{16} Consolidating State ownership of the northern half of the North American continent ensured political survival for Canada. One of Stanley's holdings, \textit{To the East by the West}, argued this very point. That memorandum stated “The admission of British Columbia in 1871, made it necessary for the statesmen who brought about the political union immediately to face the question of a transcontinental railway, for without such physical connection the strands of the political bond would inevitably snap.”\textsuperscript{17} This passage communicated to Stanley both the vastness of Canada and the difficulties in connecting its population. It also highlighted its precarious position on the Continent. The memorandum also expressed that the expediency of twinning political unification and geographic connection across the British colonies in North America resulted from a

\begin{itemize}
\item Captain Palliser led the expedition in 1857. He concluded the unfeasibility of an Intercontinental railroad through only British Territory, and not through the United States to the south, temporarily halting the idea of a solely British intercontinental railroad. \textit{Ibid}, 2-3.
\item Correspondence between Sir John A. Macdonald and Edward Watkin, President of the Grand Trunk Railroad, in 1865 centred on the administration and annexation of this territory into either a federated Canada or an expanded British Empire. Edward Watkin to John A. Macdonald, February 18, 1865. \textit{Correspondence of Sir John Macdonald}, ed. Sir Joseph Pope (Toronto, ON: Oxford University Press, 1921) 22-23.
\item Captain Palliser’s expedition in 1857 explicitly noted this as its main impetus. Grant, 2-3.
\item \textit{By the East to the West. Memorandum on some Imperial aspects of the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway}, (1885), 2. “Papers of Frederick Arthur, 16th Earl of Derby,” Box 21, Liverpool Central Library, Liverpool, United Kingdom.
\end{itemize}
heightened anxiety concerning that influence and the possibility of conflict.\textsuperscript{18} The continental Republic of the United States of America, as Lord Stanley would learn as Governor General, exerted a tremendous influence on the development of the Canadian State.

The spectre of American aggression and expansion north of the 49\textsuperscript{th} parallel haunted Canada during the Confederation process and into the early twentieth century. It defined the Canadian State’s quest for geographic and political consolidation. The breakdown of the 1854 Treaty of Washington trade reciprocity agreement in 1866\textsuperscript{19}, the Fenian raids of 1866\textsuperscript{20}, and the presence of a large standing army after the United States Civil war\textsuperscript{21}, which ended in 1865, cast a dubious shadow over Canada’s future in North America.\textsuperscript{22} Sir John A. Macdonald, Canada’s first Prime Minister, outlined the situation concerning potential conflict with the United States in his first of six Ministerial speeches given on Confederation to the Legislature of Canada in 1865. Macdonald stressed

\textsuperscript{18} The breakdown of trade reciprocity and the violence of the American Civil War greatly affected the psychology of Colonial legislators in British North America, pushing them towards each other. Ibid, 338-339.

\textsuperscript{19} Between 1854 and 1866 a reciprocity treaty between the British Colonies and the United States provided fishery rights, free navigation of the St. Lawrence, and free interchange of productions. Sir E.W. Watkin, a British MP and railroad entrepreneur argued for the continuation of the treaty in the British Parliament on 17 February 1865 that the treaty “was to make two countries, politically distinct, commercially one, and to induce the two peoples, otherwise opposed, to live in cooperation and in peace.” 177 Parl. Deb. (3\textsuperscript{rd} Ser.) (1865) 410.

\textsuperscript{20} The Fenian Raid occurred when hundreds of US Civil War veterans invaded Canada West (present day Ontario) on 1 June 1866. The veterans were members of the Fenian Brotherhood, an extremist Irish nationalist group in the United States. Aggravated by their views on British rule in Ireland and apparent sympathy with the Confederate States of America, the Fenians attacked inside British held territory in North America. These raids displayed British North America’s vulnerability to attack, British incapability of protecting the colonies in North America from American aggression, and the potential capability of a large American Army to invade at a moment’s notice. Anthony DeAngelo, “The 1866 Fenian raid on Canada West: A study of colonial perceptions and reactions towards the Fenians in the Confederation era,” PhD diss. (Queen’s University, 2009), 1-2, ProQuest (MR65146). The Fenian’s unsuccessfully attempted another invasion in 1870, repelled by the Canadian volunteer militia. David Morris, \textit{The Canadian Militia: From 1855 An Historical Summary} (Erin, ON: The Boston Mills Press, 1983), 16.


If we are not blind to our present position, we must see the hazardous situation in which all the great interests of Canada stand in respect to the United States... We know that the United States at this moment are engaged in a war of enormous dimensions – that the occasion of a war with Great Britain has again and again arisen, and may at any time in the future again rise. We cannot foresee what may be the result; we cannot say but that the two nations may drift into a war as other nations have done before. It would then be too late when war had commenced to think of measures for strengthening ourselves, or to begin negotiations for a union with the sister provinces.²³

This spectre, although not as hostile as it appeared in the drive for Confederation, continued to cause concern in Canada. Stanley’s copy of a speech delivered by English political writer and trade protectionist John Wood revealed the omnipresence of potential American incursion into Canada. Writing on Canada’s acceptance of trade protectionism in the 1878 election through the National Policy of Sir John A. Macdonald’s Conservative Party²⁴, Wood lamented the possibility of American hostility due to Great Britain’s free trade policy. Given that Great Britain depended upon the United States and Russia for vital food imports, Wood surmised that “It is also an impossibility that America, prompted in the same manner by England’s manifest dependence on her, should then hesitate, just too when the development of North-Western Canada’s resources shall have aroused both her envy and ambition, by a mere expansion of the grasping Monroe Doctrine, to demand from us the cession to her of all our possessions in America and the West Indies?”²⁵ For Stanley, this statement conveyed the nefarious and potentially hostile relationship with the United States.²⁶ Despite the spectre of American expansion, Canadian consolidation of the northern half of North America and its governance took much from the example of the Great Republic to the South.

²⁴ The National Policy is discussed in greater detail below.
²⁶ This relationship and Stanley’s role as mediator is discussed in Chapter VI.
The United States displayed that a representative government could indeed form a continental state through a strong central government. In the same previous speech Sir John A Macdonald lauded the American Federal project and their constitution. He stated “I think and believe it [the US Constitution] is one of the most perfect organizations that ever governed a free people. To say it has some defects is but to say that it is not the work of Omniscience, but of human intellects.” One of Lord Stanley’s holdings supported the Canadian respect for American institutions. In a speech delivered in Winnipeg during the summer of 1881, the Canadian Governor General, the Marquess of Lorne, hailed the dual experiment in liberty unfolding in North America. Before a distinguished audience, he stated “The people of the United States have been directed into one political organization, and we are cherishing and developing another; but they will find no men with whom a closer and more living sympathy with their triumphs or with their trouble abides, than their Canadian cousins of the Dominion.” This statement expressed to Stanley the respect of Canadians for the Republic. It impressed the complicated relationship between the two countries, at once antagonistic and reverential. As a young country, Canada both feared and greatly admired their neighbour.

The administration of such a large and underpopulated geography presented a great challenge to Canadian statesmen and legislators. There were both peaceful and legislative challenges to Confederation and geographic expansion and violent and rebellious confrontations. In Nova Scotia, Premier Joseph Howe fought against Confederation, and subsequently against Canadian Imperial expansion westward. The Red River Rebellion of 1869-1870 and the subsequent Northwest Rebellion...

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of 1885 highlighted but one of many disruptions to established communities, especially Aboriginal and Métis communities, and their willingness to combat the Canadian Government’s extended dominion.\textsuperscript{31} The quelling of the rebellions consolidated the Canadian Government’s authority in the Northwest. One of Lord Stanley’s holdings offered a unique perspective on the quelling of the Northwest Rebellion. In a 12 January 1886 speech in front of the Royal Colonial Institute in London, UK, secretary for the Canadian High Commissioner (1880-1893) Joseph Colmer discussed the recent events of the Northwest Rebellion. Colmer argued that “Regrettable as the incidents have been, causing the premature ending of so many valuable lives, they were eventful, as showing that unity exists in the different provinces, that neither French nor English in any way favour the disintegration of the Confederation, and that they are all loyal to their country and to their Sovereign.”\textsuperscript{32} Once consolidated, the Canadian public stood largely in unity, similar to their newly connected geography.\textsuperscript{33} The statement expressed to Stanley that Canadians could unite despite their differences and sparse density. Prior to 1885, the Canadian State continued to secure its possession of the northern half of North America. In 1874, the United States recognized Canada’s border at the 49\textsuperscript{th} parallel extending from the Lake of the Woods in the east to the Pacific

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\textsuperscript{32} Joseph Colmer, “Recent and Prospective Development in Canada,” Speech given at the Royal Colonial Institute, London, UK, January 12, 1886, 22.

\textsuperscript{33} Colmer noted a minority in Quebec sympathized with Riel and his plight, but they did not effectively sway public opinion in that province on the matter. Ibid, 23.
Ocean in the west. In 1877, the Canadian Government secured a land agreement, Treaty 7, with the various tribes of the Blackfoot Nation, offering resources for access to their traditional lands. The newly completed Canadian Pacific Railroad (CPR) secured the expanded Canadian State against domestic agitation.

The completion of the Canadian Pacific Railroad illustrated Canada’s status as a young nation on the precipice of a transition. Journalist Erastus Wiman noted this transition when he wrote “The completion of the Canadian Pacific [Railroad] marks the day when a great nation, already born and well nurtured, takes on its manhood.” After a tumultuous decade attempting to find private financing, in 1881 the Macdonald Government secured private financing for essentially a government-sponsored railway. Its completion on 7 November 1885 cemented Canadian supremacy over the northern half of North America. Finally, the Canadian State had its transcontinental transportation link. Joseph Colmer, in his speech to the Royal Colonial Institute, believed this technological achievement strengthened Canadian unity. Regarding the CPR, Colmer proclaimed “I will only now express the hope, sure to be universally supported in this room, that the bond of union in the Dominion may be as firm and as strong as the steel band which now physically binds the provinces together.”

Connecting Eastern and Central Canada with the Pacific, over the Rocky Mountains, provided the strongest link between Canadians over the vastness of the Country’s terrain. This dominion affected the Canadian State’s military and economic reach. Stanley’s copy of By the East to the West impressed the speed of

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35 Shea and Wilson, 183.
37 Waite, *Canada 1874-1896*, 58-61. Joseph Colmer, Secretary to the Canadian High Commissioner from 1880-1893, noted the degree of assistance given to the railway companies by all levels of Government in Canada. He mentioned money subsidies and land grants that cost the Canadian taxpayers roughly thirty two million pounds sterling of the approximately one hundred and thirty five million pounds sterling spent on the entirety of railways in Canada up to 1888. Colmer, “Some Canadian Railway and Commercial Statistics,” 2.
38 A photograph of Donald Alexander Smith, Lord Strathcona, hammering the final spike at Craigallachie British Columbia is found in Appendix 1.5.
travel now available in Canada for these purposes. The memorandum noted that Canadian Regiments now travelled from Halifax, Nova Scotia to the Pacific Coast in only five days, as opposed to ninety-five days to travel only from Toronto, Ontario to Winnipeg, Manitoba fifteen years earlier. This speed helped the Canadian Militia defeat the Northwest Rebellion of 1885 and solidified its control over the Northwest.\textsuperscript{40} For Stanley, the passage communicated both the vastness overcome by the railway and the new potential of the Dominion due to the conquering of this spatiotemporal barrier. Economically, the completion of the CPR stimulated the State’s desired East-West trade, a benchmark of Sir John A. Macdonald’s protectionist National Policy.\textsuperscript{41} The CPR connected coal deposits from the East and the Pacific, along with the raw materials of the prairie farms, northwest mines, timber yards, and the eastern mines and lumber fields with the newly established manufacturing sectors in central Canada. The linking of East and West via rail gave promise that an underperforming Canadian economy might finally realize its true potential.

The Canadian economy sputtered through the 1870’s, underperforming in relation to the United States to the south.\textsuperscript{42} Historian Peter Waite asserted that Canadians at the time simply held unrealistic ambitions in their performance relative to the United States.\textsuperscript{43} Population growth represented the most important measure of economic progress during this era.\textsuperscript{44} Joseph Colmer delivered a speech to the

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\textsuperscript{40} By the East to the West, 4.
\textsuperscript{41} Paramount to the National Policy’s aims of creating a self-sustaining Canadian Economy, modelled on the American Policy of the United States Government, the CPR realized the need for Canadian producers, manufacturers, and farmers to trade their products between Canadians efficiently. Jack Granastein, Irving, Abella, T.W. Acheson, David, Bercuson, Robert, Brown, and H.B. Neatby, Nation: Canada Since Confederation, 3\textsuperscript{rd} ed. (Toronto, ON: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1990), 35.
\textsuperscript{43} Waite mentions that Canadian national development occurred later than America. The Americans achieved a transcontinental nation in 1847, Canadian’s in 1871. They connected their continental nation via rail in 1869, while it took Canada until 1885. Waite, Canada 1874-1896, 75.
\textsuperscript{44} The Dominion Bureau of Statistics still used this measure in their compendium in the early twentieth century to gauge overall economic performance. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Sixty Years of Canadian Progress, 1867-1927, 32. Morton also alluded to this metric as the dominant measure of economic progress. Morton, Arduous Destiny, 75.
\end{flushright}
Royal Statistical Society on 21 February 1888 in London. He spoke to Canadian economic progress based upon statistical measurement. Lord Stanley held a copy of this speech in his archives. Colmer noted that from 1867 to 1886, the Canadian population grew from roughly 3.4 million to almost 5 million. While a good increase, it did not compare to the rapid expansion of population in the United States, especially along the Western Frontier. Colmer observed this sluggishness in Canadian population growth in the Northwest region stating that “... the western portions of the United States have been traversed by railways for forty years, and the result is that their population is numbered by millions, while owing to the inaccessibility of the Canadian prairies until recently, their inhabitants are still computed by thousands.” Another Stanley source illuminated the under-population of Canada. The Canadian Department of Agriculture published a handbook for potential British immigrants in 1887 with information relating to all matters of Canadian life. That Handbook noted that “… in Canada there are millions of acres – hundreds of millions – waiting to be made available for the uses of mankind.” Colmer also provided trade statistics that displayed the generally depressed Canadian economy of the late 1870s and early 1880s. For Stanley, these statistics showed that Canada, despite a reputation of stalled economics, did indeed grow at a decent rate. From 1867 to 1886 the population increased roughly forty-seven percent, the amount of Government revenue roughly one hundred and forty-two percent ($13,687,928 to $33,177,040), trade not including intra-provincial grew approximately forty-five percent ($131,027,532 to $189,675,875), and importantly the number of railway miles rose roughly

45 Colmer, “Some Canadian Railway and Commercial Statistics,” 4. In 1867, the estimate for the population, which lived in what eventually became the Canadian state, stood at 3,327,000. By 1881, the census tabulated the 4,324,810. This represented an increase of only 997,810 persons or less than a 30% increase. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Sixty Years of Canadian Progress, 1867-1927*, 32.
48 Colmer divided Canada’s first twenty years under Confederation into four blocks of five years to give in his interpretation an overview of four different periods in Canada’s short economic history. For each block, the first being four years and the others five years, Colmer calculated the aggregated average of the five years trade to produce an average yearly measure for each period. The block between 1877-81 represented a large drop in the average trade volume. Ibid, 10. A table showing Colmer’s calculations appears in Appendix 1.6.
three hundred and seventy-four percent (2,258 miles to 10,697 miles). However, as Colmer noted, development did not proceed along a gradual increase, but suffered from cyclical depressions and expansions. The depressed Canadian economy of the late 1870s, resultant from the Great Panic of 1873, pushed many Canadians to immigrate to the United States. Between 1867 and 1891, one million Canadians left the Dominion to settle in the Republic. In order to halt emigration, Canadian statesmen, led by Sir John A. Macdonald, sought to consolidate the economy in a new protectionist scheme.

The National Policy, first forwarded by the Conservative Party under Sir John A. Macdonald in the 1878 Federal Election, raised Canada’s protective tariff. The tariff produced an artificial advantage to Canadian industry at the expense of international competition. In particular, the policy aimed to create a strong domestic manufacturing industry. The tariff, set generally around thirty percent, affected imported goods from the United States and Great Britain. The 1870 Canadian census

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49 Ibid, 4. Percentage calculations are my own.
50 Historians Peter Waite and Murray Rothbard contend that the Great Depression of 1873 did not actually depress the economies of North America to the extent generally assumed. Morton noted that during the supposed long depression in Canada, cyclical depressions between 1874-79 and 1884-87, calamity befell only certain industries while the Canadian economy as a whole advanced greatly. Overall, Canadian production equalled imports in the 1870’s, doubled them in the 1880’s, and tripled them in the 1890’s. Waite, *Canada 1874-1896*, 75-77. Rothbard argued that production surged and prices fell in the United States during this period, resulting in prosperity, rather than depression. He noted that the Panic did have the effect of creating bankruptcies in banks that speculated heavily in government subsidised industries, most notably the railroads. These sudden financial disasters impressed upon people the illusion of general depression in an otherwise robust economy. Murray Rothbard, *A History of Money and Banking in the United States: The Colonial Era to World War II* (Auburn, AL: Ludwig von Mises Institute, 2002), 154-157. Both authors note that the Great Panic did have real effects on the psychology of Canadians and Americans despite their contestations of the validity of labelling such a period as depressed.
52 Late 19th and early 20th century Canadian historian John Bourinot noted that a main plank of the National Policy intended to halt the southern emigration of Canadians into the United States. Increasing the tariff duties on all international products rendered a tremendous advantage to domestic industries and encouraged the growth of Canadian industries from agriculture, mining, and industrial production. John Bourinot, *Canada Under British Rule 1760-1900* (Toronto, ON: The Copp, Clark Company, Limited, 1901), 243-244.
53 Historian Christopher Pennington explained that Sir John A. Macdonald’s eventual goal in enacting the tariff amounted to inducing the American’s into negotiations concerning free trade in natural products, similar to the
demonstrated the numerical infancy of the Canadian manufacturing sector. It recorded the value of all Canadian manufactured goods at $221 million, with seventy eight million invested in factories and one hundred at eighty eight thousand employees working in factories.\textsuperscript{54} By 1880, investors sunk over one hundred and sixty five million dollars into Canadian manufacturing.\textsuperscript{55} The number of manufacturing employees grew to just over three hundred and nine thousand workers.\textsuperscript{56} In 1890, investment stood at just over three hundred and fifty three million dollars\textsuperscript{57} while employment grew to just over four hundred and sixty nine thousand.\textsuperscript{58} These figures demonstrated the early stages of transition in Canada from a resource based to an increasingly industrialized economy from Confederation to the late 1880s. Lord Stanley’s sources revealed this information. The emigrants handbook published by the Canadian Department of Agriculture advertised Canada’s burgeoning manufacturing sector.\textsuperscript{59} Joseph Colmer also noted this transition. In 1888 he stated “Besides the country has, it is truly said, been undergoing a transition within the last nine years [1879-1887]. Although agriculture is the premier industry, and must remain so for a long time, owing to the immense areas of fertile land awaiting cultivation, it is apparent even to the superficial observer that the manufacturing industries are developing in a very marked manner.”\textsuperscript{60} Colmer discussed the impact of advanced industrial activity on the urban and rural landscape. As Canadians embraced industrialism and stimulated domestic manufacturing, urbanization accelerated as more Canadians left the field for the city. Colmer noted the growth of cities in Canada between 1871 and 1881. In 1871, Canada contained twenty cities and towns with a population over five thousand inhabitants and this total urban population stood at 430,043 persons. By 1881, the number of

\textsuperscript{54} Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 87.
\textsuperscript{55} Ibid, 88.
\textsuperscript{56} Ibid, 91
\textsuperscript{57} Ibid, 88.
\textsuperscript{58} Ibid, 91.
towns and cities numbered thirty seven (an increase of eighty five percent) tabulating a total population of 660,040 (an increase of fifty three percent). Although early in the stages of transition, from these sources, Stanley had ample information as to the transformation of Canadian society, wrought through industrialism, advanced manufacturing, and increased urbanization. Added to the new conquests over time and space by the rail connection between the Pacific and the Atlantic, the Canadian State appeared both transformed from Confederation and in the process of yet another large transformation.

In addition to geography, transportation, and political unification, the new Canadian State needed to wed two distinct nationalities and linguistic communities, and for contemporary participants and observers, two distinct races: English and French. Stanley held a copy of noted Canadian Historian John Bourinot’s *Local Government in Canada* (1887). Bourinot’s history offered a detailed history of the French in North America. From 1608 to 1759, Canada referred to the French Colony along the St. Lawrence River. French Monarchs and Royal Governors administered the colony. During the French and Indian Wars (1753-1760), the English successfully defeated the French, in the process gaining control of Canada. The Treaty of Paris in 1763 officially handed over administration to the British. Bourinot argued that under British control, the French population gained for the first time full political recognition. This history communicated to Stanley the ability of British Governance to extend political liberty to non-Anglo citizens in an Imperial framework, an important element of the future Canadian State. In another work, Bourinot supported the assertion of French-Canadians gaining self-governance under the British through the enactment of the Quebec Act in 1774. That act enshrined and guaranteed the French language, Roman Catholic Religion, and the French Civil Law for the French inhabitants of Canada. Furthermore, it also established English Criminal Law, a more lenient and humane legal code,

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61 Ibid, 12.
and representative government in the area. Political Scientist Louis-Georges Harvey argued that the blending of French and English political ideologies influenced the political development of French Canada over the next ninety years approaching Confederation. Particularly, French Canadians viewed their society increasingly in North American as opposed to European sensibilities. Historian A.I. Silver contented that a major difference between English and French Canadians amounted to their attitudes concerning wealth and social change. The French did not value wealth as a virtue, nor did they believe in rapid social change. Rather, he argued that for the French Canadians, Confederation offered a means for the French Canadians to secure their language and religious rights inside Lower Canada.

Once a part of the new Dominion, Quebec, and French Canadians, sought to strengthen their language, religion, and nation against English encroachment. Both Joseph Colmer and Sir Alexander Galt, in their speeches held by Lord Stanley, impressed the importance of Confederation and the essentially Canadian character of the French in Canada. Galt noted “...in devotion to his [French Canadian] country, and loyalty to the Sovereign [British Monarch] under whom his condition has risen from serfdom to freedom, none can excel him.” Colmer stated “The French Canadians are as loyal to Her Majesty as

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65 French Canada, centred in the present day province of Quebec, under British rule administered itself starting with the Constitution Act of 1791 which created the province of Lower Canada. After the failed rebellions of 1837-38, and under the new aegis of Responsible Government ushered in by the Durham Report, the Act of Union 1841 fused Lower Canada and Upper Canada (present day Ontario) into the newly united Province of Canada with the East (Ontario) and West (Quebec). Upon Confederation, Quebec became its own province in the new Dominion of Canada. In 1864, 85% of French Canadians lived in Quebec. Silver, 3.
66 Harvey discussed the concept of Civic Humanism, an idea resuscitated in 16th Century English political thought as central to the Patriotes, Lower Canadian rebels of 1837-38, and their demands. He located this turn in French Canadian ideology in the mid 1820’s. The shift to a North American ideal characterized the transformation. In order to fulfill the democratic providence of North American society, as opposed to the taint of old world aristocracy, French Canadian society adopted democratic institutions. Louis-Georges Harvey, “The First Distinct Society: French Canada, America, and the Constitution of 1791,” in *Canada’s Origins: Liberal, Tory, or Republican*, edited by Janet Azjenstat and Peter Smith (Ottawa, ON: Carleton University Press, 1995), 85-87.
67 Silver, 238-239.
68 Under the British North America Act, French Canadians did not lose any rights. However, French Canadians outside of Quebec conceded authority over French and importantly Catholic rights, in order to strengthen French Canadian rights within Quebec. For example, Section 94 harmonized civil laws in all provinces, except Quebec. Section 133 established the French Language inside Quebec and in Federal Parliament and Courts, but did not establish it in the other provinces. Ibid, 16.
their English brethren, and, to use to words of the late Sir George Cartier, ‘are simple Englishmen, who speak French.’”

Stanley’s resources underscored French-Canadian loyalty to British institutions due to their ability to preserve French language, culture, and religion. Yet, that loyalty took various forms over the first two decades of Confederation, as French rights strengthened in some areas of Canada and diminished in others.

Between 1867 and 1888, French-Canadian society consolidated in Quebec and retreated in the rest of the country. In the Northwest Territory, the French-speaking Métis attempted to rescue their society from English migration through unsuccessful revolt. The 1870 Manitoba Act did secure French rights, but a lack of French migration to the West amidst a boom of English migration mitigated this legislative agreement. Across the Dominion, provinces including New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island dismantled separate Catholic education, while in Ontario a battle raged attempting to remove French from its school system. This diminishment of French rights and population outside of Quebec galvanized the French inside Quebec. In addition to French-language rights, religion represented a paramount issue that divided English and French in Canada. During this period, the rise of the theological doctrine of Ultramontanism in Quebec defined religious authority for many French-Canadians. That theology elevated religious authority over civil authority and protested the secularization of society. In Quebec, it fused with French identity into a distinct French Canadian Religious Nationalism. In Quebec, the Ultramontanes battled against the emergent French Liberal movement, personified by Wilfrid Laurier. Laurier represented a French Liberal conception of

70 Colmer, “Recent and Prospective Development in Canada,” 23.
71 Disestablishment of the French language occurred in large part due to Section 133 of the BNA, which did not protect the language outside of Quebec. White settlormajories thus legislatively erased French from the prairies. Silver, 220.
72 Ibid.
Catholicism, as opposed to the Conservative and Papal supported Ultramontanism. By 1887, Laurier emerged as the Federal Liberal Leader and successfully wrestled political power in Quebec from the Conservatives. Inside Quebec, Liberal Honoré Mercier assumed the Premiership in 1887. Another source held by Stanley highlighted Anglo sympathy for but misunderstanding of the divisions within French society in Canada. In a speech given on 26 January 1883 to the Reform Association of Toronto Centre, Liberal Politician James Edgar discussed the commercial independence of Canada and the French Canadian position within the State. Sympathetic to the French, Edgar stated vociferously “In my judgement there is no more hopeful element of national strength in the Dominion that the solid mass of Canadian patriotism that exists in the Province of Quebec. If they do not trust us [Anglo Canadians] entirely, it is only because they do not believe that we are as good Canadians as themselves.” Edgar poignantly identified the idea of the true Canadian as central to French-Canadian patriotism and loyalty. However, the continued marginalization of French outside of Quebec revealed a schism between Anglo and Franco conceptions of the true Canadian. It was this action that the French did not trust, not the idea of a penultimate Canadian archetype. When Stanley arrived in Ottawa, French Canadians in

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74 Waite, *Canada 1874-1896*, 51-52. The Vatican Council of 1870 sided with Ultramontanism against Liberal Catholics, asserting papal authority with the Ultramontane view. Ibid, 46.

75 Laurier assumed the position after William Blake stepped down from the Liberal Leadership. The Liberals calculated that Laurier could deliver Quebec from the Conservatives. Pennington, 44-45. In the 1887 Federal Election, Laurier delivered great results in Quebec for the Liberals gaining eighteen seats from fourteen to thirty-two as opposed to an eighteen seat drop for the Conservatives from fifty one to thirty three. Waite, *Canada 1874-1896*, 192.

76 Waite, *Canada 1874-1896*, 188.


Quebec dealt with their own ideological division in addition to their quest to maintain French identity in a bi-racial and bi-lingual country.

Politically, economically, and geographically, Canada between 1867 and 1888 underwent a series of expansions, consolidations, and transformations. The addition of new provinces and territories united the Country geographically and politically. The construction of the Canadian Pacific and Intercolonial Railroads connected the dispersed population. These new transportation links helped fulfill the economic promise of Confederation, a prosperous East-West trade, after perceived economic depression beset the country after Confederation. Additionally, once rail linked the country from East to West, the Canadian Government effectively quelled agitation to state expansion through fast military deployments. Lord Stanley’s sources painted this portrait. They revealed to Stanley that Canada in 1888 stood as a geographically enormous state, one only recently connected through rail, with fresh memories of internal division and conflict. Its economy, despite good performances in many sectors, languished behind its neighbor, the United States, and its mother county, Great Britain. Yet, by enacting a protective tariff against both of these countries, Canada asserted independence in the realm of domestic economic policy. However, novelty still defined Canada. In the foreign arena, Canada did not possess independence of action. As a Dominion in the British Empire, the Canadian State represented a novel type of political organization, one with internal independence but a foreign policy defined by the British. This relationship reflected Canada’s position in the world as a young, daughter nation of the British Empire. This situation led to instability with the United States over international trade, boundary disputes, and trade reciprocity. As a young country, this instability in foreign relations greatly affected the development of the Canadian State and nation in the twenty-one years after Confederation. The foreign realm occupied most of Lord Stanley’s official attention as Governor General. He dealt with these issues over his nearly five years in Canada, yet he did not enter Canada ignorant of these difficulties.
For Canadian framers, Confederation resulted partly from a dual motivation, greater independence from Great Britain and security against American encroachment. By 1888, these motivations still influenced the direction of the Canadian State’s foreign policy. Positioned as the crown Dominion in the British Empire, Canadian independence efforts contrasted with Imperial ambitions and loyalty. Yet, many who argued for greater Canadian autonomy insisted the consequences would engender stronger bonds to the Empire. A progressive new idea of state formation, that of an Imperial Federation, placed Canada as an equal partner to the United Kingdom within a larger Imperial Government. Conversely, others hoped that Canadian independence in foreign relations might draw them closer to the United States. Defense provided a powerful incentive for Canadian politicians to push for greater independence. Concerning the United States, many argued that Canadian sovereignty over foreign negotiations would ease the territorial and trade disputes that drove much of the American justification for hostility towards Canada. Lord Stanley’s Canadian sources illustrated this complex situation. Over the twenty years after Confederation, the Canadian State sought to define its external position between its Imperial superior and its superior Republican neighbour.

British devolution of political authority began before Canadian confederation. In Stanley’s copy of *Local Government in Canada*, John Bourinot described the gradual delegation of power. The British initially did not allow the British North American colonists to form any type of institution that threatened to weaken the bonds of Empire. Yet, as Englishmen, British North Americans, like their

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79 Bourinot noted that British Imperial authorities wished to mitigate the hostility engendered by rigid colonial rule in British North America. Heavy-handed Imperial control provoked conflict between the British and the North American colonists in the original Thirteen Colonies. This conflict ruptured into the American Revolution and the British subsequently lost all authority in the southern half of North America. Bourinot, *Local Government in Canada*, 67.
American cousins to the South, pushed for local representation. Bourinot described this process, stating “...the genius of an English race for managing their own affairs rose superior to the influence of a paternal government many thousands of miles away.” For Lord Stanley, this passage highlighted the quintessential English nature of the politics of Canadian colonists. Historian Duncan Bell noted that the granting of responsible government, following the rebellions, intended to devolve into eventual political independence for the colonies. Canadian independence in local politics mattered a great deal to British North Americans, even before Confederation.

After Confederation, the Canadian State gained a great deal of domestic political independence. To solve the problems of linguistic differences, Confederation ordained a Federal design, granting local independence for Provincial jurisdictions. The local governments gained legislative power over municipalities, roads, public lands, and justice as well as in cultural matters including language, education, religion, social welfare, marriage and civil rights. The Federal Government obtained authority over general matters that superseded Provincial boundaries including defence, custodianship of aboriginals, banking and currency responsibilities, the power to appoint Lieutenant Governors and all Supreme Court judges in the provinces, and the power to disallow Provincial Law. The Federal Government gained the ability to purchase land and annex new provinces. Canadian legislators also

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80 The rebellions of 1837 and 1838 for Responsible Government in a large manner resulted from British reluctance to allow for representative institutions. Bourinot noted that the Durham Report of 1841 explicitly reprimanded the British for failing to equip the British North American colonies with adequate tools for self-governance. Ibid.
81 Ibid.
83 A major impetus for Canadian involvement in the Maritime Confederation movement of 1864 involved the separation the United Province of Canada that welded French and English populations into one legislative union. Under the new Federal design of Confederation, Canadian provinces received explicit powers over their own jurisdictions, those not delegated being reserved to the new central Federal Government. Granstein, et al, 4-5.
84 The Lieutenant Governor represented the British Crown in the Provinces and stood as the head of the Provincial Legislature.
86 Historian W.L. Morton argued that only through continental geographic expansion could the new Confederation survive. Morton, 223-224.
gained the right to set domestic commercial policy. Sir John A. Macdonald asserted this Canadian privilege when he proposed and enacted Canada’s protective tariff in 1879.87 Joseph Colmer, in the speech held by Stanley, noted the increased respect the Canadian Government received in the form of lower interest rates on its loans. Concerning the Canadian Government’s financial reputation as a borrower, Colmer stated “The Colony [Canada] has never failed to meet its obligations, the security is the best that can be obtained, the money is spent as a rule on productive works, or for development; the indebtedness is not great, and the progress that will be made in the near future, as the resources of the country are brought under the influence of capital, brains, and muscle, makes the present debt sink into comparative insignificance.”88 For Lord Stanley, Colmer’s statement communicated the Canadian Government’s prerogative over large public works and the prudence to manage its economic affairs responsibly. Coupled with greater control of domestic affairs, Confederation placed primacy in Canadian responsibility over Canadian defence.

England’s military conquest over France in North America in 1760 began British suzerainty over Canada. British garrison forces, alongside local militias, provided defence. This coalition of British and local forces proved effective during the War of 1812.89 British garrison presence in Canada waned after the Crimean War (1853-1856) as Great Britain consciously determined to decrease her military presence in her self-governing colonies and promoted stronger defence at home.90 Historian Stephen Harris

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87 John Wood’s 1880 speech, held by Lord Stanley, cheered Macdonald’s economic stance against Great Britain. He argued that the tariff acted mainly to defend Canadian interests and did not amount to commercial hostility towards its chief objects, the United States and Great Britain. Wood, 18.
88 Colmer, 7.
89 John Bourinot estimated only fourteen hundred and fifty British regulars and a local militia of approximately four thousand men to guard the entire expanse of Canada west of Montreal. To the east, the British maintained a force of roughly four to five thousand men. This fighting force contrasted greatly against the almost five hundred thousand available militia members and thirty thousand Army regulars (Officers and Privates) of the American forces. Bourinot, Canada Under British Rule, 111-113.
90 The Crimean War pitted an alliance of British, French, Ottoman, and Sardinian military forces against Russia. French and British forces entered the war in 1854 after Russia gained control of the Black Sea in a defeat over Ottoman forces in 1853. The Allied forces proved victorious in 1856, neutralising Russian control over the Black Sea and inspiring nationalist movements in the Russian Empire.
stated that British removal of forces was intended to induce local colonists to provide for their own defence.\(^{91}\) British North Americans responded by passing multiple militia acts\(^{92}\) and raising volunteer battalions.\(^{93}\) After the conclusion of the American Civil War, Canadian militia forces repelled the Irish Nationalist Fenians in 1866 and again in 1870.\(^{94}\) Canadians increasingly took responsibility for their own defence as the British Empire consolidated its forces in more troublesome areas of the Empire.

After Confederation, the waning presence of the British Garrisons necessitated Canadian militia action on domestic defence. In 1868, the Canadian Parliament passed a new Militia Bill outlining its organization, operation, and funding.\(^{95}\) By 1870, the British removed their garrison forces completely, except for stations at Halifax, Nova Scotia, and Esquimalt, British Columbia.\(^{96}\) Canadian forces stood as the only bulwark for domestic defence. Stanley’s copy of By the West to the East outlined this new responsibility. At the outbreak of the Red River Rebellion in 1870, a Canadian militia contingent travelled eleven weeks canoeing and portaging just from Thunder Bay, Ontario, at the Western edge of Lake Superior to the Red River.\(^{97}\) For Lord Stanley, this action impressed the responsibility of Canadians to their own internal harmony, by means of their own militias. Canada no longer depended on Great Britain for its domestic defence. In order to subdue, police, and defend the newly acquired Northwest

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\(^{91}\)Harris noted that during the American Civil War, the British reversed course and temporarily reinforced British North America with a larger garrison presence. Stephen Harris, Canadian Brass: The Making of a Professional Army, 1860-1939 (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 11.
\(^{93}\)Harris, 12-13.
\(^{94}\)Ibid, 44-45. Chambers, 92-93.
\(^{95}\)Chambers, 87-88.
\(^{96}\)Harris, 16-17. Halifax and Esquimalt stood as British Naval Stations in the Atlantic and Pacific and held great importance as points of Imperial defence.
\(^{97}\)By the West to the East, 4.
Territory, the Government authorized the creation of the Northwest Mounted Police in 1873.\textsuperscript{98} Legislators continued to increase funding, demand better operational conduct, improve training, provide better equipment, and raise volunteer regiments.\textsuperscript{99} By the time Lord Stanley arrived in 1888, Canada held complete control over its domestic economic and internal military affairs.

Yet, for all of the devolution from British authority, Confederation did not remove Canada from under Great Britain’s imperial yoke. It merely redefined the connection between colony and mother country. Canada still represented an important Imperial asset for the British Empire. Many of Lord Stanley’s sources highlighted this strategic importance. The significance of Canada, in the British Empire, lay in its position between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. The completion of the CPR in 1885 made trans-continental travel and shipment possible in under a week. An unpublished Imperial memorandum created between April 1886 and January 1888 entitled \textit{Canada’s Contribution to the Defence and Unity of the Empire} best illustrated Canada’s important position to Lord Stanley.\textsuperscript{100} First, it noted the improved communication potential for foreign mail services from Great Britain to the Empire’s holdings in East Asia.\textsuperscript{101} Second, the Memorandum noted increased food security for the Empire. Through the development of the Canadian prairies and the transport of grains to Canadian shipping centres on the St. Lawrence and the Atlantic, Great Britain now harboured a safe and

\textsuperscript{98} Morton, \textit{The Critical Years}, 274. One year before the United States officially recognized the 49\textsuperscript{th} parallel as the southern boundary of the Canadian prairies, the Northwest Mounted Police acted as a bulwark against American ambitions to expand into the Northwest. Waite, \textit{Arduous Destiny}, 10-11.


\textsuperscript{100} Date range ascertained from the content of the Memorandum by the author. The Memorandum recounted the date of 31 March 1886 when it outlined a formal offer tendered by the Canadian Government to the British Postal Service over a mail scheme involving the Canadian Pacific Railroad. The Memorandum alluded to the year 1888 in future tense when discussing the specific details of a subsidized postal scheme. These statements lead the author to conclude the published date of the Memorandum lay between April 1886 and January 1888. \textit{Canada’s Contribution to the Defence and Unity of the Empire} (n.p. [1886?]), “Papers of Frederick Arthur, 16\textsuperscript{th} Earl of Derby.” Box 21. Liverpool Central Library, Liverpool, United Kingdom, 4-5.

\textsuperscript{101} The Canadian Pacific Railroad eased communication across the Empire by linking the Far East in the Pacific with North America, and the Pacific of North America to the shores of Great Britain. The memorandum noted the fast travel of mail communications to India, China, Japan, and Hong Kong. Ibid, 3.
dependable source of food during potential conflicts.\footnote{Ibid, 7. Another Stanley holding, John Wood’s 1880 speech, noted Great Britain’s vulnerability on this matter. In 1880, before the completion of the CPR, Great Britain imported most of its food, and imported it primarily from its rivals the United States and Russia. If a scenario occurred whereby either Russia or the United States engaged in conflict with a part of the British Empire, they could squeeze Great Britain into submission by choking its food supply. Wood, 32.} Thirdly, Canada provided Great Britain’s only Imperial possession along the Pacific Coast of the Americas. The memorandum outlined the manifold advantages of Canada’s Pacific Coast for the British. It stated

She secures for the use of her fleets and mercantile marine the extensive coal fields of Nanaimo, producing the only good coal on the Pacific coast. She secures a \textit{place d’armes} from which she can exert her influence on China and Japan, from which she can checkmate Russian designs, from which, when European complications render the Suez route unsafe or altogether useless, she can retain touch of her vast Australasian Colonies, and from which in time of need she can throw men and supplies into India.\footnote{Canada’s \textit{Contribution to the Defence and Unity of the Empire}, 7.}

The Imperial Pacific station in British Columbia offered the British military value through multiple advantages. This document impressed upon Lord Stanley the significance of Canada as a holding for the security and strength of the British Empire. Although Confederation placed domestic defense in the hands of the Canadian Militia, Great Britain retained responsibility over International defence and diplomacy.

From Confederation until the passage of the Statute of Westminster on 11 December 1931, Great Britain retained authority over all Canadian international matters.\footnote{The Statute granted the self-governing Dominions full autonomy to conduct their own foreign relations in both military action and diplomacy. Granstein, et al, 305.} The Royal Navy still patrolled Canada’s waters and protected it from foreign invasion.\footnote{Historian Stephen Harris argued that Canadians post Confederation did not view domestic military spending as an important measure. Since all foreign policy decisions rested in London, not in Ottawa, the Canadian Government spent reluctantly on defense, knowing they rested under the Imperial umbrella. Harris, 17.} If desired, the Imperial Government held the power to solicit Canadian participation in military conflict. However, Canadian legislators were reluctant to anger swaths of the population disinterested in Imperial defence, most notably the French Canadians, and intent on claiming greater autonomy struck agreements to send volunteers, and not conscripts, into
foreign Imperial defence. Given Canada’s relative security on the Continent, authority over diplomacy presented a more pressing matter for Canadian legislators. Lord Stanley held a source that greatly propounded Canadian urgency in settling this matter. In his speech before the Toronto Reform Club, James Edgar pleaded for Canadian commercial independence. Edgar bemoaned the British Government’s refusal to allow the Canadian Government to negotiate independently her own treaties. British Free Traders in the Imperial Government could not adequately represent Canadian interests, especially given the enactment of Canada’s protective tariff in 1879. He argued “...Canadians are quite as much entitled to rights of self-government in respect to trade questions, where domestic or foreign, as are our fellow subjects who happen to reside in the British Isles.” For Lord Stanley, two principal ideas stand out from Edgar’s speech. Firstly, although Canada gained authority over domestic policy, international negotiations remained under the purview of the British. Secondly, Edgar’s frustration stemmed from the belief that Canadians, as British subjects, retained the essential rights of British citizens, and therefore were entitled to control their relationships with foreign nations. British control over diplomacy limited and debased the Canadian people of this representative prerogative. As Governor General, Lord Stanley became intimately knowledgeable with this imbalance of national power. Canadian legislators long believed British Imperial representatives sacrificed Canadian interests in foreign negotiations. British diplomacy with the United States after Confederation, on behalf of the Canadian Government, illustrated this pattern.

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107 Edgar noted a 22 December 1879 letter directly from the British Government denying Liberal MP Edward Blake’s request. Edgar, 9.
109 Ibid, 3.
In the two decades following Confederation, many Canadian legislators believed that British statesmen consistently sacrificed Canadian interests in negotiations with American statesmen in order to pacify their relationship. Historian Carl Berger noted the first instance of this pattern, the Treaty of Washington signed in 1871. He argued that for Canadians “It confirmed the impression that Britain was more interested in pacifying the republic than in defending the interests of the Dominion.” The Treaty granted concessions to the United States while all but ignoring the Canadian claims. However, these negotiations marked a watershed in Canadian foreign policy administration. For the first time, a Canadian statesman sat alongside his British counterparts at the negotiating table. Although still marginalized, Canadian statesmen began asserting themselves in the foreign arena as Canadian actors.

In Alexander Galt’s speech on the development of the Canadian Dominion, he commented on negotiations in the early 1880s between Canada and other European Countries. Galt outlined that Canadian statesmen garnered larger roles in negotiations with France and Spain regarding mutual trade. For Lord Stanley Galt’s remarks affirmed that Canadians increasingly sought independence in foreign relations, yet only slowly did they attain full autonomy. As Canadian statesmen attempted to gain greater influence on the British Commissions that negotiated on their behalf, they increasingly

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12 The American gains came in the form of compensation for British assistance in building war ships for the Confederate Navy during the American Civil War, increased fishing access to Canadian waters and importantly free passage through the St. Lawrence for American vessels including free use of Canadian canals. The Americans granted free access to Canadian salt fish exports into the United States and conceded free passage in Lake Michigan and in some Alaskan waterways. The main Canadian grievances, compensation from the Fenian Raids of 1866 and 1870 and free access to all American waterways were not included in the final Treaty. Bourinot, Canada Under British Rule, 305-306.

13 Sir John A. Macdonald attended and signed the Treaty as a representative of the English High Commission. Although hemmed by the instructions of the Imperial delegation, Macdonald astutely informed the Commission of the Canadian perspective, helping to dissuade a further sacrifice of Canadian interests at the negotiating table. Ibid, 306.

14 Galt, 10-11.
asserted themselves in defence of their international claims. In 1883, the same quarrels over fishing rights and navigation resurfaced, leading to an abrogation of those portions of the Treaty of Washington.115 This caused increased hostility between the United States and Canada approaching Lord Stanley’s arrival in Canada.

During the 1880s and into the 1890s, the United States and Canada quarrelled over four major issues. Historian Robert Brown identified the North Atlantic fisheries, the Behring Sea Seal industry, trade reciprocity between Canada and the United States, and the Alaska Boundary settlement as the prime situations that drove Canadian-American foreign relations.116 Concerning the North Atlantic fisheries, Lord Stanley himself acted directly in these negotiations as the Secretary of the Colonies in 1885-1886. In his personal collection, Stanley held three sources directly relating to this matter.117 He personally knew the difficulties of negotiating on behalf of Great Britain’s colonies, in this instance between the Dominion and the Colony of Newfoundland, as well as the United States. The Behring Sea issue sprung up in the mid-1880s when British Columbian sealers began hunting for seal pelts in American-held Alaskan territory. The United States Treasury Department reacted by seizing these Canadian vessels.118 Response and reconciliation to this issue occupied a large portion of Stanley’s negotiations as Governor General. The disagreement over the position Alaska-Canada border did not

116 Brown, 3.
118 United States Secretary of the Treasury, Daniel Manning, argued that protection of the seal population represented the motive for seizing foreign vessels. Historian Robert Brown asserted that Manning acted to safeguard the seal industry in Alaska against foreign competition and that the declarations regarding the dwindling seal population did not represent the truth of the matter. Brown, 6-7.
occur primarily until after Lord Stanley left Canada in 1893. These disputes highlighted a greater concern for Canadian and American statesmen and legislators, the feasibility of two continental nations in North America. The disputes surrounding trade policies between the two countries reflected a much deeper ideological conflict.

Historian Carl Berger noted a general mood of despair in Canada twenty years after Confederation. The underperformance of the Canadian economy represented the main source of this despondency. Canadian intellectuals and politicians argued over which trade policies provided the best cure for the economy and the country itself. On one side stood those who favoured unlimited reciprocity, or free trade, with the United States. On the other side were those who preferred a trade policy of Imperial Preference. Those policies advocated lower tariffs between Canada and the British Empire at the expense of protected trade against other nations. These two opposite trade policies reflected a larger ideological conception concerning the future of the Canadian Dominion. Opponents accused those who sponsored unlimited reciprocity with the United States of advocating dissolution of the Dominion and annexation into the United States. Proponents of Imperial Preference advocated a new political connection to the British Empire, Imperial Federation. Despite their opposite desires, those who advocated either position promoted them as manifestations of variant Canadian

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119 Robert Brown argued that this controversy did not encompass a great deal of diplomatic energy until the Yukon Gold rush (1896-1899) necessitated action by American, Canadian, and British Governments. Ibid, 10-11.
120 Additionally, the cultural conflict between French and English, exacerbated by the hanging of Louis Riel and the rise of Ultramontanism, produced a sense that Confederation failed to unite truly a new nation. Berger, 4.
121 Politicians include Federal Liberals under the leadership of Edward Blake and Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Intellectuals include Goldwin Smith and Erastus Wiman.
122 Politicians include Sir John A. Macdonald and his Conservative party. Intellectuals include George Dennison, George Munro Grant, and George Parkin.
123 Berger 4. Although the accusation of annexation merited the charge for some individuals, most notable Goldwin Smith, it did not hold water for most who advocated for unlimited Reciprocity. They believed that free commercial exchange enhanced Canada and transitioned the British connection into one of strong sentiment rather than political dependence.
124 Discussed in greater detail in Chapter VII, Imperial Federation as a political scheme proposed the melding of the Self-Governing Dominions and the United Kingdom into a federally organized political unit. Each nation in the Federation held equal representation in an Imperial Parliament and held equal authority in legislating all matters of Imperial Governance.
nationalisms. Lord Stanley’s collection of Canadian sources highlighted one of these schemes at the expense of the other. No source advocated unlimited reciprocity. Each source advocated strong ties with the British Empire alongside growing independence for the Canadian Government. The strength of this Imperial connection in Lord Stanley’s Canadian sources reflected the general sense of Britishness that pervaded Canada in the late 1880’s.\textsuperscript{125}

In the twenty years after Confederation, Canada as a political entity continued its devolution from British control. The future prospects of national success remained paramount during this process. Despite greater domestic control, Canadian legislators still lay at the mercy of British diplomats in their negotiations on Canada’s behalf. British trade negotiations with the United States produced a general softening of hostility between the United States and the British Empire. However, Canadians perceived those agreements over Canadian issues as sacrificial, believing that the United States and Great Britain gained at the expense of Canadian interests. Feeling in between the United States and the British Empire, Canadian intellectuals and politicians advocated strengthening ties with one nation or the other through trade policies. Yet for their position between these two nations, the Canadian people, by sentiment, remained in close connection to the British Empire. Canadian intellectuals and politicians, either Continentalists, Imperial Federationists, or Canadian Nationalists all emphasized the historic and contemporary bonds between the Dominion and Great Britain. Through migration and improved trade, the United States began slowly exerting a cultural influence over the Dominion during this period. However, it did not overtake the influence of Great Britain. Therefore, when Lord Stanley arrived in Canada, the country stood on the verge of a major decision. Should Canada pivot towards the United States or back towards Great Britain? Just as in the domestic sphere, the Canadian State stood at a moment of transition on the eve of Lord Stanley’s departure in Ottawa.

\textsuperscript{125} Historian Philip Buckner argued that Canadian Nationalism and Imperial enthusiasm fed off each other in the period of 1860-1901. Buckner, 67.
Chapter III

19th Century Nationalized Sport: Great Britain and the United States

“It will be observed by our visitors, that there runs throughout our whole Canadian life and manners, like a thread of gold, the same inherited love of out-door sports and pastimes that characterizes the mother-country. The history of England to-day can now more ignore the national sports than could the history of Greece the Olympic Games.”

– George Beers 1883

“Canadian sports, however, have a character of their own. The smack more of the ungoverned and ungovernable than the games of the Old World, and seem to resent the impost of regulations.”

– George Beers 1883

George Beers located Canadian sporting heritage in two different, yet equally important sources. In the first quote, Beers paid homage to English specifically for their love of sports. In the second, Beers intimated that although the English fostered a love of sport in Canada, the constrictions of the Old World, most notably in social status restrictions and definitions, found no home in the soil of the New World. On the North American continent, the Americans first challenged the English proscriptions on sport, while simultaneously embracing the ethics behind sport participation and promotion. In order to understand how modern sport emerged in Canada and specifically a Canadian iteration of nationalized sport, a thorough discussion of the genesis of English and American nationalized sports invites attention.

The term nationalized sport refers to a particular sport that embodies and represents perceived national character traits and values important in the creation and maintenance of national identity. The term is different than national sport. Participation in a nationalized sport itself generates the national character type, while national sport represents that national. The acceptance of nationalism underscored the ideology behind a nationalized sport. Yet as a term, nationalism produced mixed


2 Ibid, 15.

3 The term nationalized sport refers to a particular sport that embodies, represents, and generates perceived national character traits and values important in the creation and maintenance of national identity.
definitions, with various motivations from its proponents. Unpacking nationalism and ultimately nation, not to our contemporary understandings, but to the understandings of sport and political reformers in the late eighteenth and entire nineteenth-century, is paramount to the study of the origin of nationalized sport in the Anglo-Atlantic Triangle (Great Britain, United States, and Canada). Historian Derek Heater, in his book *The Theory of Nationhood*, outlined the essential fluidity inherent in any definition of nationalism. He stated that “…nationalism, that hallowed ideology, has metamorphosed with remarkable agility to accommodate and justify the numerous political moods and needs of politicians, propagandists, and peoples.”

Whoever invokes it, and for what intended purposes, essentially defines nationalism. This renders the concept flexible by its nature. During the nineteenth-century, for the countries of the Anglo-Atlantic Triangle, sport provided a central building block of national identification. Historian J.A. Mangan identified character development, specifically ‘manly’ character, as central to the prominent cultural role of sports in Great Britain during the Victorian Era (1837-1901).

In North America, both American and Canadian sport promoters, reformers, and originators followed the British example. The link between the generation of specific character traits and particular sporting forms provided the basis for the development of nationalized sports. First

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5 By the late Victorian period, Mangan argued that the strength of Empire loyalty in Britain resulted from the believed transmission of Anglo-Saxon character from the structures of the Empire. Sport not only produced these character traits but created a powerful bond between the Empire, its Dominions, and Colonies. J.A. Mangan, “Prologue: Britain’s Chief Spiritual Export: Imperial Sport as Moral Metaphor, Political Symbol and Cultural Bond,” in *The Cultural Bond: Sport, Empire, Society*, ed. J.A. Mangan (London, UK: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1992), 2-4.

examined are Great Britain and the United States, which first established and practised the concept. Canadian sport nationalists borrowed from both national traditions.\(^7\)

Ambiguity over terminology represents a great challenge for those who study nationalism. The meaning of the word ‘nation’ itself changes dependent on the person defining it. For the purpose of this study, use of the term ‘nation’ relates to the understanding of the concept from a late Victorian (1870-1901) perspective. The object of the study, Lord Stanley, who served as Governor General during the late Victorian period, conceptualized ‘nation’ in this manner. To illuminate further his understanding of nation, nationality, nationalism, and sport, it is imperative to use his frame of reference. Historian Duncan Bell asserted that to a late Victorian, the term nation referred to a “tightly integrated and self-consciously cohesive political community.”\(^8\) A nation rested most importantly upon its political foundations. Heater argued that until the mid-Victorian period (1840-1870), no English political theorist successfully formulated a coherent conception of nationality, the status accompanied by belonging to a nation.

During this period, John Stuart Mill crystallized the ideas of previous English scholars regarding nationality.\(^9\) For him, such an integrated community depended on a variety of factors. Mill wrote: “This feeling of nationality may have been generated by various causes. Sometimes it is the effect of identity

\(^7\) This necessitates the discussion of the development of nationalized sport in each instance before an in-depth investigation into the genesis of Canadian nationalized sport.

\(^8\) Duncan Bell, *The Idea of Greater Britain: Empire and the Future of World Order, 1860-1900* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), 93. John Stuart Mill, in a passage that supports Bell’s assertion, defined a nation as “A portion of mankind may be said to constitute a Nationality if they are united among themselves by common sympathies which do not exist between them and any others – which make the co-operate with each other more willingly than with other people, desire to be under the same government, and desire that it should be government by themselves or a portion of themselves exclusively.” John Stuart Mill, *Considerations on Representative Government* (London, UK: Parker, Son, and Bourn, West Strand, 1861), 287.

\(^9\) Mill built off the work of Edmund Burke (1729-1797), William Wordsworth (1770-1850), and Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832). Both Burke and Wordsworth conceived of the nation as rooted in tradition manifested through language, custom, and geography. Bentham believed that peoples differentiated themselves into nations by religion, climate, and race. However, each of these scholars only briefly entertained the notion of nationality, while Mill gave it full attention in chapter sixteen of his treatise *Considerations of Representative Government* (1861). Heater, 31-34.
of race and descent. Community of language, and community of religion, greatly contribute to it. Geographical limits are one of its causes. But the strongest of all is identity of political antecedents; the possession of a national history, and consequent community of recollections; collective pride and humiliation, pleasure and regret, connected with the same incidents of the past.” Tradition, especially political tradition, represented the pinnacle of nationality for Mill. Historian of political thought H.S. Jones argued that a desire to locate the genesis of nationality drove nineteenth-century English historiography, further cementing tradition as a central component of the ‘nation’. For late Victorians, however, a rejection of Benthamite Utilitarianism in the 1870s and acceptance of German idealism and creeping collectivism represented a shift in political thought. Historians Mark Francis and John Morrow supported the idea of this shift between the mid and late Victorian periods. In particular, they identified the word nation as occupying a pivotal role in this transformation. Placing central importance in the primacy of the English Constitution, they argued:

The mention of the word ‘nation’ signals an important shift in the perceptions of mid nineteenth-century commentators on politics. Earlier theorists, in their exclusive focus on the constitution, had often left a place for individual consent of individual freedom as part of their concern with traditional liberty. In later writers, however, the abandonment of the constitution as the centrepiece of the polity was accompanied by a neglect of contractual relations which might have protected the individual. The people were no longer conceived as a collection of individuals who contracted into a particular constitutional framework. Instead, they participated in the political process as a nation.

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11 Jones’ analysis articulated that what differentiated streams of English historiography concerning nationalism amounted not to a different importance placed on tradition, but what distinctive characteristic out of tradition formed the basis of the nation. As an example, Liberal Anglican thinkers believed in the primacy of religion in shaping the nation while Whig historians emphasized the constitution as the locus of national definition. Jones, 52.

12 Utilitarianism as conceived by philosopher Jeremy Bentham amounted to a consequentialist political doctrine. Utilitarian doctrine treated man as an abstract individual primarily, not as a member of a particular collective at a given time in history. In order to support individuals, institutions and actions were judged according to their advancement of the public interest. For Bentham, the public interest meant generating the greatest amount of happiness to the greatest amount of individuals. Ibid, 3.

13 Ibid.
Since the people were a national group there was no reason to consider their individual rights or liberties.\textsuperscript{14}

Late Victorians conceived of ‘nation’ differently than their mid and early Victorian predecessors. At its foundations, nation rested upon tradition, history, politics, and manifested itself politically through the collectivization of society at the expense of the individual. This transformation, occurring in England and the United States, held deep significance for the conflation of sport and national characteristics. These Anglo societies retreated from Classical Liberal philosophy to a collective conception of politics and society. To support this transition, strong nationalizing cultural forms emerged to buttress these new conceptions of the state, society, and the individual. Sport, in particular sports that the populations considered to generate national characteristics, became an important social institution to wed the populations to these new national conceptions.

The genesis of nationalized sport: Great Britain, the Games Ethic, and Cricket

Eighteenth-century German philosopher Johann Gottfried von Herder composed the first in-depth theory of nationalism.\textsuperscript{15} For him, history represented the greatest bonds of national association. He stated: “In general ideas every nationality has its particular way of seeing, founded for the most part on the mode of expression, that is to say, on tradition.”\textsuperscript{16} In Great Britain, nationality rested upon many aspects of shared history. Yet, a central focus on the influence of athletics, games, and sports differentiated the conception of English nationality from their European counterparts in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Engraver Joseph Strutt published many engraved illustrations in books highlighting English cultural life during that time period. In 1801 he published his most popular

\textsuperscript{15} Heater, 14.
engraved collection, a book investigating the sports and pastimes of the English populace. In the
preface to the work, Strutt outlined the importance of sport to a society’s character. He stated “In order
to form a just estimation of the character of any particular people, it is absolutely necessary to
investigate the Sports and Pastimes most generally prevalent among them.”

Supporting von Herder’s assertion of tradition as paramount in locating a nationality, Strutt provided a detailed history of
England’s sporting past, from Roman occupation to the modern aristocratic and regal proscriptions of
proper sport. Strutt’s 1801 compendium reflected the growth of sport in England during the eighteenth
century. Importantly, the philosophic underpinning that welded nationality and sport through political
action emerged, creating the first modern Anglo conception of nationalized sport.

The first iterations of modern sport emerged in eighteenth-century England. Sport participants
began codifying rules, standardizing play, recording performance and statistics, administering the sport
through central control, advancing the calibre of play through rational training and role specialization,
and creating a more equitable and secular space for participation. This change in sporting activity
occurred alongside a transformation in English politics in the eighteenth century. A process of
‘parliamentization’, whereby the competing English political factions of the seventeenth century
transitioned from a violent struggle to gain legitimate political authority to a struggle of debate, rhetoric,
persuasion, and restraint to achieve the same ends.

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18 Sport scholar Allen Guttmann identified seven characteristics that differentiate modern sport from folk and pre-modern antecedents. He identified secularism, equality, specialization, bureaucratization, rationalization, quantification, and measurement as the distinguishing properties between modern and pre-modern sport. Allen Guttmann, From Ritual to Record: The Nature of Modern Sports (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1978), 54-55.

19 Sociologist Elias Norbert remarked on the novelty of non-violent methods to solve political struggles. He asserted that “Familiarity can obscure for the perception of later generations the fact that non-violent competitive struggle between two essentially hostile groups for the right to form a government was something rather new at
influenced the development of sport in England. Sociologist Elias Norbert commented, "It was this change [parliamentization], the greater sensitivity with regard to the use of violence which, reflected in the social habitus of individuals, also found expression in the development of their pastimes." In its earliest manifestations, modern sport mirrored political development.

The parliamentization of English political activities pacified the English upper-class nobility. Nineteenth-century English historian John Robert Seeley, in his famous lectures The Expansion of England delivered in 1881 and 1882 and published in 1883, argued that eighteenth-century England witnessed a unity unlike any previous time in English history. Discussing internal violent conflict, Seeley noted, "There are no revolutions. In the way of internal disturbance all that we find is two abortive Jacobite insurrections in 1715 and 1745." He also noted the process of parliamentization in solving political controversies. Seeley stated "There is a change of dynasty, and one of an unusual kind, but it is accomplished peacefully by Act of Parliament." As Parliament ascended over Royal authority during the eighteenth century, the English aristocracy coalesced into ruling parties with non-violent strategies aimed at wooing the small electorate. These English aristocrats first began the process of sportization. Norbert coined the term sportization to refer to the transformation of loosely organized physical pastimes and folk games into clearly defined sports. The processes of sportization and parliamentization resided with the English upper-class aristocracy. Norbert argued: "If one raises the question of why pastimes in the form of sports developed in England, one cannot omit to say that the

20 Ibid, 34.
22 Ibid, 23.
23 Emphasis is mine. Ibid.
24 Norbert, 21-22.
development of parliamentary government, and thus of a more or less self-ruling aristocracy and gentry, played a decisive part in the development of sport.”

At its genesis, modern sport reflected the political atmosphere that conceived it. In the eighteenth century, the sportization process transformed numerous folk games into precursors of modern sport forms, and then codified these into newly modernized sports. Scholar Dominic Malcom outlined boxing, cricket, horse racing, and fox hunting in England and golf in Scotland as sports that underwent the sportization process in the eighteenth century. Of these sports, the sport of cricket substantiated itself as a form of nationalized sport for the English. Cultivated by the English aristocracy, cricket best exemplified the dual processes of parliamentization and sportization during the eighteenth century. Joseph Strutt commented on the striking modernity of the game. He noted “From the club-ball originated, I doubt not, that pleasant and manly exercise, distinguished in modern times by the name of cricket; I say in modern times because I cannot trace the appellation beyond the commencement of the last century [eighteenth].” The English aristocracy and upper-classes stewarded the game from its pre-modern to modern form. Strutt also observed that nobles increasingly participated in the sport. He stated: “Cricket of late years is become exceedingly fashionable, being much countenanced by the nobility and gentlemen of fortune, who frequently join in the diversion.” Following Norbert’s analysis, the close association of the English aristocracy and upper classes with the modernized sport of cricket displayed the convergence of political change with the development of modern sport.

Just as parliamentization curbed violence in the political arena, sportization offered a process to remove the unsavory activities associated with the physical leisure of pre-modern sporting forms. As English nobles and aristocrats began participating in cricket, they began regulating it, removing

25 Ibid, 34.  
27 Strutt, 106.  
28 Ibid.
unbecoming behaviour and activity. The crystallization of rules to the game primarily removed the ambiguities related to gambling, an important aspect of aristocratic and gentlemanly participation in cricket.\textsuperscript{29} The first full and systematic set of rules and laws for cricket appeared in 1752 in \textit{The New Universal Magazine}. These laws, further published in 1755, essentially promoted a set of rules codified in 1744 by the Cricket Club and first played on the London Artillery Grounds.\textsuperscript{30} Three prominent nobles, the Duke of Dorset, the Duke of Richmond, and Lord Frederick Beauclerk, not only wagered on a team they sponsored, but also participated in the matches.\textsuperscript{31} These teams of noblemen and talented players, whom the aristocratic patrons recruited from across the English countryside, represented the professionalization of cricket. The Hambledon Cricket Club, from Hambledon village in Hampshire, provided the best example of a ‘professional club’ from this time. Due to the enthusiastic participation of the local gentry and avid financial support from the village’s wealthy residents, the Hambledon Club team engendered local pride and enthusiasm beyond other cricket teams in the English countryside.\textsuperscript{32} In the 1760’s the Hambledon team far surpassed the calibre of the other cricket teams. Historian David Underdown noted that “No other local team...even remotely approached the pinnacle of fame which Hambledon attained.”\textsuperscript{33} Hambledon resident and cricket enthusiast Richard Nyren described the celebrity of the Hambledon Club in the eighteenth century: “So renowned a set were the men of Hambledon, that the whole country round would flock to see one of their trial matches.”\textsuperscript{34} Without the participation of the local elites, both in financing and participation, Hambledon’s squad likely would

\textsuperscript{29} Scholar Dominic Malcolm argued that the resolution of gambling disputes stood as only a partial explanation for the standardization (of rules) of Cricket. He commented that betting, rather than a cause, acted as a symptom of aristocratic manoeuvring for increased social status through victory both on the field of play, but also in the gambling arena as well. Malcolm, 22.

\textsuperscript{30} Ibid, 19.


\textsuperscript{33} Ibid, 98.

\textsuperscript{34}John Nyren, “The Cricketer’s of My Time,” in \textit{The Young Cricketers Tutor; Comprising Full Directions for Playing the Elegant and Manly Game of Cricket; With a Complete Version of Its Laws and Regulations} by John Nyren, ed. Charles Cowden Clarke (London, UK: Effingham Wilson, Royal Exchange 1833), 44.
never have attained those heights. Yet, cricket enabled not just the gentry and elite to participate. Cricket afforded a means of leisure during a period when members of all classes experienced increasing leisure time.  

By the close of the eighteenth-century, cricket thus occupied a prestigious place in the sporting pantheon for not only the English upper classes, but also for the emerging English middle classes. Elite sanction and stewardship of the sport increasingly legitimized the activity. In addition to the development and diffusion of cricket, English political thought in the late eighteenth century underwent a transformation. The concept of ‘Englishness’ and national character emerged as an important aspect of political identity during the final decades of the eighteenth century. Scholar Dominic Malcolm argued that eighteenth-century English national identity rested upon the pre-industrial trinity of land, class, and race. This gave important position to the nobility in defining the characteristics of national identity. The development of English national identity and the conflation of cricket as a national sport worked together during this time. By 1833, Richard Nyren described cricket as “the consummate piece of perfection that at this day is the glory of the Lord’s and the pride of English athletae.” In the introduction to Nyren’s work, Cricketer Charles Cowden Clarke further underscored Nyren assertion. Clarke opined, “Of all the English athletic games, none, perhaps, presents so fine a scope for bringing into full and constant play the qualities both of the mind and body as that of Cricket.” Clarke identified cricket as the sport most capable of engendering the fullest development of the mind and the body. For Clarke it developed the characteristics associated with English national identity. Indeed, it created

36 Malcolm, 32-33.
37 Ibid, 33-34.
38 Nyren, 43.
40 For Clarke, a Cricket participant “must be active in all his faculties – he must be active in mind to prepare for every advantage, and active in eye and limb, to avail himself of those advantages. He must be cool-tempered, and,
Englishness among its participants. The association between sport, especially team sport, and the production of morality resulted in the formulation of the doctrine of the games ethic.\textsuperscript{41} Furthermore, the relative stability of the mid to late eighteenth century eroded as the nineteenth-century dawned in England. Due to the Industrial Revolution, Cricket took on an important position, one of reform and instruction for the country’s male youth\textsuperscript{42}.

Cricket embedded itself as England’s national sport in the nineteenth-century. Perhaps the greatest conflation of political and sport philosophy in the early nineteenth-century resulted from Rugby Schoolmaster Thomas Arnold. From 1828 to 1841, Arnold stood as Rugby’s headmaster, instituting a number of reforms. His contribution to political philosophy rested in his emphasis on moral and spiritual reform and the role of the nation.\textsuperscript{43} For him, the nation existed to provide the moral education of man.\textsuperscript{44} As a member of the Broad Church or Liberal Anglican movement, Arnold forwarded and

in the best sense of the term, MANLY; for he must be able to endure fatigue, and to make light of pain.” Clarke, 5. The characteristics listed by Clarke mesh with Dominic’s Malcom’s synthesis of eighteenth century English national characteristics. Malcolm describes those characteristics: “The English were independent, upright and honest to the point of tactless. They possessed unflagging energy. They were self-disciplined and dedicated. They persevered and did not know when they were beaten.” Malcolm, 32. This appraisal of Englishness crystallized as England rose to the zenith of Global supremacy by the mid nineteenth century.

\textsuperscript{41} Historian J.A. Mangan described the games ethic as “the subscription to the belief that important expressive and instrumental qualities can be promoted through team games (in particular loyalty, self-control, perseverance, fairness and courage, both moral and physical).” J.A. Mangan, “Grammar Schools and the Games Ethic in the Victorian and Edwardian Eras,” Albion, A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies, 15, no. 4, (1983): 314.

\textsuperscript{42} As industrial farming eroded the traditional occupations of England’s peasants and rural poor, many now unemployed, moved into the bustling industrial centres creating new swaths of impoverished urbanites. This new class threatened the stability of the pre-industrial concept of Englishness based on land, class, and race. Simmons, 43.

\textsuperscript{43} Historian H.S. Jones commented on Arnold’s political legacy in the nineteenth century. He stated that Arnold influenced thinkers as diverse as Liberal Nationalist E.A. Freeman, Imperialist J.R. Seeley, Positivist Richard Congreve, and Christian Socialist F.D. Maurice. Jones, 45.

\textsuperscript{44} Ibid, 52. Arnold likened England post 1688 as engaging in a struggle of national maturation. He described the struggle as between ‘property’ and ‘numbers’. How would England redefine its national self, given the new social and political positions of the aristocracy, with respect to the Crown, and to the extension of suffrage these new relationships provoked? This tension, Arnold argued, helped the English population obtain, preserve, and extend their liberties in the new political reality affected by the Glorious Revolution of 1688. Thomas Arnold, “Essay on the Social Progress of States,” (London, 1830), reprinted in The Miscellaneous Works of Thomas Arnold, D.D. Late Headmaster of Rugby School, and Regius Professor of Modern History In The University of Oxford (London, UK: B. Fellowes, 1845), 103-104. Citations refer to 1845 edition.
promoted the ‘moral theory of the state’.\textsuperscript{45} He posited that the object of the state lay in its promotion of man’s highest perfection.\textsuperscript{46} Describing the philosophic underpinnings of the state, Arnold argued:

“Our physical wants may have led to its [the state] actual origin, but its proper objects is of a higher nature; - it is the intellectual and moral improvement of mankind, in order to their reaching their greatest perfection, and enjoying their highest happiness. This is the object of civil society, or ‘the State’ in the abstract.”\textsuperscript{47} Arnold’s prime focus on moral and spiritual development in the political realm blended with the games ethic, established in the eighteenth century. This produced a new doctrine of athleticism.\textsuperscript{48} Arnold’s insistence on morality through religious teaching, but not through any specific devotion to dogmatism, merged with his beliefs on the role of civil society and the place of athletics. These three factors coalesced into the doctrine of Muscular Christianity,\textsuperscript{49} promoted primarily by

\textsuperscript{45} The Broad Church Movement of the nineteenth century argued for a liberal interpretation of Protestantism. Arnold sought to downplay religious dogmatism in favour of a more open scriptural interpretation on the part of individual Protestants. He argued that the National Church needed to incorporate as many English Protestants as possible, and only barred Unitarians and Catholics from his conception of a National Church. Tod Jones, “Christianity and culture: Matthew Arnold, Charles Kingsley and the Broad Church Movement,” PhD diss. (University of Maryland College Park, 1997), 38-40, ProQuest (9841939). The Broad Church Movement has undergone a recent historiographic transition as historians now refer to this movement broadly as Liberal Anglicanism. Jones, Victorian Political Thought, 44.

\textsuperscript{46} Jones, Victorian Political Thought, 45.


\textsuperscript{49} Muscular Christianity as a doctrine posited that to attain Christian perfection, one needed to develop the trinity of mind, soul, and body. Orthodox theology asserted the supremacy of the mind and spirit over the flesh and actively suppressed the realm of the body. An 1869 journal article promoting the doctrine asserted “Constant devotion to spirit can never atone for continual neglect of body; and lying lips are not more truly ‘an abomination to the Lord’ than crooked spines, dyspeptic stomachs, and consumptive lungs. The present growing interest in breath and blood and muscle is a hopeful sign, and we cordially wish it abundant increase, with a hearty belief that the church militant will become more rapidly the church triumphant, when her captains give more earnest heed to Muscular Christianity.” A Christian Muscleman, “Muscular Christianity,” Overland Monthly and Out West Magazine, 2, no. 5, (1869): 530.

Historian William Winn argued that although Charles Kingsley created the term Muscular Christianity, Thomas Hughes primarily embraced and promoted it. Dr. Arnold influenced Hughes’ thought concerning Muscular Christianity. Specifically, he ingrained in Hughes a deep appreciation for the moral struggles one encountered in life. The mundane struggles of daily life particularly could affect moral development. This led Hughes to connect the struggles on the athletic field, like those nurtured at Rugby by Dr. Arnold, to the moral and spiritual development of the individual. Games in particular served to strengthen the mind and body. For Hughes, the game of Cricket perfectly served the function of moral education. Furthermore, the universalism of the game encouraged broad participation in the sport. It elevated one’s thinking above the mere individual and, despite the game’s ability to foster individual moral development, wedded one to the team concept. In *Tom Brown’s School Days*, the schoolboys engage in a game of cricket near the end of the story and their dialogue revealed Hughes’s attitudes concerning Cricket’s importance in English education. Tom Brown and the Master discuss Tom’s growing appreciation of Cricket:

“Come, none of your irony, Brown,” answers the master. “I’m beginning to understand the game [cricket] scientifically. What a noble game it is too!”

“Isn’t it? But it’s more than a game, It’s an institution,” said Tom.

“Yes,” said Arthur, “the birthright of British boys old and young, as *habeas corpus* and trial by jury are of British men.”

“The discipline and reliance on one another which it teaches is so valuable, I think,” went on the

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52 Ibid, 69.

53 Cricket existed in many proto forms as a folk and rural game in England for centuries before its modernization in the eighteenth century. Such games included Stow-Ball, Club-Ball, Pall Mall, Ring-Ball, Trap-Ball, and Northern Spell. Strutt, 103-109. For Hughes, Cricket represented a sociable and universal meeting place. It held not the class connotations that undermined other athletic or leisure pursuits. Winn, 70.
master, “it ought to be such an unselfish game. It merges the individual in the eleven; he doesn’t play that he may win, but that his side may.”

Of particular significance is the analogous position of cricket for British boys to the foundational political concept of the British constitution, *habeas corpus*. Hughes connected cricket with Arnold’s conceptions concerning the foundations of the English nation. Arnold and his Liberal Anglican contemporaries viewed the source of a nation in law, government, and language. The *habeas corpus* analogy used by Hughes intimated a strong link between cricket and the development of the English nation.

By the mid nineteenth-century, cricket stood as a strong marker of English nationality. The linking of English national characteristics by cricket enthusiasts like Charles Cowden Clarke to their favoured sport created the basis for cricket as England’s nationalized game. Yet, the fusion of cricket as a generator of national characteristics with the social reform movement of Dr. Thomas Arnold and his Liberal Anglican contemporaries in the nineteenth-century cemented cricket as the nationalized sport of England. In both instances, political philosophy accompanied sporting philosophy to create, promote, and crystallize the conception of a nationalized sport. The same process occurred across the Atlantic, first in the United States, and secondly in Canada.

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55 *Habeas Corpus* refers to a legal concept in English Common law established in the thirteenth century that those accused of a crime be presented with a document outlining their professed crimes, the authority under which the arrest occurred, and gave the accused a chance to profess their innocence. Hughes’ invocation of this legal principle alluded to a Whiggish interpretation of English nationality. Whig History in the nineteenth century posited that the root of the ‘nation’ lay in its political, and specifically, Constitutional legacy. Jones, *Victorian Political Thought*, 52.
Nationalized Sport in North America: The United States, Baseball, and American national character

Sport modernization occurred in the middle decades of the nineteenth-century in the United States. Similar to the developments in eighteenth-century England, modern sport development in the United States mirrored the political evolution of the country. Urbanization and its attendant social problems drove many reformers to advocate sports to cure urban degeneracy. It was in these urban centres where nationalized sport germinated, only to flower when the United States began experiencing a nationalization of politics and culture. The definitive moment in American nineteenth-century history, the eruption of Civil War in April 1861 and its conclusion in April 1865, transformed the foundations of the American national polity. The ascension of the Federal Government and the supremacy of a national standard American type in both politics and culture resulted from the fallout of the War. After the War’s conclusion, a new national culture emerged, bridging the North and South as well as connecting the West and East. Sport, and specifically, baseball, provided a new national frame of reference and soon took its place as America’s nationalized sport during the final decades of the nineteenth-century.

The development of modern sport in the United States differed in important aspects from its development in England. In America, sport underwent the modernization process centrally in its large urban centres, as opposed to the English location of the countryside with the landed aristocracy. During the decades between 1820 and 1870, the American urban population increased by approximately four hundred percent, the single largest proportionate growth in cities in the history of the United States. Historian Mel Adelman contended that the process of urbanization itself directly influenced sport

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58 The decades between 1830 and 1860 provided the starkest example of the growth of cities in the United States. Historian Steven Reiss noted that in those decades, the urban population grew by 63.7%, 92.1%, and 75.4% respectively. Steven Reiss, City Games: The Evolution of American Urban Society and the Rise of Sports (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 13.
development. The commercial demands of urban life, exacerbated by increased population density, necessitated novel approaches to leisure time spaces. In particular these constraints applied to sports where fields and sporting areas increasingly became economically untenable. The heterogeneity of urban populations also spawned voluntary athletic organizations as primary social groups for throngs of strangers with common interests.

Another key difference between modern sport development in the United States and England lay in its chronology. Maturing almost a century after the English modern sport forms (cricket, horseracing, boxing, and foxhunting), American modern sport developed amidst different social concerns. Urbanization again provided the stimulus. In the social realm, public health concerns regarding physical degeneracy in the urban environment greatly affected the role of sport in society. Urbanization produced health problems due to unsanitary and crowded living conditions for the urban poor, the lack of proper green spaces for activity, and the static lifestyle of middle classed clerks, businessmen, and professionals. Public health advocate Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes Sr. described the physical degeneracy in an 1858 fictional magazine article. In the May 1858 issue of the Atlantic Monthly Holmes groused: “I am satisfied that such a set of black-coated, stiff-jointed, soft-muscled, paste-complexioned youth as we can boast in our [American] Atlantic cities never before sprang from the loins of Anglo-Saxon lineage.” Holmes’ strong statement regarding the unique circumstances that produced such sickly Anglo-Saxons highlighted the strong differences between American and English sport

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59 Adelman drew upon sociologist Lewis Wirth’s three components (physical space, organizational structure, and collective behaviour) of urban society to develop this argument. Adelman, 7-8.
62 Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes Sr., “The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table,” The Atlantic Monthly, 1, no. 7 (1858): 881.
development. Both Holmes and fellow public health advocate Thomas Wentworth Higginson lamented the lack of robust physicality in American boys that accompanied the English and their sports.\textsuperscript{63}

In addition to physical degeneracy, urbanization also produced moral degeneracy. Reformers argued that sports not only cured physical degeneracy but also encouraged a positive morality and instilled positive character values.\textsuperscript{64} Historian Steven Reiss argued that sport reinforced traditional American character values and channeled urban youth away from the new degenerate forms of urban leisure.\textsuperscript{65} Essentially, the Americans adopted and encouraged the games ethic and the philosophy of athleticism. However, their particular invocations of these philosophies emerged from the experiences in urban America in the mid-nineteenth-century. Adelman argued that sport promotion rested on its utilitarian effects, that it smoothly blended the work and leisure spheres of life, cementing and promoting modern economic modes of production.\textsuperscript{66} In the United States, modern sport organized in a similar fashion to the newly emergent corporate and industrial modes of organization, and indeed supported those frameworks.\textsuperscript{67} The blending of the English games ethic and Arnoldian conceptions of athleticism with American urban reform defined the development of modernized sport in the United States. The Liberal Anglican tradition branched across the Atlantic, rooting itself in America. Thomas Wentworth Higginson admired Arnoldian athletic philosophy. Discussing its importance and popularity,

\textsuperscript{63} Reiss, \textit{City Games}, 27-28. Higginson compared the health of American children with Canadian children during this time. He argued that winter hardiness and a widespread participation in sport left the Canadians in much better physical shape than their American counterparts. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, “Saints, and their Bodies,” \textit{The Atlantic Monthly}, 1, no. 5 (1858): 586. Higginson’s assertion supported the view at the time that urbanization caused physical degeneracy. In 1858, Canada had yet to undergo the process of urbanization to the degree of the United States. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, Canadian reformers began to discuss sport as a remedy to the physical degeneracy that accompanied the urban environment.

\textsuperscript{64} Adelman, 9.

\textsuperscript{65} Reiss, \textit{Sport in Industrial America}, 17.

\textsuperscript{66} Adelman, 9.

\textsuperscript{67} Economists Matthew Barker, Thomas Miceli, and William Ryczek highlighted this transition in professional baseball in the early 1870’s. They argued that adopting innovative corporate organizational structures allowed some professional teams to earn greater success on the field that those that did not modernize their organizational approach. Matthew Baker, Thomas Miceli, and William Ryczek, “The Old Ball Game: Organization of 19th-Century Professional Base Ball Clubs,” \textit{Journal of Sport Economics}, 5, no. 3 (2004): 283-284.
Higginson opined: “The charm which all have found in Tom Brown’s ‘School Days at Rugby’ lies simply in this healthy boy’s-life which it exhibits, and in the recognition of physical culture.”

Higginson, himself a Unitarian minister, exemplified American sport reformers in the mid nineteenth-century. Just as in England, religious values, character traits, and morality fused with sport in America, producing a positive social creed on the benefits of sport on society.

In addition to curing social ills engendered through urbanization, reformers argued that sport held the power to lift the entire nation. Politics, particularly national politics, blended with sport promotion. Thomas Wentworth Higginson linked physical degeneracy with national demise. He argued “Physical health is a necessary condition of all permanent success. To the American people, it has a stupendous importance, because it is the only attribute of power in which they are losing ground. Guaranty [sic] us against physical degeneracy, and we can risk all other perils, - financial crises, Slavery, Romanism, Mormonism, Border Ruffians, and New York assassins; ‘domestic malice, foreign levy, nothing’ can daunt us.”

For Higginson, physical health assured American supremacy. It held the keys to national dominance both in the domestic and international spheres. Yet his pronouncements in 1858 came amidst a tumultuous time in American national politics. Sport historian S.W. Pope argued that the country prior to the conclusion of the Civil War in 1865 possessed no truly national culture. Concerning the adoption of sport as a national cultural signifier, only in the nationalizing of the country

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68 Higginson: 588.
69 Ibid, 585-586.
70 Pope argued that the country’s decentralized federalism negated any possibility of a national culture. S.W. Pope, Patriotic Games: Sporting Traditions in the American Imagination, 1876-1926 (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1997), 4. Social theorist Alan Bairner asserted that America transformed gradually from a local and fragmented culture into a unitary culture, a unitary nation following the Civil War. Alan Bairner, Sport, nationalism, and globalization: European and North American Perspectives (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2001), 94.
during the Post-bellum period could a truly nationalized sport emerge. The transformation of American national politics affected the development of American nationalized sport.

Prior to the outbreak of Civil War on 12 April 1861, with shots fired at Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbour, South Carolina, the thirty-four states of the Union operated in a mostly decentralized federation, enshrined by the United States Constitution. Drafted in 1787, Article I Section 8 of the Constitution enumerated the powers that the States delegated to the newly created Federal Government upon drafting of the Constitution in 1787. Except for expressly delineated authorities, all other Constitutional parameters fell to the States and the people to administer. The Ninth and Tenth Amendments to the United States Constitution further enshrined this principle. The Ninth Amendment stipulated, “The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.” The Tenth Amendment declared, “The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.” Both amendments explicitly limited the encroachment of the Federal Government beyond its expressly enumerated authorities. Author of the Constitution James Madison addressed this sentiment in Federalist no. 45. Attempting to persuade the citizens of the states to ratify the new Constitution, Madison, under the pseudonym Publius, wrote:

The powers delegated by the proposed Constitution to the federal government are few and defined. Those which are to remain in the State governments are numerous and indefinite. The former will be exercised principally on external objects, as war, peace, negotiation, and foreign commerce; with which last the power of taxation will, for the most part, be connected. The powers reserved to the several States will extend to all the objects which, in the ordinary course of affairs; concern the lives,

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71 The event so defined the 19th century that American historians use the terms Antebellum (before the war) and Postbellum (after the war) to describe the stark contrast between the pre and post-Civil War environments.
73 U.S. Const. amend. IX.
74 U.S. Const. amend. X.
75 Numerous essays written by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay constitute the compiled Federalist Papers. Published separately, and under pseudonym, each Federalist essay outlined a different function of the newly drafted Constitution. In Federalist no. 45, Madison assuaged the citizens of the States that the newly created Federal Government would not overstep its constitutional bounds, a great fear amongst many former British colonists.
liberties, and properties of the people, and the internal order, improvement, and prosperity of the State. 76

The framers intended to encourage political pluralism amongst the States, without an overbearing national government to homogenize the American polity.

In addition to the federal design of the Constitution, great sectional and regional differences limited the creation of a truly national culture prior to the Civil War. The starkest difference lay in the acceptance or banishment of the institution of slavery. Legal Scholar Judge Andrew Napolitano summed up the divide succinctly, stating that “The nineteenth-century witnessed the consistent maturation of the slave system [in the United States]. Northern states abandoned their slaves gradually but peacefully, and Southern states fiercely fought to maintain and strengthen their collective grip on the institution.”77 Legislators attempted to appease both sections through legislative compromises, but the different solutions merely hardened each side against the other. 78 As the populations of both sections increasingly lost trust in each other, the rhetoric of division intensified amongst public speakers. In a speech given on 13 November 1860, Georgia Senator Robert Toombs (1853-1861) advocated his state secede from the Union. In his speech, Toombs outlined the distrust Southerners held against their

76 Even the slight fact that Madison capitalized ‘State’ but not ‘Federal’ when they preceded the word ‘Government’ symbolized the importance of the State governments at the expense of the Federal. Publius [James Madison], “Alleged Danger From the Powers of the Union to the State Governments Considered,” The Independent Journal, January 26, 1788.


78 The Missouri Compromise of 1820 instituted the southern border of Missouri, 36°30’ north, as the line which separated Free states to the North and Slave States to the South and extended across the entire boundary of the United States. This compromise fell apart when the United States won lands from the Mexican Republic in the American-Mexican War (1846-1848) and needed to amend the previous line of demarcation. The Compromise of 1850 again awarded some concessions to each section, but could not last. The 1854 Kansas-Nebraska Act effectively nullified the Missouri compromise as it permitted Slavery north of 36°30’ north. With each legislative compromise abrogated by new controversies, citizens in both regions suspected the Federal Government of being controlled by the opposite faction and distrust and discord eventually erupted into secession and outright war. Historian Joel Silbey argued that during this period [1850s], political ideology became exceedingly rigid. At this time, each party concentrated heavily on countering their ideological opponents. Silbey asserted, “By 1860, both the Democrats and the Republicans had fully developed and articulated clear perspectives about the policies and behavior of their adversaries.” Joel Silbey, The Partisan Imperative: The Dynamics of American Politics Before the Civil War (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 175.
Northern compatriots. Toombs stated that "... here [in The United States] alone am I stigmatized as a felon; here alone am I an outlaw; here alone am I under the ban of empire; here alone I have neither security nor tranquility; here alone are organized governments ready to protect the incendiary, the assassin who burns my dwelling or takes my life or those of my wife and children; here alone are hired emissaries paid by brethren to glide through the domestic circle and intrigue insurrection with all of its nameless horrors." In the north, abolitionists and anti-slavery advocates railed against the ‘Slave Power’. To them, the Slave Power constituted a shadow faction within the machinery of the Federal Government that repeatedly strengthened slavery at all costs. An article from 14 March 1854 in the New York Tribune exposed these fears. The article read: "We as a nation are ruled by the Black Power. It is composed of tyrants. See then how the North is always beaten. The Black Power is a unit. It is a steady, never-failing force. It is a real power. Thus far it has been the only unvarying power of the country, for it never surrenders and never wavers. It has always governed and now governs more than ever." That both sections accused the other of dominating the Federal Government to their own advantage displayed the deep rift between them.

After the conclusion of the Civil War, with the North victorious over the South, the country embarked on a truly national development. A subtle difference in the name of the country revealed the new philosophic outlook of the national government. An article in the Washington Post from 24 April 1887 revealed the grammatical change and its deeper significance. The article claimed that there was a time a few years ago when the United States was spoken of in the plural number. Men said ‘the United States are’ — ‘the United States have’ — ‘the United States were.’ But the war changed all that. Along the line of fire from the Chesapeake to Sabine Pass was settled forever the question of grammar. Not Wells, or Green, or Lindley Murray decided it, but the sabers of Sheridan,

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80 Thomas Fleming, A Disease in the Public Mind: A New Understanding of Why We Fought the Civil War (Boston, MA: De Capo Press, 2013), 162-163.
the muskets of Sherman, the artillery of Grant. ... The surrender of Mr. Davis and Gen. Lee meant a transition from the plural to the singular. 82

Not only did the Northern War effort centralize authority in the Federal Government to a greater extent than any event in previous American experience, the victory of the North cemented the place of this new central Leviathan. 83 In the quest to ensure Northern victory in the War, the administration of President Abraham Lincoln routinely overstepped its constitutional bounds. Despite popular convictions about the right of any State to secede, the Lincoln Government declared war on the seceding states without congressional authority (against its constitutional mandate to do so), declared martial law, suspended *habeas corpus* in the North, blockaded Southern ports, imprisoned northern journalists critical of the War and Lincoln’s administration, censored telegraph communications, nationalized the railways, interfered in democratic elections, and confiscated private property including firearms (strictly forbidden as outlined by the second amendment to the US Constitution). 84 Such extra-constitutional measures resulted from both wartime emergency measures and a concerted effort to elevate the activity, authority, and energy of the Federal Government.

The ascent of Lincoln and the Republican Party elevated the Hamiltonian vision of the national government of the United States. 85 Trumpeted by Henry Clay, Whig senator from Kentucky (1806-07, 1810-11, 1831-42, and 1849-50) and three time speaker of the House of Representatives (1811-14, 1816-18, 1823-25), Clay asserted the need for an active national government to ensure the United States remained a strong, unified nation.

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82 “The United States Has.: REMARKS”. *The Washington Post*, April 24, 1887. The Washington Post (1877-1922); Apr 24, 1887;

83 By denying the rights of any State to secede, an integral component of the compact theory of the union, the Federal Government effectively superseded the authority of the States and the people outlined in the US Constitution. During the Secession crises in the New England States over involvement in the War of 1812, the founding generation maintained free speech, free association, and the right of secession. Thus, by denying secession, the Federal Government under Abraham Lincoln effectively subordinated all the states under its dominion, regardless of the constitutional limits placed upon it. Thomas DiLorenzo, *The Real Lincoln: A New Look at Abraham Lincoln, His Agenda, and an Unnecessary War* (New York, NY: Three Rivers Press, 2002), 131-132.

84 Ibid, 132-133.

1815-20, and 1823-25), the Hamiltonian vision, encapsulated in Clay’s ‘American System’, envisioned the development of the United States into an industrial giant through the energy of the Federal Government. As a disciple of Henry Clay, Abraham Lincoln wholeheartedly adopted Clay’s system of nation-building and promoted it under the Republican banner. The defeat of the Confederacy cemented the Hamiltonian vision of federal governance. The machinery and energy of the Federal Government systematically enlarged over the following decades after the Civil War. Historian Thomas DiLorenzo noted the shift in the philosophy of Federal Governance. He stated: “...by 1890 the Federal Government was vastly larger than the founders [save for Alexander Hamilton] ever envisioned, and its purpose had changed from the protection of liberty to the quest for empire.” As the nationalization of politics, manifested through the growth and reach of the Federal Government, occurred after the Civil War, the first appearances of a national culture emerged.

Technological innovations, in addition to the transformation of national political philosophy, helped nurture a rising national American culture in the decades before and after the Civil War. The growth of railroad construction between the 1830s and 1850s first stimulated intersectional economic and cultural exchange. Economic historian James Huston discussed the creation of this new national marketplace created through the transportation revolution. He argued that, “The national market insured that the economic effects of slavery could no longer be isolated to the south.” Here, Huston argued that the new market brought the sections together. Yet the vast differences between their

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86 To achieve national industrial greatness, Alexander Hamilton prescribed a system of national protective tariffs to stifle international competition and a structure of central banking to offer cheap money to finance national internal improvements such as canals and railroads. Michael Lind, *What Lincoln Believed: The Values and Convictions of America’s Greatest President* (New York, NY: First Anchor Books, 2004), 72-73.
87 Author Michael Lind contended that Clay fused Hamiltonian governmental philosophy with Jeffersonian racial philosophy to create a program of nation building. Jefferson advocated a white-only society, a strategy adopted by Clay and subsequently by Lincoln. Ibid, 73.
88 The American population still embraced constitutionally limited government in the early decades after the Civil War. Thus, the centralizing effect of the Hamiltonian philosophic ascendancy was not total until first decades of the twentieth century. DiLorenzo, 201-202.
economies and societies, most notably through the institution of Slavery, only exacerbated tensions given their new proximity. As the United States extended dominion from the Atlantic to the Pacific, new territories and States added to the fractured element of the American nation. The completion of the Transcontinental Railway in 1869 finally connected the geographically huge country. Engineer Jeff Brown commented on the immensity of this moment. He noted “Politically, economically, socially, and culturally, it [Transcontinental Railway] bound together a nation that had only recently been engulfed in civil war. A coast-to-coast journey that had once taken six months could now be made in seven days. A new era of rapid transportation had begun.”

Ever since the founding of the Republic, geographic expansion across the North American continent beckoned political leaders. President Thomas Jefferson (1801-1809) included expansion as a key component in his Republicanism in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. President James Monroe (1817-1825), in a document that came to be known as ‘the Monroe Doctrine,’ asserted hemispheric supremacy against European agitation. He declared in his remarks to Congress on 2 December 1823 that “the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.” In the mid-1840s, journalist and American nationalist John O’Sullivan coined the phrase ‘Manifest Destiny’ to assign providence as justification for American continental expansion, specifically concerning the annexation of Texas into the Union. On 1 July 1862, Abraham Lincoln signed the Pacific Railroad Act, which commissioned 1,776 miles of rail construction linking the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean, finally linking the continental republic with

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90 Historian David Potter asserted that the concessions won by the United States in the Mexican-American War, the current states of California, Nevada, and New Mexico, and including most of Arizona, as well as parts of Colorado and Wyoming, signalled the triumph of American expansion. David Potter, The Impending Crisis 1848-61 (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers. 1976), 16-17.
rail from the East to the West. Upon its completion in 1869, the railroad linked broad sections of the country together, facilitating trade and travel, and drawing the disparate populations into a closer national affinity. Along with goods, cultural products including sport also travelled along the railway across the breadth of the country. Baseball, as a native sport, represented one activity that created a new national frame of reference and spread throughout the regions of the United States in the decades both preceding and following the Civil War.

As with England where the conflation between cricket and the generation of national characteristics mirrored national political developments and changes in political philosophy, the same process applied in the case of baseball as America’s first nationalized sport. As a central component of the public health movement of the 1840s and 1850s, athletics and modernized sport occupied a prestigious place amongst American cultural leisure forms. The noble sport of baseball became central in promoting a nationalist culture through sport. A 31 January 1857 article in the sporting magazine The Spirit of the Times championed baseball as the national pastime of the United States. The author stated that “Base ball has been known in the Northern States as far back as the memory of the oldest inhabitant reacheth [sic], and must be regarded as a national pastime, the same as cricket is by the English.” Thomas Wentworth Higginson himself associated baseball as a nationalized sport before the outbreak of Civil War. In his article “Saints and their bodies,” published in 1858, he commented that “...it is pleasant also to observe the twin growth of our indigenous American game of base-ball, whose briskness and unceasing activity are perhaps more congenial, after all, to our national character, than the comparative deliberation of cricket.” Both commentators spoke of baseball as a nationalized

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95 The Act guaranteed generous land grants and government bonds to the Union Pacific and Central Pacific Railroad companies to construct the route to the Pacific. Brown, 40.
97 Higginson: 593.
sport, yet no true national engagement with baseball existed during this time. From its genesis though, baseball garnered nationalist narratives, it did not truly assume its mantle as a truly nationalized sport (identified as such by a majority of sport participants and reformers) until after the Civil War ended.

Historian Mel Adelman observed that modern baseball originated in New York City during the 1840s. In 1845, Alexander Cartwright organized the first modern baseball club, the New York Knickerbocker Base Ball Club. Of great significance, and in written form, the Club outlined the basic pattern of rules and play that defined the sport from its pre-modern antecedents. In 1834, Robin Carver attempted to describe each of these bat and ball games in the Book of Sports. In Chapter 3, written about ball games exclusively, Carver noted: “The games with the bat and ball are numerous, but somewhat similar.” Carver identified goal-ball, base-ball, fives, nine-holes, catch-ball, and hat-ball as variants of games played with a bat and a ball. The baseball organized by the Knickerbocker club supplanted these alternatives. Historian Steven Reiss described why baseball ‘took off’ in popularity during the 1850s. He identified a nationalist narrative inherent in baseball’s early popularity. Reiss noted that “Young men took to the sport [baseball] because it was an exciting, American game similar to, yet simpler than, cricket, took less time to play, and did not require the perfect pitches of cricket fields, which were hard to find.” Reiss highlighted the particularly urban nature of baseball, as opposed to the pastoral nature of cricket. This development accentuated the nationalist divisions between the two sports. Participants in America enjoyed the game due to its native American

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98 The Spirit of the Times articulated belied this truth as it conceded that only when the game became “generally known” could its full healthy and manly benefits be spread throughout the country. “Our National Sports”, 603.
99 Adelman argued that the Knickerbocker Club created the organizational model for the various baseball teams that emerged in the 1850’s. He argued that they created the club not for social status purposes either to demarcate or elevate themselves but rather that they created the club for reasons of health promotion, recreation, and social enjoyment. Adelman, 121-123.
100 Robin Carver, The Book of Sports (Boston, MA: Lilly, Wait, Colman, And Holden, 1834), 37.
101 On top of these local variations, Carver noted the English sport of Cricket. Ibid, ix.
102 Reiss, City Games, 34.
characteristics, particularly baseball’s faster, rougher, and more dynamic game play. Baseball, instead of engendering national characteristics, appeared during a time when sport reformers desperately searched for a suitable ‘national’ game. The 1857 *Spirit of the Times* article argued that Americans needed a national sport similar to the English with the sport of Cricket. The author stated that America ought “… to develop analogous tendencies of an original and specific character appropriate to our national trial.” Still, observers and participants at the time believed that, as Adelman described, “… baseball expressed and was suited for the American Character and temperament.” Despite the obvious similarities between baseball and the English bat and ball game known as rounders, the myth of baseball’s American origins, as well as the modifications and organization of the game in America, wedded baseball and American national characteristics together in the decades preceding the Civil War.

The creation of the National Association of Base Ball Players (NABBP) in 1857 codified the New York City game into a national organization. This action helped standardize the rules throughout the country. The outbreak of the Civil War halted the spread of organized clubs across the country, but did not stop the spread of the sport. Despite the violent opposition between the North and the South, the Civil War provided a cultural melting pot where regional pastimes, conventions, and cultures spread from their native regions to the other landscapes of America. This proved especially true in the spread of the modern form of baseball. Historian George Kirsch described this process: “The sportsmen who marched off to war took their love of play (and sometimes their bats and balls) with them…Officers

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103 Adelman, 135.
105 Adelman, 134. Such markers of the American temperament and character engendered through baseball included physical fitness, honesty, patience, respect for lawful authority, initiative, quickness of judgement, and the importance of teamwork on the field of play. Pope 104.
106 Baseball enthusiast Henry Chadwick, himself an Englishman, argued that baseball indeed originated in England under the name Rounders. Despite this, Chadwick vociferously promoted the game as an important element of American nation building and that it reflected and promoted the American character. Adelman, 136-137.
107 The *Spirit of the Times* communicated the goals of the new association as “deciding upon a code of laws which shall hereafter be recognized as authoritative in the game.” “Our National Sports,” 603.
encouraged sport to relieve the boredom of camp life... They [baseball matches] also lead to a wholesome rivalry between companies and regiments... Ball play was even allowed in certain prison camps.”

Additionally, baseball provided a means of reconciliation between the two sections after the conflict. Benjamin Rader asserted that “No other organized American sport included so many participants or attracted so many persons who avidly followed the game as spectators.”

Baseball after the Civil War attracted large numbers of spectators and participants all over the country. Facilitated by rail travel, sports reporting, and telegraph communication of game results, spectators flocked to the games. At this time, baseball promoters consistently heralded the game as a nationalized sport.

Despite the knowledge that baseball, in its genesis rather than its modification, originated in England, promoters desperately attempted to refute this fact. S.W. Pope succinctly summed up the dilemma commenting that “Tradition inventors shrewdly decided that only if the game [baseball] originated within the United States could they lay claim to its connection with the national psyche.”

By the late 1880s, the ubiquity between baseball and American national character reached such levels that Abraham Mills (fourth president of the National League) demanded research to prove that baseball originated in the United States and not from the English game of rounders.

The blind desire to disregard the truth about baseball’s English origins demonstrated the seriousness that attended baseball in the mid to late nineteenth-century as America’s national sport.

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109 Rader, 18.

110 S.W. Pope argued that the conflation of national identity and baseball occurred prematurely through the press, and in particular through Henry Chadwick and William Trotter Porter. Pope, 63.

111 Ibid, 69.

112 The need to locate baseball’s genesis on American soil boiled until 1907 when Albert Spalding, professional baseball player of the 1870’s, international baseball promoter, and sporting goods magnate, ordered a blue ribbon committee to scour the nation for evidence of baseball’s founding. A returned story from Abner Graves advanced that Abner Doubleday, of Cooperstown, New York drew up the rules and formations of baseball in 1839. Ultimately, the story turned out to be false but the myth it created lasted decades after Graves wrote to Spalding’s commission. Ibid 69-71.
In America, urbanization wrought through industrialism affected the positive development of nationalized sport. Just as the political development of parliamentization in England occurred alongside the process of sportization, the shift in political philosophy specifically regarding the role and authority of the United States federal government occurred alongside the fomentation of nationalized sport in the United States. The imported English concepts of athleticism, the games ethic, and Muscular Christianity positioned sport as an agent of social reform in northeastern United States urban centres in the mid-1840s and 1850s. The Civil War affected the country in many ways, but two points greatly affected the development of baseball. This first point, a change in the political philosophy in the relationship between the Federal Government and the States, greatly influenced the importance of national cultural signifiers. After the Civil War, the Federal Government began a process of dominating the domestic economy to an extent previously unexperienced in American political life. The Hamiltonian economic prescription stimulated intense urbanization across the country as it focused Government intervention to spur manufacturing. The political transformation exacerbated the processes which themselves stimulated and promoted sport as an important social institution. Secondly, in order to facilitate the nationalization of political life, American culture began to experience a nationalization effect. Aided by rail transport, as well as national newspapers and magazines boosted through telegraph communications technology, culture was transmitted across America. In order to unify the country after such a cataclysmic event as the Civil War, a strong cult of nationality emerged, strengthening the cultural bonds between the sections of the nation. As the national government centralized political life, movements to standardize American cultural life flourished. In this environment, the sport of baseball rose to become America’s nationalized sport.

Changes in Liberal Political Thought and the ascension of nationalized sport

Despite differences in social circumstances, technological prowess, and chronology, the establishment of nationalized sports in both Great Britain and the United States occurred at the same
time as seismic shifts in each country’s Classical Liberal political philosophy. In England, Thomas Arnold forwarded the Moral Theory of the State. In the United States, the Republican Party under Abraham Lincoln entrenched the Hamiltonian system of Federal supremacy over the States. In both instances, the tenet of Classic Liberalism, that the state existed merely to protect the individual and preserve liberty, fell by the wayside. In its stead, a new idea emerged regarding the collectivization of society and the role of the state to promote the collective interest emerged. In Great Britain, the Arnoldian moral justification of the state rested on the notion of collective providence and improvement. For Arnold, the nation stood as the collective. During the late Victorian period, the idea of nation and nationalism dominated political thinking, influenced in part by Arnoldian philosophy and in another by European ideas of collective political activity. In the United States, the Hamiltonian system merely prescribed ultimate governing authority to the Federal Government over the States, but did not rely on the idea of a nation. However, after the Civil War, politicians and intellectuals began importing and developing notions of political collectivism. Over the following decades, these theories supplanted the deeply held classical liberal tendencies of the American people and supported the continued growth of the United States federal government. By the 1870s both Great Britain and the United States entered into a slow recession from their Classical Liberal roots and towards political liberal collectivism, better understood as Progressivism.

The creation and promotion of nationalized sport depended upon the transition from individualist conceptions of society to collective notions. Without a fully developed understanding of the concept of ‘nation’, the concept of nationalized sport becomes obsolete. The origins of both cricket and baseball as nationalized sports occurred during a transition period in political philosophies. The

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113 Hamilton mirrored his system off the British Mercantile system of King George III. His design therefore had more to do with replicating a system of centralized absolute authority rather than promoting any type of national good. Thomas DiLorenzo, Hamilton’s Curse: How Jefferson’s Archenemy Betrayed the American Revolution – and What It Means for American’s Today (New York, NY: Crown Forum, 2008), 9.
final decades of the nineteenth-century witnessed the maturation of the idea of the nationalized sport. This in part resulted from the maturation of the transition from individualist to collectivist conceptions of society and the State’s role in governance. Once the State, in the eyes of both politicians and the public, legitimated its actions to promote the national will, the promotion of national sports to create national types fully developed. It was during these final decades that English Imperialists pushed Cricket throughout the Empire to inculcate both English colonists and native subjects into proper modes of English national behaviour. Similarly, American nationalists during this period promoted baseball to new immigrant communities. They hoped that immigrants might acculturate themselves to their new country through the sport. Additionally, Americans attempted to export the game as a symbol of American invention, ingenuity, and superiority. It was during these final decades of the nineteenth-century that the notion of Canadian nationalized sport emerged. Those sport reformers and nationalists took their cues from both the English and the Americans. Undergirding the Canadian movement towards nationalized culture and cultural forms lay the philosophic deterioration of Classic Liberalism in the face of advancing Liberal Collectivism or Progressivism.
Chapter IV

The Emergence of Canadian Nationalized Sport

“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...Whatever tends to cultivate this nationality is no frivolous influence, even should it be a boyish sport.”

- George Beers 1869

George Beers’ remarks concerning the sources of nationality highlighted an important element in nineteenth-century political thought about the concept of nationalism. Any activity that ennobled a feeling of national unity legitimated itself as a cornerstone of that nation’s identity. For Beers, sport represented a legitimate avenue upon which to build and support a Canadian national identity. Unlike Great Britain, the originators of nationalist sport in Anglo countries, and the United States, the first to modify English sport ethics to create a new conception of nationalized sport, the Canadian State lacked the essential qualities needed to form a unitary national ideal. Eighteenth-century Genevan philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau, discussing national character when he considered drafting a Constitution for the island of Corsica, noted the necessity of national character to the authority of a State. Originally written in French, he argued that: “The First rule that we have to follow is national character: all people have, or should have, a national character; if it is lacking in this, it would be necessary to start by giving it one.” Rousseau’s prescription accurately predicted the conundrum faced by the Canadian State.

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3 The original French quotations read “La première règle que nous avons à suivre, c’est le caractère national: tout perple a, ou doit avoir, un caractère national; s’il en manquait, il faudrait commencer par le lui donner.” Jean-Jacques Rousseau, “Projet de Constitution pour la Corse: Première Partie,”(1765), in *The Political Writings of Jean-Jacque Rousseau: Edited from the Original Manuscripts and Authentic Editions*, Vol. II, ed. C.E. Vaughan,
when the Canadian framers inaugurated the Canadian State without a traditional basis of nationality. In Canada, Confederation opened a blank canvass for legislators and nationalists to construct not only a functioning state but also one based upon a novel definition of Canadian nationality. Sport provided one cultural activity upon which nation builders attempted to define such a nationality. The development of nationalized sport in Canada occurred concurrently with the development of the State. As a new country, the Canadian State, while attempting to forge an independent identity, relied heavily upon both Great Britain and the United States as guides in state formation and national character creation. This middle position between the two countries defined not only Canada’s political development, but also directly influenced the development of Canadian nationalized sport.

Confederation: Mixed Political Heritage

When legislators from Upper Canada, Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick (hereafter referred to as the Canadian framers or framers) drafted the British North America Act (BNA) in 1867, they followed both British and American models. Political Scientists Janet Azjenstat and Peter Smith highlighted three philosophical perspectives in the drafting of the BNA. Canadian framers inherited Liberal and Tory perspectives from Great Britain. From their American neighbours, Canadian radicals and reformers incorporated the philosophic tendencies of Republicanism, specifically Civic Republicanism. From the perspective of the republican reformers, Azjenstat and Smith argued that “...the nineteenth-century liberal constitution was enhanced by the facts it was usually described at the time as a form of mixed or balanced government, comprising ‘monarchic,’ ‘aristocratic’, and


This pattern of conflating nationalized sport development with changes in political thought followed both the English and American models of nationalized sport. See Chapter 3 for a thorough discussion of this process for both countries.
‘democratic’ elements.” For these republican radicals, the BNA incorporated Tory, or Conservative, elements of government through the unelected Prime Minister’s Cabinet and Senate. In their eyes, the Liberal element, the elected House of Commons, merely served to assuage popular sentiment concerning responsible government. Yet, despite their place outside of official negotiations and ratifications, these republican radicals influenced Canadian State formation. Largely influenced by their American neighbours, the radical reformers of the 1830s in Upper and Lower Canada induced political change through their rebellions in 1837 and 1838. The outbreak of rebellion forced the British Empire to acquiesce to some of the rebels’ demands. Most importantly, the rebels defined that a Canadian State needed foundation upon North American, not British or European conceptions of government.

Canadian politician David Christie argued during the Confederation deliberations in 1865 that “Their [United States] institutions have the same features of our own. There are some points of variance, but the same great principle is the basis of both – that life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are the

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6 Peter Smith argued that Tory politicians since the 1791 Constitution Act intended to use patronage through the executive office as a means of countering Democracy and maintaining executive power and political stability. Peter Smith, “The Ideological Origins of Canadian Confederation,” in Canada’s Origins: Liberal, Tory, or Republican, eds. by Janet Azjenstat and Peter Smith (Ottawa, ON: Carleton University Press, 1995), 60.

7 Liberals at the time positioned that through political argument in a free polity, laws and statues emerged which ultimately promoted the welfare of the citizenry. This gave the State flexibility in both defining and promoting the ‘Common Good’. Republicans on the other hand argued that a sense of community and the common good formed the original basis of the State, and therefore set the constraints and limitations on political activity. Azjenstat and Smith, 10.

8 A draft resolution accepted by the French Canadian Patriotes, akin to the American Declaration of Independence, referenced that document as justification for rebellion in a 24 October 1837 meeting and commented on the official designs of the Rebels demands for governmental reform. The resolution also intoned that the American Revolution effectively banished European style governance from the North American continent. The Six Counties Address, Signed at Saint-Charles, Quebec, October 24, 1837, in Canadian political thought, ed. H.D. Forbes (Toronto, ON: Oxford University Press Canada, 1985), 33-37.

9 The British Government dispatched the 1st Earl of Durham to Canada as Governor General after the 1837 rebellions to ascertain the cause of the conflict. Durham famously introduced the concept of ‘responsible government’ into the British North American colonies and suggested a political union of the French and English colonies of Lower and Upper Canada.
unalienable rights of man, and that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.”

Canadian framers admired the Federal idea of America. They had almost one hundred years to evaluate its design and suggest some improvements for their own North American continental federation. The nineteenth-century axiom that the political stability of a state resulted from the balance between the territorial size of that state and the strength of executive authority influenced their considerations.11 The explicit power and scope of the Federal Government represented one major difference between the BNA and the US Constitution. To Canadian framers, the United States inverted the power between the State and Federal Governments, giving too much authority to the States. In fact, they believed this very imbalance led to the sectional conflict which produced the American Civil War. In his first of six Ministerial speeches given on Confederation to the Legislature of Canada in 1865, Sir John A. Macdonald noted that

> Ever since the union was formed the difficulty of what is called ‘States Rights’ has existed, and this had much to do in bringing on the present unhappy war in the United States. They commenced, in fact, at the wrong end. They declared by their Constitution that each state was a sovereignty in itself, and that all the powers incident to a sovereignty belonged to each state, except those powers which, by the Constitution, were conferred upon the General Government and Congress. Here we have adopted a different system. We have strengthened the General Government. We have given the General Legislature all the great subjects of legislation. We have conferred on them, not only specifically and in detail, all the powers which are incident to sovereignty, but we have expressly declared that all subjects of general interest not distinctly and exclusively conferred upon the local governments and local legislatures, shall be conferred upon the General Government and Legislature. – We have thus avoided that great source of weakness which has been the cause of the disruption of the United States.12

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Furthermore, the Canadian framers distrust of direct democracy turned them away from certain elements of American state construction. George-Étienne Cartier argued in 1865 “They [the Americans] had founded a federation for the purpose of carrying out and perpetuating democracy on this continent; but we, who had the benefit of being able to contemplate republicanism in action during a period of eighty years, saw its defects, and felt convinced that purely democratic institutions could not be conducive to the peace and prosperity of nations.”\(^{13}\) In order to mediate the undesirable attributes of American republican democratic government, Canadian framers merged their North American sensibilities with British governance forms in the new Canadian Confederation.

Cartier astutely differentiated the Canadian State project from the United States experience. He argued that “Our [Canadian] attempt was for the purpose of forming a federation with a view of perpetuating the monarchical element. The distinction therefore between ourselves and our neighbours was just this: in our federation the monarchical principle would form the leading feature, while on the other side of the lines, judging by the past history and present condition of the country, the rule power was the will of the mob, the rule of the populace.”\(^{14}\) Despite their desire to remain attached to the Monarchy, Canadian framers could not reproduce the British system in totality. Most importantly, a Canadian State could not include a landed aristocracy. In describing the nature of the Upper House of the bicameral Legislature of the new Canadian State, Sir. John A. Macdonald proclaimed that “An hereditary Upper House is impracticable in this young country. Here we have none of the elements for the formation of a landlord aristocracy – no men of large territorial possessions – no class separated from the mass of people. An hereditary body is altogether unsuited to our state of society, and would soon dwindle into nothing.”\(^{15}\) Due to the absence of a hereditary aristocracy, the Lower

\(^{13}\) Ibid, 59.
\(^{14}\) Ibid.
\(^{15}\) Ibid, 35.
House of the legislature as well would operate in similar form to the English Parliament, but composed of different substance. Macdonald continued

In this country, we must remember that the gentlemen who will be selected for the Legislative Council stand on a very different footing from the peers of England. They have not like them any ancestral associations of position derived from history. They have not that direct influence on the people themselves, or on the popular branch of the legislature, which the peers of England exercise, from their great wealth, their vast territorial possessions, their numerous tenantry, and that prestige with which the exalted position of their class for centuries invested them.\textsuperscript{16}

Despite the absence of a landed aristocracy, the Canadian state mirrored the British design. The political design prescribed a bicameral parliamentary system under the guise of a constitutional monarchy. The Canadian Parliament operated in similar fashion to the British, with the House of Lords replaced with the Canadian Senate. British intellectual and immigrant to Canada Goldwin Smith noted however that a Canadian State needed to dispense with the old world diseases of government on the North American continent. He summarized the Canadian propensity for American sensibilities in formulating a justification for State formation. Smith argued that “It [Canada] is ripe to be a nation as these Colonies [Thirteen Colonies] were on the eve of the American Revolution...It [Canada] belongs in every sense to America, not to Europe; and its peculiar institutions – its extended suffrage, its freedom from the hereditary principle, its voluntary system in religion, its common schools – are opposed to those of England, and identical with those of the neighboring States.”\textsuperscript{17} From the outset, the Canadian State represented a blending of British traditions with American forms. The development of Canadian nationalized sport developed along similar lines.

\underline{British Origins of Canadian Sport: Pre-Confederation}

British victory over France in the Seven Years War (1753-1760) in North America established British military and colonial presence in the future provinces of British North America. The defeat of the British at the hands of the American revolutionaries in the American Revolutionary War (1776-1783)

\textsuperscript{16} Ibid, 36.
\textsuperscript{17} Goldwin Smith, “England and America,” \textit{The Atlantic Monthly}, 14, no. 86 (1864): 765.
confined British military and colonial presences to these territories. In the following years leading up to Confederation in 1867, the British dominated the cultural and political life of British North America.

During this period Canadian modern sport emerged. Sport historian Allan Metcalfe argued, “...the years prior to Confederation were important because the foundations laid determined the patterns of development of Canadian sport, in particular the central role of British games and ideals...the powerful forces of tradition played an importance role in shaping the new sport forms. During the pre-Confederation years, when British North America was more British than it would ever be again, these forces of tradition were at their strongest.”\(^\text{18}\) Both through military garrisons and sport and social clubs in the largest urban centres, British immigrants steered modern sport development in Canada.

After the fall of New France and the cession of Canada and Acadia to Great Britain in the Treaty of Paris in 1763, British garrisons occupied the strategic fortifications in the Maritimes and from Quebec to the Great Lakes.\(^\text{19}\) The British located garrison forces inside urban centres and established them in strategic locations.\(^\text{20}\) The British Officers sent to these stations in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries brought their fondness of sport with them. In eighteenth-century England, the emergence of field games as an important component of young boys’ education in the elite public schools engendered a love of sport for the future soldiers of the British Empire. Nineteenth-century French historian Charles Forbes René de Montalembert famously heralded the link between public school sports and military success. He documented a remark made by Arthur Wellesley, the Duke of Wellington, England’s decorated nineteenth-century General. According to Montalembert, on a visit to Eton in his later years, Wellesley commented, “The Battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of


In the early decades of the nineteenth-century, British troops stationed across the globe not only spread their love of English sports, but also spread the emerging modernized forms of sport. Sport historians Don Morrow and Kevin Wamsley noted the bachelor subculture that characterized Garrison life in eighteenth-century Canada. Stationed away from the population for days on end, the soldiers needed activities to occupy the long hours. It fell to the Garrison Officer to provide organized activity to stimulate soldiers’ bodies and engender camaraderie to avoid the negative consequences of physical and mental inactivity. These Officers began the process of sport modernization in Canada. Particularly, they organized sport clubs, funded competitions, provided trophies, and codified regulations in a variety of sports. Horse racing served as one of the first codified sport practices organized by Garrison Officers. In one particular example, nineteenth-century sport enthusiast and author Frederic Tolfrey described how the Quebec Turf Club (Horse Racing) grew directly out of the Quebec Garrison Racing Club. He noted that the club organized due to popular interest in a private race between one of the officers and himself. In similar fashion, Officers organized clubs, standardized rules, and regulated competitions in a variety of sports all across the colonies of British

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21 The original French read “C’est ici qu’a été gagnée la bataille de Waterloo.” Charles Forbes René de Montalembert, De L’Avenir Politique de L’Angleterre, 3rd edition (Paris: Didier et Cie, Libraires-Éditeurs, 1856), 159. The Battle of Waterloo took place on 18 June 1815 near the town of Waterloo, in modern day Belgium, between the French under the command of Napoleon and a coalition of English, Prussian, Russian, and Austrian forces under the command of the Duke Wellington and a relief of Prussian troops under the command of Gebhard von Blücher. The results of the battle left the English and Prussian commanders victorious and disgraced Napoleon, who was exiled for a second time from French society.
22 Morrow and Wamsley, 32.
23 For a discussion on the process of sport modernization, please refer to Chapter III. Sport Historian Peter Lindsay noted that Garrison Officers in Canada bought their positions. The ability to purchase a commission displayed that these officers came from the wealthy privileged class, were well educated, and thoroughly imbued in the sporting tradition of the elite English public schools. Furthermore, due to the lack of aggression, save for the War of 1812, in Canada at the time, sports provided a much needed diversion for an otherwise monotonous station. 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, 1, no.1 (1970): 33.
24 Ibid, 33-34.
North America. The mass removal of English troops from British North America in the mid-1850s, due to their deployment in the Crimean War, resulted in a dearth of reporting on sports. When the American Civil War erupted in April 1861, the British redeployed 11,175 troops across British North America. This return resulted in an increase in sporting activity, especially in regular competition. Garrison Officers, representing the English elite middle classes, influenced the development of modern sport in Canada primarily through the organization of clubs and competitions. Yet, they were not alone in this process. In the cities that housed Garrisons, sport and social clubs of the urban commercial elite middle classes as well nurtured the growth of modern sport.

In 1785, English and Scottish fur trade merchants who spent some time in the rough Canadian interior formed an exclusive social club in Montreal: the Beaver Club. Members met to regale each other of tales of physical prowess from their time in the bush, accompanied by ample supplies of food and wine. More accurately, they met to drink and eat to excess while they regaled the physical prowess of the voyageurs, lower-class men who they did not even admit as members to the exclusively British merchant-based membership. Men of similar standing, middle class British immigrants of the newly emerging merchant classes, organized British North America’s first organized sports club in 1807, the

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27 The word regulated here concerns making a consistent schedule of events in addition to the formulation and administration a particular set of rules and regulations over participation and competition. Particular clubs include the Montreal Cricket Club, the Upper Canada Turf Club, the Kingston Cricket Club, Tandem Cricket Squads in Montreal and Niagara, the Fredericton Curling Club. In each of the following cities, military cricket teams engaged in regular competition against local teams: Halifax, NS, St. John’s NL, Sydney, NS, Charlottetown, PEI, Montreal, Lower Canada, Quebec, Lower Canada, Sherbrooke, Lower Canada, Bytown, Upper Canada, London, Upper Canada, and Kingston, Upper Canada. For a detailed summary of all garrison sporting activity between 1800 and 1867 refer to Peter Lindsay’s article “The Impact of the Military Garrisons on the Development of Sport in British North America.” Lindsay: 34-44.

28 The dearth resulted from a general lack of activities to report on. The loss of Garrisons directly impacted the number of sporting activities, lending great weight to their importance of organizing these competitions. Ibid, 39.

29 Ibid, 41-44.

30 The Voyageurs or Coureur de Bois were French-Canadian trappers who penetrated deep into the Canadian wilderness the meet remote Aboriginal tribes and trade for the furs of the Canadian interior. These intermediaries in the fur trade became legendary for the physical prowess in canoeing and portaging. Yet, the middle class merchants merely appropriated the physical reputation of the Voyageurs while banning them from entry. Morrow and Wamsley, 23.
Montreal Curling Club. In this instance, Scottish immigrants met to reengage with their national sport.\textsuperscript{31} In the decades approaching Confederation, British immigrants in urban centres organized sporting activities around clubs. Just as the Scottish immigrants re-established curling as an important cultural activity, English immigrants organized sport clubs to participate in their perceived national sport, cricket.\textsuperscript{32} The reproduction of national cultural life bore great importance to these British immigrants. Established as modern sport forms in the eighteenth century, curling for Scots and cricket and to a lesser extent, horse racing for the English provided native cultural capital in a new environment. An excerpt from the \textit{Toronto Patriot} in 1836 highlighted the important role sport played in imbuing British loyalty in Canadian soil. That publication proclaimed, “British feelings cannot flow into the breasts of our Canadian boys through a more delightful or untainted channel than that of British sports.”\textsuperscript{33} Before Confederation, the organization of sport mirrored the political reality of British North America. Sport not only served as a means to reconnect to British life abroad, but also functioned to recreate Britishness in the Canadian environment. Furthermore, it supported changes in British political philosophy concerning the seat of political power; specifically the emergence of the middle classes as the central leading force in political life.

The Britishness of the Canadian and the Maritime provinces of British North America resulted from both the British political connection and nature of the provinces and from the influx of immigrants.

\textsuperscript{31} In similar fashion that men of English heritage brought their love of cricket and horseracing to British North America, Scottish immigrants used sport as a means to acclimate to their new Canadian environment. The Montreal Curling Club operated sporadically until it became a permanent fixture in the 1820s. Historian Alan Metcalfe documented the rise of Curling Clubs in Kingston (1820), Quebec (1821), Halifax (1824-25) and Fergus (1834). Importantly, the Scottish connection to the game cemented itself in Canada with the establishment of two Royal Caledonian Curling Clubs in 1852. Metcalfe, 20.

\textsuperscript{32} Cricket emerged in Upper Canada, predominantly due to the large number of English immigrants as opposed to Lower Canada and the Maritime Colonies. Upper Canada College (UCC) established a team after its founding in 1829. UCC replicated the famous elite public schools of England in its emphasis of nurturing morality through sports and became a chief institution in promoting the moral value of athletics in Upper Canada. Other Upper Canadian cities organized cricket clubs and there were eighteen regular clubs by 1848. One decade later, Upper Canada boasted fifty-eight clubs. Metcalf, 16-17.

\textsuperscript{33} \textit{Toronto Patriot}, July 13, 1836, quoted in Metcalf, 17.
into the colonies during the first decades of the nineteenth-century. The British dominated
demographically, except for the French-speaking Lower Canada/Canada West, politically and
economically in the four colonies that formed the Canadian Confederation. The 1851 Census
documented 93,929 English and Welsh-born immigrants, 90,376 Scottish-born immigrants, and 227,766
Irish immigrants in Canada West alone.\(^{34}\) In Canada East, the English-speaking population maintained
political and economic power over the French, despite the English population of only 220,733 compared
to the French population of 669,528.\(^{35}\) By the mid nineteenth-century, Nova Scotia developed strong
imperial ties not only through its demographic connection, but also through its participation in imperial
naval and military life.\(^{36}\) The 1861 census recorded 3,090 English and Welsh-born migrants, 9,313 Irish-
born immigrants, 2,131 immigrants from other British Islands including Newfoundland, and 16,395
Scottish-born immigrants.\(^{37}\) Similarly, Great Britain supplied the majority of immigrants to New
Brunswick. The 1861 census documented 4,909 English and Welsh immigrants, 5,199 Scottish
immigrants, and 30,179 Irish immigrants.\(^{38}\) The political power held by British immigrants and firs-
generation British Canadians rested on their demographic influence.

The United Empire Loyalists, those British Colonists who fled from the United States after the
American Revolutionary War, primarily influenced the political development in British North America.
Particularly, these settlers wished to recreate British political forms. In Lower Canada, dominated by the
majority French population, Loyalists clamoured to British authorities to absolve themselves of sharing a

\(^{34}\) The combined total of British and Irish born immigrants numbered 412,071 of the population of Upper Canada.
This number amounted to roughly 43% of Upper Canada’s total population of 952,004. W.L. Morton, *The Critical
\(^{35}\) The British held dominance in the cities of Lower Canada, but due to many factors would never become a
demographic majority in that colony. Ibid, 1-2.
\(^{36}\) Along with military and naval connections, Nova Scotia maintained a strong political and even literary
connection with Great Britain. Morton, 44.
\(^{37}\) Taken together, the entire British immigration amounted to 30,929 (92%) out of 33,535 migrants recorded in
1878), 26-27.
\(^{38}\) Ibid. In both Maritime Provinces, these immigrants buttressed the overwhelming majorities of native born Nova
Scotians and New Brunswickers.
political jurisdiction dominated by the French. A letter sent in 1789 from Lord Grenville to Lord Dorchester outlined those wishes of the Loyalists. In that letter, Lord Grenville forwarded that the “general object of the plan [the early designs of the eventual Constitution Act of 1791] is to assimilate the constitution of the province to that of Great Britain.”

In the provinces of Upper Canada and New Brunswick, Loyalists assumed the mantles of political power. Loyalists founded the province of New Brunswick, which separated from Nova Scotia in 1784. At least twenty-five thousand Loyalists arrived in the new colony and quickly replicated the representative institutions of Great Britain. In New Brunswick, the reproduction of British political life resulted in the designation of townships as parishes, the only jurisdiction in Canada to use officially such a designation. In Upper Canada, the government functioned in the same manner as that in Lower Canada, but composed of recent Loyalist pioneers.

The Loyalists so greatly appropriated power in Upper Canada, through a system of patronage known as the ‘Family Compact’, that their stranglehold on power resulted in the political rebellions of 1837 and the clamour for responsible government. As mentioned above, Nova Scotia retained a strong connection to the British militarily and culturally. In their early manifestations, the four original

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39 Lord Grenville, Lord Grenville to Lord Dorchester 20 Oct 1789, in Report on Canadian Archives, ed. Douglas Brymner (Ottawa, ON: BROWN CHAMBERLIN, 1891), 11. No. 6a of Sessional Papers. Volume 5. First Session of the Seventh Parliament of the Dominion of Canada. Session 1891 (Ottawa, ON: BROWN CHAMBERLIN, 1891). Citation refers to Report of Canadian Archives. This desire led to the passage of the 1791 Constitution Act, which created two political jurisdictions: Upper and Lower Canada. Lower Canada remained French in terms of majority population while Upper Canada became an attractive clime for Loyalists and British immigrants to create an English speaking Canadian colony. A map of the new jurisdictions created by the 1791 Constitution Act can be found in Appendix 2.1.

40 Bourinot, Local Government in Canada, 81.


42 Bourinot, Canada Under British Rule 1760-1900, 81.

43 Canadian historian John Bourinot noted that all British colonies replicated the local political unit of the township. He noted the differences in application of the parish form in the American colonies and observed that in New Brunswick, new legislators enacted the traditional English application of parish. Bourinot, Local Government in Canada, 223-224.


45 Bourinot, Local Government in Canada, 140. For a detailed discussion of the Family Compact’s influence in precipitating the Rebellion of 1837, see Bourinot, Local Government, 141-153.
provinces retained British political forms and harboured British populations to guide and strengthen them.⁴⁵

In the nineteenth-century, before Confederation, Britishness defined the Canadian and Maritime colonies. Their populations, save for the French majority in Lower Canada/Canada West, were predominantly composed of British immigrants, or first generation British Canadians. Even the French population supported British political forms, so long as their linguistic and religious rights remained protected. On 10 January 1799 the future Bishop of Quebec, Joseph-Octave Plessis, delivered his most famous and influential sermon. On a day set aside to commemorate and celebrate Admiral Nelson’s victory over Napoleon in the previous summer, Plessis used his pulpit to extol the virtues of British governance and its benefits for the French population in Canada.⁴⁶ Plessis lauded English governance: “What sort of Government, Gentleman, is best suited for our [French Canadian] happiness? Is it not the one marked by moderation, which respects religion of those it rules, which is full of consideration for its subjects, and gives the people a reasonable part in its administration? Such has always been British government in Canada...It [English Government] always proceeds with wise deliberation; there is nothing precipitous in its methodical advance.”⁴⁷ Furthermore, Plessis contrasted the rights of French Canadians under British governance with Napoleonic rule in France,

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⁴⁵ Canadian Historian Carl Berger noted that the descendants of the Loyalists became fervent Imperialists in the last decades of the nineteenth century. These Loyalist descendants resuscitated the native British-Canadian identity so fervently defined and prescribed by the Loyalists themselves. Carl Berger, The Sense of Power: Studies in the ideas of Canadian Imperialism 1867-1914 (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 78-82.
⁴⁶ Plessis served as Bishop of Quebec from 1802 until his death in 1825. He operated as an integral member of Quebec society in accommodating the British Conquest of French Canada. Britain’s nature as a conservative and monarchical nation appealed to the French Catholic leader in contrast to the legacy of the French Revolution and the secularism of Napoleon Bonaparte’s military dictatorship. Furthermore, Plessis understood that the French minority in Canada held far more political power over their own affairs than the French under Napoleon or even other Britons over their own local affairs. H.D. Forbes, “MGR Joseph-Octave Plessis,” in Canadian Political Thought, ed. H.D. Forbes (Toronto, ON: Oxford University Press Canada, 1985): 2.
While in France all is in disorder, while every Ordonnance bearing the stamp of Royalty is proscribed, is it not wonderful to see a British Province ruled by the common law of Paris and by the Edicts and declarations of the kings of France? To the fact that you wanted to maintain these ancient laws; to the fact that the seemed better adapted to the nature of real property in this country. There they are, then, preserved without any alteration except those that provincial Legislation is free to make. And in that Legislation you are represented to an infinitely greater degree than the people of the British Isles are in the Parliaments of England or Ireland.48

Even the reformer Joseph Papineau highlighted the benefits of British Governance. Papineau argued that a misapplication of British principles of Governance led to the untenable political situation in Lower Canada in the 1830s. In January 1833, Papineau delivered a speech in the Lower Canadian legislature where he argued that “Going back to first principles, what were the primary considerations that led to the adoption of this form of Government [British]?...That no one is obliged to acquiesce in the law without having the opportunity, personally or through his representative, to discuss the reasons behind it...Is there any similarity between the actual state of this country [Lower Canada] and the principles that derive from the [English] government? No. We have only a misleading shadow of the English constitution; we have none of the advantages that ought to derive from it.”49 Both French corollaries to British power, in the form of the Catholic Church, and French reformers, in the form of the Patriotes, accepted and celebrated the British nature of Lower Canada’s Government. British political institutions protected the Catholic religion and the French language in Lower Canada. Only when the Provincial Government abandoned British political philosophy did French Canadians demand reform or contemplate separation.

The ideal of representative government, so cherished by the French reformers of the Patriote movement and their Anglophone counterparts in Upper Canada, resulted from a consequence of a transformation in British Political thought. In the eighteenth century, England underwent a process of parliamentization, whereby the competing English political factions of the seventeenth century

48 Ibid, 8.
transitioned from a violent struggle to gain legitimate political authority to a struggle of debate, rhetoric, persuasion, and restraint to achieve the same ends.\textsuperscript{50} In the early decades of the nineteenth-century, political reformers furthered the devolution of power from Crown and Aristocracy to the emerging middle classes. Historian of political thought H.S. Jones argued, “In the years 1828-34, the British state underwent a series of reforms which, taken together, were so fundamental that some historians have seen in them dismantling of the \textit{ancient regime}.\textsuperscript{51} The reforms included a full admission of political rights for religious minorities, recognition of the urban environments and their political rights in the Reform Act of 1832, and in 1834 a new Poor law that transformed the state into an administrative agent in relieving the plight of the poor.\textsuperscript{52} Taken in concert, these reforms reflected the growing influence of the commercial middle classes on British society.\textsuperscript{53} At the dawn of the Victorian Era (1837-1901), the political doctrine of liberalism, specifically of classical liberalism, buttressed the growth of the middle classes. Classic Liberals, in the words of Jones, “…perceived that the advent of modern commercial and industrial economy overturned old forms of social cohesion…A new kind of social bond must therefore be forged, one based on the spontaneous harmony of individual interest in what Adam Smith termed a system of natural liberty.”\textsuperscript{54} It was in this new society of interests that industrialists, merchants, and labourers coalesced in the new urban industrial environment. The acceptance of the philosophic tenets of classical liberalism by those in the elite and middle classes affected the governing structure of the

\textsuperscript{50} Sociologist Elias Norbert remarked on the novelty of non-violent methods to solve political struggles. He asserted that “Familiarity can obscure for the perception of later generations the fact that non-violent competitive struggle between two essentially hostile groups for the right to form a government was something rather new at the time.” Elias Norbert, “Introduction,” in \textit{Quest for Excellence: Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process}, eds. Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning (Oxford, UK: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1986), 32-34.


\textsuperscript{52} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{53} Historian Robert Pearce argued that upon further analysis, the 1832 Reform Act appears less radical and more conservative. Yet, the act did increase the eligible voting public from 11\% to 18\%, although these eligible voters exclusively belong to the propertied classes. Robert Pearce, “The Great Reform Act of 1832,” \textit{History Review}, 57, no.1, (2007): 15. Intellectual historian Crane Brinton identified 1832 as the year that the middle class ascended to political power. Crane Brinton, \textit{English Political Thought in the Nineteenth Century} (London, UK: Ernest Benn, Ltd., 1933), 13.

\textsuperscript{54} Jones, 2.
British State. The acceptance of Free Trade as the Empire’s governing economic dictum, illustrated by Robert Peel’s Government’s abandonment of the Corn Laws in 1846, best highlighted this transition.\(^{55}\) Although not complete, this transformation of the British State in the early 1830s further cemented the political trend in Great Britain of devolving power from the Monarchy and the Aristocracy to Parliament, a Parliament that increasingly came to represent the demographic composition of the country.

The new economic order elevated the reputation of commercial activity. By focusing political ideology on the promotion and protection of the individual, classical liberalism both appealed to and strengthened the commercial middle classes. Importantly, classical liberalism emphasized social harmony through commerce. The great liberal philosopher Adam Smith succinctly stated this connection: “It is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker, that we expect our dinner, but from their regard for their own interest. We address ourselves, not to their humanity but to their self-love, and never talk to them of our own necessities but of their advantages.”\(^{56}\) This new political and social dynamic replaced the traditional basis of political representation in Britain; Monarchy and Aristocracy. Wealth still mattered. Only those commercial men who amassed large fortunes entered into political life. Yet, the direction of devolution would eventually increase political representation for the roughly eighty percent of citizens denied access after the 1832 Reform Act. The tide of political fortune favoured the emerging middle classes at the expense of the traditional power elite, the landed aristocracy.

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This small, but fundamental transition in political philosophy reflected itself in the administration and ethics of British sport in the colonies. Particularly, the British Officers sent to lead the Garrison forces in Canada belonged to the emergent wealthy middle classes in addition to the aristocratic Officers. Education in elite public schools bound the new elite middle classes with their aristocratic social superiors. Through experiences at Rugby, Eton, and the other famous elite public schools, boys of elite middle-class families entered into the gentlemanly classes. Sports played a critical role in training these Officers. Importantly, through elite public schools, the future Garrison Officers learnt and internalized the games ethic and the theory of athleticism. In British North America, these Garrison Officers encountered a decisively more democratic environment than in Great Britain. While the essential elements of modern Canadian sport emerged from Great British roots, the lack of a landed aristocracy and more flexible social and economic hierarchy in North America necessitated a transformation of British sport forms. Importantly, the ‘newness’ of North America allowed its citizens to cleanse the stains of the Old World, specifically the presence of a landed aristocracy. Therefore, in British North America, the Officers who guided the development of modern sport served in place of a landed aristocracy. This gave the Officer Class great influence in imparting emerging middle-class norms nurtured on the athletic field. In addition to this influence, Canadian sport participants mutated British sport forms and philosophies to fit the North American environment. For British North Americans, the United States, as the flag bearer of North American nationality, provided a countervailing influence to the British model of modern sport.

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57 Scholar Glenn Storey mentioned work done by military historian John Keegan on the solidarity of the British Officers corps when discussing the importance of the English Public Schools in promoting, enlarging, and protecting the British Empire. The Officers, despite different social backgrounds, formed a cohesive gentlemanly class that prized honour and duty. Importantly, Storey referenced the role of sport in forming this solidarity on the playing fields of the elite public schools. Glenn Storey, “Heroism and Reform in English Public Schools,” The Journal of General Education, 36, no.4, (1985): 259-260.

58 For descriptions of the Games Ethic and Athleticism, please refer to Chapter III.
American Permutation of Canadian Sport

Influential early twentieth-century Canadian Liberal journalist John W. Dafoe argued that the concept of ‘North America’ played a decisive factor in the development of the Canadian State, Government, and nationality. In his work *Canada: An American Nation* (1935) Dafoe argued against the commonly held idea at the time that “Canada is the colony of a European Empire: her North Americanism is little more than a geographical expansion.” Instead he forward that “... what might be called North American ideas of government, of social obligations and of the institutions necessary to the functioning of a democracy have been exemplified by Canada, not obscurely in a small backward country but in a setting of world-wide range.” Dafoe’s argument rested on the unique political associations and structures needed for representative governance on the North American continent. Dafoe located the genesis of this political representation in the British Colonies of the Atlantic seaboard in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Importantly, he connected this North American political style to Canadians through genealogy and ancestry:

Canada is an American country by virtue of a common ancestry with the people of the United States... The English-speaking provinces in Canada were settled by citizens of the English colonies along the Atlantic sea-board. The generations which laid the cultural foundations of Canada and their forbears have lived in those colonies for a hundred or a hundred and fifty years – four or five generations. They had lived divorced from English influences, thrown very largely upon their own resources, and faced with problems upon which the experience of England threw no light.

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60 Ibid.
61 Dafoe suggested that the English colonists brought with them to North America a fervent belief in the political concept of self-government by means of elected assemblies. Due to the vast distances and difficulties in direct colonial oversight, these North American colonies developed politically through that axiom, while in Great Britain that process developed far slower. An inevitable schism appeared when British Imperial authorities attempted to encroach upon that political axiom through onerous taxation in the late eighteenth century, at which time many colonists engaged in outright secession from the British Crown in the American Revolutionary War. Ibid, 13-14.
The idea of ‘North America’ not only influenced Canadian political development, but also the
development of modern sport in Canada. Specifically, the political differences between the Old and
New World manifested in the transformation of British sport forms and the creation of new indigenous
Canadian sports. The United States, as the advanced nation on the North American continent, provided
both example for and influence on the development of modern sport in Canada during the nineteenth-
century.

Canadian sport historian Alan Metcalfe proclaimed that in the nineteenth-century “If any one
game was played in the hamlets, villages, towns, and cities across the length and breadth of Canada, it
was the American game of baseball.” Loyalist settlers and American immigrants brought the game with
them during the migrations of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Particularly, American
immigrants to the Southwestern portion of Upper Canada, who arrived after the conclusion of the War
of 1812, provided the greatest influence. In 1886, Dr. Adam Ford wrote a letter to the American
magazine *Sporting Life* in which he described a baseball-like game played between Zorra and Beachville
in 1838 in Oxford County, Upper Canada. The two teams took the opportunity of the 4 June holiday
commemorating both the defeat of the Upper Canadian rebels in 1837 and the birthday of King George
IV to engage in friendly competition. Ford’s account revealed two important factors surrounding the
game. First, it documented the acceptance of an American permutation on a classic English sport by
Canadian citizens. Second, it occurred in a rural environment on a holiday, a traditional element of pre-

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63 Historian Alan Metcalfe argued that even in the elite British inspired public schools of Canada, “these young men were Canadian and looked to North America, not to Britain as home.” These young men, who represented the new commercial middle class, stewarded the development of modern Canadian sport. Metcalfe, 30.
64 Ibid, 85.
67 For a detailed analysis of the development of baseball in America refer to Chapter III.
modern sport. The fact that the two teams composed of players of the local community displayed another important aspect concerning the game. The game did not occur between members of the British military, nor was it organized by the officer class. This alone imparted a particular importance to the game, as many sporting activities during this time flowed through the military garrisons and specifically through the officer class. This single account displayed that both American sporting forms and philosophies infiltrated British North America. Not in isolation, this transmission of American sport occurred concurrently with increased trade between the colonies and the Republic.

The period between 1854 and 1866 witnessed an economic relationship between the British North American Colonies and the United States defined by reciprocal or free trade. Canadian nationalist Robert Grant Haliburton praised this period during a 30 April 1875 speech in London to the Royal Colonial Institute. He argued that Canadians depended upon the United States for “Everything that was required for domestic life, for agricultural purposes, of for manufactures, was imported from the United States.” Historian W.L. Morton supported Grant’s assertion arguing that in just over a decade, the treaty became indispensable for British North American prosperity. In the first year the treaty took effect, British North American exports to the United States grew approximately 72% from $8,784,412 to $15,118,289 while imports from the United States grew roughly 32% from $26,115,132 to

68 Holidays served as communal gathering events for rural communities. Given the vagaries of the farm work, regularly scheduled events proved difficult to coordinate. Baseball assumed an important place as a prized activity during these spring and summer holiday festivals. Metcalfe, 87. Furthermore standardized scheduling resulted from Guttmann’s seven characteristics of modern sport: secularism, equality, specialization, bureaucratization, rationalization, quantification, and measurement. Without these characteristics, sport remained confined to pre modern forms. Guttmann, 54-55.

69 Ford noted that a company of Scotch volunteers passed the game and stopped to watch, but that represented the greatest level of military involvement. Ford, “VERY LIKE BASEBALL,” 3.


72 Morton, 138.
During the twelve years (1843-1854) before the reciprocity treaty, the average amount of exports per year to the United States totalled $3,861,593 while the imports averaged $11,066,668 per year. During the period of reciprocity (1855-1866), those numbers grew tremendously as exports averaged $23,915,181 per year while imports averaged $27,038,475 per year. Despite the ending of the treaty, trade between the countries continued to increase. In the twelve years following the end of reciprocity (1867-1878), exports to the United States averaged $30,248,709 while imports grew to $36,884,066 per year. These figures illustrated the growing economic connection between the two countries both prior to and after Confederation. The stimulus of exchange opened through freer trade policies displayed the potential of North America as a prosperous economic unit. As economic activity increased, so too did cultural contact. Sport befitted one important cultural product that transcended the border, just as goods moved freely during the period of Reciprocity.

The game of baseball spread rapidly throughout British North America and through the Canadian provinces after Confederation. The growth occurred primarily in urban centres, resulting in the steady expansion of baseball clubs in Ontario through the 1850s-1870s, and in the rest of the country in the 1870s to the turn of the century. By 1889, cities across the entire Dominion enacted their own interurban leagues due to great interest. Of particular significance, these Canadian baseball clubs regulated their activity under the New York Knickerbocker Rules of baseball. The urban nature of the

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74 Ibid 475-477. All statistics are taken from the Haynes analysis. All calculations are my own. To see the numbers for each year and the averages please refer to Appendix 2.2.


76 The Knickerbocker Club organized the first baseball club in the United States. Member Alexander Cartwright wrote down the rules used by the Knickerbocker Club including the dimensions of the field, playing positions, and scoring. These rules eventually became the standardized rules of baseball. Through its acceptance of these rules in 1858, the National Association of Base Ball Players refined these rules but essentially codified them as the official rules of the game. Colin Howell, *Northern Sandlots: A Social History of Maritime Baseball* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 20. Howell contented that by the 1870s the Maritime Provinces used these rules for their baseball clubs. Ibid, 23. Historian Robert Barney noted that in 1859 a contest between the Hamilton
clubs displayed an important facet of the development of modern sport in Canada. Unlike in Great Britain but in similarity to the United States, Canadian modern sport developed as an urban phenomenon. The adoption of American rules, produced in an American urban centre (New York City), allowed baseball to emerge as the most popular sport in Canada by the turn of the twentieth century. Even more striking, given the prevailing British sentiment in Canada at the time of Confederation and at the end of the nineteenth-century, baseball easily supplanted cricket. In effect, Canadians preferred the nineteenth-century nationalized sport of the United States to the nationalized sport of their own mother country, Great Britain. Rather than displaying greater affinity towards American cultural practices, this attraction resulted from a ‘North American’ preference. This inclination necessitated different sporting formats to match the different cultural and political environment that existed in North America.

Modern cricket emerged in the pastoral English countryside. English nobles and aristocrats primarily steered its development through regulation and sponsorship. By contrast, baseball originated in the cities of the United States. Rather than through the highest social classes, baseball’s modernizers hailed from the middle classes. Sport Historian Steven Riess described the allure of team competitions, especially cricket and baseball, to middle-class gentlemen in American urban centres in the middle decades of the nineteenth-century. Furthermore, Riess detailed how baseball supplanted cricket as

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Young American and the Toronto Young Canadian baseball clubs used the Knickerbocker rules, the first to do so in British North America. Barney, 155.

77 Historian Nancy Bouchier argued that by the late 1860’s even the American Press noted the rising popularity of baseball over cricket in Canada. Bouchier noted that local adaptability afforded by baseball relative novelty compared to the rigid structures of cricket. Nancy Bouchier, For the love of the game: amateur sport in small-town Ontario, 1838-1895 (Montreal, PQ and Kingston, ON: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2003), 100.

78 Historian Mel Adelman chronicled the occupation and social class of New York City’s earliest Base Ball Clubs. Importantly, the modern games’ originators, the Knickerbocker Club, composed of some upper middle class members but generally of prosperous middle class members. Team in Manhattan and Brooklyn also drew their participation heavily from the middle classes, Brooklyn’s teams composing lower middle class membership at greater rates. Adelman, 123-126.

79 Riess argued that these “…middle-class antebellum Victorian sportsmen found team ball sports…provided good vehicles for social interaction with other men of similar backgrounds and occupations in a healthful and pleasant outdoor setting.” Steven Riess, City Games: The Evolution of American Urban Society and the Rise of Sports (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 33.
the most popular bat and ball game in the United States. He argued that “Young men took to the sport [baseball] because it was an exciting, American game similar to, yet simpler than, cricket, took less time to play, and did not require the perfect pitches of cricket fields.”80 As an urban activity, baseball supported the new sports creed, which promoted athletic activity as a means of improving personal physical and moral health in the unsanitary and immoral nineteenth-century urban environment.81 Cricket, practically was unsuited to an urban environment, due to the space and maintenance demands of a proper grass pitch.82 Importantly, American’s viewed cricket as a less physically demanding sport. An 1859 report from The Spirit of the Times revealed the general impressions of the physicality of both sports. The report claimed that “The games of cricket and base ball may be said to be the rival games of England and America...; and of the two we think it [base ball] is the better game for developing the muscles and improving the conformation of the chest and body generally...Next to swimming...we think base ball is the best exercise.”83 An earlier Spirit article from 1858 noted the democratic nature of baseball; “Base ball is the favourite game [compared to cricket], as it is more simple in its rules, and a knowledge of it is more easily acquired.”84 Given the more egalitarian nature of American political life, a sport with fewer entry boundaries, both in access to facilities, knowledge, and practice of the sport, better suited that temperament. Additionally, as the more robust of the sports, baseball better reflected the American desire for excitement. Furthermore, the time restraints of the urban environment, namely standardized work schedules, favoured the relatively quick game of baseball to the drawn out nature of cricket. English-born American journalist and early baseball promoter Henry Chadwick offered this take on baseball in his 1884 publication The Sports and Pastimes of American Boys. Having witnessed the rise of baseball in the 1850’s and promoted it since, Chadwick explained

80 Ibid, 34.
81 For a greater discussion of this connection see Chapter 3.
82 Pitch refers to the grass playing field.
83 “Progress of Athletic Sports,” The Spirit of the Times, August 6, 1859, 308.
84 “The Ball Season of 1858,” The Spirit of the Times, March 27, 1858, 78.
“...there is no outdoor sport in America that equals our national game of base-ball, either as an exciting sport to witness or as a game affording ample opportunities for healthy, manly, and recreative [sic] exercise. In comparison with every other field game known in the arena of outdoor sports, base-ball bears off the palm in all those features which are calculated to secure the popular favor of the American public." Baseball, more than any other sport during this period, reflected its environment both practically and theoretically.

The realities of the urban environment, namely the spatial-economic limitations, profited baseball over cricket. Yet, a political calculation also helps explain the ascent of baseball in the United States in the nineteenth-century. In particular, baseball provided the best sporting practice that suited the changing social attitudes towards athletics in general during the mid nineteenth-century. Historian Mel Adelman argued that team sports in particular reflected the changing temperament towards athletic participation as sports moved from their pre-modern to modern forms. He contended that “It is no coincidence that there was an increasing emphasis on team, at the expense of individual, sports with the shift from premodern to modern sport...one contributory reason was that team sports more readily served the character value argument so important to the justification of athletics.”

The dynamic of baseball, importantly, valued the contribution of specific individual positions and roles to the greater composition of the team. This dynamic mirrored the individualist and cooperationist streams in American political life in the mid nineteenth-century. In the mid nineteenth-century, the team aspect of sport usurped individual sport in terms of social utility and importance. The new athletic code served as a means to socialize young boys and men into the new urban order. Perhaps, most importantly, the

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86 Adelman, 135.  
87 Sport theorist Allen Guttmann noted the competing narratives concerning these traditions in the American self-imagination. Despite the presence of both traditions, team sports in American reached the summit of importance, relegating individual sports. Guttmann, 137-139.
ascendancy of team sports supported a growth in the idea of the national. In the United States, that meant a transformation of English sporting forms to suit the new national America. A 5 June 1857 article from the *New York Daily Times* highlighted this process. The article, entitled “National Sports and their Uses,” argued that “To reproduce the tastes and habits of English sporting life in this country is neither possible nor desirable. But to develop analogous tendencies of an original and specific character appropriate to our national trials and our national opportunities is both very possible and very desirable.”

When baseball assumed the mantle, perhaps prematurely, of America’s national sport, it appropriated the ideal of the national into its nature. Americans desired their own sporting form, modelled after the English model, but one that reflected their unique national character. Therefore, as the idea of the national crystallized in both the politics of the United States and the attitudes of its citizens, baseball offered a means to support the legitimacy of the idea of the American national character.

When British North Americans imported baseball, particularly its American urban form under the adoption of the New York rules, they also imported a transformed English sporting form and philosophy. In addition to importing the game, many American immigrants brought their love of the American national sport with them. The 1871 Canadian census, the first taken after Confederation, revealed a large number of Americans living in Canada. Out of the 94,668 foreign-born immigrants (not including immigrants from the British Isles: England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, and the lesser Isles), 64,447, or roughly 68%, originally hailed from the American Republic. The American presence in Canada exerted the largest influence of any non-British nationality. Furthermore, the geographic proximity of the two countries intensified the exchange of culture, particularly surrounding baseball. As the sport grew in popularity across Canada, teams began engaging in regular competition with their

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89 For a detailed discussion of the nationalizing of political culture post-Civil War, please refer to Chapter III.
90 *Censuses of Canada*, 28-29.
American counterparts. Sport historian Colin Howell noted that when Maritime baseball clubs adopted the New York rules in the early 1870s, combined with new rail travel between the provinces and the states of New England, the teams engaged in international competition. In Ontario, teams in Guelph and London participated in the first international professional baseball league, the International Association of Base Ball Players. The London Tecumsehs won the championship against Pittsburgh in the inaugural season of 1878. By the turn of the century and into the first decades of the twentieth century, professional teams across the entire country participated in minor league competition against American teams. This increased contact with Americans and their sports influenced but also reinforced similar conditions in Canada. It highlighted the similarities in the two North American countries cultural practices but also political and social realities.

The egalitarianism of North American society, as opposed to Great Britain and continental Europe in the nineteenth-century, necessitated different cultural forms. Discussing the American Civil War, English historian Goldwin Smith demonstrated this democratic nature of North America. Discussing the English aristocracy’s hopes for the outcome of the American Civil War, Smith explained: “In the success of a commonwealth founded on social and political equality all aristocracies must read their doom. Not by arm, but by example, you [the United States] are a standing menace to the existence of political privilege [sic].” North American polities eschewed the creation of a hereditary or landed aristocracy. While not fully representative, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, North America provided the greatest amount of political freedom and democratic representation for its citizens. The one blemish remained the presence of slavery as a government-sponsored institution in

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91 Howell, 24.
93 Barney, 157-58.
94 Smith, “England and America,” 754.
the United States. Yet, in the eighteenth century, not one country or kingdom outlawed slavery, highlighting the acceptance of the institution throughout the world. In British North America, the French minority gained, for the first time, a modicum of political representation. In the United States, attitudes regarding political representation represented by suffrage crystallized in the Revolutionary Period and naturally expanded. The political nature in North America differentiated it from its European predecessors. Historian Allan Smith argued that a sense of mission permeated the new world. North Americans believed that the sins of the old world would be expunged in the society of the new world. Just as Americans and British North Americans took inspiration from British political development but mutated it to their own local environments, they similarly transformed cultural practices, particularly sporting forms.

95 The United States, founded in 1776, under the justification that ‘all men are created equal’, initially shirked from the slavery question. Yet, slavery remained a largely unquestioned institution in human affairs until the beginning of the eighteenth century. Intellectual historian Thomas Sowell argued that contemporary reductionist analysis blinds historians and commentators to the very difficult decisions regarding immediate emancipation that faced the founders and subsequent generations. Sowell points to private efforts made by founders Washington, Madison, and Jefferson to eradicate slavery given the conditions of the day. Thomas Sowell, “The Real History of Slavery,” in Black Rednecks and White Liberals (San Francisco, CA: Encounter Books, 2005), 139-145.

96 Sowell demonstrated that European Imperialism in fact ended Slavery around the world. In particular, the British Empire played a decisive role. Anti-Slavery ideology emerged in eighteenth-century Britain and by the nineteenth-century, the Empire not only banned the slave trade and slavery, but viciously prosecuted and hunted slave traders to eradicate the scourge. Ibid, 115-118.


98 Kirk Porter, A History of Suffrage in the United States (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1918), 2. The idea of natural expansion does not mean that suffrage extended itself uniformly and consistently. Rather, once the initial justifications for suffrage, namely property qualifications, cemented itself in American political design it rendered other qualifications less demanding. Furthermore, the justification for secession from Great Britain, the equality of all men, combined with a relatively relaxed attitude to suffrage in the United States produced great ammunition for those who fought for their suffrage. Thus, the struggle for minority and women’s suffrage proceeded along a natural line of political evolution circumscribed in the founding of the nation. Still, consideration for the blocking of voting rights and political representation merits attention, even in light of the evolution that eventually affirmed these rights had indeed been withheld.


100 Goldwin Smith outlined the British Heritage of the American Republic commenting that “The great foundations of constitutional government, legislative assemblies, parliamentary representation, personal liberty, self-taxation, the freedom of the press, allegiance to the law as a power above individual will, - all these were established...in the land from which the fathers of your republic came.” Smith, “England and America,” 751.
Baseball exemplified the importance of reforming traditional English sports into palatable North American formats for the creation of nationalized sport. Just as baseball in the United States embarked on its post-Civil War nationalizing efforts, the Canadian State emerged as a new national polity in North America. Contemporary political theory necessitated the accompanying creation of a Canadian nationality upon which to base the new State. Given the non-traditional composition of the Canadian population with respect to foundations of nationality and the great distances that separated parts of the country from each other, a national culture supported by identity represented a pressing matter for Canadian statesmen and nation builders. Sport offered a cultural product which already provided a type of national definition for the English. Furthermore, it imparted a definition for the newly nationalized United States upon which a Canadian ideal could become legitimately grafted. The examples of both Great Britain and the United States greatly influenced the development of Canadian nationalized sport post-Confederation.

**Canadian National Sport: Mixed identity and the need for differentiation**

In Canada, sport nationalists fused the sporting heritage of Great Britain with the ‘carte blanche’ social and political structure of North American society. This combination guided the development of Canadian nationalized sport. The search for a nationalized sport accompanied the nationalizing effort of the State to consolidate the polity birthed in Confederation. In particular, George Beers, a dentist from Montreal, deigned to conflate Canadian nationality with the sport of lacrosse immediately after Confederation. Beers’ attempt buttressed official State sanctioned efforts at promoting a national culture. Additionally, Beers’ promotion of lacrosse reflected the influence of the middle classes in defining political culture, national identity, and the role of sport in post-Confederation Canada. Canadians, as a means of differentiating themselves from both the British and the Americans, seized upon unique aspects of their environment. Only a cultural product that reflected the distinctive national
character of Canada, one defined by the idea of hardiness reflected upon Canadian citizens through the
Canadian wilderness, could legitimately define a national Canadian type. Ultimately, theories of
nationalism, race, and the role of the state, underscored both the search for and declaration of a
nationalized sport.

Immediately following the signing of the BNA, Canadian statesmen sought to consolidate the
newly formed Canadian State.¹⁰¹ Not only did the new Canadian State require geographic and political
consolidation, but also a consolidation of culture. Yet, at the time of Confederation, no defined solitary
Canadian identity existed on which to graft the idea of the national. This presented a serious limitation
to the expansion of the State. Nationalist theory during this period explicitly prescribed a unified
culture, represented through shared history, language, and race, as the foundation of the nation. The
State, as the political manifestation of the nation, ultimately rested upon that culture. The stronger the
national culture, or bonds creating the national, the stronger the state. Historian Derek Heater summed
up this attitude of late nineteenth-century nationalist theory: “If the state is founded on the will of the
sovereign people, the ‘people’ must be defined. Define the ‘people’ as the ‘nation’ in the ethnic sense
and it follows that the political state must be coterminous with the ethnic group. Add a dash of pride
and assertiveness to this mixture of nation-as-state-and-people and a pinch of resolution to overcome
all obstacles to the achievement of a united and free nation-state thus defined, and you have the
ideological concoction of nationalism.”¹⁰² Nineteenth-century Italian nationalist and theorist Giuseppe
Mazzini offered a compelling theory on the nation. He indicated the significance of unity while
attempting to unite the various cities and regions of Italy. Mazzini argued in 1832: “The word nation
represents unity; unity of principles, of aim, and of rights, alone can transform a multitude of men into a

¹⁰¹ For a thorough discussion of this process please refer to Chapter II.
homogeneous whole, a nation.” Mazzini, exiled from Italy due to his proclamations advocating violence to create the national Italy he desired, arrived in England and helped spread the idea of nationalism. Importantly, Mazzini influenced John Stuart Mill, who would formulate an English Liberal conception of nationalism. In Mill’s 1861 seminal work Considerations on Representative Government he outlined the need for unity for a nation, and consequently for the state. Mill proclaimed, “Free institutions are next to impossible in a country made up of different nationalities. Among a people without fellow-feeling, especially if they read and speak different languages, the united public opinion, necessary to the working of representative government, cannot exist. The influences which form opinions and decide political acts are different in the different sections of the country.” Canada in 1867 as a federation including both French and English races, stood in stark contrast to these influential theorists concerning nationality. Even more than race, culture, and history, language stood as the principal component needed to form a nationality. Johann von Herder, the originator of the theory of nationalism, argued “Without a common native tongue in which all classes are raised like branches of one tree there can be no true mutual understanding, no common patriotic development, no patriotic public.” Given these proclamations by the nineteenth-century’s leading theorists on nationalism, the Canadian national ideal at its outset required a cultural solution for this political problem.

Despite the strong consternations concerning the unfeasibility of creating a state founded not upon a solitary nationality, contemporary nationalist theory did offer an avenue for construction. John Stuart Mill offered a justification for a nationality based on sentiment, community, and shared interests beyond race, language, or history. Mill forwarded that “A portion of mankind may be said to constitute a Nationality if they are united among themselves by common sympathies which do not exist between

104 Heater, 30-31.
105 John Stuart Mill, Considerations on Representative Government (London, UK: Parker, Son, and Bourn, West Strand, 1861), 289.
them and any others – which make them co-operate with each other more willingly than with other people, desire to be under the same government, and desire that it should be government by themselves or a portion of themselves exclusively.”\textsuperscript{107} Contemporary States already provided tangible evidence that multi-racial, multi-linguistic, and multi-national polities could flourish. Mill explained that “Switzerland has a strong sentiment of nationality, though the cantons are of different races, different languages, and different religions. Sicily has, throughout history, felt itself quite distinct in nationality from Naples, notwithstanding identity of religion, almost identity of language, and a considerable amount of common historical antecedents. The Flemish and the Walloon provinces of Belgium, notwithstanding diversity of race and language, have a much greater feeling of common nationality than the former have with Holland, or the latter with France.”\textsuperscript{108} Mill himself did not believe that these States rested upon particularly strong conceptions of nationality, but nonetheless their existence proved that constructing a State project need not rely solely on one nationality. Yet, Canadian statesmen and nation builders did not want weak and loose bonds of sentiment only to hold together the Canadian State.

In the aftermath of Confederation, many Canadian patriots argued for a Canadian nationality and attempted to strengthen it. Similarly, many argued against the Canadian State precisely because it did not rest upon traditional concepts of nationality. Those who did attempt to construct a strong conception of Canadian nationality argued about the draw of sentiment. Canadian nationalist W.A. Foster argued precisely for the bonds of sentiment in fostering nationality.\textsuperscript{109} In his influential 1871

\textsuperscript{107} Mill, 287.
\textsuperscript{108} Ibid, 287-288.
pamphlet *Canada First; Or Our New Nationality*. Foster proclaimed “We may, perhaps, lay ourselves open to the charge of sentimentalism, but men die for sentiment and oftentimes sacrifice everything for an idea...There is a national heart which can be stirred to its depths; a national imagination that can be aroused to a fervent glow.” Canadian nationalist William Caniff, in an 1875 pamphlet entitled *Canadian Nationality: Its Growth and Development*, argued that Confederation represented the birth of Canadian nationality. He furthered his analogy of a family of provinces birthing a new country by arguing that “The day of birth is usually one of joy among the members of the household in domestic life; and should not joy have sprung into the hearts of all the inhabitants of the confederated provinces when the union was consummated? Was not the occasion sufficiently important to create a new feeling unlike any previous sentiment? They were no longer to be mere colonists, but to form a ‘new nationality.’” In opposition to Foster, Caniff, and their contemporaries stood those who believed Canada held no future national role. Goldwin Smith, in his 1877 pamphlet *The Political Destiny of Canada*, prophesized the national demise of Canada due to its lack of traditional nationalist features and in particular, through its weakness in forcing assimilation. He argued that “Confederation, so far, has done nothing to fuse the races, and very little even to unite the provinces.” In turn, this created a fractured polity, where sectionalism, religion, race, language, and other identifiers remained elevated over ideas of the national. The reasons for Confederation themselves led to this fractured reality.

110 Foster wrote the pamphlet in direct response to the disastrous Treaty of Washington in 1871 between the United States and Great Britain. To Canadians, that treaty granted too many concessions to the United States and did not enact enough in return, specifically for Canadian demands. Foster wrote the pamphlet arguing that Canadians needed to substitute a national feeling in place of the feeling of colonial inferiority to Great Britain. Furthermore, he demanded that Great Britain recognize this Canadian sentiment and respect it in future negotiations. Ibid. For discussion concerning the impact of the Treaty of Washington had on Canadian State development, please refer to Chapter II.

111 William Alexander Foster, *Canada First; or, Our New Nationality: An Address, by W.A. Foster* (Toronto ON: Adam, Stevenson & Co., 1871), 34.


113 Other early Canadian nationalists in this mold included Robert Grant Halliburton, Charles Mair, and George Taylor Denison III.

Smith continued “...first, that while a spontaneous confederation, such as groups of states, have formed under the pressure of common danger, develops mainly the principles of union, a confederation brought about by external influence is apt to develop the principles of antagonism, in at least an equal degree; and secondly, that parliamentary government in a dependency is, to a lamentable extent, government by faction and corruption, and then by superadding [sic] federal to provincial government the extent and virulence of those maladies increased.” For Smith, “The only conceivable basis for government in the New World is the national will; and the political problem of the New World is how to build a strong, stable, enlightened, and impartial government on that foundation.” Ultimately, if as Foster argued “The political machine must have a motive power; where shall we seek that power if not in the national character,” then for Smith, the answer must be the dissolution of that polity due to the absence of a national character. Canadian nationality evoked strong competing reactions amongst Canadian intellectuals in the decade following Confederation.

The fervour of Canadian nationalists to foment and engender a national character matched the outlook of the federal government during the period. In addition to enlarging the State apparatus through geographic and political consolidation, the Canadian government engaged in cultural consolidation to promote a national identity. Sport historian Kevin Wamsley argued that in order to mobilize abstract concepts such as nationalism and patriotism, the Canadian population needed to connect these notions to their daily experiences. To that end, the Canadian government promoted activities it deemed to support its conception of nationality, especially for cultural products. In the 1880s, the Canadian government created the Royal Canadian Academy and the Royal Society of Canada.

115 Ibid, 6.
116 Ibid, 16.
117 Foster, 35.
118 For a detailed and thorough discussion of the enlargement of the Canadian State please see Chapter II.
to encourage and stimulate national cultural life. Specifically, the Governor General, the Marquess of Lorne, initiated both national organizations. The Marquess hoped to both induce and celebrate a Canadian style of art when he proposed the creation of a national society for Canadian artists. Additionally, the Marquess recommended the creation of a Canadian literary and scientific society to stimulate those areas of Canadian cultural production. These efforts built upon previous Government sustained advancement of Canadian culture, notably through the sponsorship of installations at international exhibitions. Historian E.A. Heaman argued that Victorians of the mid and late periods judged themselves, their society, and their country based on their national reputation and showings garnered at various international exhibitions. In Canada, Heaman argued that early participation in the fairs “...initiated an enduring faith that the country has a national identity that the government can authoritatively decipher and set down.” This idea gained further authority given that the Canadian performances at these exhibitions mirrored the amount of money directly given to subsidize the displays. A lack of government funding assured a virtual absence of Canadian exhibitors. When the federal government produced concerted effort and funding for exhibitions, many Canadian exhibitors participated. These exhibitions promoted an image of Canadian nationality to both enhance Canada’s

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120 Smith, 57. Both Societies received immense public funding from the Federal Government. From 1882-1908, the Federal Government appropriated $88 166.28 to fund the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts and the Art Gallery of Canada. From 1882 to 1908 the Federal Government appropriated $115 761.19 to fund the Royal Society of Canada. Wamsley, 284-285.
121 James Noonan, Canada’s Governor General at Play: Culture and Rideau Hall from Monck to Grey, With an Afterword on their Successors, Connaught to LeBlanc (Ottawa, ON: Borealis Book Publishers, 2002) 121-122.
122 Ibid, 124-125. The importance of the Governor General creating national societies to promote native Canadian endeavours to develop national life is discussed with specific reference to Lord Stanley in Chapter VI.
123 Between 1867 and 1908, the Federal Government appropriated $2 626 398 to subsidize Canadian participation in International exhibits in France, England, Austria, Australia, Jamaica, Japan, Belgium, New Zealand, The United States of America, and Scotland. Wamsley, 274.
124 E.A. Heaman, The Inglorious Arts of Peace: Exhibitions in Canadian Society during the Nineteenth Century (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 3. The introduction of prizes awarded to the finest agricultural specimens and technical products differentiated exhibitions from fairs and markets. This element of competition, especially at the national level helped promote, buttress, and propagate national greatness. Ibid, 11.
125 Ibid, 142.
126 The Government declined to sponsor Canadian efforts for International Exhibitions held in Vienna and Paris in 1873 and 1889 respectively. As a result, the Canadian presence at these exhibitions lacked both quality and
international reputation and attract foreign immigrants. The funding of these exhibitions built upon Government subsidies for domestic Agricultural and Mechanics societies.\textsuperscript{127} In addition to funding and promoting these displays of Canadian national life, the Federal Government also stimulated sport activity that it believed to further promote, enhance, and engender Canadian national life.

As an important cornerstone of British identity, and of similar importance to a Canadian identity, sport offered an important means of both national distinction and differentiation. The competitive element inherent in the international exhibitions took influence from sporting practices, where awards celebrated achievement and distinction.\textsuperscript{128} International competition based upon sport doubly acted as a means of asserting national greatness. The Canadian Government mobilized in support of this idea when it financed and subsidized the competitive sport of Rifle Shooting across the Dominion. After Confederation and the withdrawal of British troops from the Dominion, the Canadian Government passed the Militia Act of 1868.\textsuperscript{129} Rifle shooting occupied an important position in the training of volunteer forces for the defence of the State. To stimulate this activity, the Federal Government created the Dominion Rifle Association (DRA) in 1868. The Association promoted the activity both through official financial subsidization and by providing prizes in organized shooting competitions.\textsuperscript{130} Wamsley argued that even though competitive rifle shooting resembled similar competition to team sports in the late nineteenth-century, it stood apart due to its essence as a purposive service to the military defence of the State.\textsuperscript{131} Yet, the competition between the sections of the Dominion did serve quantity. These exhibition showings greatly contrasted with Canadian participation at London and Paris in 1886 and 1900 respectively. By sinking hundreds of thousands of dollars into these exhibitions, the Canadian Government determined good showings by Canadian exhibitors. Ibid, 183.

\textsuperscript{127} Wamsley, 287-291.
\textsuperscript{128} Heaman, 12.
\textsuperscript{129} That Act stipulated rules of service for male volunteers and established military districts in Canada. Wamsley, 252.
\textsuperscript{130} The Dominion Rifle Association supplied targets, equipment, and rifles, and built rifle ranges across the Dominion. Ibid, 253.
\textsuperscript{131} Ibid, 254. Federal Funding further differentiated between rifle shooting and other competitive sports during this period. Historian William Hallett argued that from 1869 to 1961 the only Federal expense on sporting activity
the purpose of creating a national frame of mind. A 29 July 1885 article in the *Canadian Military Gazette* expressed such a purpose:

> Such meetings cannot do otherwise than engender a kindly feeling between the various sections of the Dominion as well as between individuals, and in the may keep up and strengthen the territorial and political links by which we are united together by means of that far stronger and more lasting bond on union – common hopes and aspirations, good fellowship, a firm and honest belief in the bright prospects of our young country, and a determination to uphold its honor and dignity when opportunity offers, a practical training for which is presented each year at the D.R.A.\(^{122}\)

Even interprovincial competition garnered feelings concerning the national ideal while simultaneously defending the State. International competition furthered stimulated national feelings through sporting practices.

International competition helped elevate provincialism in terms of identity to the national plane. Competitive rifle shooting did not receive unanimous support amongst Canadian politicians and militiamen.\(^{133}\) Yet, as Wamsley argued, “The support for such an undertaking [funding international competitive rifle shooting] would not be universal; but articulating the value of this enterprise in a manner that appeared to transcend cultural and regional differences was crucial to the efficiency of the process. The successful, yearly mobilization of participants across the Dominion required a cultural signifier of national pride from which all competitors could draw sustenance.”\(^{134}\) To achieve the nationalizing process, the DRA selected the best shooters from across the Dominion to compete as Canada’s National Rifle Shooting Team. The shooters on this team ‘won’ a selection to the team and free passage to Wimbledon in England to compete in the annual championships held there.\(^{135}\) This resulted from international competition. William Hallett, “A history of federal government involvement in the development of sport in Canada, 1943-1979,” PhD diss., University of Alberta, 1981, ProQuest (NK60330), 36. The funding given to the provinces via the Dominion Rifle Association thus furthered entrenched competitive rifle shooting as both a sporting activity and an activity to perpetuate Canadian defence. Between 1867 and 1908, the Federal Government appropriated $236 546.07 that it dispensed to local and provincial rifle associations. Wamsley, 256.

\(^{122}\) *Canadian Military Gazette*, July 29, 1886.

\(^{133}\) For greater detail on the opposition please refer to Wamsley, 257-262.

\(^{134}\) Ibid, 262-263.

\(^{135}\) Ibid.
process simultaneously promoted both Canada as a nation, and the practice of sport as a cultural product that could produce that nation. In 1872, the team sent to Wimbledon represented Canada’s first ‘national team’ in any sport competition. It also received funding from the Federal Government. These national teams expressed a maturity in nationhood for those statesmen and militia members who supported competitive rifle shooting.\(^{136}\) A 1 September 1885 article in the *Canadian Military Gazette* described the team as a source of national pride: “In sending here twenty riflemen every year to Wimbledon, Canada is doing much to encourage her militia at home. She is also doing much in this way to make Canada known abroad. The Canadian Wimbledon team can therefore claim to be a powerful and popular factor in the development of the Dominion it represents.”\(^{137}\) Importantly, the excerpt positioned the rifle team as influential in the development of the Dominion. Due to its connection with the military and defence, rifle shooting served the political purpose of consolidation after Confederation.\(^{138}\) During the period following Confederation, Canadian nation builders simultaneously nationalized culture and politics in the Dominion.

The cumulative effect of concurrent nationalization represented itself specifically in the promotion of Lacrosse as Canada’s national sport immediately post Confederation. Both sport promoters and politicians supported the notion of Lacrosse as Canada’s national sport. Montreal dentist, sport enthusiast, and Canadian nationalist Dr. George Beers proved central to the germination of the idea. In 1867, only months after Confederation, Beers orchestrated the creation of the National Lacrosse Association of Canada.\(^{139}\) Sport Historian Don Morrow argued that the institutionalization of lacrosse intensified directly after Confederation.\(^{140}\) In 1869, Beers published the influential book

\(^{136}\) Ibid, 267–268.  
\(^{137}\) *Canadian Military Gazette*, September 1, 1885.  
\(^{138}\) For a detailed discussion of the political nationalization of Canada, please refer to Chapter II.  
\(^{140}\) Morrow noted that this increased institutionalization of the game manifested out of a desire to standardize the game through crystallizing rules, codes of conduct, and eligibility of participants. Don Morrow, “The
*Lacrosse: The National Game of Canada.* Beers understood the importance of sport to the creation and maintenance of national identity. Furthermore, Lacrosse for Beers represented a nationalized sport, one in which participation induced patriotism and created Canadianess. He proclaimed: "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 favour 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." 141 Beers’ homage to ancient Greece and England highlighted his intended design to draw upon the historical legacy of associating sport with nationality. This historical association served as one avenue to legitimate sporting activity as a worthwhile social endeavour and cultural product. Beers argued for sport’s importance: “It was emphatically a sport, and brought out the very finest physical attributes of the finest made men in the world, - the impetuosity and vigor of a wild nature let loose; and compelled its votaries, in its intense exercise, to stretch every power to the greatest extreme.” 142 For Canada, Beers believed that Lacrosse, once understood as an important social activity, served to strengthen the Canadian State by promoting a Canadian nationality.

When Beers connected Canada and Lacrosse to England and Cricket as national sport forms, he internalized an important British conception concerning sport. Namely, that sport harboured national characteristics. Nevertheless, England and Great Britain did not unilaterally influence sport development in Canada. The role of the cultural bleed from the United States, in addition to the necessity of certain political forms on the North American continent, had an impact on Canadian sporting forms. The ability of Lacrosse to cure social ills, specifically those wrought through

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141 Ibid, 59.
142 Ibid, 9.
urbanization, represented a core incentive for Beers. He forwarded this as a major motivation to writing the book: “When I commenced the book I felt its completion would tend to much good, physically, mentally and morally, and assist the cause of rational recreation among the young men of Canada. The popularity of the game has popularized all healthy sports; and nothing, perhaps, has won more esteem for Lacrosse than its moral tendencies, and the necessity it involves of abstaining from habits, which are too often associated with other recreations.”\(^{143}\) Invoking the justifications of the social health movement, Beers not only wanted to popularize the sport of Lacrosse, but to normalize positive attitudes concerning sport in general. Sport Historian Nancy Bouchier argued that late nineteenth-century sport reformers in Canada crystallized the positive association of sport and character development. These reformers, according to Bouchier, stressed that “…games somehow build character, and, by extension, that sport is a potent vehicle for achieving and reinforcing certain social goals, and rectifying the physical and moral ills of society.”\(^ {144}\) In the United States, modern sport emerged in urban centres, as an urban phenomenon, in contrast to the pastoral development of English modern sport.\(^ {145}\) The moral value of sport, first accentuated through the Games Ethic and later through the theory of Athleticism, emerged in the early nineteenth-century in England.\(^ {146}\) Canada’s first promoted national sport encapsulated British ideologies but manifested through American means.

The sport of Lacrosse emerged out of the many netted stick and ball games of the Aboriginal tribes of North America.\(^ {147}\) Beers brought order and reason to these games by imposing rules and


\(^{145}\) For a detailed discussion of the emergence of modern sport in the United States and its connection to urbanism and its place in the emergent social health movement, please refer to Chapter III. For a detailed discussion on the pastoral roots of English modern sport, please refer to Chapter III.

\(^{146}\) For a detailed discussion of the Games Ethic, Athleticism, and the political theories of Thomas Arnold (Arnoldian) please refer to Chapter III.

\(^{147}\) Beers noted all of the variants of the game and identified the tribes associated with each description: “Originally, it [Lacrosse] bore different names; each tribe calling it “ball” in their own peculiar dialect. By the Iroquois it was called “Tehontshik8aheks;” by the Algonquins “Teiontseiksaheks;” by the Objiways “Baggataway,”
regulations, outlined in *Lacrosse: The National Game of Canada*. Specifically, he adapted the game to the urban environment.\textsuperscript{148} The Aboriginal game occurred at irregular times, on pitches of various sizes, competed in by teams of ever-changing numbers of participants, and over the course of several hours or even days.\textsuperscript{149} Additionally, the game carried with it great religious significance and participation in it satisfied ritualized spiritual fulfillment. The game also served practical ends in Aboriginal society including military preparedness, regulating economic distribution, and strengthening social cohesion.\textsuperscript{150}

In order to adapt the game for Anglo-Canadian consumption in the urban environment, Beers needed to expunge the irregularity of practice and the associated religiosity inherent in the game. Beers himself proclaimed, “When civilization tamed the manners and habits of the Indian, it reflected its modifying influence upon his amusements, and was Lacrosse gradually divested of its radical rudeness and brought to a more sober sport.”\textsuperscript{151} That gradual process for Lacrosse started in Montreal in 1856 with the formation of the Montreal Lacrosse Club (MLC). Further interest in the game spread when the MLC competed against an Aboriginal team from the Caughnawaga Reserve for the visiting Prince of Wales in 1860.\textsuperscript{152} Beers wrote *Lacrosse* to crystallize the rules but also to spread the game throughout the country. In the spring of 1867, only ten Lacrosse clubs existed, yet by the fall of that year the number of clubs had risen to eighty.\textsuperscript{153} By the 1880s, Lacrosse stood as perhaps the most popular team game in Canada, rivalled only by baseball.\textsuperscript{154} Beers, in explaining the growth in popularity of Lacrosse, indicated

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The crosse was called “Teionstikwahektawa” by the Iroquois, “Te88aa Naton” by the Algonquins; and by other tribes, names as euphonious and intelligible, sometimes as long as the stick itself.” Beers, 5-6. Beers included numbers in his description of variant names for lacrosse as part of his attempt to transliterate Aboriginal languages into English.

\textsuperscript{148} To accomplish this Beers established a standardized playing field size, a specific time limit for games, standardized rules including penalties, and also standardized equipment. Gillian Poulter, *Becoming native in a foreign land: sport, visual culture and identity in Montreal, 1840-85* (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2009), 119-120.

\textsuperscript{149} Ibid, 121.

\textsuperscript{150} Ibid, 137-138.

\textsuperscript{151} Beers, 32.

\textsuperscript{152} Poulter, 117.

\textsuperscript{153} This occurred largely as a result of Beers publishing the standardized rules in newspapers across the Dominion. Ibid, 118.

\textsuperscript{154} Morrow and Wamsley, 101.
the importance of the urban environment in shaping the games’ development. To adapt the rough Aboriginal game to suit the genteel urban personality, Beers needed to civilize the game. Beers commented: “The Indian’s old fierce baggatawy has shared the fate of the Indian himself in having become civilized almost out of recognition into a more humane sport. It has lost its wild and wanton delirium, and though restless under regulations, has become tamed into the most exciting and varied of all modern field sports.” The demands of the urban environment prescribed certain technical and regulatory adaptations upon Lacrosse. Yet most importantly, and certainly if Beers hoped his proclamation of Lacrosse representing the essence of Canadian nationality warranted merit, Lacrosse needed to reflect the social and political sensibilities of the athletic population in Canada’s urban centres, namely Canada’s middles classes.

In addition to the urban environment, Canadian sport development, and specifically nationalized sport development, depended upon another North American influence: the leadership of the middle classes. In North America specifically, the middle classes represented the vanguard of representative government, and championed its superiority against all other political systems. The creation and perpetuation of nationality primarily concerned that level of society in North America. Sport, as a creator, supplier, and generator of nationality served as one important avenue for the middle classes in North America to cement their ideas of nationality as the definitions of the nation. Historian John Lowerson argued that a real difference in attitude existed in the late Victorian period between the English middle classes and their North American counterparts concerning sport and its social

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156 In the United States, the urban middle classes steered the development of modernized sport and specifically created the concept of the nationalized sport of Baseball. In Great Britain, modern sport largely developed under the aegis of the landed aristocracy. Particularly, they stewarded the modernization of cricket and transformed it into a nationalized sport for England. For a detailed analysis of both processes, please refer to Chapter III.
157 Gillian Poulter described that the sport social clubs in Montreal acted as incubators for the growth of modern and eventually nationalized sport in Canada. The members of these clubs exclusively came from the commercial middle classes. Through these clubs, they cemented values of “...order and discipline, stamina and pluck, moral virtue and fair play...” and eventually “…coming to see themselves as members of a new nation with characteristics that differentiated themselves from the British and the Americans.” Poulter, 5.
importance. Specifically, the British middle classes refused to engage in sport for the pursuit of excellence, relying on their puritanical sense.\textsuperscript{158} They harangued American sportsmen, in particular in international rowing competition, about their disavowal of strict amateur concepts.\textsuperscript{159} Amateurism, as a crystallized concept, emerged in Great Britain the 1870s.\textsuperscript{160} Specifically, the amateur ideal defined the middle-class notion for the ideal athlete type for national development in Great Britain.\textsuperscript{161} In 1878, the first codified definition of an Amateur, drafted by the Henley Regatta Committee, read as follows

An amateur oarsmen or sculler must be an officer of her Majesty’s Army, or Navy, or Civil Service, a member of the Liberal professions, or of the Universities or Public Schools, or of any established boat or rowing club not containing mechanics or professionals; and must not have competed in any competition for either a stake, or money, or entrance fee, or with or against a professional for any prize; nor have ever taught, pursued, or assisted in the pursuit of athletic exercise of any kind as a means of livelihood, nor have ever been employed in or about boats, or in manual labour; nor be a mechanic, artisan, or labourer.\textsuperscript{162}

This definition implicitly stated that primarily members of the middle class, with the inclusion of a small number of aristocrats and the upper classes, belonged in the Amateur definition.

In the United States, the positive view of competition helped created a favourable view of professionalism before the concept of Amateurism migrated across the Atlantic. This resulted in part from the Classical Liberal economic outlook of Antebellum America which venerated and celebrated competition. Although Amateurism did find some root in the United States, it proved antithetical to the


\textsuperscript{159}Ibid, 161.

\textsuperscript{160}The Henley Crew from Oxford University promulgated their version of the code in the late 1870s. The code primarily served to distinguish amateur gentlemen from their working class counterparts. Thus, the amateur code in effect served as a class differentiation mechanism with the purpose of exclusion. Morrow and Wamsley, 65. Additionally, the code ennobled the reputation of the middle classes, elevating it towards their upper class contemporaries. Therefore, sport became a tool for the middle classes to not only to push down the lower sectors of society but also to reach upwards towards society’s highest strata.

\textsuperscript{161}Lowerson, 155.

values of modern Americans, namely the value of competition and the drive towards excellence.\textsuperscript{163}

Furthermore, the Amateur code produced cognitive dissonance concerning the middle class acceptance of the positive tenets of professionalism in the economic sphere. Sport historian Colin Howell poignantly highlighted that the contradiction resulted from class-consciousness, rather than philosophical consistency: “...while late nineteenth-century progressive reformers venerated professional expertise as necessary for the solution of the problems that accompanied capitalist development, they often regarded professionalism among sportsmen with distaste because of its working class associations.”\textsuperscript{164}

In Canada, both the influences of British strictness concerning Amateurism and the American embrace of athletic professionalism exerted tremendous pressure on Canadian ideals concerning identity and sport. Lowerson supported this notion of intense competition for the proper type of national identity engendered through sport in Canada. He argued that in the Dominions, the British notion of Amateurism produced even more tensions due to the ease of social fluidity in contrast to Great Britain.\textsuperscript{165} Therefore, in Canada, the battle of what identity sport should support, specifically in national terms, rested upon the vigilance of the urban middle classes.

The civilizing of lacrosse illustrated the importance of identity to the middle classes. George Beers connected the civilizing process to modernization. Concerning Lacrosse, he synthesized cultural superiority with national identity and the concept of the nationalized sport.\textsuperscript{166} By intimating that lacrosse still engendered an essence of wilderness, Beers simultaneously deposed the negative traits associated with the barbarity of Aboriginal leisure while appropriating important elements needed for a Canadian national identity expressed through sport. Beers continued, further enmeshing these concepts together, “The present game [Lacrosse], improved and reduced to rule by the whites, employs the

\textsuperscript{163} Adelman, 285-286.
\textsuperscript{164} Howell, 6.
\textsuperscript{165} Lowerson, 161.
\textsuperscript{166} Beers, 32.
greatest combination of physical and mental activity white man can sustain in recreation, and is as much superior to the original as civilization is to barbarism, base ball to its old English parent of rounders, or a pretty Canadian girl to any uncultivated squaw." Most important in this passage, Beers noted the superiority both of White to Aboriginal and of North America to old Europe. His claim of base balls superiority to rounders signified the importance attached to the modification of sport forms on the North American continent. Furthermore, by specifically mentioning base ball, then associated as America's national sport, Beers hoped to show the necessity of this modifying process to the creation of nationalized sport in North America. As a member of the commercial middle class in Canada, Beers' statements displayed the need not only to disassociate Lacrosse from its Aboriginal originators, but also to proclaim a new North American identity for the former British North American colonies. Given the strong political position of the middle class in the more democratic environment of North America, this differentiation illustrated the importance of political processes in determining nationality through sport.

Beers expunged all the negative Aboriginal associations surrounding Lacrosse, but maintained others he associated as positive. Specifically, Lacrosse needed to maintain a sense of hardiness and the wild. The environment, both political and geographic, necessitated Canadian adaptation of purely British sporting practices. Commenting on the nature of Canadian sports, Beers outlined this belief. He argued that "Canadian sports, however, have a character of their own. They smack more of the ungoverned and ungovernable than the games of the Old World, and seem to resent the impost of regulations. To their popularity and wide-spread indulgence we own the fellow-feeling which of late years has made public opinion so wondrous tolerant toward the whole kith and kin of honorable sportsmen." For Beers, by discussing the 'ungovernable' element of Canadian society, he invoked the political egalitarianism, ambition, and access to social mobility of the middle classes in North American

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167 Ibid, 32-33.
society. This political reality bore great weight upon Beers’ conception of identity through sport. The middle-classes in North America developed a sense of missionary zeal in ridding the negative elements of Old European society in their new world environment.\textsuperscript{169} Allan Smith argued that by the late nineteenth-century, “They [Anglo-Canadians] came to view themselves not as the agent of an Old World culture charged with civilizing the New, but as beings uplifted and restored by their New World environment whose duty it was to regenerate the Old.”\textsuperscript{170} The civilizing of Lacrosse illustrated one example of this process in action.

In addition to supplementing the political nature of Canadian society, Beers promoted the game internationally to supplement a political necessity of the new Canadian State; immigration. Beers took two teams, one composed of White Anglo-Canadians the other composed of Aboriginal players, on tours on the British Isles in 1876, 1883, and 1888.\textsuperscript{171} The 1876 tour did not harbour the explicit goal of promoting immigration as the latter two did. Morrow and Wamsley categorized the 1883 tour as “...a state-driven propaganda campaign that used lacrosse as the delivery system.”\textsuperscript{172} The Governor General, the Marquess of Lansdowne, bankrolled both of Beers’ tours in the 1880s. This funding and elite sanction added further legitimacy to the sport as representative of Canadian national identity and indicated state support from the highest political representative in the Dominion.\textsuperscript{173} Federal Member of Parliament, Dr. C.E. Hickey, accompanied the team in 1883, lending further State sanction. Additionally,

\textsuperscript{169} Scholar Allan Smith identified the root of this idea in the puritanical English colonists of the 17\textsuperscript{th} century, primarily through the person of John Winthrop. That idea grew stronger in North America as the Western world underwent seismic political upheaval in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Anglo-Canadians came to view themselves as the guardians of traditional British constitutionalism, and hope to expunge both the historic aristocratic and emergent socialist elements which perverted British politics. Smith, 27-31.

\textsuperscript{170} Ibid, 31.

\textsuperscript{171} Morrow and Wamsley noted the first international tour of Lacrosse occurred in 1867, but it did not have any nationalistic purpose attached to it. Another tour, partially orchestrated by Beers, occurred in 1876 and carried some nationalistic weight. Immigration and promotion of Canada served as partial motivation for that tour. Beers did explicitly hope to promote Lacrosse as a nationalist symbol of Canada to the British spectators in hopes of engendering positive feelings towards the Dominion. Morrow and Wamsley, 87-89.

\textsuperscript{172} Ibid, 89.

\textsuperscript{173} Hallett, 25-26.
the team received printed materials from the Federal Government to distribute to British persons throughout their travels.174 The Department of Agriculture noted the role of the Lacrosse team in 1883 in promoting the State’s goal of increased immigration and profile for Canada in their annual report. The report noted that

They [Canadian Lacrosse Team] travelled in every part of the United Kingdom, and played their interesting game at nearly all the principal cities. They took the opportunity not only of conversing with the people they met, who desired to have the advantages of a personal conversation, but distributed an immense quantity of valuable printed material, and constructed a large correspondence, which must redound to the advantage of the Dominion. Dr. Beers and the other gentlemen connected with the matter, were indefatigable in their exertions to make a success, not only the athletic portion of their mission, but also of that patriotic idea with which the whole team were imbied, of helping it bring the country into prominence.175

The juxtaposition of a White Anglo-Canadian team against an assembly of Aboriginal participants further extended the goals of promoting the Canadian State. By displaying the Aboriginal inhabitants of Canada as subjugated, politically through State expansion and conquest and culturally through the appropriation of their customs and practices, the Lacrosse tours communicated the modernity of Canada and its civilizing success. The Lacrosse tours reinforced the middle-class conceptions that underscored the drive to cement Lacrosse as a national identity marker for Canada.176

The story of Beers’ drive to cement Lacrosse as Canada’s national sport illustrated the British and American influences on nationalized sport development in Canada. The game blended urban and

174 According to Morrow and Wamsley, “With the unprecedented co-operation and financial support of the federal Department of Agriculture, team members distributed 150,000 immigration flyers certified by the Governor-General, and a total of 120 cases, each weighing 660 kilograms, containing copies of a special supplement of the Canadian Illustrated News that described Canada’s resources in words and pictures.” Morrow and Wamsley, 89.
pastoral environments. In Canada, modern sport surfaced in Montreal in the mid nineteenth-century. Similar to modern sport development in the United States, sport reformers argued that sport served to cure both social and physical illness in the urban environment. In Canada, modern sport gained legitimacy through this argumentation. For George Beers, “...the objects of all such [modern] sports should be - that is, the healthy, active exercise of every part of the body, intermittent amusement, infinite variety to stimulate young players to keep at it till they learn, and old ones not to give it up – what other game compares to Lacrosse?” The game not only trained sedentary and sickly urban bodies, but also distanced participants from alternative urban leisure activities of ill repute. At the root of this urban regeneration through sport lay the influence of the British field. In order to recapture the essence of pastoral rural society, urban reformers attempted to recreate the lessons wrought from the field to the urban environment. Colin Howell outlined how changing medical philosophies elevated the rural as natural and a necessary component to mediate the unnatural urban environment. In the North American urban environment, sport modernization in effect sought to return to the roots of modernized sport, the fields of Great Britain. Given that Canada experienced industrialism and urbanization later than its American neighbour, it took its cues on how to mediate between the urban and rural from American sport modernizers. British sport modernizers provided the idea while America sport modernizers provided the form for Canadian modern sport.

In North America, the pioneering experience produced a sense of hardiness amongst the population. This directly contrasted with the genteel environment of the English aristocratic countryside.

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177 English nationalized sport emerged in the pastoral countryside while American nationalized sport emerged in urban centres.
178 The first sports clubs and venues appeared in Montreal including the Montreal Curling Club (1807), the first Cricket and Hunt Clubs (1820s), the first Lacrosse demonstration (1834), the Montreal Olympic Games (1844), the first specialized sporting facilities (1840s-1850s), the first Lacrosse Club (1856), and the first Golf Club (1873). Furthermore, as Canada’s first industrial centre, Montreal typified the experiences of Canada’s other urban centres thus prescribing the development of sport across Canada’s urban landscape. Metcalfe, 22.
where Cricket emerged. For sport to define accurately a North American nationality, it necessitated a link to this hardiness.\(^{181}\) The civilized version of Lacrosse, both as a partially indigenous sport and one that relied upon brute physicality, fulfilled this necessary component.\(^{182}\) Michael Robidoux argued that the violent physicality of Lacrosse appealed to Canadian men due to its associations with a ‘rough’ definition of masculinity.\(^{183}\) After Confederation, Canadian nationalists increasingly viewed their rough environment and the amalgam of hardy northern races in that environment as a unique source of nationality.\(^{184}\) George Beers echoed these sentiments: “I think the Canadians well typify the hardiness of northern races; and nothing has perhaps helped more to form the physique of the people than the instinctive love for out-door life and exercise in the bracing spring, winter and fall of the year. The spirit of sport is born in the blood as well as nourished by the clime.”\(^{185}\) By appropriating the reputation of the physically superior aboriginal through the civilizing of Lacrosse, Beers managed to preserve the hardiness element needed to define a Canadian nationality upon North American conceptions of masculinity.

Despite the American influence of hardiness, the British sensibility concerning the motivation to participate in sport remained strong in Canada. Specifically, the British sporting philosophy of Amateurism remained a heavy influence on the development of Canadian nationalized sport, in particular on Lacrosse. For Beers, “To be a good player, too, he must learn to control temper under the most trying provocations, cultivate courage, self-reliance, perseverance; and, above all, learn by heart and practise in conscience that beautiful verse of Thackeray’s – “Who misses or who wins the prize./ Go,

\(^{181}\) In the United States, baseball emerged as the national sport in part because it provided the most complete amount of physical development, as compared to other sports. By training all the body’s muscles, baseball presented a physical challenge than Cricket. Furthermore, the excitement engendered by baseball’s relatively fast play further lent credence to its difficulty. Ibid, 29-30.

\(^{182}\) Indigenous in this respect refers to its Canadian aboriginal roots.


\(^{185}\) Beers, Over the Snow or the Montreal Carnival, 13.
lose or conquer as you can,/But if you fail, or if you rise,/ Be each, pray God, a gentleman,”\textsuperscript{186} The importance of maintaining the gentlemanly code of amateurism remained paramount for Lacrosse enthusiasts. Allan Metcalfe argued that contemporaries believed that the insistence to keep lacrosse regulated by a strict amateur code sealed its fate as the permanent national game of Canada. Additionally he argued that “They [lacrosse promoters] failed to recognize that the emergence of industrial capitalism had changed society and that the ideology of a small, select social group was inappropriate to a new society where victory and money were the most sought-after rewards.”\textsuperscript{187} By remaining loyal to the strict British amateur code, Canadian sport reformers shunned the advance of professionalism in sport. Canadian national sport in its first iteration illuminated the influences of both British and American nationalized sport.

**Summary: Political Thought and Canadian Nationalized Sport**

The creation of the first nationalized sport in Canada occurred alongside the nationalization of Canadian political life after Confederation. A larger shift in Anglo political thought in the mid-nineteenth-century undergirded the process of political nationalization. The elevation of the collective over the individual in liberal thought elevated the status of the national. Supported by new theories on science, new methods of approaching social problems, and new values on the State and its positive role in affecting social change, this transition from Classic to New Liberalism, Collective Liberalism, and eventually to Progressivism dominated the final decades of the nineteenth-century and unleashed itself in the first decades of the twentieth century. As a cornerstone of national identity, sport became a tool for defining, strengthening, and celebrating the idea of the national collective.


\textsuperscript{187} Metcalfe, 218.
The concept of social utility greatly determined the changes in liberal thought in the mid to late nineteenth-century. Intellectual historian Michael Freeden highlighted the convergence of philosophy, religion, science, social, and political thought in attempting to solve the ‘social problem’ of the later nineteenth-century. The interdependence of knowledge from different fields categorized nineteenth-century English political thought. New scientific theories and discoveries, in particular the new scientific theory of evolution, overturned conventional wisdom concerning human nature. Coupled with new field techniques in measurement, these changes bled into the social realm. The new discipline of sociology attempted to incorporate a scientific approach to understand social organizations. This new approach combined with Utilitarian political philosophy, understood as the greatest amount of happiness for the greatest amount of peoples, produced a powerful new political ideology. To activate these scientifically-based social solutions to better the lives of the majority, liberal thought disregarded its focus on individual protection and substituted promotion of the collective good. It instead merged the interests of the individual with that of society. The classical Liberal fear of State aggrandizement faded. Traditionally, Liberal intellectuals despised strong state authority due to its propensity to transgress against a minority of individuals at the behest of the larger majority. The New Liberalism disregarded this fear, substituting the Utilitarian ethic in its place. Freeden explained “Individuality thus replaced Individualism, and be regarded a socially rooted individuality as the main attribute of human welfare, social reformers crucially complemented the previous liberal stress on liberty.”

Underneath the nationalizing tendency lay a fundamental shift in the understanding of the individual, the social, the state, and thus the national. As a process by which individuals acquired collective identity attributes, nationalized sport served as an important reinforcement of this ideological

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191 Ibid, 23.
transformation. Any activity that produced collective identity characteristics in the national mold supported the State. The now positive view of State activity in social and economic life to promote ‘the common good’ necessitated the collectivization of individuals. One national character type, promoted through specific nationalist activities and strengthened through collective conceptions of a national community, followed. Paramount to this relationship stood the transformation of ideas. Intellectual historian Crane Brinton opined that “If ideas really do influence the crowd, it is only after they have been transformed into symbols, rituals, stereotypes.” Sport served as one of these important rituals, to reinforce stereotypes. This chapter discussed both rituals and stereotypes in the sporting arena from which nationalist ideologies flowed. As the creator and donator of perhaps the strongest nationalist symbol for Canadian identity engendered through Canadian sport, the Stanley Cup, Governor General Lord Stanley participated in this process. As a conscientious politician and sportsmen, Stanley entered Canada during the height of this transformation in Liberal thought. It is imperative to understand what he believed about political ideology, practical governance, and the role of sport in society in order to identify accurately the donation of the Stanley Cup as an important political act of nation-building.

192 Brinton, 3.
Chapter V
Lord’s Stanley’s Political Career in Great Britain

To ascertain Frederick Arthur Stanley’s political philosophy requires an examination beyond his own actions as a politician. To understand his political motivations, before he arrived in Canada in 1888, necessitates an understanding both of the changes in political thought in his own time, but also in the time of his father, Edward Geoffrey Stanley. Both Stanleys subscribed to the doctrines of nineteenth-century British Conservatism, but neither were doctrinaire. Each pursued independent ideologies that incorporated Liberal elements. What differentiated their views resulted from the nature of Liberalism during their political careers. For Edward Geoffrey, whose political career stretched from 1820 to 1868, the ideas associated with Classical Liberalism represented the mainstream of Liberal political thought.¹ During Frederick Arthur’s political career, stretching from 1865 to 1893, Classical Liberalism receded, giving way to New Liberalism, Collective Liberalism, or Progressivism.² Frederick incorporated elements of the New Liberalism, into his political ideology. Specifically he intoned a Progressive political stance on the issue of Imperialism, of which New Liberals endorsed the rejection of Classical Liberal non-interventionism and anti-imperialism. His acceptance and promotion of the move towards an Imperial

¹ The encyclopaedia of Libertarianism defines Classical Liberalism as follows: “Liberalism is a political ideology distinguishable from other ideologies by its assignment of a much greater political importance and value to human liberty, understood as a condition of being subject to as few constraints and restraints imposed by others as possible… Liberalism only acquired its name in the early 19th century, well over a century after the ideology began to take shape. Classical liberalism is the original version of the ideology. It received its qualifying adjective only in relatively recent times from the felt need to distinguish the original version from later forms of liberalism that differ from it significantly.” David Conway, Encyclopaedia of Libertarianism, “Liberalism, Classical,” last modified in 2008, http://knowledge.sagepub.com.proxy1.lib.uwo.ca/view/libertarianism/n179.xml, accessed May 5, 2015.

² New Liberalism redefined the relationship between the individual and the state in a fundamental fashion. The Encyclopaedia of Political Theory delivered this description: “More fundamentally, a shift was arising in ways of conceptualizing the state and society, to which new liberalism was a political response. Older conceptualizations of the state as reactively regulative of the spontaneous lives of its citizens…were facing explicit challenges from idealist social thought… The state and its citizens were part of a moral or organic unity, “society.” In particular, society was a unity in which governments and “successful” citizens had the (hitherto neglected) power through social action to constitute, and thereby enhance and not merely regulate, the social, moral, and material lives of the poor.” John offer, Encyclopaedia of Political Theory, “New Liberalism,” last modified in 2010, http://knowledge.sagepub.com.proxy1.lib.uwo.ca/view/politicaltheory/n313.xml?rskey=YyOOGd &row=1, accessed May 5, 2015.
Federation highlighted his Progressive tendencies. Using the British Parliamentary Record *Hansard*, along with documents found in the personal archives of both Stanleys in Liverpool, the political careers of Edward Geoffrey and his son Frederick illuminate the transformation in Liberal Political thought.

**Frederick Arthur Stanley: Early Life**

To help understand Frederick Stanley’s political and sporting ideologies, the environment in which he was born into necessitates discussion. Frederick Stanley was born on 15 January 1841, the youngest child to the 14th Earl of Derby, Edward Geoffrey Stanley, and his wife Emma. As one of England’s oldest noble families, the Stanleys occupied a prestigious pedestal in English political life. English Historian and 17th Earl of Derby biographer Randolph S. Churchill argued that “...no other English family can show a longer record of public activity and public service than the Stanleys. None has exercised political power and influence for so many centuries.” Frederick himself was born mere steps from Buckingham Palace at his father’s residence at 10 St. James Square in Westminster. As Edward Geoffrey Stanley’s youngest child, Frederick followed the example of his father and his older brother, Edward Henry Stanley. As heirs to both immense economic fortune and political influence, the two sons of the 14th Earl of Derby continued the strong traditions of the Stanley family. Edward Henry followed his father into national politics and assumed the family’s title upon Edward Geoffrey’s death in 1868, becoming the 15th Earl of Derby. Edward Geoffrey stood as a political, cultural, and sporting leader in

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4 The title afforded to the Stanleys, that of the Earldom of Derby, at their estate in Knowsley, Prescott in Merseyside in Lancashire County close to modern day Liverpool, stretched back to the fifteenth century. For a thorough recantation of Stanley noble activity from the fifteenth to the late eighteenth century, see Shea and Wilson, 6-8. Historian Angus Hawkins provided further discussion of the Stanley family roots, tracing back to the Norman conquests of the eleventh century, Angus Hawkins, *The Forgotten Prime Minister: The 14th Earl of Derby, Vol 1 Ascent: 1791-1851* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2007), 7. For a map showing the location of Knowsley and an illustration of Knowsley Hall in 1880, please refer to Appendices 3.10-3.12
6 Shea and Wilson, 32.
the early and mid nineteenth-century in Great Britain. A contemporary obituary in 1869 summed up his immense lineage that intimated his success in both politics and sports.

“No family in the British Empire can show a more flourishing genealogical tree that that of Edward Geoffrey, fourteenth Earl of Derby...It is, however, something that in the long line of his ancestry there is a unwonted number of strongly-marked men. The Earls of Derby were physically of the best breed in the country – firm of fibre, full of animal vigour, healthy, and long-lived. Mentally they were strong-willed, high-mettled, lovers of the fray, generous, chivalrous, humorous, balancing their genial instincts with plenty of pride, taming their fiery spirit with a remarkable wariness, often original, sometimes peculiar, and affecting to stand fast by their motto – Sans changer.”

Frederick, as heir to this legacy pursued both political and sporting interests, following the direct path of his father. Of great importance, the political example of his father greatly influenced the political ideology of Frederick. Importantly, their careers highlighted the changes in English liberal political thought.

The politics of the 14th Earl of Derby

Edward Geoffrey Stanley achieved a long and distinguished political career, one suited to his noble lineage. He became the first British Statesman to serve three times as Prime Minister. He led Parliament in 1852, from 1858-1859, and from 1866-1868. Additionally, he still holds the record for longest serving Party Leader for modern British politicians. He led the Conservative Party from 1846-1868. Born on 29 March 1799 at Knowsley Hall in Lancashire, aristocracy, land, and evangelical Protestantism shaped Edward’s formal years. Edward’s biographer Angus Hawkins argued that “The responsibilities of the aristocracy, the importance of property to the order and prosperity of the nation, and the necessity of scriptural morality to social harmony and public service provided the cornerstones of his [Edward Stanley’s] life.” Edward received his formal education at Eton Public School and

7 “Lord Derby,” The Times, October 25, 1869.
8 For a detailed discussion of Frederick’s sporting ideology and its association to his political beliefs please refer to Chapter VI.
9 Edward Geoffrey is referred to in this section of the Chapter as “Stanley”
10 Hawkins, 1.
11 Ibid, 6.
Christchurch College at Oxford University.\textsuperscript{12} He held great promise when he entered public life. In 1822, at age twenty-one, he stood as the Whig candidate and won election to Parliament in the borough of Stockbridge.\textsuperscript{13} His obituary claimed “It has been said of him [Edward Stanley] that he was the only brilliant eldest son produced by the British Peerage for a hundred years. This is an exaggeration, but there can be no doubt as to the exceptional character of his abilities, and as to the brilliancy of the promise with which his friends regarded him.”\textsuperscript{14} Stanley entered into a political apprenticeship of sorts under the guidance of the Third Marquess of Lansdowne at his estate in Bowood after his education at Christchurch. Here, Stanley learnt the key tenants of Whig philosophy.\textsuperscript{15} Political Historian H.S. Jones succinctly packaged early nineteenth-century Whig philosophy. He commented that “As a tradition of political thought, Whiggism characteristically sought protection for liberty in a mixed constitution in which different powers and social forces counterbalanced each other...Whig arguments typically rested on history.”\textsuperscript{16} Stanley internalized the teachings of Edmund Burke that a successful statesman held a “disposition to preserve and the ability to improve.”\textsuperscript{17} Combined with Whiggish conceptions of liberty safeguarded through parliament and the rule of law, Stanley conceived of proper governance in a traditional Whiggish framework. The social responsibility of the aristocratic segment of English society held great importance to discerning Stanley’s political beliefs. Political office represented an obligation to Stanley, a noble of a high-ranking family. The Whig belief in counterbalancing forces necessitated Aristocratic humility in political service. Stanley could not be seen to be publicly ambitious in any

\begin{flushleft}\textsuperscript{12} According to Hawkins, Christchurch College at the time “acquired a formidable reputation as the foremost Oxford College for intellectual rigour, producing capable and educated leaders for Church and State.” Ibid, 19. \\
\textsuperscript{13} Ibid, 29-30. \\
\textsuperscript{14} “Lord Derby,” The Times, October 25, 1869. \\
\textsuperscript{15} Hawkins, 22-24. Lansdowne instructed Stanley in Whig historical revisionism. That new historiographic tradition argued that the protection of liberties in England resulted from the historical evolution of Parliament. Thus, Stanley internalized the notion of the organic growth of liberty over time, and due to circumstance, in opposition to a priori declarations of liberty emphasized in the American and French Revolutions of the eighteenth century. Lansdowne also instructed Stanley to learn from the leaders of the Scottish enlightenment, notably Edmund Burke and Adam Smith. Ibid, 24-28. \\
\textsuperscript{17} Hawkins, 26. \end{flushleft}
political matter. In order to truly understand Edward Geoffrey Stanley's political beliefs, his actions as a politician deserve greater attention and serve to buttress the lack of public statements of his own ambitions.

Three actions in particular animated Edward Geoffrey Stanley's political beliefs. First, in 1832, he successfully engineered the establishment of State-funded public education in Ireland. Second, in 1833, he championed the abolition of Slavery within the British Empire. Finally, he advocated Parliamentary reform, supported it in the 1832, and drove it in 1867. These actions exemplified Stanley's core Whig values. The small incremental improvement in liberties, guided by constitutional and parliamentary actions, did not endanger the established hierarchy. In some cases such improvements enforced it.

Stanley entered the Cabinet in 1830 when the Whig party ascended to power under Prime Minister Lord Grey. His position as Chief Secretary of Ireland resulted from his increased attention to the situation of religious plurality in Ireland. Specifically, he addressed the question of State-funded religion. His Whig sensibilities drove him to support the National Church of Ireland. On 6 May 1824, he remarked, in opposition to David Hume in the House of Commons, that "The established church of Ireland, should either be supported, or given up altogether." The Act of Union in 1801, which created the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, thrust English politicians squarely into Irish political

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18 Ibid, 3.
19 Economist and philosopher Ludwig von Mises argued that "History is the record of human actions. It establishes the fact that men, inspired by definite ideas, made definite judgments of value, chose definite ends, and resorted to definite means in order to attain the ends chosen, and it deals furthermore with the outcome of their actions, the state of affairs the action brought about." Ludwig von Mises, The Ultimate Foundation of Economic Science: An Essay on Method (Princeton, NJ: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1962), 45. Therefore, actions serve as a legitimate avenue to discern ideas.
20 Hawkins, 5.
21 Shea and Wilson, 10.
23 11 Parl. Deb. (2nd ser.)(1824) 560. This referenced the fact that Catholics totalled approximately 7/8ths of the Irish population and yet still paid a tax to support the official Anglican Church of Ireland, representing the Protestant Minority. Hawkins, 75.
and religious diversions. Stanley, in his Cabinet position, wrote a letter in 1831 famously known as the “Stanley Letter”. He preached a solution to appease the religious factions concerning State-funded private education. Historian Donald Akenson argued that Stanley “… was converting the ideas of the Irish educational consensus into the Irish national system of education.” Stanley suggested a National Board of Education comprised of Catholic, Protestant, and Anglican members. All children, regardless of religious denomination, would attend the same schools, receive the same secular education, but retire for separate religious education according to their religiosity. Eventually, as a compromise, a non-sectarian Christian liturgy formed the basis of religious education in these schools. The establishment of a National Irish School for primary education illustrated Stanley’s fundamental Whig approach to reform. In a 4 January 1831 letter to Lord Melbourne, Stanley commented on the sensitivity of Irish reform in general. He stated, “I am sure we had better incur the censure of being slow in our proceedings however unjustly, than bring forward hastily ill-digested measures.” Stanley induced reform that he believed best upheld the rights of the establishment Church and the State, while simultaneously extending educational rights to the working and common classes.

That formula also prescribed Stanley’s outlook to the abolition of the institution of Slavery. After serving as Chief Secretary of Ireland, Stanley demanded a promotion. Prime Minister Grey appointed Stanley to the head of the Colonial Office in April 1833. Stanley privately abhorred slavery,

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24 The religious battles between Irish Catholics and Protestants exacerbated the social and political gulf between renter and landowner. Catholic populist leader Daniel O’Connell capitalized on these divisions, creating a radical Catholic populist movement against Unionism. Hawkins, 74-75.
26 Hawkins, 94.
27 Hawkins succinctly stated Stanley’s Whiggish method of reform commenting, “Whigs were committed to responsible reform within a setting of social stability, progress being secured through timely political recognition of advancing social interests, standing on the bedrock of established legal authority and property rights.” Ibid, 75.
29 Stanley’s education scheme funded through the State built new schools, commissioned school textbooks, appointed school inspectors, and established a teacher training school in Dublin. By 1835, the National Education Board had 1106 schools with 145,521 pupils under its authority. Hawkins, 126.
and assumed a position to influence its demise in the British Empire just as public and political pressure concerning abolition and emancipation converged. Stanley published his plan for abolition and emancipation on 11 May 1833 in *The Times*. The plan reflected his Whiggish penchant for slow and calculated reform over revolutionary action. The plan called for the emancipation of Negro slaves into the status of indentured servants for a stipulated period before they could attain full liberty. Furthermore, the plan set aside fifteen million pounds to compensate the slave owners for the loss of their property. Stanley hoped his plan would provide a compromise between fervent abolitionists in Britain and those with Colonial interests in the West Indies. In a 14 May 1833 speech in the House of Commons given on alterations to this initial design, Stanley indicated his desire to act as mediator. He proclaimed

> They leave us only the choice of doing some good at the least risk of effecting evil. We are called upon to legislate between two conflicting parties—one deeply involved by pecuniary interests—involved, moreover, in difficulties of the most pressing character—difficulties which are now present, and are constantly increasing; the other deeply involved by their feelings and their opinions, representing a growing determination on the part of the people of this country to put an end to slavery, which no one can deny or wisely despise—a determination the more absolute, and the less resistible, because founded in sincere religious feelings, and in a solemn conviction that things wrong in principle cannot be good in practice; and that determination is expressed in a voice so potential, that no Minister can venture to disregard it.

By 11 June 1833, an increase in capital loaned to the former slaveholders from fifteen to twenty million pounds and a reduction in the length of indentured servitude from twelve to seven years produced a

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31 Specifically, the plan granted one quarter of the indentured servants work paid in wages while the other three quarters, they worked directly for the Master. The plan also gave the servants freedom to extract wages or resources from their master, thus training them for full liberty. Additionally, all slave children under the age of six remained property of their parents and not of their masters. Importantly, Stanley’s plan removed the legitimacy of corporal punishment from the master, granting that level of punishment solely to the Colonial Magistrate. “Slavery Emancipation,” *The Times*, May 11, 1833.

32 Ibid.

33 Hawkins, 130.

34 17 Parl. Deb (3rd ser.)(1833) 1194-1195.
sufficient majority in the Commons to table an Abolition of Slavery Bill.\textsuperscript{35} Again, Stanley’s recipe for reform legitimated both the established order while extending liberties to the lowest strata of society. Through recompense for emancipated property and retention of labour through indentured servitude, Stanley reaffirmed the structure of law, property, and order. Weaning former slaves into full liberty through indentured servitude coupled with increasing rights over property effectively trained them for civilized life. Stanley also hoped to contain outbreaks of violence both from the slaves as retribution or in the form of political demagoguery and tyranny.

Mediated and gradual reform defined Edward Geoffrey Stanley’s approach in politics. He split with the Whig Party in the mid-1830s due to the increasing radicalization of that Party’s approach. As a lone dissenter amongst the Whigs in reducing and redistributing church revenues in Ireland, Stanley displayed his independence of thought and conviction of political principles.\textsuperscript{36} Stanley joined the newly created Conservative Party in 1841, agreeing to serve as Colonial Secretary under Prime Minister Robert Peel.\textsuperscript{37} In 1844, Stanley received a promotion to the House of Lords, assuming the title Lord Stanley of Bickerstaffe. Again, he displayed his independence by removing himself from the Government in 1845 after Peel’s government repealed the Corn Laws.\textsuperscript{38} This fissure in the party led to Stanley taking a majority of the Conservative Members, including a young Benjamin Disraeli, with him in the protectionist wing of the Conservative Party. William Gladstone succeeded Stanley in the Colonial

\textsuperscript{35} Hawkins, 130.
\textsuperscript{36} On 6 May 1824 in the House of Commons, Stanley ascribed to a principle that an attack on Church property left open the future attack upon commercial, landed, and funded property. 11 Parl. Deb (2\textsuperscript{nd} ser.)(1824) 560. One decade later he left his party as the lone dissenter clinging to this principle. Shea and Wilson, 12-13.
\textsuperscript{37} Centrist Tories, those who did not place Royal agency above Parliamentary action, believed in the strengthening of established churches to cement social hierarchy. Thus, they conformed to Stanley’s Whiggish belief in the importance of counterbalancing social forces, represented by social hierarchy, to induce social harmony. Stewart Brown, Providence and Empire: Religion, Politics, and Society in the United Kingdom 1815-1914, Religion, Politics, and Society in Britain, ed Keith Robbins (Harlow, UK: Pearson Education Limited, 2008), 47.
\textsuperscript{38} As a staunch protectionist, Stanley could not condone an official position on Free Trade. Perhaps this was due to his interest as a British Landholder, one whose assets were protected through official Protectionists agricultural policies. Regardless, Stanley once again displayed consistency of principle over partisan loyalty, highlighting his staunch political convictions and deeply held beliefs. Shea and Wilson, 14-15.
Officer and eventually cobbled together a coalition of free traders, Whigs, and radicals to form the Liberal Party. In 1852, Stanley successfully formed his first Government, serving as Prime Minister from 23 February to 18 December of that year. In 1858, Stanley formed his second Government after Lord Palmerston resigned. Stanley, committed to Parliamentary Reform, attempted to pass a Reform Bill in 1859, but his Government fell in a non-confidence vote and Stanley resigned. Stanley again ascended to power in 1867, this time bent upon furthering his goal of reforming parliament. This time, as in 1832, his efforts proved successful.

The ambition to institute measures of Parliamentary Reform dated back in the Stanley family to the 12th Earl of Derby. He embraced the idea during his time in the House of Lords in the late-eighteenth century. The purpose of Parliamentary Reform, in both 1832 and 1867, was to extend suffrage to those with property or who contributed taxes. In essence, reform advocates sought to democratize the English parliamentary system. Stanley’s conception of reform confirmed his Whiggish philosophy. His nineteenth-century biographer, George Saintsbury, described Stanley’s outlook on reform measures of the early 1830s: “He [Stanley] thought the influence of the aristocracy would be upheld rather than undermined...he was quite sure that it was not in the least revolutionary; he thought the new voters would simply be estated [enfranchised] in rights which belonged to them in virtue of

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39 Ibid.
40 Stanley found it difficult to form a majority in the Commons due to the reservation of Peelite Conservatives to embrace the Stanley-Disraeli coalition. His first government fell to a coalition of Whigs and Peelites under the leadership of Lord Aberdeen. Ibid, 16.
42 Ibid, 118-122.
43 In 1780, the 12th Earl of Derby co-founded Fox’s Westminster committee and alongside Radicals began proposing reform. Hawkins, 11.
44 Gertrude Himmelfarb, “The Politics of Democracy: The English Reform Act of 1867,” Journal of British Studies, 6, no.1 (1966): 97. Himmelfarb argued that the 1867 Reform Act held greater legacy in extending suffrage, yet Edward Geoffrey Stanley’s nineteenth century biographer George Saintsbury argued that the 1832 Reform Act “...changed the whole idea of the English Constitution, and from which all date a new era of English political history.” Sainsbury, 22. Thus, for some of Stanley’s contemporaries, 1867 merely confirmed the essence of 1832. Importantly, this perspective intimates consistency of thought on the part of Stanley, who advocated for Reform during his entire political life.
their property and intelligence.”45 The 1867 Reform Act stemmed largely from the Whig belief in the maxim ‘no taxation without representation.’46 Great demonstrations from the working classes, through labour unions and reform leagues and associations, did much to spur a Conservative reaction to the mostly Liberal-led reform measures. Lord Russell’s Liberal Government dissolved on 18 June 1866, which opened the path for Stanley and the Conservatives to pass their own reform measures. 47 In many ways, the Conservative Bill contained more radical and democratizing measures than the Liberals’ own plan from 1866.48 Stanley, along with his Chancellor of the Exchequer Benjamin Disraeli, added expansionary proposals at the behest of the Liberal Majority in the House of Commons alongside growing pressure from the Reform League demonstrators. Ultimately, the Reform Bill nearly doubled the eligible number of voters, adding approximately one and a half million voters.49

Discussing how his newly formed Government would tackle the issue of reform, given the failings of the preceding British Governments over the past decade to enact change successfully, Stanley promoted a Whig compromise. On 4 March 1867 in the House of Lords, Stanley asserted “We [Conservative Government] felt, therefore, that the only mode open to us—that the only prospect which was held out to us of a successful issue to our undertaking—was to proceed by what I may call a sort of tentative process, and to invite Members of different political opinions in the House of Commons to consider whether by an arrangement which might be more or less acceptable to various parties in the

45 Saintsbury, 23.
48 In fact, many leading Conservatives harangued Stanley and Disraeli for deviating far outside traditional Tory philosophy to extend suffrage. Shea and Wilson, 18.
49 Similar to the Reform Act of 1832, this Reform Act also determined new boroughs and voting districts to compensate for the rise of new urban centres and the dissolution of traditional rural regions. Ibid, 18-19. The Act extended the franchise to urban skilled and unskilled workers. The result established for the first time a majority of electors with little or no property qualifications. This dramatically changed the nature of British Governance. Many historians labelled it as a watershed in British Political History. John Turner and Wenwen Zhan, “Property rights and competing for the affections of Demos: the impact of the 1867 Reform Act on stock prices,” Public Choice, 150, no. 3/4 (2012): 609.
House a conclusion upon this great question might be arrived at." Given the importance of such a change in the nature of British governance, Stanley intoned the importance of listening to all classes and interests, and importantly, the necessity of proceeding pragmatically. He continued

...it is, nevertheless, true that under the present system a large number of persons are excluded from the suffrage, although they are fit to accept the responsibility attaching to electors, and I believe some of those excluded would exercise the privilege of voting intelligently, honestly, and wisely... This is not a question of principle—it is a matter of detail requiring very close and careful consideration, and I say it is not unworthy of a Government, before they commit themselves to any measure, to ascertain the general feeling of Parliament and the country—to take the House of Commons, as it were, into council—and to be guided by it—not as a matter of principle, as to which they are bound to exercise their own judgment—but as a matter of detail, so as to produce a measure that will be likely to meet the general wish and give general satisfaction.  

For Stanley, the extension of the franchise merely represented the continual evolution of the British Parliamentary system in a natural and organic fashion.

The changes needed to maintain Parliamentary authority resulted from shifting circumstance - primarily, the country’s rapid urbanization resultant from industrialization. Knowsley, the Stanley family estate, lay only eight miles from the city of Liverpool. Additionally the estate was closely situated to Manchester, St. Helens, Warrington, Wigan, Widnes, Preston, and Bolton. Stanley witnessed the urban revolution firsthand. Over his lifetime, the population of Liverpool increased by just over six hundred percent.  

Witnessing the transformation of Liverpool into a shipping and manufacturing centre, in direct contrast to the pastoral grounds of the Knowsley estate, pressed Stanley’s projections of the future of both the working classes and the aristocracy in the British Parliamentary System.

In addition to the transition from rural to urban society that precipitated the extension of suffrage, English political thought also evolved during the 14th Earl’s life. Specifically, Liberal thought both ascended to the mainstream and then transformed. These changes illuminated the context of

50 185 Parl. Deb (3rd ser.)(1867)1285.
51 Ibid, 1300.
52 In 1799, Edward Geoffrey’s birth year, the population of Liverpool stood at eighty-two thousand. By 1830, that number more than doubled to approximately two hundred thousand. By the time of Stanley’s death in 1869, the population increased to just over five hundred thousand. Hawkins, 6.
Edward Geoffrey’s own thought and its position relative to other politicians and intellectuals at the time. Stanley entered formal political life during the zenith of the Classical Liberal period in Great Britain. The tenets of political individualism, expressed in Classical Liberal thought, did much to erode the traditional Tory political outlook. In an 18 February 1828 address in the House of Commons, Stanley offered his understanding of such philosophical transition:

I am convinced that the old and stubborn spirit of Toryism is at last yielding to the increased liberality of the age—that Tories of the old school—the Sticklers for inveterate abuses under the name of the wisdom of our ancestors, the "laudatores temporis acti," are giving way on all sides—that the spirit which supported the Holy Alliance, the friend of despotism rather than the advocate of Struggling freedom, is hastening to the fate it merits, and that all its attendant evils are daily becoming matters which belong to history alone.53

The emergence of Liberal Toryism in the early nineteenth-century incorporated Classical Liberal tenants into traditional Tory philosophy. These included a l’aissez faire attitude towards State intervention and a celebration of the market as a divine natural system of punishments and rewards. These ideas fused traditional Tory ideology, specifically their spiritual beliefs, adherence to traditional hierarchical structures and institutions such as the Church, the Monarchy, and the Aristocracy, and belief in the harmonic aspects resulting from counterbalancing class forces in political and social life.54 Stanley echoed these ideas in his support for the abolition of slavery as an institution and the extension of suffrage. For Parliamentary Reform, Stanley ascribed to Bentham’s Utilitarian principle, that the best policies to ascribe towards sought the greatest amount of good for the greatest amount of people. It viewed the ‘greater good’ as the aggregate of private interests resulting from individual actions. That maxim, a tenet of Classical Liberal philosophy, dominated English political thought from 1820-1870.55

The heights of Classic Liberal policy included the abolition of slavery, the repeal of the Corn Laws and economic protectionism, and the extension of suffrage.

55 Importantly, it stressed the concept of the individual over the concept of the group in political philosophy by defining man as an abstract individual not owing to his relation to others in society. Jones, 3.
By the mid to late Victorian period, however, Classical Liberalism began to give way in influence to concepts of New Liberalism. Importantly, new ideas concerning the function of the State and the nature of society eroded the basis of Classical Liberalism. The primacy of Democracy overtook the primacy for Liberty. This philosophic shift, best exemplified through the thought of Samuel Coleridge, began in the early Victorian period. Coleridge, through his published sermons in the influential publication *On the constitution of the Church and State* (1830), argued for a moral and novel conception of the State and the relationship of individuals to society. Additionally, the Chartist movement which emerged between the 1830s and 1850s stressed the impending political power of the working classes and how to mediate or steer that influence. For Conservative thinkers, such as Edward Geoffrey, the changes in Liberal thought penetrated Conservative philosophy. The Reform Act of 1867, granting such a large franchise, cemented the decline of Classic Liberal supremacy as Democracy, as a philosophic tenet and practical element of governance, overtook Liberty as central to Liberal political thought. The will of the majority, through elections, ultimately could prove a tyranny towards the minority when Democracy stood above Liberty in political importance. Ultimately, Edward Geoffrey Stanley exhibited both a consistency in political philosophy, when viewed through his legislative accomplishments, and a willingness to embrace changing political ideas.

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56 The influence of trade unions, as well as Continental and American democratic philosophies helped affect this change. Biagini, 257-258.
57 Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834) was an English poet, literary critic, and political philosopher. Coleridge exerted tremendous influence on subsequent English political theorists. He is credited with converting John Stuart Mill to collective conceptions of society and liberalism, on F.D. Maurice and Charles Kingsley who created English Socialism, and on Thomas Carlyle’s late Victorian conservative thought. Historian Crane Brinton noted that “The settled form which philosophical conservatism took in nineteenth-century England, that Tory democracy which is still far from dead, finds its patterns in the work of Coleridge.” Crane Brinton, *English Political Thought in the Nineteenth Century* (London, UK: Ernest Benn, Ltd., 1933), 76.
58 Ibid, 81-82. For a greater discussion of Coleridge’s philosophy, please refer to Chapter 8.
59 Ibid, 87.
60 Stanley showed this through his resignation twice from Parties with which he disagreed on matters of both philosophy and practical governance. Shea and Wilson, 15.
The Politics of Frederick Stanley: Practical Governance

Edward Geoffrey Stanley’s political thought greatly influenced his sons. He held Whig beliefs, sprinkled with Liberal and Tory ideals. The difficulty of categorizing precisely his thought extended onto his sons. Frederick’s older brother, Edward Henry Stanley, entered politics under the Conservative banner but later became a member of the Liberal Party. He, like his father, harboured many Tory and Whig beliefs but embraced Liberalism to a greater extent. 61 Frederick Arthur Stanley followed his father’s course of political thought. Frederick entered politics under the Conservative Party Banner, yet held Liberal ideas. 62 The lively plurality of political philosophies flowing through the Stanley household best illustrates the idiosyncratic nature of political thought. Given the importance placed on politics, as a matter of aristocratic responsibility in the Stanley family, Frederick himself became very political. Like his father and brother, he molded his own independent political views on both practical and philosophical matters. Like his father, Frederick intoned elements of Liberal thought into his largely Conservative ideology. Yet, Liberal thought in the mid to late Victorian period differed greatly from the ideas that influenced Edward Geoffrey. Frederick incorporated many tenets of New Liberalism, or Collective Liberalism, into his political beliefs. He mixed these ideas with the regeneration of Imperial ideas during the late Victorian period. These ideas molded his conceptions of governance, and proved instrumental in his political career before his appointment as Governor General of Canada in 1888.

Letters from Frederick Stanley’s personal archives in Liverpool offer insight into the importance he placed on politics and the influence of his father. 63 Frederick kept a 25 December 1839 letter written to his father concerning state funding of Churches in Upper Canada. 64 Edward Geoffrey’s stance on

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63 Referred to in this section of the chapter as “Stanley”
public funding of all Church establishments, a precedent set during his time as Chief Secretary for Ireland, clearly resonated deeply with Frederick, as he kept this letter above others. During the last years of Edward Geoffrey’s life, Frederick corresponded with him regarding developments in Parliament.\textsuperscript{65} In a 12 April 1869 letter, just six months before Edward Geoffrey’s death, Frederick wrote to him concerning the affairs of the Conservative party. After informing his father about the new strategies of the Party, Disraeli’s response to a bill introduced by Gladstone, and the general feeling of optimism in the Party, Frederick lamented “…I wish I could have written you a better account.”\textsuperscript{66} As a member of the same political party, Frederick and his father shared a bond over politics. The influence of the 14\textsuperscript{th} Earl of Derby cast a long shadow over his sons, but particularly Frederick, who served in the Party his father helped create.

Frederick Stanley entered the House of Commons in 1865 representing Preston representing the Conservative Party. A candidate in the county of North Lancashire, he won a seat in 1868. He held this seat until 1885, at which time he ran as a candidate in the county of Blackpool, holding that seat until 1886. Like his father, Frederick did not proclaim great ambition in the political realm and largely delivered votes for the Conservatives without much publicity during his first years as an MP. In his first lengthy address in the Commons, Frederick displayed the same sense of humble responsibility as his father.\textsuperscript{67} In typical Stanley fashion, Frederick stood opposed to his Party’s stance on the issue of the

\textsuperscript{65} Letters sent by Stanley to his father on 17 March 1868, 19 March 1868, 3 August 1868, and 12 April 1869 discussed political topics mainly pertaining to matters relating to the Conservative Party, “Papers of Edward Geoffrey, 14\textsuperscript{th} Earl of Derby,” Box 105, Liverpool Central Library, Liverpool, United Kingdom.

\textsuperscript{66} Frederick Arthur Stanley to the 14\textsuperscript{th} Earl of Derby, 12 April 1869, “Papers of Edward Geoffrey, 14\textsuperscript{th} Earl of Derby,” Box 105, Liverpool Central Library, Liverpool, United Kingdom.

\textsuperscript{67} According to the Parliamentary record Stanley “…said, that, although a comparatively humble Member of the House, he found himself compelled to speak on this occasion, and yet he did so in a position of embarrassment.” 204 Parl. Deb. (3\textsuperscript{rd} ser.)[1871]1428-1429.
abolition of the purchase system, and in this instance, he believed, solely opposed.\textsuperscript{68} Despite his philosophic belief that the purchase system should be abolished, Frederick proclaimed “Any scheme for the abolition of purchase, ought, in the first place, to endeavour, as far as possible, to provide for the equitable redemption of the existing interests of officers, and, in the second, ought to endeavour to lay down clear and distinct regulations by which the flow of promotion might be further regulated.”\textsuperscript{69} Like his father, Frederick advanced reform, but only if the proposal proved calculated and would not greatly disturb the existing order. This episode also highlighted his propensity to independent thought, again a legacy handed down by Edward Geoffrey.

In Stanley’s first decade in Parliament, he rose most frequently to discuss military matters.\textsuperscript{70} Appointments as the Civil Lord of the Admiralty in 1868 and Financial Secretary to the War Office from 1874-1878 certainly steered his remarks in that direction. Stanley also served as Secretary to the Treasury in 1878. His obvious interest in Military matters led to his first Cabinet appointment as the Secretary of State for War from 1878 to 1880. A main point of differentiation between Frederick and his father and brother was time spent in the military. Instead of attending a prestigious University College at Cambridge or Oxford, Frederick entered the Royal Military College at Sandhurst in 1854 after his time at Eton.\textsuperscript{71} In 1858, Frederick, age seventeen, joined the Grenadier Guards. He excelled and rapidly ascended the ranks.\textsuperscript{72} He retired his commission in 1865 to enter politics. This penchant for the military

\textsuperscript{68} The purchase system allotted advancement in the Army by the purchasing of Officers commissions in Cavalry and Infantry Regiments. The maintenance of social position, financial inducement to quell looting, preservation of loyal elements in the military, and discouragement of incompetence formed the justifications of that system. For a detailed investigation and summary of the purchase system and its uses in the nineteenth century in the British military please see Anthony Bruce, \textit{The Purchase System in the British Army, 1660-1871} (London, UK: Royal Historical Society, 1980), 41-64.

\textsuperscript{69} 204 Parl. Deb. (3\textsuperscript{rd} ser.)(1871)1429.

\textsuperscript{70} Of forty-two entries in the Parliamentary record, Stanley discussed military matters thirty-six times or approximately eighty-six percent. A table showing his speeches in Parliament from 1871 to 1877 can be found in Appendix 3.2.

\textsuperscript{71} Shea and Wilson, 34-36.

\textsuperscript{72} Frederick eventually earned the rank of Captain. He was also appointed Honorary Colonel of the 3\textsuperscript{rd} and 4\textsuperscript{th} Battalions of the King’s Own Royal Lancaster Regiment and of the 1\textsuperscript{st} Volunteer Battalion of the Liverpool
affected Frederick’s political career and ideals. It reflected a deep Conservatism, a devotion to the Monarchy and Country, which tempered his entire political ideology. Unlike his father and brother, Frederick disdained the haughtier elements of cultural and political life. Instead of prolific speeches on the nature of political philosophy, Frederick expressed himself politically through other avenues, mainly through the military and sport. Nonetheless, Frederick still maintained the Stanley characteristic of strong conviction and independence in practical governance. In a 22 February 1875 address in the House of Commons, Stanley again proclaimed his desire to stand on convictions rather than acquiesce to partisan pressure over a political matter. Discussing the Cardwell Reforms of 1868-1874, and specifically the abolition of Purchase, the Parliamentary record stated “...if he [Frederick Stanley] thought the abolition of Purchase would be interfered with by the present Bill, he should not hesitate to make the greatest sacrifice which a young politician could make, rather than take a course which would have that effect.”

The record continued, stating that

It was, however, because he was satisfied there was no such danger, and because he wished to see a remedy provided for a grievance which the Commissioners regarded as a genuine grievance, that he was in favour of a proposal which would, he had no doubt, recommend itself to the country. He preferred, to use a common expression, an ounce of practice to a pound of theory, and, seeing there was a substantial cause of complaint, he desired to see it removed. By taking such a course, the House would be doing not only what was right in itself, but would be giving the officers of the Army the assurance that they might look to it with confidence for redress; and, entertaining those views, he gave the Bill his cordial support.

Regiment. His pedigree and excellent service merited him a promotion to serve as Queen Victoria’s aide-de-camp. Ibid, 35. This close and intimate connection resulted in a strong relationship with Queen Victoria that lasted until the monarch’s death in 1901.


For a thorough discussion of Frederick’s love of sport, please refer to Chapter VI.

The Cardwell Reforms, named after Secretary of State of War Edward Cardwell (1868-74), culminated a thorough reform of the British Military after the Crimean War. Increasing volunteer enrollment to create a reserve force constituted the motivation behind the reforms, and especially the two main legislative reformations. The 1870 Army Enlistment Act halved the term of service from twelve to six years. The 1873 Localization Act that affiliated in pairs all infantry battalions and localised training and recruiting to brigade centres. 510-511.


Ibid, 687.
For Stanley, he displayed as much political passion as his father; he simply redirected his energies towards the activities that best suited his temperament.

Serving as the Treasury Secretary in the War Office, Stanley displayed a liberal streak that ran through his line of political thinking. In an 8 February 1878 address to the House of Commons discussing financial appropriations for military matters, Frederick, in referencing Disraeli’s Conservative Government, commented that “In taking that course they [Conservative Government] were doing what every Government should be glad to do with regard to financial matters—namely, increasing the control of the House of Commons.”78 By emphasising the supremacy of Parliament, Stanley followed his father’s liberal Whig ideas. Specifically, the importance of maintaining parliamentary primacy over the purse provided a Liberal conception of the rights of the population, through their representatives in Parliament, to control the fiduciary strings of the country. In that same speech, Stanley commented that the Government had the authority to act outside of Parliament concerning spending, but “…it certainly was not the wish of Her Majesty’s Government that in the present circumstances they should be forced to take upon themselves such a responsibility as that.”79 This example illustrated Stanley’s ability to fuse both Liberal and Conservative ideas – namely the Conservation of Parliamentary authority and the Liberality, or greater democratic essence, of greater public control over governmental expenditures. Again, Stanley, speaking as the Secretary of State for War, in a 13 June 1878 speech declared that he did not adhere to partisan politics. Discussing the supply of materials to the Militia, the Parliamentary record proclaimed, “In all these matters, too, he [Stanley] thought Party feeling and Party distinctions should be laid aside, and the Volunteer should only remember that he [Stanley] was the servant of the Crown and the country.”80 Perhaps this sentiment best expressed Frederick’s personal conviction on the duty of service. As a military man and landed aristocrat, Stanley, in the mold of his father, internalized

78 237 Parl. Deb. (3rd ser.)(1878) 1074.
79 Ibid, 1075.
80 240 Parl. Deb. (3rd ser.)(1878) 1468.
the importance of serving without ambition and upon the ideas of duty and responsibility. This epitomized the core conservatism of his political thought.

Stanley spent much of 1879 administering the provisions, equipment, and troops necessary to defeat the Zulu nation in South Africa during the Anglo-Zulu War. In describing the Zulu warriors, displayed again a sense of Liberality. In a 28 March 1879 address to the House of Commons, Frederick praised the military prowess of the Zulus, commenting that “What we have seen shows them [Zulu Nation] to be a people of courage, remarkable not only among Black races, but among any race. Their agility, their fearlessness of death, and the manner in which, as one despatch points out, they advanced over their dead, mowed down, show that they are a military force worthy of opposition to our own troops.” Again, practically speaking, Stanley appreciated the martial qualities of the deemed inferior race of the Zulus. He dared to speak of them on equal terms to the British. In that same speech, Frederick conceded that “I hope I may not be supposed to be trenching upon that feeling to which an hon. Gentleman on the other side lately contributed a classical name, when I refer to that feeling—the feeling which leads one to believe in the power of the White race. Even in the gloomiest times, that has been the bright side to which we could always turn with honour and with satisfaction.”

Stanley in the same speech showed both his comparative humanity in stark contrast to his belief in White supremacy. Again, the nuance inherent in Stanley’s thought manifested itself.

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81 That conflict stemmed from the British annexation of the Transvaal in South Africa in 1878. This led to encroachment upon the territory of the Zulu Kingdom. The Zulu army inflicted an embarrassing defeat upon the British force under Lord Chelmsford at Isandlwana on 22 January 1879. The British reinforcement smashed the Zulus at their capital on 4 July 1879 ending the six month conflict. Williamson Murray, “Towards World War 1871-1914,” in The Cambridge History of Warfare, ed. Geoffrey Parker (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 253-254.

82 244 Parl. Deb. (3rd ser.)(1879) 2071-2072.

83 Ibid, 2072.

84 Racial ideology manifested through the hierarchy of human race species served as a core component of late nineteenth century nationalist thought. For a detailed discussion of this influence on Liberal political thought please refer to Chapter VIII.
When the Conservative Party regained power in 1885, under the Marquess of Salisbury, Frederick garnered another cabinet appointment. The new Prime Minister appointed Stanley to the position of Secretary of State for the Colonies. This brought Frederick into official State contact with the Dominion of Canada. In his personal archival collection housed at the Liverpool Central Library, the record shows that Stanley received and kept an immense amount of statistical, legislative, and political information concerning Canada. Importantly, the work of the Colonial office impressed upon him the positive activity of the State in ordering society.

As Secretary of State for the Colonies, Frederick personally guided policy with a respect towards State-directed conciliation, organization, and the production of social harmony in the British Colonies. In his first address as Secretary, Frederick described a plan to promote social harmony through Colonial mediation between Boer colonists and the Zulu tribespeople in the Cape Colony. Specifically, Stanley wished to institute a police force to maintain relative peace. In a 1 March 1886 response to questions regarding his plan, Frederick stated that “We thought it not right to allow the country, which had been placed in a condition of tranquillity, to relapse into a state of disorder; and the only way in which that could be insured was by instituting an efficient police force to take the place.” Again, Frederick displayed his pragmatic approach to governance, claiming in that speech “I am not in any sense of the word an advocate for annexation; but when we have left to us the alternative of allowing a country to fall into a state of disorder, as Bechuanaland was sure to have done if we had withdrawn and had not

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85 Both his brother and father served this position. Edward Geoffrey served as Secretary of State for War and the Colonies twice. First, he served under Lord Grey from 1833-1834 until he resigned from the Whig Party. Under Sir Robert Peel’s Government, he served from 1841 until his resignation in 1845. Shea and Wilson, 12-14. Edward Henry Stanley served as the Secretary of State for the Colonies under William Gladstone’s second Government. Consequently, Frederick succeeded his brother in that post. Ibid, 36.

86 As Secretary of State for the Colonies, Frederick needed to both understand the machinations of Dominion Government, both on the Federal and Local level, and also the statistical realities which displayed the economic and social standing of the Provinces and the Dominions. For a detailed discussion of what Frederick knew of Canada prior to his appointment as Governor General, please refer to Chapter II.

87 302 Parl. Deb. (3rd ser.)(1886) 722-726.

88 Ibid, 1620.
sent out a Military Expedition, or doing what we have done, I think we have been right in accepting the responsibilities that circumstances have thrown upon us.”

In the absence of British Imperial presence, the colony in South Africa occupied a dangerous position, one that could embroil the region in conflict and demand an even greater expenditure of British political and military resources.

Stanley waded into international diplomacy against the French over the issue of access to Newfoundland fisheries in 1885. The British and French Governments, stalemated, required mediation.

As Colonial Secretary, Stanley held diplomatic responsibility for the Dominion of Newfoundland and thus found himself in the middle of the dispute. In September 1885, representatives convened in Paris to search for a solution. Stanley kept a printed record of both the correspondence between parties and a copy of the treaty produced on 14 November 1885.

In a January 1886 letter from Stanley to Sir F.B.T. Carter, the Governor of Newfoundland, Stanley outlined his role in mediation. Concerning the Dominion of Newfoundland’s consternation over the construction of French wharfs for naval defence in Newfoundland, Stanley assured the Governor that “…I am happy to inform you [that negotiations with the French Government] have resulted in the requirements of the Government of Newfoundland being substantially conceded, although not in such general terms as those desired by the Newfoundland Government.”

Stanley gained experience in providing diplomatic activity for a self-governing Dominion. As Governor General, Stanley found himself occupying the opposite position. That role proved integral in cementing important ideas Stanley held about Canadian state and nationhood.

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89 Ibid, 1621.
92 A thorough discussion of this idea can be found in Chapter VI.
The coordination of Imperial defence formed another responsibility attendant to Stanley’s position. Just as he coordinated a domestic police force to keep order in South Africa, Frederick also advocated and promoted systems of international Imperial defence. Discussing armaments for cruisers in a 22 March 1886 address in the House of Commons, Stanley, communicated his larger overall political ideology concerning the British Empire. The Parliamentary record commented that Stanley remarked, “With Volunteers at home, as in the Colonies, there was an excellent spirit if we made use of it; but it was a spirit that could be easily chilled and discouraged. He [Stanley] hoped that, as works of defence were pushed forward in the Colonies forming part of an Imperial and commercial system, it might be understood that armaments would be proceeded with pari passu at home.” Given Stanley’s penchant for sticking to the pragmatic side of the political arena, this address communicated one of Stanley’s major ideological beliefs concerning the British Empire. Frederick clearly expressed a desire to organize the Empire into a new Imperial Federation. The connection between Imperial defence and commerce alluded to in that address highlighted Stanley’s support of this new ideal of Imperial Governance – Imperial Federation. The idea of Imperial Federation originated in 1884 in London with the formation of the Imperial Federation League. The inaugural leaflet from that organization stated its purposes as follows:

The OBJECT of the LEAGUE is to secure by Federation the permanent unity of the Empire. The LEAGUE desires that the Colonies which have been founded by our forefathers, and which are peopled by our brothers and our cousins, shall form with us one great Organisation for purposes of defence and maintenance of common interests. The LEAGUE has no politics outside its own programme. The LEAGUE includes some of the most eminent men of all parties, as well as of no party. FEDERATION is the best way to guarantee the whole Empire against attack, and to ensure peace in the world. Federation will unite the scattered family of Great Britain, and preserve the common rights and interests of over three hundred millions of our fellow-subjects. FEDERATION will

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93 303 Parl. Deb. (3rd ser.)(1886) 1555. Pari passu is Latin phrase meaning ‘with an equal step.’
94 Evidence of Stanley’s support not only for the idea of Imperial Federation, but of the organization primarily responsible for the dissemination, promotion, and advocacy of that idea, the Imperial Federation League, comes from sources obtained in his personal archival collection in Liverpool. A table showing these holdings can be found in Appendix 3.3.
increase our trade with the Colonies which can supply all our wants, and will stimulate our industries to meet their requirements.

Imperial Federationists imagined a new supra-governmental structure in which the self-governing Dominions, in a radically reconfigured Imperial Parliament, sat beside England in a confederation of British Imperial territories. That parliament would act similarly to the Parliament in Westminster, governing in both domestic and foreign matters. Frederick’s devotion to the cause of Imperial Federation best illustrates his personal political ideology. The promotion of Imperial Federation encapsulated the effect of changes in Liberal political thought over the Victorian period. Stanley, as an adherent of this new philosophy, harboured the ideologies inherent in the designs for Imperial Federation.

In 1886 Stanley accepted a peerage and entered the House of Lords as Baron of Preston. He remarked to his brother, Edward Henry, that he tired of the arduous work in the House of Commons, did not agree with his partisan contemporaries all too often, and also believed he could be more independent in the House of Lords. Stanley’s final position in the British Government, before he left for Canada, came when the Prime Minister Salisbury offered him the cabinet position of President of the Board of Trade. In this position, Stanley directed the levers of the State to affect both domestic and international commerce for the British Empire. Importantly, in this position, Stanley himself argued that the State had an important role in directing economic activity. Concerning imposing tariff rates on British railways, Stanley, in a 14 March 1887, address in Parliament declared that

95 Bolding kept in its original format to display emphasis. Imperial Federation League (London, UK: W.B. Whittingham, 1884).
96 In this fashion, the colonies would remain a part of the British Aegis instead of disintegrating away due to Imperial malfeasance and marginalization. Frederick Young, “Letter I. From Frederick Young,” in Imperial Federation of Great Britain and Her Colonies: In Letters Edited by Frederick Young (one of the writers), ed. Frederick Young (London, UK: S.W. Silver and Co., 1876), 1-4.
97 A detailed discussion of this idea is followed later in this chapter.
98 Noonan, 168.
99 Shea and Wilson, 28.
I believe that, by Common Law, it was the duty of a carrier to accept and carry all goods offered, according to a particular agreement and for reasonable compensation; but he might carry for payment passengers at a low rate, or even gratis. In fact, there was nothing whatever to prevent him from adopting a preferential tariff. Therefore, when Railways superseded other modes of transit, we had to consider how far restrictions should be made beyond those imposed by Common Law on persons who had come to be regarded as common carriers.  

For Stanley, because time produced novel modes of economic activity it necessitated the State to compose new rules and directions for those ‘novel’ modes. In this instance, Stanley proposed instituting a Railway Commission to determine rates and tariffs. He proposed his scheme stating, “It provides that every Railway Company, 12 months after the commencement of this Act, shall submit to the Board of Trade a revised classification of traffic and Schedule of proposed maximum rates and charges. When the scheme has been submitted to the Board of Trade, and made public in such a way as may be directed, the Board of Trade will then consider that classification and the maximum rates of charge, and any objections thereto which they may receive.”  

This inclination to use the State to control economic activity resulted from the retrenchment of Classical Liberalism. Free Trade and a l’aissez faire attitude towards economic activity defined the economic position of Classical Liberals. For Frederick Stanley, the attitudes of New Liberalism changed the proper role of the State and promoted his views on how to organize the Empire’s economy.

Stanley illustrated his personal ideology through his promotion of practical government activity. He did not announce his intentions or personal beliefs, action unbecoming of a landed aristocrat. However, actions in government illustrated beliefs in the absence of stated goals or ideologies. His

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100 312 Parl. Deb. (3rd ser.) (1887) 126.
102 Furthermore, in the political arena, especially in an era where public opinion increasingly asserted itself in determining political representation, vocal protestations often times concealed true ideals and actual governance belied stated goals and ideals. Furthermore, many politicians conceal their own personal economic motivations in public utterances concerning certain government policies. Joseph Salerno, “Introduction,” in History of Money and Banking in the United States: The Colonial Era to World War Two, by Murray Rothbard (Auburn, AL: Ludwig von Mises Institute, 2002), 23-25. Edward Geoffrey Stanley’s support for Irish Reform illustrated this idea. Although dedicated to parliamentary reform in general, he owned a great deal of land in Ireland and thus took many precautions during his tenure as Irish Secretary to secure the holding of English landlords. Furthermore, his
record in Parliament affords the drawing of conclusions about his political philosophy. First, like both his father and brother, he retained an independent streak above partisan loyalty. Second, he generally adhered to the Conservative Whig attitudes of his father. Third, his interests focused particularly in military affairs, and developed into hardened attitudes concerning Imperial defence. Fourth, he approved of State Interference in the domestic and international economy, to induce social change and to secure Britain’s Imperial security. Last, and most important, Frederick stood as an ardent imperialist, one who promoted an aggrandized British Empire and positioned it as the preeminent force for global peace and prosperity. These final two points illustrated that Frederick Stanley belonged to a burgeoning new political movement – the emergent Progressive Movement.

The Politics of Frederick Stanley: Emergent Progressivism

Frederick Stanley entered politics during the beginning of the Late Victorian period. During this era, which lasted from 1870-1901, wide changes in the British Empire’s global position accompanied great changes in liberal political thought. The retrenchment of Classical Liberal thought as a primary driver of British policy resulted in both heightened Imperialism and State intervention in the domestic and international economy. These changes resulted from new international challengers for British economic supremacy, namely the United States and the newly created German Federation. Furthermore, the political doctrines that underpinned these new global rivals infiltrated liberal intellectuals and politicians, further eroding the base of Classical Liberal influence. Frederick Stanley, as a pragmatic political thinker, understood the changing international landscape. He incorporated the new environment into his political calculations. Furthermore, this intellectual environment greatly differentiated his thought from his father, from whom he shared his political philosophy the most. Frederick’s own personal political thought illustrated, when differentiated from his father’s, the trend disapproval of the abolishment of the Corn Laws in 1846 likely resulted from his status as a British Landholder whose property value and revenue stood to suffer greatly at the law’s repeal. Shea and Wilson, 12-15.
away from Classical Liberalism and towards the New Liberalism, Collective Liberalism, or Progressive Liberalism of the late Victorian era.

Political Scientist Michael Freeden asserted that “In the generation preceding the First World War the basic tenets of liberalism were fundamentally reformulated in a crucial and decisive manner.”

Both ideological transitions and practical calculations directed this reformation. Ideologically, Freeden argued that the Liberal centre in the last decades of the nineteenth-century shifted decidedly to the left. This resulted in part from the increased influence of social reformers to use the state to solve problems wrought by industrialism – namely poverty, unemployment, and disease. These Progressive reformers reoriented the intellectual currents of science, social and political thought, philosophy, and religion to solve the social problem.

However, what differentiated these social reformers from those of the earlier Victorian period lay in the conception of the state, the individual, and their roles in producing prosperity and social harmony. In the political period of Edward Geoffrey Stanley, the tenets of Classical Liberalism promoted the ideals that the individual represented the paramount political unit. To unleash the potential of the individual, the State acted only to protect the liberty demanded by each individual.

The economic doctrines of Free Trade, based on l’aïssez faire, reigned supreme. For his part, Edward Geoffrey remained a staunch protectionist, even abandoning his party for its support of the Peel Government in abolishing the Corn Laws in 1846. Yet he clearly stood against the tide at this moment in English political history. Additionally, Classical Liberal thought lay behind the reformation of Parliament, which extended the franchise to the property-less English labouring classes. The insistence on liberty above prosperity resulted in the abolition of both the slave trade and of the institution of slavery altogether in the British Empire. On these issues, Edward Geoffrey stood with the current of the

104 Ibid, 4-6.
105 Shea and Wilson, 14-15.
times and fought for both of these measures in Parliament. Although a staunch Conservative, Edward Geoffrey also harboured liberal thoughts that corresponded to the period of Classical Liberal dominance in British Governance.

In the domestic sphere, the role of the State in promoting social harmony underwent complete transformation. These important transitions started in the years directly preceding the reign of Queen Victoria and matured during the early and middle portions of her reign. Through the works of Samuel Coleridge and Dr. Thomas Arnold, the conception of the proper role of the State in producing social harmony veered away from Classical Liberal axioms. As social reformers grappled with the problems unleashed through rapid industrialization and resultant urbanization, they believed that the Classical Liberal dogmas of the eighteenth century bore direct responsibility. Harnessing the emergent political representation of the lower classes, expressed through the Chartism movement, these reformers argued for a State-directed guidance of the emerging mass politicization of the working classes. These early thinkers paved the way for the middle Victorian philosophic changes in Liberal ideology. Most important are the works of John Stuart Mill and Thomas Carlyle. Mill, as a Liberal, transformed the thought from the inside of the philosophy, while Carlyle followed Coleridge and attacked Classical Liberalism from a Tory perspective.

In the mid nineteenth-century, the Classical Liberal ideology most publicly manifested itself through the person of Richard Cobden, the leader of the Manchester School. Cobden ascribed to the

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106 A detailed discussion of these views and the philosophic underpinnings which undermined Classical Liberal doctrine concerning the role of state is found in Chapter VIII.
107 Specifically, Thomas Carlyle argued that the Chartist movement, the radical movement of the lower working classes to attain political representation prior to the Reform Act of 1832, cried for governance and guidance. Francis and Morrow, 163-164.
two central tenets of Classical Liberalism, free trade and non-interventionism. His ideas provide a vivid representation of the height of Classical Liberal thought. John Stuart Mill, as a leading liberal in the mid-Victorian period, agreed with many of Cobden’s assertions, but mutated them to accommodate collectivist notions of society. Although he consistently advocated for personal liberty, Mill’s thought evolved over time to accommodate new theories on the State and its relation to individual liberty. In his famous 1859 treatise, *On Liberty*, Mill argued that the sole principle in determining the dealings of Society, and thus the State, towards the individual “...is, that, the sole end for which mankind are warranted, individually or collectively, in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number, is self-protection. That the only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others. His own good, either physical or moral, is not a sufficient warrant.” For Mill, the State could indeed play a role in limiting the individual to promote social harmony, based on the protective element. Freeden explained the importance of this subtle shift from individualism to individuality in Liberal thought. He argued that “Individuality thus replaced Individualism, and by regarding a socially rooted individuality as the main attribute of human welfare, social reformers crucially complemented the previous liberal stress on liberty.” The State appropriated moral authority to enact the wishes of Social Reformers under a Liberal framework. For the prospect of a State-mandated education system, Mill asserted “…to bring a child into existence without a fair prospect of being able, not only to provide food for its body, but instruction and training for its mind, is a moral crime, both against the unfortunate offspring and against

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109 Brinton, 104.
110 Cobden did not believe in a collective conception of society or the nation, as expressed through the State. He believed the Americans to be the best people on the earth due to their fierce individuality and economy of Government. Ibid, 111-112.
112 Freeden, 23.
society; and that if the parent does not fulfill this obligation, the State ought to see it fulfilled.\textsuperscript{113}

Through Mill, collectivist notions of the State, justified through the attainment of social harmony, entered Liberal political thought. Through its acceptance of social reformers, who used the State to achieve their ends, the New Liberalism or Progressivism emerged.

The belief in progress defined the Victorian age. For Classical Liberals, societal progress derived from the collection of individual genius working to discover new forms of science and philosophy.\textsuperscript{114}

During the early and mid-Victorian era, progress, in the form of economic development and political reformation, towards greater liberty and political representation accelerated at a frantic pace.\textsuperscript{115} By the beginning of the late Victorian period, that rate of progress subsided. Proponents of the New Liberalism likewise believed in the forces which produced progress, but worried over the decline of pace. New Liberal advocate James Bryce succinctly expressed this feeling amongst the New Liberal intelligentsia. He commented that “...not in England only, but in Western Europe generally, a greater confidence in the speedy improvement of the world, a fuller faith, not merely in progress, but in rapid progress, a more pervading cheerfulness of temper than we now discern...To-day we in Europe have by no means ceased to believe in and to value these same forces [liberty, reason, and sympathy]...But it [progress] is slower than the men of 1850 expected; and because it is slower, we are less disposed to wait patiently for the results.”\textsuperscript{116} Once Mill introduced to liberal thought the justification of the State to induce positive social

\textsuperscript{113} Ibid, 189. Mill qualified this remark noting that the Parent should fulfill the charge accrued by the State. However, this passage indicates a creeping collectivism inherent in Mill’s thought. It gave licence to the State to interfere itself into any action perceived to commit a moral detriment against society. Given Mill’s distrust of the State, it is unfair to label him a statist, or one who advocated total government control over individuals. Yet, this subtle recognition of the State’s rightful authority to interfere to produce positive social outcomes greatly transformed the essence of Liberal thought pertaining to the just role of the State. Brinton 96-97.

\textsuperscript{114} Mill expressed these ideas stating “...the only unfailing and permanent source of improvement [progress] is liberty, since by it there are as many possible independent centres of improvement as there are individuals.” Mill, 126.


results, the New Liberals readily accepted that element into their desire to affect immediate social change in the late nineteenth-century.\textsuperscript{117}

Frederick Stanley harboured these ideas on the positive role of the State in promoting positive social outcomes. Just as his father integrated Classical Liberal ideas into his Conservative philosophy, Frederick incorporated the ideologies of the New Liberalism or Progressivism into his own Conservative philosophy. Frederick believed that the State held responsibilities to sponsor cultural activities. Serving as Secretary to the Treasury in 1878 Stanley defended Government expenditures. In an 18 March 1878 session in the House of Commons, Frederick supported many State-funded cultural projects. He supported the establishment in Ireland of a National Science and Art Museum, as well as a National Library, at the cost of ten thousand two hundred pounds.\textsuperscript{118} He justified the spending of five thousand pounds to purchase art for the National Gallery in London.\textsuperscript{119} Furthermore, Stanley defended the State donation of prizes for academic excellence against those who felt the cost unjustifiable.\textsuperscript{120} Of great importance, Frederick kept a copy of William James’ November 1889 article in the \textit{Law Magazine and Review} entitled “The State and Private Life in Roman Law”.\textsuperscript{121} James’ article located the instances of State interference in private life, and contrasted them to the views of the English in the late nineteenth-century. James lamented that “It [The Roman State] interferes in some extremely petty matters and

\textsuperscript{117} This represents a truncated version of a greater discussion into the evolution of Liberal thought in nineteenth century Britain that can be found in Chapter VIII.
\textsuperscript{118} 238 Parl. Deb. (3\textsuperscript{rd} ser.)(1878) 1541-1542.
\textsuperscript{119} 239 Parl. Deb. (3\textsuperscript{rd} ser.) (1878) 120.
\textsuperscript{120} 238 Parl. Deb. (3\textsuperscript{rd} ser.) (1878) 1570-1571.
\textsuperscript{121} Historian Duncan Bell argued that late Victorian Imperialists obsessed over the connection between the \textit{Pax Britannia} and the \textit{Pax Romana}. Britons in the first half of the nineteenth century exalted ancient Greece and likened themselves to that classical society. However, Britons in the second half of the nineteenth century exalted ancient Rome and their likeness to the greatest of all the ancient Western Empires. Duncan Bell, \textit{The Idea of Greater Britain: Empire and the Future of World Order, 1860-1900} (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), 215-216.
neglects some of far greater importance, such as education.” Stanley also owned a copy of an 1890 pamphlet entitled *The History and Present Position of the Ancient Free Grammar School of Middleton.*

It appears that Frederick harboured a deep interest in the promotion of public education. His Tory counterpart Joseph Chamberlain advocated a brand of ‘Municipal Socialism’. The Tory acceptance of State Socialism resulted from, as Chamberlain argued, the fact that, “The greatest happiness of the greatest number, which has formerly only the benevolent aspirations of a philosopher, has become a matter of urgent practical politics.” Thus, Chamberlain effectively transitioned Bentham’s Utilitarian principle into a practical form of governance, justifying State interference. For Freeden, this demonstrated the acceptance by Chamberlain, and Tories of a similar vein, of New Liberal doctrines. Stanley and Chamberlain both harboured Progressive ideologies, exhibited primarily in their support of the idea of Imperial Federation.

Historian Duncan Bell argued that those who argued for Imperial Federation, on the concept of Greater Britain, held Progressive ideas of nineteenth-century governance. Primarily, they believed that this new Governmental form could solve the ‘social problem’ in England. Additionally, Bell

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123 This pamphlet was printed for private circulation only. Given that Stanley resided in Canada during this time, the fact he not only received but kept this pamphlet indicated an interest in the idea of public education. *The History and Present Position of the Ancient Free Grammar School of Middleton* (Rochdale, UK: Schofield and Hoblyn, 1892.), “Papers of Frederick Arthur, 16th Earl of Derby,” Box 23, Liverpool Central Library, Liverpool, United Kingdom.

124 Chamberlain defined Municipal Socialism as “…the result of a wise cooperation by which the community as a whole, working through its representatives for the benefit of all its members, and recognizing the solidarity of interest which makes the welfare of the poorest a matter of importance to the riches, has faced its obligations and done much to lessen the sum of human misery, and to make the lives of all its citizens somewhat better, somewhat nobler, and somewhat happier.” Joseph Chamberlain, “Favorable Aspects of State Socialism,” *The North American Review*, 152, (1891): 538.

125 Ibid: 534.

126 Freeden, 36.

127 Both belonged to the Imperial Federation League thus affirming their devotion to this idea.

128 A detailed discussion of the development of Greater Britain and its relation to the advocacy of Imperial Federation is found in Chapter VIII.

129 Bell, 34.
argued that these thinkers oriented themselves towards the future, a hallmark of Progressive ideology.\textsuperscript{130} Stanley believed that Imperial Federation could solve Britain’s ‘social problem’. Greatly influenced by Professor J.R. Seeley’s seminal 1881 and 1882 lectures entitled \textit{The Expansion of England}, Frederick viewed State-assisted emigration as a means to cure Britain of its social deterioration. In his personal archive, he possessed a copy of an 1884 edition of Lord Brabazon’s scheme for State-directed Emigration.\textsuperscript{131} Publishing in the journal \textit{The Nineteenth-century}, Lord Brabazon agreed with Professor Seeley that overpopulation in Britain represented the greatest contribution to the social problem. To solve the problem, Brabazon suggested government-sponsored emigration to the colonies of the British Empire, most notably the White-Anglophone self-governing Dominions. Importantly, Brabazon argued that “By advancing under proper guarantee the money necessary to enable the surplus population of one part of Greater Britain to remove to the other, Government would not be guilty of an interference with economic laws, but would in reality be setting them free from restrictions of a material nature.”\textsuperscript{132} Brabazon justified the State’s interference by conflating the colonies to a larger national conception of Greater Britain, and that, just as the Canadian Government offered free land to settlers, Great Britain’s geographic limitations should not preclude the State in directing its citizens to resettle. Frederick Stanley agreed to the concept of Greater Britain through his acceptance of Imperial Federation. Stanley’s immense collection of Emigrant handbooks from Canada provides evidence that he held great interest in this idea.\textsuperscript{133} Adherence to Imperial Federation provided another element of Stanley’s progressive outlook.

In addition to promoting culture through the State, Frederick believed the State held an important role in solving the ‘social problem’ in Great Britain. The solutions he ascribed to came not

\textsuperscript{130} Ibid, 208.
\textsuperscript{132} Ibid, 765.
\textsuperscript{133} A table showing all the guidebooks held in his archive can be found in Appendix 3.4.
only from precedent, but also manifested in novel progressive ideas towards governance. Firstly, Frederick, like his father, believed in economic protectionism. His association with the Tariff Reform League constituted another progressive element in his devotion to Imperial Federation. Historian Bruce Murray argued that the Tariff Reform League "...possessed fewer prejudices against large-scale government expenditure than any other political group in Edwardian Britain". The link between State interference and Tariff Reform, in the direction of protectionism, represented another tenet of the New Liberal creed. Although the League formed in 1903, the economic principles that undergirded it, namely the economic doctrine of Imperial Preference, resulted from the drive for Imperial Federation in the 1880s. Imperial Preference proposed negotiating low tariff rates to maximize trade and prosperity throughout the British Empire at the expense of high tariff rates towards the rest of the world. Proponents of Imperial Federation understood that free trade still held tremendous sway in the world, but foresaw protectionism throughout an Imperial Federation as a guarantor of Imperial prosperity for Greater Britain. Frederick need not look to new ideas concerning protectionism, as his father adhered to that philosophy. Yet, the faithful devotion to free trade began to erode in Liberal intellectual and political circles in the final decades of the nineteenth-century. Freeden argued that "By the 1880s [laissez-faire] had been definitely abandoned by the liberal mainstream and socialism in its general ethical sense had become part of the liberal terminology as the consequence of a process by which former

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134 In Stanley’s archival holdings, he possessed an advertisement from the Tariff Reform League. Two names reveal a strong connection to Frederick. The first being Vice President of the League Joseph Chamberlain and the second being his own son Arthur Stanley, who sat on the League executive. The Tariff Reform League: Officers of the League. UK, [?]. “Papers of Frederick Arthur, 16th Earl of Derby,” Box 2, Liverpool Central Library, Liverpool, United Kingdom.


136 Canadian Imperialist George Parkin argued that food concerns, the same concerns that drove the abolition of the Corn Laws, still predisposed the masses towards free trade. However, Parkin believed that a populated Canada could grow enough food to provide for all of Great Britain’s needs, and could be afforded by the masses due to lower tariff rates. George Parkin, Imperial Federation: The Problem of National Unity (New York, NY: MacMillan and Co., 1892), 285-286.
ideological distinctions were blunted.” The reformation of the relationship of the State to the Individual in the ideology of New Liberals necessitated the disassociation between Classical Liberalism and l’aïssez faire. The State held responsibility to produce positive social outcomes and ameliorate human suffering. For New Liberals, the pure selfish interests and pursuits of individuals no longer seemed able to fulfill that role. New Liberals adopted Stanley’s views on economic policy, the explicit interference of the State in the economic activities of the nation.

The rise of Imperialism in the final three decades of the nineteenth-century perhaps best illustrated Stanley’s progressive thinking, and differentiated his liberal inclinations from his father’s. Stanley’s views on Imperial Policy best illustrated the important impact of the shift in Liberal thinking in the late nineteenth-century, not only on Stanley’s own thought, but also on the political thought and activity of his contemporaries. Frederick’s father believed in strict non-interventionism in the foreign arena. This stance highlighted the ascendancy of Liberal anti-war intellectuals of the Manchester School. As a prominent member of that school of thought, English historian Goldwin Smith, argued that free trade and peace served as corollaries to each other, the former producing the latter. The moniker ‘Little England’ explained the views of the Manchester school to both Imperial aggrandizement and international military adventurism: Great Britain should concern itself only to the protection of the Island of Great Britain and forego its Imperial designs. Richard Cobden, the leader of the Manchester

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137 Freeden, 35-36.
139 Smith proclaimed, “Does anyone say that Free Trade and peace are not good things, or that peace is not promoted by Free Trade?” Ibid, 378-379.
140 Historian Carl Berger noted the effect of ‘Little Englandism’ on British Retrenchment on the North American Continent from the 1840s to the 1860s. This partially resulted from an acceptance of American supremacy on the continent in addition to a general retrenchment of Imperial activity. The re-emergence of American hostilities towards British North America and to Great Britain during the United States Civil war did much to stoke the ideas of Imperial aggrandizement both in Great Britain and in British North America. Carl Berger, The Sense of Power: Studies in the ideas of Canadian Imperialism 1867-1914 (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 60-61.
School, argued that “Our [British] history during the last century may be called the tragedy of “British intervention in the politics of Europe;” in which princes, diplomatists, peers, and generals, have been the authors and actors – the people the victims; and the moral will be exhibited to the latest posterity in 800 millions of debt.” To safeguard the British public, both from death in foreign lands and crushing debt, England needed a retrenchment from military adventurism. The emergence of the United States and the newly federated Germany as industrial rivals in the 1870s shook Great Britain from this splendid isolation. Importantly, the rise of these countries, in addition to the large Russian Empire, posed military threats to perceived British hegemony.

An important cornerstone of the Imperial Federation ideology rested on Imperial defence. The Hon. W.E. Forster argued that Imperial Federation, through a joint foreign policy of Great Britain and her colonies, provided the best means of defence. That policy both dissuaded foreign military adventurism and strengthened the defence of the Empire. He argued that “An aggressive war will be made more difficult, its dangers and disadvantages will be made more evident, the arguments against it will be more certainly and more strongly expressed; and as for a defensive war, if the union of the empire be consolidated, and Greater Britain obtains an effective organisation for common defence, where is the nation who would venture an attack?” The completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway on 7 November 1885 presented a tangible asset for those who argued in favour of Imperial Common Defence. Stanley, in his personal archive, held a copy of an 1888 unpublished memorandum.

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142 The Postbellum United States (after the conclusion of the Civil War) also influenced the development of the novel idea of Imperial Federation. Specifically, their example as a Continental super state that used the power of the State to affect social development displayed the new abilities, wrought through technology, to govern successfully large amounts of people, of disparate identities, within one overarching federal structure. Bell, 95-97.
143 Ibid, 36-38.
documenting Canada’s place in a grand scheme for common defence.\textsuperscript{145} The memorandum argued that Britain “…is shown how Canada’s great highway can be developed into a safe alternative Imperial route to India, China, and Australia.”\textsuperscript{146} This highway proved paramount for troop movement if “there is not only another “war scare,” but that the Suez Canal is blocked.”\textsuperscript{147} Stanley’s comments concerning Imperial Defence in Parliament and his devotion to Imperial Federation as an ideal reveal another element of his Imperialism. His views matched a retrenchment from isolationism and non-interventionism in Liberal Political thought.

Liberals initially stood opposed to Benjamin Disraeli’s expanding Imperialism, to which Frederick subscribed.\textsuperscript{148} However, historian Casper Sylvest argued that Liberal Prime Ministers, starting with Lord Palmerston, gradually receded from pure Cobdenite anti-imperial sentiment. Palmerston advocated expanding the Empire for commercial purposes, defended of course by the might of British militarism.\textsuperscript{149} William Gladstone further expressed the Liberal view on empire. In his 1878 article “England’s Mission” Gladstone proclaimed that “The sentiment of empire may be called innate in every Briton. If there are exceptions, they are like those of men born blind or lame among us. It is part of our patrimony: born with our birth, dying only with our death; incorporating itself in the first elements of our knowledge, and interwoven with all of habits and mental action upon public affairs.”\textsuperscript{150} Liberals in the late nineteenth-century supported the notion of Empire. They did not however support Imperial aggrandizement. Gladstone continued, “It is a portion of our national stock, which has never been deficient, but which has more than once run to rank excess, and brought us to mischief accordingly, mischief that for a time

\textsuperscript{145} The completion of the Railroad provided an important means of troop transportation through solely British-held territory in the event of a global conflagration. The railroad also secured food transports from Canada throughout the Empire in case its rivals ceased trade during a conflict. \textit{Canada’s Contribution to the Defence and Unity of the Empire.} (n.p. [1886?]), 7-9, “Papers of Frederick Arthur, 16\textsuperscript{th} Earl of Derby,” Box 21, Liverpool Central Library, Liverpool, United Kingdom.
\textsuperscript{146} Ibid, 9.
\textsuperscript{147} Ibid, 8.
\textsuperscript{148} Sylvest, 43.
\textsuperscript{149} Ibid, 44.
we have weakly thought was ruin.”¹⁵¹ In the age of expanding Imperial acquisitions by emergent European powers, Liberals embraced a type of Imperialism that strengthened Britain’s colonial possessions, but not expressly to enlarge their own Empire.¹⁵² This greatly conformed to the notions of Imperial Federationists. They wished to unite the white settler colonies into a supra national governmental structure, in order to secure Great Britain’s commercial and military dominance.

Historians Felix Gilbert and David Clay Large explained the acceptance of Imperialism as the final nail in the coffin of Classical Liberal ideals in late nineteenth-century Britain in particular, and western Europe in general:

...the liberals committed a fatal sin by accepting and promoting imperialism. Of course, the notion that industrialists and bankers had the right to pursue and the extend their business all over the globe corresponded to the [classical] liberal notions of free trade, but the form which this economic expansion took – colonialism and market control in less developed countries – created a situation in which the Europeans became a superior class above the indigenous peoples whose fate they controlled. This, in itself, represented a violation of the [classical] liberal notion of equality or equal dignity of rational man.¹⁵³

For them, the ascension of Social Darwinism and its resultant racism justified such a profound turn in liberal ideology.¹⁵⁴ If the moral role of the State to alleviate human suffering received legitimacy in liberal thought, this idea transposed itself onto their beliefs concerning Empire, the natural outgrowth of the State. An empire thus could be moral, so long as it maintained the goals of promoting social harmony. Thus, liberal acceptance of empire completed the transition from Classical to New Liberalism,
or Progressivism. Just as Liberals accepted tenets of Protectionism, a central economic doctrine of nineteenth-century British Conservatives, so too they acceded to legitimate ideas of Empire.

**Summary**

Gilbert and Large succinctly expressed the relationship of Edward Geoffrey and Frederick Stanley to Liberal ideas in their respective times. They located the Conservatism of both Stanleys against the mainstream liberal thought of their contemporaries. For them, “... [classical] liberalism had never extended an uncontested rule over the minds of the people of the nineteenth-century, but the conservative attitude had been mainly defensive.” During Edward Geoffrey’s time, Classical Liberal ideas largely opposed his Conservative ideas. Frederick’s Conservatism of the late nineteenth-century however combated the emergent New Liberalism. Given that both Stanleys rejected partisan political dogma and rigid ideological purity, both incorporated elements of contemporary Liberal thought into their political beliefs.

The transition from Classical Liberalism to New Liberalism resulted in the main differentiation between Frederick and his father’s political thought. Their devotion to easing the blight of human suffering, largely resultant from industrialism, resulted from their deep Anglican religiosity. It did not occur from a conversion to socialistic impulses. The one element that differentiated the Stanley father and son lay in the morality of the State to undertake such humanitarian activity. In Classical Liberal thought, the State lacked moral authority to regulate economic and social activity to ease human suffering.

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155 Gilbert and Large, 28.
156 Edward Geoffrey believed religious instruction paramount for the youth. In 1828, he published *Conversations on the Parables of the New Testament for the Use of Children* which used conversations between a mother and her children to teach the lessons of the Bible. In that book, he highlighted Charity as the most extensive Christian duty; the duty from man to man. Hawkins, 46-47. Frederick Stanley also held deeply religious beliefs. He kept his 1849 prayer book from Eton College, evidenced by its existence in his personal records in Liverpool. He also served on many charitable associations and engaged in many works of philanthropy when he succeeded his brother as the 16th Earl of Derby in 1893. A photograph of Stanley’s prayer book can be found in Appendix 3.5. Stanley’s personal archives hold a tremendous amount of his charitable activity, primarily from his time as 16th Earl of Derby (1893-1908). Due to the sheer volume of materials and time restraints of conducting international research, this list represents but a small portion of the primary information contained in Frederick’s archive.
suffering. The rise of socialism and its incorporation into liberal ideology challenged and overturned this notion.\textsuperscript{157} Furthermore, the rise of European and American challengers to British economic superiority, through the form of their own protectionist policies, overturned the doctrine of free Trade—a hallmark of Classical Liberal dogma.\textsuperscript{158} Finally, the liberal acceptance of Imperialism as a legitimate avenue for State activity and aggrandizement eroded the non-interventionism and anti-imperialism of the Classical Liberal tradition.\textsuperscript{159} These three transformations represented the greatest divergence between the Conservative thought of Edward Geoffrey Stanley in the early and mid-Victorian period, to those of his son Frederick in the late Victorian period.

Frederick carried this Progressive ideology with him to Canada in 1888 as he began his tenure as Governor General. During his appointment from 1888 to 1893, Stanley met with influential Canadians who shared his political ideas. Those years saw crucial debates about Canada’s national future. Would Canada join in an Imperial Federation, a continental Commercial Union with the United States—which many believed only led to official annexation into the Republic—or cast a path independent of both countries? Most importantly, the Progressives who advocated for an Imperial Federation in Canada also argued for the creation of a strong Canadian nationalism, as a means of distinguishing themselves from their British counterparts. Furthermore, the anti-Americanism of these Canadian thinkers precluded them from endorsing ideas that drew them closer to the United States. Yet, they could not uniformly combat the growing influence of American culture on the Canadian population. Sport proved a crucial element of this attempt to promote this vision of Canadianism. For Progressives of this ilk, sport provided a perfect avenue for socialization and promotion of patriotism—if sport could be linked to nationality. As a corollary to this Imperial Progressivism espoused by Stanley and his Canadian

\textsuperscript{157} Gilbert and Large, 29-30.
\textsuperscript{158} Additionally, an economic depression in Great Britain during the 1870s further eroded the belief in free trade, as many blamed the depression on acceptance of that doctrine in the 1840s. Ibid, 28-29.
\textsuperscript{159} Ibid, 30-31.
counterparts, a Canadian national sport proved an important cornerstone of their progressive ideology. For Stanley then, he acted both politically and culturally as a Progressive during his Governorship in Canada. His influence in stimulating national interest in ice hockey can be seen in its proper political position.
Chapter VI

Lord Stanley’s Political Activity as Canadian Governor General

It is our desire that the union of the Provinces should be so perpetuated that the Dominion, gaining strength from unity, shall be enabled to press forward to the great future which is in store for it.”

- Lord Stanley’s Civic Address in Victoria, British Columbia on November 1, 1889

On 1 February 1888, English Prime Minister, the Third Marquess of Salisbury, offered the position of Governor General of Canada to Frederick Arthur, Lord Stanley. Frederick did not immediately jump at the opportunity, needing the Marquess’ persuasion to convince him to accept the post. On 31 May 1888, Stanley, along with his wife Lady Alice Stanley and four of his eight children: Edward (age 23), Victor (age 21), Isobel (age 12), and William (age 10), together with members of their staff, departed from Liverpool en route to Canada. They arrived in Lévis, Quebec on 9 June 1888, just opposite of Quebec City. Rather than attend a grand reception planned in Quebec City, the Stanley party chose to journey directly to Ottawa. Frederick Stanley’s biographers noted that the 10 June 1888 edition of The Ottawa Daily Citizen recorded Stanley’s first address to his Canadian subjects, even before he was officially sworn in as Canada’s sixth Governor General. Stanley remarked on his intentions as Governor General, commenting that “I hope that I may approach my duties in the spirit of feeling how much I may have to learn; that when my term of office is ended, Lady Stanley and myself, looking back with regard to those who have done so much to make our stay in this country happy, may also feel that

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1 “At Victoria: The Reception to the Governor-General – Civic Address and Reply.” The Vancouver Daily World, November 1, 1889.
2 “Canada’s Viceroy,” The Daily Colonist, November 1, 1889.
3 Stanley’s four other children stayed in England due to other commitments. Arthur (age 19) served in the military while Frederick’s three other sons, Ferdinand (age 16), George (age 15), and Algernon (age 14) all attended boarding school at Wellington College in Crowthorne, Berkshire. On their holidays, all four sons travelled to Canada. Kevin Shea and John Jason Wilson, Lord Stanley: The man behind the cup (Toronto, ON: Fenn Pub., 2006), 53.
our Administration, with the guidance of wisdom from above, has not been without benefit to this great country.”

On 11 June 1888, he took the official oath to become Canada’s Governor General.

As Governor General, Stanley put into practices his own political beliefs, beliefs which underscored his role as Head of the Canadian State. According to his biographers Kevin Shea and John Jason Wilson, Stanley’s duties as Governor General included “…representing the Crown in Canada, representing Canadians, promoting sovereignty and unification within Canada and celebrating excellence.” The idea of State promotion of excellence greatly resonated with Stanley’s Progressive ideology and experiences in British Governance. Furthermore, promoting sovereignty and unity within Canada presented another avenue upon which Stanley’s personal political beliefs coincided with his role. Politically, Stanley entered a Canadian State embroiled in domestic and international disputes.

Domestically, he entered during the early stages of the Jesuits’ Estates Controversy. Internationally he found himself mired in the dispute between Canada and the United States over sealing rights in the Behring Sea off the Alaskan Coast. These political episodes taught Stanley the difficulty in using politics

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5 Ottawa Daily Citizen, June 10, 1888, quoted in Shea and Wilson, 1.
7 Shea and Wilson, 55. Italics are mine, for emphasis.
8 For a detailed discussion of Stanley’s political ideology, please refer to Chapter V.
9 These disputes, although requiring immediate attention, did not represent monumental challenges or triumphs of the Canadian State compared to his predecessor’s term. For more information see below.
10 The Jesuit Estates Act of 1888, passed by the Quebec Legislature, settled a long-standing dispute between the Province of Quebec and the Roman Catholic Church over Jesuit lands confiscated by the British Crown after their victory over New France in the Seven Years War. The Act granted financial compensation to the Church. This created controversy amongst the Protestant minority in Quebec due to the direct negotiations between the Provincial Government and the Pope, which they alleged amounted to collusion between State and Church. This controversy became national as English Canadian nationalists and imperialists used this example to warn of the creeping influence of Ultramontanism and the extension of French Catholic culture across the Western provinces. These charges gave them political capital to move to restrict the extension of Catholic education and French language rights outside of Quebec. “Summary,” in James Miller, “The Impact of the Jesuits’ Estates Act on Canadian Politics, 1888-1891,” PhD. Diss., University of Toronto, 1972, ProQuest (NK32842): 1.
11 In the mid-1880s, British sealers began pelagic sealing, hunting while at sea as opposed to on land, in the Behring Sea in American territory. This represented a serious source of competition for Alaskan sealers, of which the territory of Alaska depended upon as their primary source of revenue. In 1886, under the direction of United States Secretary of the Treasury Daniel Manning, American revenue cutters began seizing foreign vessels engaged in pelagic sealing. Manning feared that pelagic sealing would endanger the seal populations and disrupt the monopoly held by the American sealers hunting on land. The seizure of British Columbian vessels brought Canada
as a means to affect Canadian unity. In the domestic sphere, the divisions of language and religion at
times pitted the population against each other. In the international arena, lack of authority over affairs
relegated the Canadian State to a mere observer. From his position between the Dominion and the
Home Government, Stanley increasingly empathized with Canadian frustration at this situation. He
began to view himself in Canadian terms. Increasingly, cultural, not political considerations drove
Stanley closer to his Canadian subjects. He endeavored to promote unity not through political, but
through cultural means. As the head of the Canadian State, Stanley drew upon his Progressive political
ideals which legitimated this type of state sanction as beneficial political activity.

Stanley, during his time in Canada, was profoundly fond of the people, including their
amusements. The active sporting community in Canada greatly endeared Stanley towards his subjects.
In particular, he encountered their avid winter sporting practices and traditions. Given his belief in the
promotion of cultural excellence through State sponsorship and sanction, Stanley used his influence and
office to promote winter sports. 12 Importantly, Stanley became the first Governor General to travel
across the entire Canadian Confederation. 13 In 1889, he travelled west, all the way to Vancouver Island,
via the newly completed Canadian Pacific Railway. That trip influenced Stanley’s conception of Canada,
in particular the country as a national entity. The vastness of the country, its natural beauty, and the
vigour of its inhabitants endeared him towards the Canadian people and created for him a positive view
of the future of the Canadian State.

and the United States into diplomatic conflict, and threatened to disrupt the relations between the British Empire
and the United States, even to the point of open conflict. Robert Brown, Canada’s National Policy 1883-1900: A
12 Stanley continued the tradition of promoting Winter Sports, including skating and tobogganing, started by his
predecessors at Rideau Hall. James Noonan, Canada’s Governor General at Play: Culture and Rideau Hall from
Monck to Grey, With an Afterword on their Successors, Connaught to LeBlanc (Ottawa, ON: Borealis Book
13 Only Stanley’s predecessor, Lord Lansdowne, held similar capacity to make a trip to the Pacific Coast. The CPR,
completed on 7 November 1885, gave access across the impassable three mountain ranges which separated the
prairies from the British Columbia Lowlands. Previous to this linkage, the only travel to the British Columbian coast
came by sea around the entire American Continent, by way of rounding Cape Horn at the southern tip of Patagonia
in South America.
Given the identity crisis in Canadian nationality, Stanley saw not only national fragility through the country’s political struggles, but also a sense of cultural cohesion. That sense of cohesion, in his mind, resulted greatly from sport. He acted on this belief in his promotion of Canadian sport, especially the indigenous sport of ice hockey. The Stanley family avidly participated in ice hockey and promoted it during their time spent at their official residence Rideau Hall in Ottawa. Through attendance at the Montreal Winter Carnivals, Lord Stanley realized the potential of winter sports to engender a sense of community, a sentiment of common interests, amongst the Canadian population. Sport, as an important cultural activity harboured nationalist elements. For a Canadian State grappling with identity questions, sport served as one means to create commonality across the disparate Canadian landscape. It could serve to connect citizens in interest from the Maritimes, through Central Canada, to the Prairies, across the Rockies, and towards the Pacific Coast, just as the Canadian Pacific Railway connected them geographically.

Lord Stanley’s Governance in Canada

In addition to Lord Stanley’s representational and promotion duties as Governor General, he also held important constitutional and diplomatic responsibilities. The Governor General opened and closed all Parliamentary Sessions, held authority for Royal Ascent of all laws passed in the Canadian Legislature, had the duty to dissolve Parliament and to call an election, sign state documents, and delivered the Throne Speech. Diplomatically, the Prime Minister could request the Governor General to travel to foreign countries on official business. When foreign dignitaries arrived in Ottawa, the Governor General received and officially welcomed them to Canada. A New York Times article describing Stanley’s appointment and the office of the Governor General remarked: “...it is his privilege to give

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14 A detailed discussion of the identity crisis in the late 1880s follows in chapter VII.
15 Shea and Wilson, 2.
State balls and dinners and to hold presentations in the name of the sovereign.” Additionally, the Governor General appointed all of the Provinces’ Lt. Governors, and he held “…the power of granting pardons to offenders or remitting sentences and fines and of mitigating the capital or any other sentence.” The Governor General, at this time in Canadian development, still held great influence as the mediator between the Dominion and the Empire. Commenting on the importance of this mediation, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Canada’s seventh Prime Minister and leader of the Federal Liberal Party during Lord Stanley’s tenure, explained that “The Governor General’s principal task was interpreting to Britain the ideals and aims of the Dominion, and, conversely, of expounding to the Dominion the intricate problems of the mother-country... Advice to Ministers in their administrative work and a constant effort to make sure that Britain and the Dominion see with the same eyes and speak the same language – these are duties which make far greater demands upon character and brain than the easy work of a dictator.” Biographer of Governor General Lord Minto, John Buchan, noted that “The main qualification [for an effective Governor General] is experience and native shrewdness; the second, an alert sympathy and an open mind.” Laurier’s description of the ideal qualities for a Governor General aptly conformed to Stanley’s character. Stanley already held a great deal of knowledge of British Colonial relations as he served as the Secretary of State for the Colonies from June 1885 to December of 1886. As a proponent of Imperial Federation, Frederick wished to maintain amicable relations between the Dominion and the Mother Country, but also for the self-governing Dominions to aspire towards an equal partnership with England in a Progressive Imperial Parliament. He administered his Office with Canadian interests paramount in his deliberations. His aristocratic sense of duty and responsibility even led him to take unfavourable positions amongst his fellow Imperialists. Yet, he always trumpeted the cause of Imperialism, while placing great significance upon the development of Canadian nationalism.

17 Ibid.
19 Ibid.
A) *Domestic Governance*

Lord Stanley’s appointment in Canada spanned a comparably quiet time in Canadian domestic political life. His predecessor, the Third Marquess of Lansdowne, presided over both the triumph of geographic consolidation, through the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railroad on 7 November 1885, and political consolidation, through the quelling of the North West Rebellion culminating in the capital sentence and hanging of rebel leader Louis Riel on 16 November 1885. Both of the consolidations of Lansdowne’s tenure impacted Stanley, but in different ways. Concerning his political role as the head of State, the death sentence conferred upon Riel for treason sparked a different type of resistance to the consolidation of Anglophone nationalism across the dominion. Furious at Riel’s execution, despite his defence of insanity, the French in Quebec generally despised the Canadian Government for, in their minds, this excessively harsh sentence. Historian Craig Brown commented that the Riel execution produced severe tensions between the Québécois and Anglophone-Canadians.²⁰ To many French Canadians, the execution signalled a hostility towards the French, particularly to their language and religion, as a strategy by the Canadian government.

The Riel incident strengthened the emerging French *nationaliste* movement in Quebec, headed by politician Honoré Mercier.²¹ At a 16 August 1882 speech delivered to the society of St. Jean-Baptiste de St. Seveur, with Governor General Lansdowne in attendance, Mercier proclaimed that

*We [French Canadians] have a right to our national existence as a separate race. Woe to anyone who tries to take this right from us. But we must do nothing against our brothers of a different*

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²⁰ Brown, 126.
origin and different beliefs. We must claim our rights with firmness but without aggression. We must energetically fight everything that tends to destroy our national character, but we must respect in others the same rights we claim for ourselves. It is no longer a question of fighting our enemies with weapons, but rather of competing as a race with our brothers through education, work, and integrity.\textsuperscript{22}

Mercier’s motivation behind the speech lay in the colonization of the Canadian north-west by French settlers. He hoped both to strengthen the French nation across Canada and to combat English domination of the expansive prairie frontier. Canadian historian Carl Berger noted the efforts of Anglo-Canadian nationalists to stimulate English emigration to the north-west after the Red River Rebellions in 1869-70 in order to combat the growing French element in Manitoba and the prairies to the west.\textsuperscript{23} Riel’s death, along with Mercier’s ascendency to the Premiership in Quebec in 1887, invigorated French Canadian nationalism in Canada.

The assent of the Jesuits’ Estates Act on 12 July 1888 in the Quebec Legislature brought simmering French nationalism into direct conflict with Anglo-Canadian nationalists. Premier Mercier authorized the Quebec Legislature to recompense the Jesuit Church for lands confiscated by the English Crown as tribute in the French and Indian Wars (1754-1763).\textsuperscript{24} English-Canadians’ primary objections to the act rested on the direct negotiations between the Province of Quebec and the Pope. They viewed this as international infiltration and the welding of Church and State. An English-Canadian advocacy group in Ontario, The Citizen’s Committee, succinctly stated these objections in an 1889 pamphlet. They argued that the act “…recognizes a right on the part of the Pope to interfere in the administration of our civil affairs, which is derogatory to the supremacy of the Queen and menacing to the liberties of the people…It places $400,000 of public funds at the disposal of the Pope for ecclesiastical and sectarian

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purposes – an appropriation of public money contrary to the whole spirit of British and Canadian legislation, unjust to the Protestant minority in Quebec, and subversive of the religious equality which ought to exist.”\textsuperscript{25} Specifically, English outrage stemmed at the growing influence of Ultramontanism upon French-Canadian politics in Quebec, of which the Jesuits’ Estates Act represented but one example.\textsuperscript{26}

The religious doctrine of Ultramontanism advocated the absolute power of the Pope within the entire structure of the Roman Catholic Church. It positioned the Pope’s authority as autonomous from the State and stressed its primacy in common areas of jurisdiction, such as education. In nineteenth-century Quebec, virtually the entire Roman Catholic Church adhered to Ultramontanism.\textsuperscript{27} French-Canadian theologian and writer Louise-Adolphe Paquet highlighted the welding of Church and State in Quebec during this time period. In a speech given on St. Jean-Baptiste Day, 24 May 1887, in Montreal’s Notre Dame Cathedral, Paquet proclaimed, “Tell me that it is not evident that among us the national flag and the religious flag join their colours harmoniously and that the Church serves with devotion the interests of the people. The people themselves proudly serve the interests of the Church. I add that our race [French Canadian], by its very nature, is an instrument particularly suited to the providential role.”\textsuperscript{28}

English agitation over this blatant interference on behalf of Rome resulted in a petition directed to the

\textsuperscript{25} The Jesuits’ Estates Bill (Toronto, ON: The Citizens Committee, 1889), 1.
\textsuperscript{26} Ibid, 2.
Governor General’s office to disallow the Act. Article IV Section 56 of the British North America Act gave the ultimate authority of disallowance in Canada to the Governor General, stating:

Where the Governor General assents to a Bill in the Queen’s Name, he shall by the first convenient Opportunity send an authentic Copy of the Act to One of Her Majesty’s Principal Secretaries of State, and if the Queen in Council within Two Years after Receipt thereof by the Secretary of State thinks fit to disallow the Act, such Disallowance (with a Certificate of the Secretary of State of the Day on which the Act was received by him) being signified by the Governor General, by Speech or Message to each of the Houses of the Parliament or by Proclamation, shall annul the Act from and after the Day of such Signification.

The Citizens’ Committee of Toronto urged “That petitions be presented to the Governor-General, asking him to disallow the Act, or to dissolve the House of Commons so as to enable the constituencies to pronounce on the question at the earliest possible moment.” An act signed mere months into Lord Stanley’s appointment necessitated his constitutional duties as head of State. Furthermore, his decision would inevitably anger either the French or English, possibly creating disunion within the Dominion, and challenge his official duties to promote national unity.

Stanley had some personal experience, through the actions and words of his father, on the issue of dispossessing the Churches and placing their property in the hands of the Legislature. Frederick kept a copy of a letter written to his father on 25 December 1839 by members of the Canadian Presbyterian Council discussing British funding of a proposed college in Kingston to train ministers. Also, his father stood as a strong antidisestablishmentarian during the controversy over the Irish National Church in the


30 British North America Act. art. IV, § 56.

31 The Jesuits’ Estates Bill, 3.

early 1830s.\textsuperscript{33} Frederick harboured a great respect for Church institutions and the State’s role in their protection. As the opposition to the Jesuits’ Estate Act embroiled English Canada, in particular Ontario, Stanley drew on these beliefs. On 6 July 1889, Sir John A. Macdonald wrote to Stanley about the potential national repercussions of the Act.\textsuperscript{34} Specifically concerning the prospects of disallowance, Prime Minister Macdonald asserted in the House of Commons, “What would be the consequences of a disallowance? Agitation, a quarrel – a racial and religious war would be aroused. The best interests of the country would be prejudiced, our credit would be ruined abroad, and our social relations destroyed at home.”\textsuperscript{35} For Macdonald, the rage hurled against the Act proved tame in consideration of possible future consequences of disallowance. The potential aftermath of Stanley’s action, or inaction, proved a considerable question to his contemporaries.

Evidence from Lord Stanley’s personal archival holdings provide great insight into his care taken in deliberating on this manner. He carefully studied the religious underpinnings of the Jesuit Order.\textsuperscript{36} He kept abreast of proceedings in the Canadian House of Commons. A copy of the complete collection of Parliamentary debates on the matter is held in his personal archive at the Liverpool Central Library.\textsuperscript{37} In the summer of 1888, Stanley met with Mercier at Stanley’s cottage in Chaleur Bay, on the Cascapédia

\textsuperscript{33} Shea and Wilson, 81.
\textsuperscript{34} Ibid, 83.
\textsuperscript{36} Stanley kept a copy of Controversy on the Constitutions of the Jesuits Between Dr. Littledale and Fr. Drummond published in 1889. That pamphlet chronicled the back and forth joust between Dr. Littledale and Father Lewis Drummond over Littledale’s entry on the Jesuits in the Encyclopaedia Britannica. “Controversy on the Constitution of the Jesuits. Between Dr. Littledale and Father Drummond,” The Month, 68, no. 305 (1889): 439. The particular objection rested between Littledale’s translation of the original Latin of the Jesuit Constitution and Father Drummond’s public attempt at correction. Dr. Littledale, and Father Lewis Drummond, Controversy on the Constitutions of the Jesuits Between Dr. Littledale and Fr. Drummond (Winnipeg, MB: Manitoba Free Press, 1889), “Papers of Frederick Arthur, 16th Earl of Derby,” Box 21, Liverpool Central Library, Liverpool, United Kingdom.
River in Quebec. Mercier wrote to Stanley thanking him for his hospitality. Furthermore, he corresponded intimately with Sir John A. Macdonald concerning the matter. On 5 April 1889, Macdonald wrote to Stanley alerting him that British Secretary of State for the Colonies Lord Knutsford continued to receive numerous petitions concerning disallowance. Despite the formalities involved in royal assent or disallowance of legislation, the British government would not dare to usurp the power from the Canadian Government. In particular, he noted the Evangelical League as primary agitators regarding the legality of the Act. On 16 May 1889, Macdonald wrote to Stanley concerning the Evangelical League’s activity and on the prospects of altogether removing questions surrounding the legality of the Act through the decision of English Law Officers. Macdonald appointed these Officers with the task of determining the Act’s legality. Stanley replied the following day. On 31 May 1889, Macdonald wrote to Stanley commenting on John Thompson’s, the acting Canadian Minister of Justice, exhaustive deliberations initially pointing to the legality of the Act. Macdonald hoped this eventual decision confirmed by the Law Offices would render the controversy final. Thompson, in the House of Commons, gave a speech on 27 March 1889 listing his justifications in asking Stanley not to disallow the

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38 While not explicitly noted, the two must have discussed at some point the brewing controversy over Mercier’s Governments passage of the Jesuits’ Estates Act. Honoré Mercier to Lord Stanley, August 11, 1888. “Stanley family papers, incl Canadian papers of the 16th Earl of Derby (1841-1908),” Folder 24, document 5, Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, United Kingdom.


41 Lord Stanley to Sir. John A. Macdonald, May 17, 1889. “Stanley family papers, incl Canadian papers of the 16th Earl of Derby (1841-1908),” Folder 11, document 19, Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, United Kingdom. Unfortunately due to the time limitations of conducting overseas travel, I was unable to make a copy of this exact letter. Information concerning the content is available in the finding aid to the Stanley collection.

Thompson quoted the terms of capitulation after the French and Indian Wars. The stipulations granted that “…all the priests shall preserve their movables, the property and revenues of the seignories and other estates which they possess in the colony, of what nature soever they be, and the same estates shall be preserved in the privileges, rights, honors and exemptions.” For Thompson, this confirmed the right of the Jesuits to petition for recompense for their lost property and rendered the Jesuits’ Estates Act legal. On 3 August 1889, Macdonald confirmed Thompson’s initial legal ruling through the official decision of the Law Offices, declaring the Act legal, and cautiously hoped to Stanley that its publication on 8 August 1889 would finally cease the agitation.

For Lord Stanley, this episode illuminated to him the fractured nature of Canadian national politics and enabled him to strike a strong position, according to his own political ideology, as upholder of law in dispensing his official duties. Despite strong petitions by Protestant Evangelicals, which Stanley himself resembled much closer than the rigid Catholicism of the Ultramontanes in Quebec, Stanley refused to act against the constitutionally legal Jesuits’ Estates Act. Furthermore, the Canadian House of Commons voted resoundingly one hundred and eighty-eight to thirteen against disallowance. Stanley, serving in the interests of Canada, sided with the majority of its politicians in upholding Quebec’s controversial law. His inaction displayed his reverence to authority and duty, a hallmark of his personal

44 “Article XXXIV,” Articles of Capitulation: Between their Excellencies Major GENERAL AMHERST, Commander in Chief of his Britannic Majesty’s troops and forces in North-America, on the one part, and the Marquess de Vaudreuil, &c. Governor and Lieutenant-General for the King in Canada, on the Other (Montreal, PQ: 1760), in Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada: 1759-1751, eds. Adam Shortt and Arthur Doughty (Ottawa, ON: J. de. L Taché, Printer to the Kings Most Excellent Majesty, 1918): 32.
46 The Jesuits’ Estate Act, assented in Quebec on 8 August 1888 gave the Governor General one year to invoke his power of disallowance, thus the significance of the date in Macdonald’s letter. Shea and Wilson, 84.
ideology. Additionally, he drew upon his father’s staunch belief in support of the Clergy and their property against State incursion. In this aspect, he maintained strict Conservative beliefs regarding Church protection. In Canada, Conservative and Liberal politicians argued against disallowance, including Liberal leader Wilfrid Laurier.\textsuperscript{48} Stanley adhered to his duties by upholding majority and legal opinion, on a matter that affected the unity of the country.

Stanley’s inaction, however, enraged Protestant agitators in Ontario. For them, the allowance of the Act confirmed the creeping influence of Rome into the politics of the Dominion. It hardened them against the expansion of French political influence beyond Quebec, most importantly in the North-West and prairies.\textsuperscript{49} Carl Berger noted that this episode provided Canadian imperialists with additional motivation to limit and eventually annihilate the French in Canada (through legislative pressure minimizing the French influence outside Quebec as well as through greater assimilation efforts placed upon Quebec).\textsuperscript{50} The decision of the Manitoba Government to defund French Catholic education and remove the policy of official bilingualism in 1890 illustrated the height of the practical consequences of Anglo-Canadian vengeance.\textsuperscript{51} However, Berger also noted that leader of the Canadian Imperialist movement, George M. Grant, declined to join the most radical agitators of this Anglo-Protestant minority. For him, Canadian nationality included both French and English, and as a believer in provincial rights, he agreed with the Governor General’s actions.\textsuperscript{52}

\textsuperscript{49} This political momentum descended upon the province of Manitoba as the local population attempted to remove public funding from French Roman Catholic schools, a right guaranteed in the British North America Act. The funding of these schools, in the minds of Protestant agitators, confirmed the privileged status of the Roman Catholic Church in Canada and Rome’s potential to infect the general body politic. Shea and Wilson, 86.
\textsuperscript{50} Berger, 134-136.
\textsuperscript{51} A.I. Silver, The French Canadian Idea of Confederation 1864-1900 (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 185-187. Silver noted that this direct attack in the North-West flamed French national sentiment in Quebec, specifically over the idea that their institutions, constitutionally guaranteed, stood in peril across the country. This in turn led to a sense of French Canadian unity across the Dominion stronger than in previous decades. Silver, 187.
\textsuperscript{52} Berger, 134-136.
opponents over this very issue. Given that he upheld Grant’s version of Canadian nationality, one which protected the different nationalities in one polity, Stanley, through this experience, intoned the difficult political realities of such polity and the true difficulty in promoting unity through political activity. The entire controversy impressed upon him the need to define or create new avenues upon which to fulfill his duties as Governor General, that is, to promote Canadian unity.

B) International Governance

If the domestic political situation in Canada revealed to Stanley Canada’s internal divisions, the international conditions highlighted Canada’s relative weakness, especially in relation to the United States and Great Britain. Stanley entered his appointment in Canada as agitation with the United States over pelagic sealing rights in the Bering Sea approached a tipping point. Despite concerted efforts to reach a compromise, one negotiated on Canada’s behalf by Great Britain through their ambassador at Washington and through the British Prime Minister, the issue persisted beyond Stanley’s tenure. This episode revealed important lessons to Stanley concerning Canada’s status as a nation. First, the hostility of the United States in negotiations, for him, informed him of a real and impending danger to Canada, and thus to the British Empire. Second, as a representative of Canada, Stanley intoned the frustrations of Canadian statesmen at the perceived sacrifice of Canadian interests by British diplomats in negotiations with the United States. Ultimately, Stanley through this episode, came to sympathize with Canadians over their desires for greater national representation in politics, affirming in him a desire on the part of Canadians for a greater unity in national identity. Furthermore, by arguing on their behalf, Stanley grew closer in affinity towards the Canadian people, empathizing with their national desires to a great extent.

53 For an explanation of the Bering Sea controversy please refer to citation #9 in this chapter.
According to Canadian historian Craig Brown the seizure of Canadian vessels in the Behring Sea by American ships presented a conundrum for Canadian statesmen. He argued that “...the Behring [sic.] Sea problem clearly revealed Canada’s limited field of action... [in this matter] Canada could act as a quasi-sovereign state to protect her possession.”

Explaining Canada’s precarious position, Brown continued, “As a colonial nation within the British Empire, Canada could claim no authority in its own right beyond a marine league [roughly three British miles] from the coast; all extra-territorial power and responsibility was vested in the Imperial Government.”

Lord Stanley, as Canada’s mediator between the Dominion and Imperial Governments, represented an important fulcrum in the negotiations over pelagic sealing rights. Almost immediately upon landing in Canada in early June 1888, Stanley’s duties became dominated by the Behring Sea controversy and negotiations. Stanley wrote to Macdonald on 5 July 1888, expressing the desires of British Prime Minister Lord Salisbury, “…desiring me [Lord Stanley] to urge the [Canadian] Ministers to furnish as soon as possible to the Home Government their report on the question of establishing a close time for seals in [the] Behring Sea.”

On 11 July 1888, Stanley wrote to Salisbury relaying the strong feelings in Canada concerning finding an acceptable closing time. These letters exemplified Stanley’s role between the Canadian and British Prime Ministers. Additionally, Stanley also communicated with the British Minister at Washington and the British Secretary of State for the Colonies. Further complicating the matter stood American Secretary of State James Blaine, who assumed his office in March 1889 under the Republican administration of President Benjamin Harrison.

When Prime Minister Salisbury appointed Sir Julian Pauncefote as British Minister in Washington early in

54 Brown, 46.
55 Ibid, 46-47.
57 Lord Stanley to Prime Minister Salisbury, July 11, 1888. “Stanley family papers, incl Canadian papers of the 16th Earl of Derby (1841-1908),” Folder 20, document 1, Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, United Kingdom.
1889, Blaine immediately reconvened discussions over the Behring Sea dispute.\textsuperscript{58} Blaine’s nineteenth-century biographer Theron Crawford described Blaine’s overarching political vision as “...the domination of this country [the United States] over the entire North American continent...He expected Canada would ultimately be annexed to this country [the United States] through a voluntary movement upon its part.”\textsuperscript{59} In his dealings with British diplomats and Canadian Statesmen, Blaine proved acutely hostile to Canadian interests. In a 24 November 1889 letter to Stanley, Pauncefote noted his good relationship with Blaine, and that only two issues remained before an agreement could be reached over the Behring Sea issue: the area of the Sea available to international pelagic sealing and the close date.\textsuperscript{60}

Yet, negotiations began to break down due to Canadian rigidity. A 3 February 1890 letter from Lord Stanley to Pauncefote noted that Canada would not waver from their original positions from 1888.\textsuperscript{61} Robert Brown noted that the Stanley family travels across the country in 1889, especially to British Columbia, created resolve in him to uphold their interests.\textsuperscript{62} Stanley himself grew tired of relying on the British to solve Canadian problems. In a 6 September 1889 letter to Macdonald, Stanley lamented “Between ourselves I did not quite like the tone of a recent telegram...in which there seemed to me to be some attempt of the part of the Imperial Authorities to mix up the question of private damage with that of national outrage. The one is for the courts – aided if necessary by diplomatic

\textsuperscript{58} Shea and Wilson, 173.
\textsuperscript{60} Sir. Julian Pauncefote to Lord Stanley, November 24, 1889. “Stanley family papers, incl Canadian papers of the 16th Earl of Derby (1841-1908),” Folder 15, document 6, Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, United Kingdom.
\textsuperscript{62} In particular, Stanley felt embarrassed when in British Columbia, the citizens questioned whether the Imperial Government would truly act on their behalf and protect their sailors and commercial interests on the Behring Sea. Brown, 108.
pressure – the other ought to be settled without delay or evasion between the two governments."

From his position embedded between the three Governments, he began to understand Canadian frustrations at having their national interests defended by a third party. In that same 6 September letter, he noted that Prime Minister Salisbury seemed to take greater influence from Russian and American diplomats and statesmen rather than support his own Imperial brethren in Canada. The American Supreme Court effectively settled all US citizens’ private claims by early September 1889, leaving only the British claims outstanding. The fact that Macdonald’s description of Canadian interests in the minds of their American counterparts amounted to British claims further added credence to Canadian exasperation at British-led negotiations. The first eighteen months of Stanley’s involvement in the Behring Sea dispute highlighted the pattern which attended his involvement in the affair. Lord Stanley himself interjected on behalf of Canada to solve the problem. On 6 December 1889, he crafted suggestions on how best to resolve the dispute. In 1891, he corresponded extensively with Pauncefoote, discussing in minute detail the points of contention over the geography of the Behring Sea, the chronology of the sealing period, and the consequences of over-sealing to the overall health of

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64 Ibid. Stanley biographers Shea and Wilson also noted this frustration from the same letter. Shea and Wilson, 176.
66 Aside from American and British intransigence towards Canadian desire for speedy resolution, many personal matters derailed and prolonged the negotiations. Pauncefoote noted that Sec. of State Blaine recused himself from negotiations from September 1889 until February 1890 due to the death of his son. Sir Julian Pauncefoote to Lord Stanley, January 28, 1890. “Stanley family papers, incl Canadian papers of the 16th Earl of Derby (1841-1908),” Folder 16, document 1, Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, United Kingdom. After a round of negotiations over a proposed treaty, again Pauncefoote noted the absence of negotiations on behalf of Blaine. Sir Julian Pauncefoote to Lord Stanley, March 27, 1891. “Stanley family papers, incl Canadian papers of the 16th Earl of Derby (1841-1908),” Folder 17, document 5, Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, United Kingdom. The death of Sir. John A. Macdonald on 6 June 1891 also stalled negotiations, while James Blaine’s retirement from political life in 1892, due to poor health, also stalled progress.
the fur seal population in that area. This effort drew from Stanley’s own proposal in 1890 on which the negotiations of 1891 centred. Stanley championed both the Canadian cause and felt the disappointment at the intransigence of the Imperial Government in adequately attending to Canadian interests.

Another controversy over oceanic resources, this time stemming from fishery rights off the coast of Newfoundland, raged during Stanley’s tenure in Canada. The issue of fishing rights off the coast of Newfoundland developed over contentious issues relating to protected, reciprocal, or free trade between the United States and Canada. The passage of the McKinley Tariff, along with Newfoundland conducting negotiations and approaching a trade deal of its own with the United States, necessitated Canadian action over the boundaries of Canadian waters in the Atlantic. Amidst ongoing negotiations over Bering Sea sealing, Stanley oversaw another bout of contentious discussions with the United States.

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69 Brown, 109.
70 At the heart of the matter laid the Canadian Government’s claims to the inland fisheries of British North America supported by the 1854 Treaty of Washington and reaffirmed in the 1871 Treaty of Washington. In 1883, the American Government informed the Canadian Government of intended abrogation of the 1871 agreement. This resulted in the 1885 deliberations that produced a temporary Treaty Agreement. Lord Stanley, serving as the Colonial Secretary in the British Government, personally attended to this issue. Brown, 13-19. The passage of the protectionist McKinley Tariff by the American Government in 1891 resurrected the debate over fishing rights. Ibid, 195.
71 The McKinley Tariff raised import tariffs dramatically on all products, manufactured and natural, entering the United States. Sir. John A. Macdonald believed that American Secretary of State James Blaine conducted negotiations with Newfoundland in order to pressure Canada. He believed that Blaine’s ultimate strategy of isolating Canada from the British Empire, thereby softening her up to annexation by the United States, was at play during this episode. Christopher Pennington, The Destiny of Canada: Macdonald, Laurier, and the election of 1891, History of Canada Series (Toronto, ON: Allen Lane Canada, 2011), 133-134.
On 17 November 1890, Macdonald wrote to Stanley informing him that he convened his Cabinet to deal specifically with the Newfoundland Fishing matter. Macdonald badly wanted Canada represented in the negotiations, and wrote Stanley again in November asking whether the Imperial Government would allow a Canadian delegate. This reality for Canadian diplomacy greatly impacted Stanley, who championed Canada against the Home Government in foreign diplomacy. Macdonald expressed to Stanley, in a 26 January 1891 letter, deep Canadian fears that unsuccessful negotiations in a scheduled 1891 convention over the Newfoundland issue would result in the destruction of the Canadian Fishing industry. Importantly, Macdonald relayed to Stanley the American hopes for the convention and the unfair position of the Dominion in Imperial diplomacy. He complained “...I fear give a great impetus to the cry of Unrestricted Reciprocity. It will be asked ‘How Can the Mother Country expect Canada to accept a discrimination against her and in favour of the United States when she allows a small colony like Newfld [Newfoundland] to arrange for discrimination against the Dominion.” This attitude affected the negotiations. Canadian officials refused to ratify the negotiated settlement. Colonial Secretary Lord Knutsford wrote to Stanley on 31 January 1891 voicing his displeasure of the refusal of the Canadian ministers to withdraw their opposition. On 15 February 1892 after a year of negotiations, British Minister in Washington Pauncefote relayed to Stanley news of successful

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75 Ibid. The nod to strengthening views favourable to Unlimited Reciprocity related both to Canada’s commercial relations with a protectionist United States, but also against domestic political opponent Wilfrid Laurier, whose Liberal Party endorsed and ran the 1891 election on a platform promising to enact Unlimited Reciprocity with the United States.
76 Lord Knutsford to Lord Stanley, January 31, 1891. “Stanley family papers, incl Canadian papers of the 16th Earl of Derby (1841-1908),” Folder 8, document 2, Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, United Kingdom.
A new American administration, a result of the 1892 presidential election, postponed the negotiations, leaving Pauncefote to strategize with Stanley regarding their stance on how to induce a treaty out of Grover Cleveland’s new administration. Just as with the Behring Sea, Stanley left his post before ratification of a treaty solving the North Atlantic Fisheries question. Yet, this episode merely confirmed and strengthened Stanley’s resolve concerning Canadian dependence on Imperial diplomats, the hostility emanating out of United States, and the need for a new progressive governmental design to accede these realities.

In addition to creating a sense of empathy with his Canadian subjects, the Behring Sea episode and Newfoundland Fisheries negotiations displayed to Stanley the potential for conflict between the United States and Canada over diplomatic issues. As a believer in Imperial Federation, Stanley understood that defence provided a great deal of the motivation behind that progressive idea in State formation. Canadian champion of Imperial Federation George Parkin argued that “A common system of defence therefor seems of itself a sufficient justification for close political union [Imperial Federation]. This is a permanent condition [of the Empire].”

In a 17 June 1890 letter, Pauncefote believed war a distinct possibility due to the Behring Sea discussions and that he worked tirelessly to prevent such a collision. Only through failed negotiations could a war arise between the North American countries. Pauncefote noted to Stanley in a 25 February 1891 letter that no serious discussion of annexation, of

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Canada into the United States, existed. Yet, Stanley himself believed that conflict could indeed emerge from these negotiations. Stanley’s aide-de-camp, Lord Kilcoursie, recalled in his unpublished manuscript a rather close escape from conflagration. In 1892, as the Stanley’s left for their summer retreat on the Cascapédia River in Quebec for three weeks of salmon fishing, Kilcoursie stayed behind to attend to official business. Kilcoursie recalled the dramatic incident

My instructions were to decipher the telegrams and send them on bi-weekly messenger, but that a certain cable marked ‘urgent’ might arrive asking if the Canadian Government would agree to a certain word or clause being inserted in the draft. I was given the draft and the answer to be sent which was roughly as follows: -

‘The Canadian Government cannot agree to the words suggested we have sent a revised draft by mail which left yesterday.’

Sure enough, a few hours after their Excellencies’ departure the cable arrived, but not quite worded as expected. I hesitated for some time whether I should send the draft to answer or not, but finally decided I had better ask for further instructions. Meanwhile I sent the Colonial Office a cipher message saying: -

‘Cable No. ..... received and forwarded to His Excellency at Bay of Gaspe.’

Three days later I got a message from the Canadian Government that they had heard from His Excellency and that the draft message left in my hands was to be destroyed. I then forgot the whole matter. Three weeks later it was my turn to go up to the Fishing Lodge and his Excellency said to me – ‘If you had sent the draft reply nothing could have prevented war between the United States and Canada.’

For Stanley, the wrongly worded message sent at the wrong time could indeed precipitate war between Canada and the United States. Whether or not the letter, if sent, would actually have initiated an irreversible charge toward a North American conflict matters not. This episode proved that Stanley believed that war was possible, if not a certainty under the proper circumstances, between the two countries. Additionally, Stanley oversaw negotiations between the two countries concerning the possibility of warships on the Great Lakes during the final years of his appointment. A 25 December 1892 letter from Pauncefote noted the progress of these talks. Pauncefote wrote to Stanley that “The reply of the [U.S. State] Dept is that the arrangement [of 1817] is still in force, but no longer suitable to

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present circumstances and the Report recommends that while the agreement should be adhered to in spirit, it should be modified so as to provide for such armaments as are necessary for the proper protection of the Revenue.”

Even the trade protections enacted by the governments proved enough to potentially override peaceful coexistence on the Great Lakes. Given these escalations, the prospect of war seemed all too real. Canada, with her Atlantic and Pacific coaling stations in North America and continentally linked via the Intercolonial and Canadian Pacific railways, provided the crucial North American continental link in a British Oceanic Empire. Those coaling stations supported the cornerstone of defence in the minds of Imperial Federationists. Proponents believed that if Canada might be able to control her own diplomatic relations, or receive representation in an Imperial Federation legislating common Imperial defence, such potential hostilities could be altogether avoided.

Simmering underneath the defence question lay the political question. Imperialists Charles Dilke and Spencer Wilkinson argued in *Imperial Defence* (1892) that to consummate a joint imperial military body between Great Britain and her self-governing Dominions necessitated the creation of a formal and representative political bond. They argued that “Before, then, the defence of the British Empire can be placed throughout on a permanently satisfactory footing, it seems necessary that the great political question of the century should be settled, and that Englishmen all over the world should make up their minds as to the real nature of Greater Britain.”

Stanley himself understood the primacy of Imperial defence to justify an Imperial Federation. In his archival holdings, he retained a copy of Charles Dilke’s 1890 article “Our War Organization of the Future” from the *United Service Magazine*. In that article, Dilke discussed the practical measures taking place in the House of Commons to buttress his

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84 This ideal proved especially fertile in the minds of Canadian proponents of Imperial Federation. George Parkin argued this exact idea, capping it by calling Canada the “key-stone” in Britain’s global Oceanic Empire. Parkin, 121-123.
remarks in the chapter on imperial defence in his 1890 book *The Problems of Greater Britain*. Stanley then knew of the need for a political mechanism to undergird any potential military organization. People in the Empire’s colonies and Dominions needed strong sentiment in order to argue persuasively for such a new political apparatus. For Stanley, the strong bond and connection with the Mother Country embedded in Canada waned due to British control of Canadian diplomacy.

In early 1891, Stanley and the Canadian Government felt incensed at British delay in the Newfoundland fishing rights negotiations. Writing to the Colonial Secretary Lord Knutsford on 12 February 1891, Stanley argued that “What I think you do not realize is that this is a very serious turning point in our affairs here, *so far as the connection with the Mother Country is concerned.*” The continued sacrificing of Canadian interests presented a serious challenge to holding together the strong bonds of Imperial Unity. Goldwin Smith argued in his book *Canada and the Canadian Question* (1891) “That in all diplomatic questions with the United States the interest of Canada has been sacrificed to the Imperial exigency of keeping the peace with the Americans is the constant theme of Canadian complaint.” For Canadian nationalists, dependency within the Empire, in this case dependence for foreign diplomacy, represented a stunted position of national growth. Stanley wrote of this feeling to British Prime Minister Lord Salisbury on 11 October 1891: “…Canadians are always fearing that the Home Govt will not really stand by them if it is their interest to do otherwise. I admit that the feeling is not just, but it is there all the same.” On 13 November 1889, Canadian nationalist and imperialist George M. Grant delivered a speech at Victoria Hall in Winnipeg, Manitoba, challenging Canada’s

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87 Italics are mine to emphasize the jeopardy of Imperial connection engendered through British handling of Canadian diplomatic interests. Lord Stanley to Lord Knutsford, February 12, 1891, “Stanley family papers, incl Canadian papers of the 16th Earl of Derby (1841-1908),” Folder 8, document 4, Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, United Kingdom.
88 Goldwin Smith, *Canada and the Canadian Question* (Toronto, ON: Hunter, Rose & Co., 1891), 249.
89 Lord Stanley to Prime Minister Salisbury, October 11, 1891. “Stanley family papers, incl Canadian papers of the 16th Earl of Derby (1841-1908),” Folder 20, document 8, Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, United Kingdom.
present dependent position. He proclaimed that “...the process of making Canada into a nation must end in one or other two ways: - either clothing Canadians in a legitimate share in the supreme rights, privileges, and responsibilities of the Empire to which they belong, that is in full citizenship, or in a Revolution which means the gradual disintegration or violent breaking up of the British Empire. Canada cannot continue long a mere dependency.” A year and a half later, at the time of Stanley’s remarks to Kilcoursie, the consequences of this state of national purgatory weighed heavily upon Canadian nationalists. Grant’s promotion of a dichotomous Canadian future, one in a strengthened Empire or completely severed from the mother country, proved prophetic to supporters of Imperial Federation. For Stanley, stymied delay of national development in Canada created pronounced strain on the Imperial connection. As a promoter of Imperial Federation, Stanley believed that Canada’s only course to gain that sense of national completeness rested in fusing strong political ties in a newly imagined progressive Imperial Federation.

Just as in the British House of Commons, Stanley’s political activities in Canada quickly turned to the militia. He deplored the sorry state of the Canadian militia. Given his belief that war between Canada and the United stood as a distinct possibility, the Canadian militia needed to prepare and train, and the government needed to fund it accordingly. Imperial Federation proponent J.C. Hopkins argued that “To Canadians it must be obvious that the existing system of Imperial defence is not satisfactory. The Behring Sea seizures; the long drawn out Atlantic fishery disputes; the danger to our commerce in case of a great war, over the declaration or termination of which we should have no control; even the French shore question of to-day in Newfoundland, all prove that our present position in that respect is

90 George Munro Grant, “The Case for Canada,” speech given to the Imperial Federation League at Victoria Hall, Winnipeg, MB, November 13, 1889.
91 Idea developed further in Chapter VII.
not and cannot be a permanent one.” Lord Stanley keenly felt this lack of proper defence. In a letter sent to Macdonald on 21 July 1890, discussing the appointment of a new General Officer Commanding in the Canadian military, Stanley opined that “…I most earnestly hope that whoever may be appointed will be allowed to do his best to make the militia a reality as a defensive force.” Clearly, Stanley felt keen disappointment at the readiness of the Canadian militia. He continued to Macdonald that “…the personnel on the whole is good, but in arms, equipment, and above all in discipline there seems to me to be very much to be desired.” He continued with a personal plea to Macdonald that the size of the militia, allotment of funds, and even the creation of a martial or aggressive spirit need not accompany a bolstering of the Canadian militia. Stanley remarked that “No one, so far as I know, wishes to see Canada a great military country – no one would wish to see estimates largely increased. But do allow me to impress on you how strongly I feel that if it were capable of development, even a smaller force than you have would be preferable, if it could be made efficient, to what you have now.” Stanley’s time spent as War Secretary in the British Parliament informed him of the legislative and procedural side of military matters. Furthermore, as a Captain in the British military, Stanley himself understood the proper necessities to both train and deploy an able fighting force.

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94 Ibid.
95 Ibid.
96 Stanley confided to Macdonald that he believed that the Ministry of Defence misappropriated and misspent their allotted budget. This led to less than satisfactory results in the Militia, which Stanley believed mistrusted the Ministry for their lack of competency. Ibid. Macdonald confirmed Stanley’s suspicions detailing internal political battles in the Militia department. Sir John A. Macdonald to Lord Stanley, July 29, 1890, “Stanley family papers, incl Canadian papers of the 16th Earl of Derby (1841-1908),” Folder 14, document 6, Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, United Kingdom.
Concerning Imperial Defence in the mobilization of an Imperial Federation, Stanley consistently argued for a naval station at Esquimalt, on Vancouver Island in British Columbia. That unfortified harbour held significant importance for Imperial defence. It represented the only Pacific coaling station under British control. An unpublished memorandum, *Canada’s Contribution to Imperial Defence*, found in Lord Stanley’s archives in Liverpool underscored the importance of Vancouver Island to Imperial defence. The memorandum stated “… [in British Columbia] England secures a new foothold of extraordinary value on the Northern Pacific. She secures for the use of her fleets and mercantile marine the extensive coal fields of Nanaimo, producing the only good coal on the Pacific Coast.” Sir Charles Dilke and Spenser Wilkinson noted the strategic importance of British possession of global coaling stations in *Imperial Defence*. They argued that at fortified coaling stations “He [enemy vessels] cannot do this [refurnish coal supplies] at British coaling stations if they are protected by garrisons and such armament as is required to defeat a light attack.” George Parkin argued that “The importance of the Empire to these harbours [on Vancouver Island] is manifest, since they are the only ports under the British flag on the whole Pacific Coast of America from Cape Horn to the Behring Sea, the only base of naval supply, the only means the Empire has of matching the Russian depôt Vladivostock…They furnish the base from which the trade of the North Pacific is, and must be, protected.” Parkin expanded upon Dilke and Wilkinson, arguing that only a string of fortified coaling stations in a global oceanic highway ultimately secured Britain’s vast oceanic trade and its future oceanic empire. He argued that “Surely Canada, resting on the North Atlantic and North Pacific; South Africa, commanding the passage around the Cape; and Australasia, in the centre of the vast breadth of the Indian and Pacific Oceans, are not merely useful, but, … [are] essential…A nation which commands the great naval and coaling stations at

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97 On their visit to Vancouver Island, Stanley’s daughter Isobel took two pictures of Esquimalt Harbour. Please refer to Appendix 4.1 to view the negative images of those photographs.
98 *Canada’s Contribution to the Defence and Unity of the Empire* (n.p. [1886?]), 7, “Papers of Frederick Arthur, 16th Earl of Derby,” box 21, Liverpool Central Library, Liverpool, United Kingdom.
99 Dilke and Wilkinson, 73.
100 Parkin, 118.
these essential points could practically paralyze any enemy which sought to attack her, by simply closing the ports of coal supply to hostile ships.”

For Stanley building a fortified naval station at Esquimalt Harbour corresponded greatly to the arguments made by Imperial Federation advocates.

Stanley wrote to the new Secretary of State for the Colonies, the First Marquess of Ripon, on 22 December 1892 discussing fortifications at Esquimalt. He personally cabled a message to the Minister of the Militia, J.C. Patterson, arguing for the construction of such defences. Patterson agreed with Stanley’s arguments and sought to implement construction. On 30 January 1895, Patterson wrote confidentially to Stanley, who now resided at his estate in Preston as the 16th Earl of Derby. He requested his help in petitioning the Government to complete the fortifications and praised him for his efforts in initiating the project. Patterson wrote that “The importance of our action in connection with the fortifications at Esquimalt in co-operating with the Imperial Government in a matter of Imperial Defence is perhaps not thoroughly understood or appreciated by the Authorities at home. But your Lordship, under whose guidance the whole matter was at last brought to a successful conclusion, knows well the great significance of what was done.” In a 24 January 1895 letter Patterson wrote to Canadian Governor General Lord Aberdeen outlining Stanley’s contributions. He wrote that “Before I took Office as Minister of Militia and Defence, the Imperial Government had been trying for 15 years, to induce the Canadian Government, to co-operate with them, for the erection of a Fortified station on the Pacific Coast. Upon my assuming the position...the then Governor General, the present Earl of Derby, did me the honour of bringing the matter to my attention and, in conjunctions with General Herbert, we

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101 Ibid, 64-65.
104 Hon. J.C. Patterson to the 16th Earl of Derby, January 30, 1895, “Papers of Frederick Arthur, 16th Earl of Derby,” Box 4, Liverpool Central Library, Liverpool, United Kingdom.
succeeded in bringing about a harmonious understanding with the Imperial Government.”

Stanley’s campaign to fortify Esquimalt harbour showed his willingness to strive for Imperial goals while serving in a Canadian capacity. Specifically, he mobilized his military experiences, both in service and in politics, to successfully implement a major plank of Imperial Federation ideology.

Just as Stanley’s early experiences in Canadian domestic political life, his activities in the Behring Sea and Newfoundland fishing rights negotiations educated him about the difficulties in promoting Canadian unity through political activities. Internationally, as revealed to him through these negotiations, Canada’s government displayed a national weakness. That is, it held no power over its own destiny in international affairs. In a state of stunted national development, Canadian nationality still could not stand on its own. Unable to project a strong nationality through international political methods and similarly unable to promote a strong sense of unity through domestic political manoeuvres, how best could the Governor General promote this important aspect of his duties?

Importantly, through negotiating on behalf of Canada, Stanley assumed and incorporated Canadianess into his identity as Governor General. In a 12 February 1891 letter to Lord Knutsford, Stanley used the pronoun “we,” when referencing Canadians. This is particularly important given that he wrote to the Colonial Secretary of the British Empire, clamouring that “we,” as Canadians, grew impatient at British intransigence and which weakened the bonds of union. As an ardent imperialist, this reference from Stanley displayed how he took to representing Canadians and their interests seriously. By that time in 1891, Stanley and his family lived in Canada for over two years. They traversed the entire country east to west. Furthermore, they fell in love with the games and sports of the country. These travels and amusements affixed a level of Canadianess upon the Stanley family. Stanley’s use of “we,” especially in reference against the British Empire, highlighted the sense of belonging and of appropriation he felt in

105 Hon. J.C. Patterson to Governor General Aberdeen, January 24, 1895, “Papers of Frederick Arthur, 16th Earl of Derby,” Box 17, Liverpool Central Library, Liverpool, United Kingdom.

106 Canadianess refers to essence of being Canadian.
representing the Dominion. Their fights and cries against the Empire belonged to him as their agent.

More importantly than political duties, Stanley’s travels across the country and enthusiastic acceptance of Canadian sports helped him understand the machinations needed to inspire and affect unity across the Dominion.

C) Canadian Travels

In the fall of 1889, Lord Stanley and his party embarked upon the first trip undertaken by the sitting Governor General to the Pacific coast of Canada. His means of conveyance, the newly completed Canadian Pacific Railway.107 The Vice-Regal party travelled in a custom set of cars befitting the Queen’s representative.108 Upon completion of their trip at Victoria, British Columbia on Vancouver Island, Lord Stanley remarked on both the physical and spiritual bond of connection that railway affected on the Canadian nation. At his Civic Address to the City, as chronicled by the 1 November 1889 issue of The Vancouver Daily World, Stanley remarked “You rightly recognize the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway as a means by which all the provinces of the Dominion have been drawn together, not only materially but morally. We all must hope that it will draw them more and more closely together, for what touches one of the Provinces touches all. It is our desire that the union of the Provinces should be so perpetuated that the Dominion, gaining strength from unity, shall be enabled to press forward to the great future which is in store for it.”109 For Stanley, the railroad functioned both mechanically and metaphorically. Traversing the country in this fashion effected a change in his outlook on the Canadian State and nation. Through these travels, he best understood how to fulfill his duty to promote unity; that is to promote it through a culture which transcended and represented Canadian geography.

107 A Map of the route of the CPR can be found in Appendix 4.2.
108 Pictured in Appendix 4.3 is are some negative images from photographs of Lady Stanley’s travel journal.
109 “At Victoria: The Reception to the Governor-General – Civic Address and Reply.” The Vancouver Daily World, November 1, 1889.
Recalling his nearly two-month adventure beginning on 17 September 1889 in Ottawa, Stanley, in Victoria, described the transformative experience.\textsuperscript{110} He told the crowd gathered to attend his arrival that “I am now, as you are aware, approaching the completion of a journey, lasting more than two months, in the course of which I have traversed, from east to west, this great Dominion of ours.”\textsuperscript{111} Importantly, he identified with his Canadian subjects, using the pronoun “our” to refer to the Dominion. He cited the warm welcomes he received, stating “Everywhere I have been received with the strongest and most hearty expressions of loyalty.”\textsuperscript{112} Importantly for Stanley, his travels informed him of the strong bonds of loyalty to the Mother Country embraced by the Canadian population.

These travels reinforced Stanley’s commitment to broad Imperial Federation. He understood how technology could act to fully connect the disparate parts of the Empire. The travel aboard the Canadian Pacific Railway proved this for the vast expanse of the Canada. Historian Duncan Bell argued that technology proved a pivotal element in politically connecting the distant parts of Greater Britain. Distance proved an important barrier to Britain’s ability, according to leading eighteenth-century political philosophers Adam Smith and Edmund Burke, to successfully hold together a global political unit.\textsuperscript{113} By the late nineteenth-century however, Imperial Federation proponents believed that technology enabled not only the creation of, but the maintenance and enlargement of a global British

\textsuperscript{110} The Vice-Regal party left Ottawa for their first destination North Bay, Ontario and arrived that night around seven. Shea and Wilson, 191.

\textsuperscript{111} “At Victoria,” The Vancouver Daily World, November 1, 1889.

\textsuperscript{112} Ibid. There is an element of self-selection bias in Stanley’s view on the loyalty of the Canadian population. Those who attended his gatherings and were invited to his receptions across the country naturally approved of his Vice-Regal status. Those who opposed would not have been invited nor would they have attended the public appearances of the Governor General. Thus, from Stanley’s remarks only, one should not discern the overall loyalty of the Canadian population to the English crown and her representatives. However, Historian Philip Buckner argued that during the late nineteenth century, a tide of Britishness swept over the country, making a general sense of the loyalty of the Canadian population a strong one historically substantiated. Phillip Buckner, “The Creation of the Dominion of Canada, 1860-1901,” in Canada and the British Empire, ed. Phillip Buckner (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2008): 84-85.

\textsuperscript{113} Both Adam Smith and Edmund Burke believed that distance precluded a vast interconnected Imperial polity in the late eighteenth century. Such a polity, in their estimations, would be too disparate, disconnected, distant, and large. Essentially it would be unnatural as a political mechanism to uphold the rights of Englishmen and the structures of representative government. Duncan Bell, The idea of Greater Britain: Empire and the Future of World Order 1870-1900. (Princeton, NJ: University of Princeton, Press, 2007), 69-71.
polity. Imperial Federationist H.R. Nicholl took aim at Burke’s contentions, claiming that “In these days [late nineteenth-century] we can break with Burke’s objection, *natura opposuit*, by merely pointing to what science has done, and relying on what we know that it will yet do.”  

114 Importantly, for Bell “The second half of the nineteenth-century was infused by a commanding belief in the power of science and technology to solve the manifold problems of society...It is little surprise, therefore, that the notion of innovative technologies shattering previous political certainties found a receptive audience.”  

115 Stanley’s travels via the Canadian Pacific confirmed that late nineteenth-century reality supported this politically optimistic outlook. For his British Columbian audience, he proclaimed “In this western province, the most distant of all from the Mother Country, I am glad to see that you have succeeded in retaining all the characteristics which at home have been of the most consequence in promoting and keeping alive that spirit of devotion for the institutions and free laws under which we live; and in strengthening those ties which bind England at home to England abroad.”  

116 This statement drew loud applause from the crowd. The railway bridged the natural connection between all British subjects, both in the British Isles and around the world in the Empire’s self-governing Dominions and Colonies.

Stanley met with enthusiastic supporters everywhere he travelled in Canada. Specifically, he noted the depth of loyalty to British institutions and the monarchy which they represented. In Calgary he joked that “I have found that feeling [of loyalty to the Queen] so general that even the dust of your streets has risen up to meet me.”  

117 In Winnipeg, the legacy of the Red River and Northwest Rebellions, the Jesuits’ Estate Act, and the burgeoning Manitoba Schools crisis created an environment ripe for political dissension against the Canadian State and its representatives. Stanley’s biographers noted that there were deep fears of a boycott of Stanley’s visit as result of his decision over the Jesuits’ Estates

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116 “At Victoria,” *The Vancouver Daily World*, November 1, 1889.
117 *Calgary Herald*, October 16, 1889, quoted in Shea and Wilson, 224.
Act. 118 Frederic Villiers, an artist and reporter for *The Graphic*, a British weekly newspaper published in London, accompanied the Stanley family on this journey across the Canadian West. He reported that even in Winnipeg "No Governor-General has had greater demonstrations of loyalty and affection than were shown to Lord and Lady Stanley in this great Western Centre. Though it was pouring with rain, and the streets were a foot thick with tenacious Winnipeg mud, the cheering crowds plodded on a full two miles [following Lord Stanley’s caravan]." 119 Villiers also reported that the Stanley family ventured into the western hinterlands, to Salcots [sic] in present day Saskatchewan, to visit a small British immigrant community of two hundred and eighty pioneers sent recently by the British government to homestead. 120 The warm reception in potentially hostile Winnipeg only affirmed Stanley’s knowledge of deep loyalty to Great Britain throughout Canada. Importantly, the visit to the pioneer community validated his belief in State-directed emigration, as this community confirmed that the plan could succeed. State-directed emigration proved one means to rid Great Britain of excess population while additionally stimulating population increases in the sparsely populated areas of the vast British Empire. 121 This episode further entrenched in Stanley’s mind the feasibility of Imperial Federation.

On his final tour before leaving Canada Stanley visited southwestern Ontario. 122 Here he received the same support. 123 Stanley received two letters that deserve special attention. They both

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118 Shea and Wilson, 195.
119 Frederic Villiers, “‘Through the New West’ – On Tour With The Governor-General of Canada Over the Canadian Pacific Railway.” *The Graphic*, November 2, 1889, 530.
120 Despite the hard work necessary to survive and prosper in this environment, Villiers reported that the emigrants generally felt satisfied and content with their new life in the North-West. Ibid.
121 Stanley kept a copy of Hon. Horace Plunkett’s 1892 address on emigration to the Congested Districts Board, further adding evidence for his belief in State-directed emigration. For Stanley’s views on directed emigration please refer to Chapter V.
122 An itinerary of his schedule can be found in Appendix 4.4.
123 In Stanley’s archive in Liverpool, many letters from the Mayors of southwestern Ontarian towns affirmed his warm reception. He received letters of thanks and appreciation from Mayor John Butler of Goderich, Mayor O. Simmons of Petrolia, Mayor O. Fleming of Windsor, Mayor Conrad Bitzen of Berlin, Hamilton City Council, the Chief of the Sarnia Chippewa, and from the citizens committees of Simcoe and Toronto. Additionally, letters written from the Western Ontario Dairymen’s Association and from the Brantford Young Ladies College support professional and educational establishment showing their affection towards the Governor General. All documents
highlight minorities in the Dominion who also effusively supported the Governor General, and by extension British governance forms. On 7 January 1893 Conrad Bitzen, mayor of the predominantly German town of Berlin (modern-day Kitchener) Ontario, sent a letter of thanks to Stanley for visiting. In the letter Bitzen proclaimed, “Rejoicing in Free British institutions and living as we do, in the fullest harmony with all the other classes of the community it is our [unreadable] inspiration in common with them, to further the Welfare of our Dominion and the glory of Great Britain and to transmit the good qualities of the German national character to this young [unreadable] nation.” Bitzen’s comments highlighted how a non-Anglo minority population felt gratitude for British governance forms in Canada. By extension, the comments displayed loyalty to the British Empire. It allowed them to further develop their own national identities while simultaneously strengthening the overall national character of the Dominion’s population. The second letter of importance arrived from Sarnia Chippewa Chief, Ka-Che-Na-Be (Wilson Jacobs) on 10 January 1893. The Chief, on behalf of his tribe “...desire and present Your Excellency our humble but hearty welcome...We would desire to show you our appreciation of your good Government and the care which you have governed the Affairs of the Dominion, and more especially Your Indian Children.” This displayed to Stanley both the benevolence of British rule over Canada’s native population and their appreciation to be governed by the British. These two letters illustrated to Stanley that benevolent British government could indeed affect immigrant and native...
populations in loyalty. Again, his travels confirmed that Imperial Federation could be supported due to this loyalty.

A dearth of primary evidence recounting Lord Stanley’s travels in Quebec limits the totality of this stream of analysis. However, his relationship with Quebec and to the French in Canada merits attention. The burgeoning French-Canadian *nationaliste* movement in Quebec reached a zenith under Mercier until his removal from office in 1891 over corruption charges related to a railway scandal. However, of great note, the next champion of French-Canadian nationalism to express himself in both English and French, Member of Parliament Henri Bourassa and leader of the *Parti National*, argued for Quebec and French-Canadian rights within the British governmental framework, yet did not believe in Imperial aggrandizement. In a 1902 pamphlet Bourassa proclaimed that “The present feeling of the French-Canadian is one of contentment. He is satisfied with his lot. He is anxious to preserve his liberty and his peace...With his English-speaking neighbour he is anxious to live on friendly terms and to co-operate for the welfare of Canada.”¹²⁷ For Stanley, his role in the Jesuits’ Estates affair displayed his willingness to defend the constitutional rights of French Canadian institutions. Although an ardent British Imperialist, Stanley nonetheless respected British Governance forms, and believed it his duty to suppress his personal ambitions while serving in public office. On 21 December 1891, the final day of Mercier’s Premiership, Stanley wrote to Colonial Secretary Knutsford, elaborating on Lt. Governor Auguste-Réal Angers’ decision on 16 December 1891 to dismiss Mercier over corruption recently discovered through a provincial committee. Although Stanley believed that action by Angers to be rash and hasty he nevertheless believed it both constitutional and a matter for the Province, not for Federal interference.¹²⁸

Stanley took his constitutional responsibilities seriously. Regarding the French, his archives provide evidence that he attempted to understand their plight as a linguistic and religious minority with strong constitutional protections for both language and religion. Importantly, Stanley both spoke and read French at a high level.\textsuperscript{129} He attempted to educate himself about the tumultuous history of the French in Canada from their perspective. Particularly, he studied the French and Indian Wars which resulted in the English conquest over the French in Canada.\textsuperscript{130} He rarely commented about the internal politics of Quebec, and refrained from discussing its impact on Canadian unity. Writing to Colonial Secretary Ripon on 5 November 1892, Stanley remarked that French nationalism in Quebec made it more difficult for the Canadian Government, as opposed to the Imperial Government, to settle with the French Government over fishing rights in Newfoundland.\textsuperscript{131} Quebeckers initially felt snubbed by the Governor General. In an 11 March 1890 letter, Conservative politician Hector Langevin alerted Stanley to many distinguished French-Canadians not invited to the Governor General’s Ball. Stanley also kept news clippings from the French-Canadian papers criticizing him for these omissions.\textsuperscript{132} From these limited sources, Stanley’s attitude towards the French appear neither overtly sympathetic nor hostile, but rather merely bound by duty. His support for Imperial Federation predisposed him towards political


\textsuperscript{130} Stanley kept a copy of an 1888 pamphlet detailing the manuscripts of Maréchal de Lévis, the second in Command to General Montcalm during the French and Indian Wars. Comte Raimond de Nicolay, \textit{Recueil des Pièces Relatives a la Publication des Manuscrits du Maréchal de Lévis sur la Guerre du Canada de 1755 a 1760} ([n.p]: A Rennes, 1888), “Papers of Frederick Arthur, 16\textsuperscript{th} Earl of Derby,” Box 21, Liverpool Central Library, Liverpool, United Kingdom.

\textsuperscript{131} Lord Stanley to Lord Ripon, November 5, 1892, “Stanley family papers, incl Canadian papers of the 16th Earl of Derby (1841-1908),” Folder 19, document 10, Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, United Kingdom.

\textsuperscript{132} Hon. Hector Langevin to Lord Stanley, March 11, 1889. “Stanley family papers, incl Canadian papers of the 16th Earl of Derby (1841-1908),” Folder 19, documents 2.1-2.2, Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, United Kingdom.
matters in the Imperial sphere. Also the duties of his position and the international nature of the controversies warranting his attention focused his attention. When he needed to act officially concerning a matter of French identity, he upheld the Jesuits Estates Act and validated that identity as Canadian. His limited dealings with the French-Canadians intoned that they belonged to the Canadian nation. Promoting unity through political means, especially after the rift exposed by the Jesuit Estates and Manitoba School crises, remained elusive, if not impossible. Yet, French-Canadian nationalism did not necessarily detract from a loyalty to the Crown, so long as the Crown protected French-language and religious rights (which Lord Stanley did). This in a sense did not preclude ideas concerning Imperial Federation. George Parkin identified Wilfrid Laurier as a French-Canadian politician who essentially advocated Imperial Federation. Laurier retreated from those ideas, fearing that Canada would become entangled in foreign Imperial Wars. But Parkin argued that “Mr. Laurier is devoted to the honour and the interest of Canada, and it may be taken for granted that if these can be proved to coincide with the honour and interest of the Empire, any difficulty which he sees in British Unity would disappear.”

For Stanley, the slight chance of French acceptance of Imperial Federation, mediated by ‘reasonable’ French leaders, furthered his belief in that scheme. For him, it meant that he could still impart a sense of unity through his office, but only through a cultural avenue.

In addition to cementing his ideals on the feasibility of Imperial Federation, both practically through technology and spiritually through the loyalty of the Dominion’s subjects, the trip impressed upon Stanley the geographic vastness and beauty of the Canadian landscape. In Victoria, British Columbia, Stanley remarked on the sheer enormity of Canada: “Nothing struck one coming from the Old Country to this more than the vastness of the land.”

In addition to cementing his ideals on the feasibility of Imperial Federation, both practically through technology and spiritually through the loyalty of the Dominion’s subjects, the trip impressed upon Stanley the geographic vastness and beauty of the Canadian landscape. In Victoria, British Columbia, Stanley remarked on the sheer enormity of Canada: “Nothing struck one coming from the Old Country to this more than the vastness of the land.”

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133 Parkin, 160.
134 Parkin argued that reasoned French Canadian thought produced political allegiance to the British Connection amongst French Canadians. He based this on British protection of French language and religion. Ibid, 157.
135 “At Victoria,” *The Vancouver Daily World*, November 1, 1889.
at night in order to make daytime appointments and appearances across western Canada. On the return trip, they only travelled during the day. According the Stanley’s biographers, the decision resulted from the Stanley family not wanting to miss any of the scenery on the return journey. Additionally, the party reveled in the art of photography, and took many breaks to photograph the stunning natural beauty of the Canadian wilderness.136 The Stanleys also vacationed along the Cascapédia River, near New Richmond on the Gaspé Peninsula in Quebec. Travelling there they viewed the mighty Saguenay River, its splendid falls, and the forests of Eastern Canada.137 Early Canadian nationalists evoked the spirituality of the Canadian wilderness in bonding its inhabitants to the idea of Canada as a political entity. William Caniff argued that “…the immigrant, no matter where from, had offered to him, beneath the bright sky of Canada, in her bracing atmosphere, in the treasures contained in her woods and land and waters, more than a recompence [sic] for all he had left behind in the old world; so that, although fond memory would not allow him to forget the land of his fathers, yet from the new land he could feel a new born and even a stronger love.”138 From his travels, Stanley certainly understood this sentiment. The vast wilderness gave Stanley time and opportunity to engage in his favourite pastimes, hunting and fishing. The sporting activities connected Stanley to the emergent national character proposed by Canadian nationalists, that of a hardy northern people invigorated by the cleansing Canadian wilderness. Importantly, this vision of Canadian nationality included the French, thereby incorporating them into a unified national character.139 As a lover of English sports, and cognizant of their role in the formation of English national character, Stanley became enamoured with Canada partly through her sports. They offered, in his mind, as evidenced through his actions, the best avenue to impart a sense of unity through cultural activity.

136 Shea and Wilson, 272. Lord Stanley’s daughter Isobel kept a good deal of these photographs in a scrapbook documenting her time in Canada. Negative images of these photographs can be viewed in Appendix 4.5.
137 A more detailed discussion of this residence and its impact on the Stanley family follows below.
139 Berger, 128.
The role of sport

A) Sport and the Stanley Family

From an early age, Frederick Stanley, through his father Edward Geoffrey Stanley, developed a love of sport. As a young child, he enjoyed many childhood games, but also participated in cricket. Befitting an English aristocrat, Stanley as an adult best enjoyed the call of the field and stream, hunting and fishing. His father also provided an exacting influence on his love for these activities. Hunting stood as Edward Geoffrey Stanley’s second passionate activity in life. A later biographer of Edward noted that “Next to racing, Lord Derby’s passion was shooting.” Edward spent much of his youth stag hunting with his father. Frederick nurtured a love of hunting through his father’s own passion. His time in Canada provided him with perhaps the best experiences in both sports. Lord Kilcoursie, Stanley’s aide-de-campe, recounted a successful Salmon fishing expedition on the Cascapédia River in July 1892. That month he recorded catching forty-two salmon averaging twenty-six pounds. He recalled a story of one morning when Victor Stanley, Frederick’s son, caught a fifty-six pound salmon. The Stanley party, led by Lord Stanley, competed each summer to see who could catch the most fish, the largest fish, and the largest average weight of fish caught. In his first summer in Canada, Lord Stanley purchased land and built a large summer vacation residence on the Cascapédia River, dubbed Stanley House. His biographers noted that “…the summer retreat…provided many of the most satisfying moments for

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140 Shea and Wilson, 32.
144 Lord Kilcoursie, “Memoirs,” Unpublished Manuscript, 111, “The Papers of Field Marshal Lord Cavan.” Churchill Archives, Churchill College, Cambridge, United Kingdom. In Lord Stanley’s archives in Liverpool, one box contains only paper trace line cut-outs of the largest salmon caught by the entire family. This activity showed a real sporting element to the Stanley’s annual fishing trips on the Cascapédia. One example of these cut-outs, a fifty-three pounder caught by Victor Stanley on 23 June 1892, can be viewed in Appendix 4.6.
145 The Stanley family kept detailed fishing charts recording every catch, its weight, and aggregate weight and total numbers. The entire family, including the women, participated in such contests. The 1890 Cascapédia river document can be viewed in Appendix 4.7.
Stanley, who enjoyed being away from many of the official duties that being governor general entailed, and it allowed him and his friends to indulge in their passion for fishing. In addition to fishing, Stanley enjoyed the pursuit of the hunt. In particular, his trip westward in 1889 provided an abundance of opportunities to hunt Canadian wild game. Lord Kilcoursie recounted a hunting trip, stopping at Penge [unknown location] on the CPR, on invitation from the Spring Rice family. From the station, the Stanley party drove twenty miles inland for a duck hunt. Kilcoursie recounted bagging eighty or ninety ducks in just that one morning hunt. When the weather and itinerary permitted, the men travelling in the Stanley party used the spare time for hunting. From 5 October 1889 to 7 October 1889, the Stanley party retreated to Long Lake, Alberta, for three days of goose hunting. Lady Alice Stanley remarked on the superb shooting conditions and delighted in the success of the entire party. Lord Stanley’s love of fishing and hunting suited him well in Canada. Two summaries of expenditures from 1894-95 to 1897-98 and from 1904-05 to 1905-06 highlighted Stanley’s continued love of the hunt. Expenditures on game and kennels totalled £4,634 in 1894-95, £4,527 in 1895-96, £4,806 in 1896-97, £5,733 in 1897-98, £5,824 in 1904-05, and £6,602 in 1905-06. These passions enabled him to enjoy abundant wilderness across the Country. Furthermore, these activities represented important elements in a burgeoning Canadian national identity.

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146 Shea and Wilson, 70. Located on sixty-eight acres just west of New Richmond, Quebec, the eighteen bedroom Stanley House, served as a summer residence and place of business. Equipped with both telephone and telegraph lines, Stanley house served both as an official place of business in addition to a sporting retreat. Ibid, 72-73.
148 An example occurred on 28 September 1889 during a stop in Portage-La-Prairie, Manitoba. Shea and Wilson, 202.
150 “Household Department: Summary of Expenditures 1894-95 to 1897-98,” “Papers of Frederick Arthur, 16th Earl of Derby,” box 8, Liverpool Central Library, Liverpool, United Kingdom.
151 “Household Department: Summary of Expenditures 1904-05 to 1905-06,” “Papers of Frederick Arthur, 16th Earl of Derby,” box 12, Liverpool Central Library, Liverpool, United Kingdom.
Sport and the wilderness stood as early pillars in the minds of those who attempted to construct a Canadian national identity. Historian Gillian Poulter identified this intersection analyzing the early snowshoe tramps of the Montreal Snowshoe Club between the 1840s and 1860s. She argued that these Snowshoers, through exaggerating their own physical prowess and the difficulty of their tramps, “…were able to envisage their tramps as symbolic extrapolations of the larger Canadian wilderness.”152 Concerning hunting, Poulter pointed to a photograph series by famed Montreal photographer William Notman of Colonel William Rhodes recapturing an 1866 hunt.153 She argued that the distribution of that series in 1867, one which depicted the hunt as sport, as opposed to pot hunting (or hunting for food), legitimized the idea of sport and the wilderness, particularly for hunting.154 Poulter explained that these nationalists used the wilderness as a means of transforming British emigrants into Canadians. Rather than promote this identity through explicit means as did nationalists after confederation, they merely acted in ways that they believed legitimated themselves as Canadians.155 The weekly journal, The North American, articulated this notion in a 3 January 1851 article. Connecting the idea of a ‘Canadian’ to the wilderness, the article proclaimed that “A man who has lived in the Canadian wilderness, battled with its difficulties, and become practically conversant with the necessities of the country…would be “Canadian in heart and feeling.””156 Even before Confederation, sport and the Canadian wilderness undergirded the drive of nationalists to define a Canadian nationality. The idea of the wilderness, and in particular the harshness resultant from Canada’s northern latitude, offered an important cornerstone of early Canadian nationalist thought. This proved especially important to transform British emigrants into Canadians. Robert Grant Haliburton proclaimed in his famous 1869 speech The Men of the North that “We are the sons and the heirs of those who have built up a new civilization, and though we have

153 Ibid, 66.
154 Ibid, 87.
155 Ibid, 5.
156 The North American, January 3, 1851.
emigrated to the Western world, we are still in the North...Let us then, should we ever become a nation, never forget the land that we live in, and the race from which it sprung.”  

Stanley’s participation in sports of the wilderness in Canada bound him to the strong connection sport and the wild held in Canadian nationalist thought. Rather than emerge independently while in Canada, Stanley brought with him to the Dominion a strong love of sport.

Frederick grew up emerged in a life of sport. His father, Edward Geoffrey, the 14th Earl of Derby, pursued sporting interests to a greater extent than his famed involvement in poetry and classical literature. Edward Geoffrey’s favourite passion was horse racing, thoroughbreds in particular. Nineteenth-century historian T.E. Kebbel highlighted the passion for horse racing handed down to Edward by his grandfather, the 12th Earl of Derby. He explained that “Lord Derby’s sporting tastes were hereditary. His grandfather, as we have seen, founded the two great Epsom races...Lord Derby has been brought up to the turf, and, before his grandfather’s death, had been entrusted with his breeding stud both at Knowsley and in Ireland.” Breeding and racing pedigree stretched generations back in the Stanley family. The “Derby”, one of the two Epsom races founded by the 12th Earl, remains one of the most prestigious horse races in the world today. Edward Geoffrey possessed a fanatical passion for horseracing. Biographer Angus Hawkins noted that in his twenty-two years with trainer John Scott, Edward won ninety-four thousand pounds in stakes alone. He often took solace in racing during bouts of depression brought on by his relative isolation in his political career and to ease suffering from

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157 Grant’s speech focused on the issue of northern races and Canada as the potential penultimate northern nation, due to its northern geography and demographic composition of Nordic races. Yet, without the wilderness, expressed through the concept of the rugged north, Canada lost an important part of her future national identification. Robert Grant Haliburton, *The Men of the North and their place in history: A lecture delivered before the Montreal Literary Club, March 31st, 1869* (Montreal, PQ: John Lovell, 1869), 10.

158 Noonan, 162.

159 Kebbel, 195.


161 The other race, the Oaks, received its name from the 12th Earl’s estate. Shea and Wilson, 47.

162 Some of Edward’s prestigious horses included Dervish, De Clare, Canezou, Iris, Uriel, and Toxophilite. Hawkins, 416.
illness. Edward Geoffrey received criticism for his attention paid to horseracing pursuits over his official duties. Additionally, his appearances at the turf with gamblers left a negative stain upon his record as a politician. Yet, Hawkins noted that “A passion for horse racing has done the reputations of lords Palmerston, Hartington, and Rosebury less harm.” Upon assuming the Earldom after Edward Geoffrey’s death, his son Edward Henry, the 15th Earl of Derby, slowly dismantled the horseracing and breeding portions of the estate due to financial difficulties.

Frederick Stanley however, followed his father into the sport and revived the Stanley breeding and racing traditions upon assuming the Earldom in 1893. In 1894, he received election to the prestigious Jockey Club, announcing the Stanley family return to the sport. Some evidence of Frederick’s love of racing remain in his personal archives. A leather monograph wallet contained the complete racing schedule and results of the 1907 English racing season. A summary of Knowsley household expenditures from 1894-95 to 1897-98, during the 16th Earl’s tenure, documented annual expenses of 9,709£ for 1894-95, 8,027£ for 1895-96, 8,440£ for 1896-97, and 9,901£ in 1897-98 on the family stables. These large annual expenses resulted from the reestablishment of the stables. In the early twentieth century, Stanley still spent a considerable amount on his stables, but not to the same extent. Household expenditure records from 1904-05 and 1905-06 documented stable spending of 5,703£ and 5,721£ and horse purchases of 796£ and 520£ respectively. Measured as independent expenditures, both racing and hunting expenses represented the largest item expenditures at Knowsley

164 One such incident occurred during his time spent a Colonial Officer. Ibid, 294-295.
165 Ibid, 3.
166 Shea and Wilson, 48.
167 Noonan, 186.
168 Stanley died in 1908, thus 1907 stood as the final year available for him to pursue racing. A strong assumption can be made that Stanley used the wallet each year, with 1907 being the last. To see the wallet, please refer to Appendix 4.8.
169 “Household Department: Summary of Expenditures 1894-95 to 1897-98.”
170 “Household Department: Summary of Expenditures 1904-05 to 1905-06.”
Estate after Kitchen expenses (which presumably included a year’s worth of food for the entire Estate).\textsuperscript{171} Stanley’s horses, Canterbury Pilgrim and Keystone II, won one of his great grandfather’s races, the Oaks, in 1896 and 1906 respectively.\textsuperscript{172} In Canada during his appointment, Stanley maintained an avid interest in the sport, yet did not participate as fully in it as he did his return to England. Historian James Noonan argued that the dearth of Lord Stanley’s racing activity in Canada directed his personal involvement in sport towards other activities. He argued that “He [Stanley] did not have much opportunity to satisfy it [love of horse racing] while he was in Canada, so his sporting was confined to fishing and giving support to the indigenous sports of skating and ice hockey.”\textsuperscript{173} So strong was Stanley’s interest in sports that he needed to fill the void created by a lack of horse racing in the promotion of other sports, foreign to his English background.

The Stanley family, through their Earldom also supported many sporting initiatives in England, and especially in Liverpool and the surrounding areas. Frederick Stanley’s archive contained a formidable amount of private solicitations asking for charitable donations. As the 16\textsuperscript{th} Earl of Derby, Frederick commanded the thirtieth largest fortune in the world, as measured in 1901.\textsuperscript{174} A summary of Knowsley rent incomes from 1891-92 and 1892-93, the two years prior to Frederick’s assumption of the Earldom, showed tremendous revenues of 234,230£ and 245,010£ respectively.\textsuperscript{175} Rising from his fortune, Frederick continued the philanthropic activities of his predecessors. Particularly, Frederick received many solicitations to donate money for sporting endeavours, both youth and adult, and also to serve and give recognition to other’s athletic activities. Lord Kilcoursie noted an idiosyncrasy in

\textsuperscript{171} The expenditure report from 1894-95 to 1897-98 counts all indoor expenditures together. Those reports show that Game and Kennels cost more than Parks, Gardens, and the Boat House. Horse Racing totalled more than those other three activities combined. The 1904-05 to 1905-06 reports itemized the indoor expenditures. Game and Stables represented the two highest individual expenditures on both these reports after Kitchen expenses. To see both of these reports, please refer to Appendix 4.9.1 and 4.9.2.
\textsuperscript{172} Shea and Wilson, 48.
\textsuperscript{173} Noonan, 188. This idea is discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.
\textsuperscript{174} Shea and Wilson, 405.
\textsuperscript{175} “Comparative Statement of Rents received year 1892/93 against 1891/92, “Papers of Frederick Arthur, 16\textsuperscript{th} Earl of Derby,” box 12, Liverpool Central Library, Liverpool, United Kingdom.
Stanley’s disposition when it came to receiving solicitations from private individuals and organizations, in addition to documents related to his official duties. He recalled that “His excellency was punctiliously neat and tidy in all his business...Whenever I took a document to his room it was punctured, numbered and tied with blue ribbon – then put away. Alas! if asked for a week later it could never be found, but such is life.”\textsuperscript{176} This anecdote reflects the general state of disarray of Stanley’s archive in Liverpool. He seemed to meticulously keep everything sent to him, especially private solicitations. Yet the boxes, overflowing with thousands of loose letters, bundles of correspondence, pamphlets, and advertisements, gave the same impression expressed by Kilcoursie.

The following instances of the 16\textsuperscript{th} Earl supporting athletics financially represents but a mere fraction of his total activity in this regard. Two solicitations from 1895 highlight this activity. A 29 September 1895 letter from G. Minnie, the General Sports Secretary of the Liverpool Teacher’s Association, written to Rev. Canon Major Lester, implored him to solicit Lord Stanley to donate part of his estate or land holdings for the male youths of Liverpool.\textsuperscript{177} A 13 August 1895 letter from W. Shedden requested Stanley to provide funds to support the prizes handed out by the North Liverpool Gymnasium Swimming Club for their annual meet.\textsuperscript{178} In 1895 alone he served as a member of the Tonbridge Cricket Club,\textsuperscript{179} received an invitation to become the President of the Bankfield Ice hockey Club,\textsuperscript{180} served as Patron for the Talbot Bowling Club,\textsuperscript{181} as Patron along with Lady Stanley to the Liverpool University

\textsuperscript{177} G. Minnie to Rev. Canon Major Lester, September 29, 1895, “Papers of Frederick Arthur, 16\textsuperscript{th} Earl of Derby,” Box 3, Liverpool Central Library, Liverpool, United Kingdom.
\textsuperscript{178} W. Shedden to Lord Stanley, August 13, 1895, “Papers of Frederick Arthur, 16\textsuperscript{th} Earl of Derby,” Box 4, Liverpool Central Library, Liverpool, United Kingdom.
\textsuperscript{179} T. Pawley and G.B. Punnett to Lord Stanley, March 23, 1895, “Papers of Frederick Arthur, 16\textsuperscript{th} Earl of Derby,” Box 3, Liverpool Central Library, Liverpool, United Kingdom.
\textsuperscript{180} Percy Robinson to Lord Stanley, July 24, 1895, “Papers of Frederick Arthur, 16\textsuperscript{th} Earl of Derby,” Box 3 Liverpool Central Library, Liverpool, United Kingdom.
\textsuperscript{181} John Martlew to Lord Stanley, September 9, 1895, “Papers of Frederick Arthur, 16\textsuperscript{th} Earl of Derby,” Box 3, Liverpool Central Library, Liverpool, United Kingdom.
Athletic Club,\textsuperscript{182} as Vice-President and also the largest benefactor to the St. Helen’s Golf Club,\textsuperscript{183} and as Vice-President of the Catford Cycling Club.\textsuperscript{184} Other positions included acting as Patron to the Bury Cricket Club in 1894,\textsuperscript{185} Patron to the Stanley Cricket Club in 1898,\textsuperscript{186} Patron and subscriber to the Newmarket Football Club in 1896,\textsuperscript{187} and donor of a silver watch as a prize for the 1902 annual meet of the Bootle Swimming Club.\textsuperscript{188} These examples displayed Stanley’s enthusiasm for supporting athletic endeavours for various levels of competition and for a wide array of sports. During his time in Canada, Lord Stanley encountered sports unfamiliar to him in England. Given his love of sport, Stanley’s interactions with these Canadian sports illuminated one arena where he came to know his Canadian subjects through their cultural pastimes.

\textbf{B) Stanley and Canadian sports}

Sport Historian Alan Metcalfe identified ice hockey, lacrosse, and Canadian football as the three sports most highly identified as ‘Canadian’ team sports by the early twentieth century.\textsuperscript{189} Apart from these team games, winter sports such as Tobogganing, Snowshoeing, Skating, and Curling attracted significant numbers of participants. For the Stanley family, the sports associated with the winter best enabled them to acculturate themselves to Canadian society. Previous Governor Generals displayed

\textsuperscript{182} Liverpool Athletic Club Committee to Lord Stanley, March 2, 1895, “Papers of Frederick Arthur, 16th Earl of Derby,” Box 3, Liverpool Central Library, Liverpool, United Kingdom.
\textsuperscript{183} George Barton Jr. to Lord Stanley, April 10, 1895, “Papers of Frederick Arthur, 16th Earl of Derby,” Box 4, Liverpool Central Library, Liverpool, United Kingdom.
\textsuperscript{184} Ian Blair to Lord Stanley, February 2, 1895, “Papers of Frederick Arthur, 16th Earl of Derby,” Box 4, Liverpool Central Library, Liverpool, United Kingdom.
\textsuperscript{185} Bury Cricket Club (Bury, UK: Fletcher and Speight, Printers, 1894), “Papers of Frederick Arthur, 16th Earl of Derby,” Box 4, Liverpool Central Library, Liverpool, United Kingdom.
\textsuperscript{186} T. Cheshire to Lord Stanley, April 16, 1898, “Papers of Frederick Arthur, 16th Earl of Derby,” Box 8, Liverpool Central Library, Liverpool, United Kingdom.
\textsuperscript{187} George Peck to Lord Stanley, March 14, 1897, “Papers of Frederick Arthur, 16th Earl of Derby,” Box 8, Liverpool Central Library, Liverpool, United Kingdom.
\textsuperscript{188} George Brocklehurst to Lord Stanley, August 25, 1903, “Papers of Frederick Arthur, 16th Earl of Derby,” Box 5, Liverpool Central Library, Liverpool, United Kingdom. Stanley held many of these posts on an annual basis, including patron, subscriber, and donor. Due to the difficulty of sorting through his archives, these examples from 1895 and other years show only a small percentage of his sport funding while serving as the 16th Earl of Derby.
\textsuperscript{189} Alan Metcalfe, \textit{Canada learns to play: The Emergence of organized sport, 1807-1914} (Toronto, ON: McClelland and Stewart, 1987), 55.
their love of sport through additions at Rideau Hall. In 1867, Lord Monck built a cricket ground to promote the sport. In 1872, the Earl of Dufferin built an indoor tennis court. Shea and Wilson noted that despite being born in Great Britain, “Most of the early residents [at Rideau Hall]...adapted quickly to Canadian winters, embracing the various sports that could be played outdoors.” The Earl of Dufferin, Lord Aberdeen, and Lord Lansdowne and their families all took part in tobogganing on the two imposing slides on the Rideau Hall grounds. The Earl of Dufferin built a skating rink in 1872, moving it to its present position in 1878. Lord and Lady Lansdowne continued the strong tradition of skating. They expanded upon the skating parties held by the Earl of Dufferin by including tobogganing, holding what Lord Hamilton, Lady Lansdowne’s brother, termed ‘Arctic Cremornes.’ The Stanleys followed in the footsteps of their predecessors at Rideau Hall.

In the 1880s, the Montreal Winter Carnival best promoted and celebrated Canada’s winter sports. The Carnival, held in January or February of 1883, 1884, 1885, 1887, and 1889, promoted the Canadian population’s embrace of the winter. Sport Historian Don Morrow argued that the Carnivals harnessed an attitude of revelry and celebration that in turn transformed Canada’s bleak winters into a momentous and entertaining spectacle. Sports featured prominently in the Carnival’s weekly program. Reflecting in 1899 on the Carnival a decade after its demise, American sport reporter Edwin Wildman argued that sports proved the central unifying activity of the carnival. He argued that “The carnival was the outgrowth of the Canadian enthusiasm for winter sports, and the result of the ambition

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190 Shea and Wilson, 63.  
191 Ibid, 64.  
192 Ibid, 64-65. For an illuminated composite photograph of the Earl of Dufferin, his family, and friends enjoying these runs, please refer to Appendix 4.10.  
193 Ibid.  
194 Noonan, 142-143.  
195 Poulter, 166.  
of the athletic spirit of the Dominion to express itself in one grand comprehensive and organized play.” Historian Gillian Poulter described the sports activities over a typical week at the Carnival. Such activities “...included the opportunity for visitors to try their hand at tobogganing...to participate in an informal snowshoe tramp. They could watch snowshoe races, ice hockey matches, curling bonspiels, horse races on the river, and skating competitions.” Visitors could doubly participate in and observe Canadian winter sports. Canadian nationalists viewed the Carnival as an opportunity to reverse the negative opinions held in foreign countries concerning Canada’s harsh winter season. George Beers, writing a promotional piece for the first Carnival in 1883, argued that “…we [Montreal Winter Carnival organizers] have chosen the most abused season of the year, our Winter, and have offered you a sample week out of its twelve or fourteen; when on the spot you can see with your own eyes what absurd opinions have been held of our climate, and how Canadians not only look Jack Frost in the face, but force him to become our companion in sport rather than our master in misery.” In Beers’ mind, the celebration of Canadian winter sports served two important purposes. Firstly, it displayed that the Canadian winter, rather than acting as a burden, stimulated Canadians. Secondly, Canadian sports best exemplified their conquest over the natural wilderness. These Winter Carnivals promoted to an international audience the view that Canadian sports occurred in winter and provided a central aspect of Canadian national identity. Yet, despite the success of the Carnivals in promoting travel to Canada.

198 Ibid, 175.
200 Poulter noted that this national identity marginalized the Native Aboriginal populations of Canada. Canadian Winter sports largely resulted from adaptation of indigenous practices, anglicized through the sport modernization process. Also, she noted that civic and religious rivalries undermined the coherent projection of Canadian nationalism by the carnival organizers. Poulter, 166. Yet, for nineteenth-century Canadian nationalists, their specific promotion of sport through the Winter Carnivals represented but one avenue to promote but one idea of Canadian national identity. The central thrust of nationalist ideology, in any guise, is to produce a coherent picture of national solidarity out of a multitude of individual concerns and interests. The true importance of their success stood in the promotion of these nationalist ideals through the power of the State, not in voluntary clubs and associations engaging in a common pursuit of leisure. Adding the power of the State to such a process elevates a
in the winter, Wildman noted that “A reaction had set in, and Canadians began to feel that their cities and country were being looked upon as an abode of ice and snow.”\textsuperscript{201} The promoter’s efforts resulted in too much success in connecting the national image of Canada to the winter.

The importance of fostering Canadian unity, celebrating and rewarding Canadian excellence, and representing Canada to the world at large represented important tasks for the Canadian Governor Generals. It is unsurprising that both Lord Lansdowne and Lord Stanley, in continuation of sport promotion at Rideau Hall, attended and promoted the Montreal Winter Carnivals. The Lansdownes showcased their skating proficiency, dazzling the onlookers at the Fancy Dress skating party at the Victoria Rink in Montreal.\textsuperscript{202} Stanley and his family attended the final Carnival in its entirety from 4-9 February, 1889.\textsuperscript{203} The Dominion Illustrated Monthly described the anticipation of the Vice Regal party’s reception to the winter sports promoted at the Carnival. The author hoped that “Lord Stanley and his family will open their eyes on the glittering spectacle, and will doubtless not miss a single one of the events. Perhaps nothing will so impress the inmates of Rideau Hall with the winter pleasures of Montreal.”\textsuperscript{204} Throughout the six days of the festival, the Stanley party witnessed each of the Canadian sports. The winter of 1889 presented their first taste of the Canadian Winter, having arrived in June 1888. As a lover of sport, Lord Stanley enjoyed the spectacles, and even began promoting his family’s participation in winter sport. The family engaged in large snowshoe tramps.\textsuperscript{205} They learnt to skate and frequently used the Rideau skating rink.\textsuperscript{206} Like previous Governor Generals, the Stanleys held and

\textsuperscript{201} Wildman, “The Passing of the Ice Carnival”: 363.
\textsuperscript{202} Noonan, 143.
\textsuperscript{203} Isobel Stanley took a photo of the famed Montreal Ice Palace on their trip. The negative image of that photo can be viewed in Appendix 4.11.
\textsuperscript{204} “The Great Carnival of the North,” Dominion Illustrated Monthly, February 9, 1889: 83.
\textsuperscript{205} To view a photo of the Stanley party dressed in snowshoeing attire in the winter of 1888 please refer to Appendix 4.12.1.
\textsuperscript{206} The view a photo of the Stanley party skating at Rideau Hall in 1892 please refer to Appendix 4.12.2.
attended fancy-dress skating balls. Stanley encouraged tobogganing as well. He lamented in a personal correspondence regretting the notion of the decline of the Canadian sport of tobogganing. The most influential sporting moment for the Stanley’s during that 1889 Montreal Winter Carnival came on the first day. On 4 February 1889, the Stanley family witnessed their first ice hockey game. The Montreal Ice hockey Club, representing the Montreal Amateur Athletic Association, narrowly lost to the Montreal Victorias by a 2-1 score. The Montreal Gazette reported that “Lord Stanley expressed his great delight with the game of ice hockey and the expertise of its players. That first experience with ice hockey ignited a passion in the Stanley family for this rapidly growing winter sport.

C) The Stanley Family and Winter Sport

Organized sport in nineteenth-century Canada largely emanated from Montreal. It served as the urban environment where sportsmen adapted pastoral and indigenous pre-modern sports into highly modernized sporting activities. On 3 March 1875, a new sporting practice emerged in that city. That date represents the first recorded game of modern ice hockey. Reports credited Haligonian James Creighton for organizing the game. Ice hockey’s originator and early practitioners hailed from the urban Anglo middle classes. This status conformed to other sport modernizers in Canada during the late

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207 An official request in Lord Stanley’s official record of received requests on 13 January 1891 from S. Fleming recorded an invitation and acceptance of the Stanley’s to attend a fancy-dress skating ball. S. Fleming to Lord Stanley, January 13, 1891, Lord Stanley’s Received Requests 1888-1893, “Papers of Frederick Arthur, 16th Earl of Derby,” Box 17, Liverpool Central Library, Liverpool, United Kingdom. Isobel Stanley took photos of a party and also kept a newspaper clipping describing one such event. To view the photos and the newspaper clipping please refer to Appendix 4.12.3.

208 Lord Stanley to W. Fleesor, 1890, Lord Stanley’s Received Requests 1888-1893, “Papers of Frederick Arthur, 16th Earl of Derby,” Box 17, Liverpool Central Library, Liverpool, United Kingdom.


210 For a detailed discussion of the emergence of modernized sport in Canada, and particularly the role of the citizens of Montreal in fostering its growth, please refer to Chapter IV.

211 The game, played between two sides of nine, lasted one hour at the Victoria Skating Rink. Creighton also first published the rules of hockey in 1877. John Wong, Lords of the Rinks: The Emergence of the National Hockey League, 1875-1936 (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 13.
nineteenth-century. The game spread in popularity as a direct result of its inclusion in the program of athletics at the Montreal Winter Carnivals. By the 1890s the game spread, partially by tourists who came into contact with the game in Montreal at the Carnivals and partially by James Creighton and his fellow McGill comrades, beyond Western Quebec and Eastern Ontario westward to the Canadian northwest and Southern Ontario. Lord Stanley and his family encountered the game during this moment when the formalized rules of the sport spread across the country.

After that 4 February 1889 match in Montreal, the Stanley family fell into a deep love affair with the sport. In particular, Stanley’s children stoked the flames of passion for ice hockey in Rideau Hall. Isobel Stanley, Lord Stanley’s daughter, participated in the first recorded woman’s ice hockey game in history months after witnessing ice hockey for the first time. Isobel organized and played on a Government House team which defeated a local Rideau lady’s team at Rideau Hall. Lord Stanley’s sons all took to ice hockey, spurred initially by Edward. Yet, Arthur, who excelled at sports in England, proved invaluable to organizing matches at Rideau Hall. He organized a game in 1889 between the Vice-Regal Party (Stanley’s three sons, Arthur, Victor, and Edward, in addition to Capt. Bagot and Lt. McMahon, the Governor General’s aide-de-campes) and a team composed of members of Parliament. This game blossomed into a regular series of matches. Out of these regular matches arose an organized team, the Rideau Rebels. Lord Stanley invited the St. James Club of Montreal to square off against the Rebels in March 1889, only one month after first viewing the game in Montreal. In 1890, Arthur desired even more regular play and scheduled a tour for the Rebels ice hockey team across Ontario. The first game, held in Lindsay, Ontario, highlighted the novelty of the game as it spread across Canada. The

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212 Please refer to Chapter IV for a detailed description. A more detailed discussion of hockey’s political undertones follow in Chapter VII.
213 Wong, 14.
214 Shea and Wilson, 359. For a picture of this first women’s game please refer to Appendix 4.13.
215 Two important figures in hockey history played in this game. James Creighton, the man who created the game and codified its rules in the 1870s in Montreal, played for the St. James Club. Philip D. Ross, future owner of the Ottawa Journal and first trustee of the Stanley Cup, played alongside the Stanleys on the Rebel squad. Ibid, 359-360.
game took place in the brand new Lindsay indoor rink. To ensure the spectators could follow the new game, the local newspaper *The Canadian Post* reported on what to expect during the match in terms of rules and style of play. The team travelled to Toronto and Kingston, further fuelling interest in the sport. Arthur used these trips to engage with ice hockey enthusiasts in Ontario and forward the idea of a regulatory body to schedule matches, hold championships, and promote the spread of the game.²¹⁶

Arthur Stanley’s connections to high-standing ice hockey enthusiasts through the 1890 Rebel’s tour and in the Canadian Parliament led to the formation of the Ontario Ice Hockey Association in 1890.²¹⁷ The new association promoted standardized rules, regulated the schedule, awarded a championship, and convened in contentions between the clubs of the association. The *Daily Mail* reported on 29 November 1890 that rough play from the Toronto teams helped motivate the clubs towards creating a regulatory body. The report commented that “…the meeting had been called to organize an ice hockey association for Ontario, and he [Mr. Barron the chair of the meeting] said this was very necessary, as he had found on his playing visit to Toronto with the vice regal and Parliamentary Ice hockey Club Rebels the previous winter that the Toronto clubs played too roughly, probably because they had no knowledge of the rules.”²¹⁸ The OHA also instituted a challenge cup system to award the Cosby Cup, donated by Lt-Col. Cosby.²¹⁹ On 7 March 1891, the first Cosby Cup match took place at Rideau Rink, hosted by Lord and Lady Stanley. In front of one thousand spectators, the Ottawa Ice hockey Club defeated the St. George Ice hockey Club from Toronto 5-0.²²⁰ Lord Stanley’s son’s participated in and organized ice hockey at the elite amateur level. The presence of his own sons

²¹⁶ Ibid, 360-363.
²¹⁷ Metcalfe noted “… thirteen Members of Parliament, Queen’s Counsels, university professors, and military officers” provided the makeup of those that met on 20 November 1890 to form the OHA. Metcalfe, 71.
²¹⁸ *Daily Mail*, November 29, 1890, quoted in Shea and Wilson, 364.
²¹⁹ Shea and Wilson, 365. The challenge cup system proved of great influence on the Stanley family. Lord Stanley donated the Dominion Hockey Challenge Cup in the same fashion.
²²⁰ Ibid, 367.
stimulated Stanley’s interest in the game. Nevertheless, Stanley became a fan before his sons began to organize and play themselves.

In the winter months of Ottawa, Lord Stanley spent much of his leisure time spectating at elite level ice hockey matches in Ottawa. He constructed an ice hockey rink at Rideau Hall for his own spectating pleasures in addition to giving the Rebel team a venue. By the early 1890s, Ottawa boasted four elite ice hockey teams competing in a regular league schedule.221 Stanley viewed many of the matches personally from his private Box at Dey’s Skating rink. He joined the 2500 other spectators in cheering on their favourite local team. Stanley himself even participated in the game, stickhandling on the rink at Rideau Hall.222 In his unpublished manuscript, Lord Kilcoursie provided detail concerning ice hockey activity at Rideau Hall. He played on the famed Rebels teams. He recalled that “All the Stanley boys used to come over the seas for their holidays from Wellington College and great and glorious were the games of ice hockey on the Rideau rink.”223 He recounted that ice hockey truly served as a family activity, recollecting that “Algy was the best and his sister Isobel the neatest.”224 He fondly remembered the Rebel club and the excitement elicited by their travel, league, and championship play in the O.H.A, “…we were all just good enough to play for a club called the Rebels – and in our red shirts to challenge amateur teams in many of the surrounding towns. We travelled free in those rich days and held our own pretty well. I never missed a championship match and in 91 and 92 Ottawa had a great team.”225 The members of the Vice Regal party clearly felt a tremendous sense of pride and belonging through their participation in ice hockey. Kilcoursie’s recollections indicated the high level of enthusiasm for the game in the Stanley family.

221 Elite in this sense refers to the skills of the players, not their socio-economic status.
222 Michael McKinley, Putting a roof on winter: Hockey’s rise from sport to spectacle (Vancouver, BC: Greystone Books, 2000), 24-25.
224 Ibid.
225 Ibid.
That passion followed some of the Stanley clan across the Atlantic. Kilcoursie noted a remarkable event in the winter of 1893-94, the first back in England for the members of the Vice-Regal party. He felt duty bound to “…record a famous game in the winter of 1893-94. I was ordered to be at Buckingham Palace at 3.30 p.m. and bring my skates and ice hockey stick. There I found King Edward, Queen Alexandra, three of the Stanleys, Lady Isobel and a few more.”

The Stanley boys boasted of ice hockey and its excitement to none other than the Royal family of Great Britain. Their descriptions and passion eventually convinced some in the Royal party to partake in the game, on a cold day when the ornamental waters of Buckingham Palace froze enough to warrant a match. Kilcoursie described the game, “It was decided to play a “quiet” game on the ornamental water. Their Majesties kept goal – one at each end. The score was 0-0, which was as it should be.”

This episode showed the lengths taken by the Stanleys to participate in ice hockey, even after they left the ideal winters of Canada. Above all other considerations, the Stanleys love of ice hockey rested on their love of playing and watching the game. From the children organizing not only play but official leagues and regulatory bodies, to Lord Stanley’s avid spectating, the Stanleys lived ice hockey during winter. Ice hockey fulfilled Lord Stanley’s appetite for sport in the winter months. It, more than the other winter sport, ignited passion throughout the Stanley household. Ice hockey allowed the Stanleys to integrate to the habits of Canadian life. It provided an avenue to share in a Canadian cultural practice, one which stimulated the zeal for sport, so apparent in the Stanley family.

Summary

When Lord Stanley first arrived in Canada in June 1888, he expressed a desire to learn about the country and its citizens. He also promised to fulfill his duties in representing, uniting, and celebrating

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226 Ibid.
227 The Stanley family maintained a close connection to Queen Victoria and her party at Westminster. Frederick, Lord Stanley, served as the Queen’s aide-de-campe, in addition to the Stanley noble heritage provided the Stanley’s with close contact to the monarchy.
Canada. After his five years as Governor General, Stanley left with fond memories of the country. His experiences in politics educated him concerning the great difficulties faced by the Canadian State. The Jesuits’ Estates affair displayed the disunity inherent in the bi-lingual federation. By refusing to grant disallowance over the Quebec Legislature’s decision to provide restitution to the Jesuit Order, Stanley ignited an anti-French, anti-Catholic reaction, one which greatly damaged the rights of French Canadians outside of Quebec. Although he made the correct constitutional decision, Lord Stanley nevertheless exposed the deep rifts in the Canadian population. Furthermore, Stanley, through the negotiations over the Behring Seal and North Atlantic Fisheries, understood Canada’s precarious position as a dependent of the British Empire in foreign relations. Stanley began to empathize with his Canadian constituents over their compromised position. He even began to defend Canadian interests against those of Great Britain. These political episodes displayed to Stanley the difficulty of promoting Canadian unity through political activity, especially in his capacity.

Stanley turned towards cultural activities as a means to connect the country. Stanley believed that “…Canada, with its free institutions, is adapted to be the home of persons of every nationality.” Through cultural activities, all nations within Canada could indeed become part of a larger Canadian nationality. Sport provided Stanley the best opportunity to create a cultural bond to the Canadian people. He inherited a love of sport from his father. In Canada, he revelled in fishing and hunting, but wanted for horseracing. The active winter sports of Canada quickly filled the void for Stanley. Importantly, through winter sports, many Canadian nationalists argued, one best discovered the essence of Canadian nationality. When the Stanleys fell in love with ice hockey, they fell in love with the

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229 Stanley interfered directly into the Behring Seal negotiations on behalf of Canada. He wrote to Sir John A. Macdonald on 17 April 1890 giving direct advice on how to bolster the Canadian arguments against their British diplomatic representatives. Lord Stanley to Sir John A. Macdonald, April 17, 1890, “Stanley family papers, incl Canadian papers of the 16th Earl of Derby (1841-1908),” Folder 13, document 42, Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, United Kingdom.

230 *Regina Leader*, October 15 1889.
essence of Canada. The *Montreal Gazette* described the first game witnessed by the Stanleys at the 1889 Montreal Winter Carnival as “... one of the finest exhibitions of *Canada’s national winter game.*”

Both the political and sporting experiences of Lord Stanley in Canada supported his Progressive political ideology. Through his official office, Stanley believed it his responsibility to promote unity throughout the country. Sport provided an essential cultural activity that could accomplish this goal. Absent political acts, which Stanley understood as impractical, cultural acts served in their stead. Through ice hockey, and sports, Stanley learned a great lesson about the Canadian population. There rested a strong connection to the physical geography, and importantly, to the winter which defined the vast majority of that geography. Having travelled from Atlantic to Pacific, Stanley both witnessed the natural splendour of the wilderness, and realized the sheer vastness which separated Canada’s citizens. Sport, through its rules, practices, and implied lessons, travelled across the country aboard the trains and over the telegraph lines, providing an important unifying element across disparate Canadian population centres. During Stanley’s time in Canada, ice hockey emerged from Eastern Ontario and Western Quebec and spread across the country. He wished to facilitate its spread, in one measure, to provide a cultural link from coast to coast.

The promotion and celebration of excellence represented another official duty for Stanley as Governor General. To officially offer a prize gave state sanction to cultural activities. That act signified that the activity represented a Canadian national interest, and as such should be celebrated. The Canadian State during the late 1880s and early 1890s suffered from an intense debate concerning the future. Would Canada remain tethered to Great Britain through the British Empire? Would Canada pivot towards the United States, preferring a Continental partnership? In addition to political fracture, the Canadian State during this time period suffered from a perceived identity crisis. As this debate

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raged, ice hockey grew in importance as a national signifier. Seen in this framework, Stanley’s decision to donate a national championship trophy in ice hockey represents more than just a donation of a sports trophy.

Ultimately, the idea that sport could buttress nationality served to strengthen the conception of the Canadian State. Contemporary nationalist theory offered shared sentiment and interest as the only avenue upon which non-traditional nations could form a strong State. For Canadian intellectuals and politicians, the national question dominated political thought following Confederation through to the end of the century. Nationalism and imperialism entered Liberal political thought as Classical Liberalism transformed to Progressive Liberalism. It incorporated elements of traditional Conservative ideology. The importance of State guided social reform stood as a New Liberal, or Progressive Liberal, deviation from the Conservative conception of nationalism. Sport offered a means of both social regeneration and a signifier of nationality in Progressive ideology. The acceptance that the State held an important role in both of these processes defined the Progressive outlook. When Lord Stanley donated the Dominion Ice hockey Challenge Cup in 1892 to crown the national ice hockey champions, he acted in part out of his political belief, the Progressive ideology.

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232 Progressivism as a Political Movement, with politicians enacting social legislation under a Progressive Banner did not emerge until the twentieth century. Yet, the philosophical foundations for these practical actions began in the nineteenth century. The transformation in philosophy concerns this study, not the actual change in policy and political party ideology that emerged past the date considerations of this study.
Chapter VII
The State of Nationality in Canada During Lord Stanley’s Tenure

“Can the generous flame of national spirit be kindled and blaze in the icy bosom of the frozen north?”
- Robert Grant Haliburton 1869

“You cannot take up a Canadian newspaper, or read the Canadian correspondence…without seeing that Canada is debating her political destiny, and that there is great diversity of opinion among us.”
– Goldwin Smith 1888

The Confederation of British North America in 1867 created a new State in North America. In order to secure this political construction, Canadian statesmen and nation builders sought to consolidate the country politically and geographically. To crystallize these political concentrations, the people of Canada needed unification along the lines of a strong Canadian nationality. Given the bilingual composition of the country, fostering such a strong united identity proved complicated and difficult. At the time of Lord Stanley’s arrival in Canada in June 1888, the country suffered from a lack of strong identity. Intellectuals and statesmen argued over the national future of the Canadian State. By the late 1880s, the dispute reached a fever pitch. At the heart of the debate stood a caveat: should the Canadian State pivot towards closer Imperial connection to the British Empire or towards Commercial Union with the United States. Both sides considered themselves Canadian nationalists. Opponents of both schemes argued that Canada could never find independence under the British Aegis or that close ties to the United States guaranteed direct annexation to the American Republic. The Federal Election of 1891 showcased the height to which national destiny along either of these lines gripped the Canadian

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1 Robert Grant Haliburton, The Men of the North and their place in history: A lecture delivered before the Montreal Literary Club, March 31st, 1869 (Montreal, PQ: John Lovell, 1869), 2.
2 Goldwin Smith, “Speech of Mr. Goldwin Smith, at the Banquet of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York,” speech given in New York City, November 20, 1888.
3 A detailed discussion of this process is discussed in Chapter II.
population. The outcome of this election provided guidance to the future orientation of Canadian national identity and destiny. Economics largely dominated the campaign, either through the continuation of the National Policy of the Conservative Party or the adoption of Unrestricted Reciprocity proposed by the Liberal Party. Yet underneath these economic arguments lay the reality of Canadian identity. What should it represent, who should define it, and what forms should it take?

As an ardent Imperialist and a Progressive political thinker, Lord Stanley maintained his beliefs in an Imperial Federation, and worked towards those ends. He befriended like-minded Canadian Progressive Imperialists and formed close bonds with the Canadian Conservative Party. Particularly, he and Sir John A. Macdonald formed a strong working and personal relationship. For Stanley, his Progressive ideology affected his loyalties in Canada. Given his political career in Canada, he understood that only a cultural solution could affect Canadian unity. For him, sport offered the best means to induce such harmony. Late nineteenth-century Progressive thinkers legitimated the use of sport as a tool of social reform. For Stanley, his Progressivism and Conservatism informed him of the proper role of the State to promote desired activities in order to stimulate national identity. Given the political fractiousness of the country, along linguistic, religious, and economic issues, sport offered a means to dissolve these differences that precluded the formation of a strong Canadian identity. When Lord Stanley donated the Dominion Ice hockey Challenge Cup in March 1892, he expressly desired to encourage national unity through shared competition. The creation of this nationalist symbol furthered his political goal of uniting the country through the office of the Governor General. By encouraging Canadian cultural unity, the donation served as one potential political act to support the Canadian State and the nation building process.

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5 Despite his allegiances, Stanley did not overstep his bounds as Governor General in a political manner. That is to say, he did not politicize the office and conducted his business just as he had in the British Parliament, one of strong independent mind bound to his sense of duty and respect for the office.

6 For a detailed discussion of this conclusion, please refer to Chapter VI.
Debates Over Canada’s Future

Canadian confederation birthed a self-governing State that still remained an Imperial dependency. This middle position, between outright independence and total colonial domination, produced anxiety amongst Canadian nationalists concerning the future of Canada’s development. Canadian nationalist William Norris indicated such apprehension in his 1875 pamphlet *The Canadian Question*. Norris argued that “It is a fact well recognized by thinking men, that Canada cannot remain in her present position; that the continued progress going on, even as at present, will force her to become something other than a colony.” 7 The Canadian future entailed for Norris “…only three possible states in which she can exist, in her present position of a colony of England, annexed to and forming a part of the United States, or as a separate and independent nation.” 8 Those who argued for each of these three futures all believed it to be in the best interest of Canadian nationality. These views represent the wide array of Canadian nationalist thought in the decades directly following Confederation.

A) *The Birth of Canadian Nationality: Canada First*

The belief that Canada held a national future outside both the United States and the British Empire stood as the boldest vision of the Canadian future in the last decades of the nineteenth-century. A group of Canadian nationalists formed *Canada First*, a political advocacy group that promoted Canadian independence. Historian Carl Berger documented the origins of the group as springing from a meeting of five men in in the spring of 1868. These five men, Charles Mair, George Taylor Denison, Henry Morgan, William Foster, and Robert Grant Haliburton, all Canadian-born, young, and highly educated accepted Thomas D’Arcy McGee’s challenge to the young educated men of the new Dominion. 9 In a 5 November 1867 article in the *Montreal Gazette*, McGee challenged the young Canadian generation

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8 Ibid.
“...not to shrink from confronting the great problems presented by America to the world, whether in morals or government...they [Canadians] should hold their own, on their own soil, sacrificing nothing of their originality; but rejecting nothing, not yet accepting anything, merely because it comes out of an older, or richer, or greater country.”

McGee’s impassioned plea for Canadian independence resonated deeply with the men who started Canada First. As Carl Berger noted, “...they [original Canada “Firsters”] had been inspired by the anticipation of a broader and more purposeful national existence which Confederation made possible.”

These men saw a new future, one unshackled by the petulant colonial squabbles which hindered Canadian development preceding Confederation. The prospect of acquiring a vast northern monarchical nation to rival the United States on the continent provided their initial motivations.

George Taylor Denison remarked in his 1909 recollection of his political activity The Struggle For Imperial Unity that in speeches he “...urged all Canadians to think first of their country – to put it before party or personal connection.” For him and the other Canada Firsters, national greatness depended upon the fostering of a strong nationality. He argued during the first years after Confederation, “If our young men habituate themselves to thinking of the country and its interests in everyday life, it will become in time part of their nature, and when great trials come upon us, the individual citizens will more readily be inclined to make the greatest sacrifices for the State.”

To support the new State, a new feeling of nationality amongst the people proved necessary. In his 1871 influential speech Canada First; or Our New Nationality, William Foster echoed these sentiments. He did not lament the fact that Canada “...may have no native ballad for the nursery, or home-born epic for the study; no tourney feats

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11 Berger, 51-52.
12 Ibid, 52.
14 Ibid.
to rhapsodise over, or mock heroics to emblazon on our escutcheon; we may have no prismatic fables to illumine and adorn the preface of our existence; or curious myths to obscure and soften the sharp outline of our early history." The fact that Canada lacked these aspects of mythology, necessary qualities for a strong nation, as argued by many contemporary nineteenth-century nationalist theorists, only emboldened Foster to promote and foster a new nationality in Canada. Foster argued that “Now that we are prosperous and united, vigourous and well-to-do; and now that some of the traditions of the past are gradually losing their hold on the imagination of a new generation, that sentiment which so long found an outlet in declamation over the glories of the Mother Land, will draw a more natural nourishment for native sources.” The task of Canadian nationalists was to mold the future of the Canadian State through the development of a Canadian nationality. Foster proclaimed that “We know not what the future may have in store for us. Let the event be what it may, it is our bounden duty to prepare for it like sensible men conscious of obligation to humanity. The problem of self-government is being worked out anew with fresh data, and we must do our part in the solution. There are asperities of race, of creed, of interest to be allayed, and a composite people to be rendered homogeneous.”

Robert Grant Haliburton provided a theme around which these Canadian nationalists aspired to mold a nationality. In his seminal 1869 address *The Men of the North and their place in history*, Haliburton argued that Canadians would become the “Northmen of the New World.” For Denison, that speech “...endeavoured to arouse the pride of Canadians in their country, and to create a feeling of confidence in its future.” Canadian nationality stood to support the new Canadian State as it stretched itself towards its continental future.

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15 William Alexander, Foster, *Canada First; or, Our New Nationality: An Address, by W.A. Foster* (Toronto ON: Adam, Stevenson & Co., 1871), 5.
16 For a discussion on contemporary nationalist theory and its relation to Canadian confederation please refer to Chapter II.
17 Foster, 27.
18 Ibid, 30.
19 Denison, 16.
An important cornerstone of the ideas of the original members of Canada First lay in strengthening the bonds of Canada to the British Empire. Haliburton passionately argued for such a connection in the 1868 pamphlet *Intercolonial Trade: Our Only Safeguard Against Disunion*. Arguing against the prospect of Nova Scotia leaving the Canadian Union due to commercial relations, Haliburton maintained that Intercolonial trade throughout the entire British Empire stood as the only means available to Canada to remain united and separate from the United States. He argued that American aggression over restricted trade, through the unwillingness to renegotiate the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, “... [has] actually come to the rescue of the Dominion, and have forced us to become one people through intercolonial trade, and are now compelling us to increase our manufactures and our products so as to supply the demands of an extensive foreign market which they have thrown open to us.”20 The rise of ‘Little Englandism’ in the mother country precipitated a general attitude of disengagement from the Colonies.21 Furthermore, the 1871 Treaty of Washington between the United States and Great Britain resolved all outstanding claims pertinent to British involvement in the United States Civil War, essentially leaving the North American continent to American control. For Canada Firsters, the strengthening of Canadian nationality stood as a strategy to induce the British back into a formal partnership with Canadians. For Denison, by dispelling notions of Colonial ‘inferiority’ through the construction of a strong Canadian State, evidenced by material prosperity, national self-governance, and national pride, England could be converted to accept a type of Imperial relationship to an equal in status.

21 ‘Little Englandism’ resulted from the Classical Liberal anti-imperialism of Richard Cobden and Richard Bright. Their promotion of free trade and retrenchment from colonialism abetted with the admission of American supremacy on the North American continent created the environment for disengagement. Berger, 60.
nation of Canada.\textsuperscript{22} The foundations for the promotion of Imperial Federation rested in Canada with the first explicit Canadian nationalists.\textsuperscript{23}

Despite these beginnings, the Canadian nationalist movement espoused in Canada First attracted those who did not envision an Imperial future for the Canadian State. In the mid-1870s, the secret movement emerged as a potential third party in national politics. By this time, only Charles Mair remained out of the original group.\textsuperscript{24} Important changes to the membership altogether transformed the intentions of the group. In 1871, English historian Goldwin Smith, a disciple of the Classical Liberal giants Richard Cobden and Richard Bright, joined Canada First.\textsuperscript{25} Smith gravitated towards the Canada Firsters for their disdain of “partyism” in politics, the degeneracy of journalism, and the widespread corruption in Canadian politics.\textsuperscript{26} Canadian Historian W.L. Morton noted the failure of the Canada First movement whose “ferment of ...ideas – a racial, British, a Canadian imperialism, an independent Canada, a national literature – was a ferment only.”\textsuperscript{27} Additionally, when Smith a “...Manchester Radical, British free-trader, [and] North American continentalist” assumed leadership it spelt the “...cold kiss of death to any national aspiration.”\textsuperscript{28} Smith up until his schism with the Canada First movement believed wholeheartedly in Canadian independence.\textsuperscript{29} Arguing for Canadian independence in 1864,

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\item \textsuperscript{22} Ibid, 61.
\item \textsuperscript{23} These nationalists envisioned an independent Canada, but only due to British intransigence towards Canadian needs. The continued sacrifice of Canadian interest to placate the United States resolved the original Canada Firsters that independence might indeed be necessary. Ibid, 63.
\item \textsuperscript{24} Ibid, 69.
\item \textsuperscript{25} Born in 1823 in Reading, UK, Goldwin Smith excelled in his studies at Oxford. His high achievement landed him on the Royal Commission to reform Oxford and Cambridge. He received appointment as Oxford’s Regius professor in history in 1858. A Classical Liberal, Smith argued for Colonial Disengagement, even going so far as to argue for Canadian independence in 1862. He moved to the United States in 1868 to become professor of English and Constitutional History at Cornell University. In 1871, he moved to Canada where he remained until his death in 1910. “Goldwin Smith,” The North American Review, 192, no. 3, (1910): 130.
\item \textsuperscript{26} Berger, 69.
\item \textsuperscript{27} W.L. Morton, The Critical Years: The Union of British North America 1853-1873 (Toronto, ON: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1964), 265.
\item \textsuperscript{28} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{29} Morton’s assertion that Smith’s politics seemed incompatible with those of the original Canada Firsters and his leadership doomed a national aspiration denies the reality that Smith believed in Canadian independence and
\end{itemize}
Smith debated that “These colonies are separated from us [England] by three thousand miles of ocean... They are brought into intimate relations, diplomatic and commercial with communities of a different continent from ours. Their fundamental institutions – the principle of social and political equality, the absence of hereditary rank, or primogeniture and entails, their free churches and common schools, - are essentially those of the New, not those of the Old World. They are so far from being identified with us in commercial interests that they impose protective duties on our goods.”30 As a ‘Little Englander’ from the Manchester School, Smith argued that British Imperial connection endangered both Canada and Great Britain through potential hostility from the United States. He continued “At the present moment, both the mother country and the colony are brought by the connexion [sic] into gratuitous peril: for the angry Americans, though they have no desire for Canada as a territorial acquisition, are tempted to pick quarrels with us [England] by its opportuneness as a battlefield; while the Canadians would be perfectly safe if they were not involved in the danger of a collision between us and the Americans.”31 Without a formal imperial binding, security for both Canada and England increased. Smith and his followers appeared out of synchronization with the explicit policy goals of the new Canada First political party.

The influence of ‘Little Englandism’ on Great British Imperial policy entering the late Victorian age (1870-1901) necessitated a strategy of deferred Imperial aspirations for the Canada First political agenda.32 Canada First set its sights on increasing Canada’s role as a sovereign actor in international affairs, a policy which mollified anti-imperialists and imperialists alike. Berger noted that the platform of Canada First “…was a curious mixture of the nationalistic aims of the old group and the interests of the national destiny outside an imperial framework. It begets the notion that political adversaries on certain issues can unite around other issues.

31 Ibid.
32 The first plank of the Party’s platform, “British Connection, Consolidation of the Empire, and in the meantime a voice in treaties affecting Canada”, conceded the reality that fostering a formal Imperial parliament or federation which gave equal footing to Canadian delegates needed time as public opinion in the mother country stood against it. Berger, 70-71.
new members in technical improvements to the electoral system.”  

Focus on these matters allowed members to concede the issues on which they disagreed. Fighting the growing influence of the Catholic Church in national politics, through Ultramontanism espoused by Bishop Bourget in Quebec, represented another goal which bound the old and new members together. In this way, Canada First attempted to promote a Canadian nationality, but only in a fashion which quelled the internal divisions of its membership.

The Party failed for a number of reasons. Attempting to fight partisanship through partisan activity highlighted the confusing strategy of the Party. Furthermore, tensions between Imperialists and anti-Imperialists, as well as protectionists and free traders, precluded a party united on all, if not many fronts. Another policy plank of Canada First pressed for protective tariffs, endorsed and promoted by Haliburton in the late 1860s. This stood at direct odds against free traders, such as Goldwin Smith. Imperialism also proved an issue the party could not agree upon. In an 8 October 1874 speech, Smith serving as the president of Canada First’s National Club, discussed his views of Canada’s non-imperial future. Smith noted that Canada First generally believed in a move towards Imperial Federation. He argued that “At present, the current appears to run in favour of the theory held by some members of this club, that the state of transition in which almost all allow that we are, will end not in a family of self-governing nations, but in Imperial Confederation.” Yet, he believed that even this should not deter unity amongst those who espoused Canadian nationalism. He continued in that speech that “I have said that I cannot agree in opinion with Imperial Confederationists, but though I cannot agree in opinion with them I can club with them. There are other subjects of national interest to talk about, and we can talk

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33 Ibid, 70.
34 These goals included the implementation of an income franchise, initiation of a secret balloting system, compulsory voting requirements, increased minority representation, the elimination of property requirements for members of Parliament, and a complete reorganization of the Senate. Ibid, 71.
35 Goldwin Smith, “An Address Delivered at the Dinner of the Committee and Stockholders of the “National Club,” speech given in Toronto, Ontario, October 8, 1874.
about this, if we are men of sense able to hold our different theories on a public question without bandying charges of disloyalty and treason.”

Yet despite Smith’s pleas, his calls for a dissolution of the Empire and for reciprocity with the United States did just that, generated calls of treason and disloyalty against him. In particular, editor of *The Globe* George Brown used Smith’s speech to condemn not only Smith but the entire Canada First organization as treasonous. The failure of the Party drew denunciation from Canada First’s founders, particularly Mair and Denison. The dissolution of Canada First set the stage for Canadian intellectuals from both sides to argue for Canada destiny in the 1880s and 1890s. Smith poignantly encapsulated the conundrum and importance of advancing Canadian national destiny in an 1877 pamphlet. He argued that “For those who are actually engaged in moulding the institutions of a young country not to have formed a conception of her destiny – not to have made up their minds whether she is to remain forever a dependency, to blend again in a vast confederation with the monarchy of the mother-country, or to be united to a neighbouring republic – would be to renounce statesmanship.”

Canadian nationalists all desired greater autonomy and sovereignty for Canada. They disagreed over the direction that Canada should pursue to obtain such goals. On one side stood free traders, anti-imperialists, and Continentalists such as Goldwin Smith, Erastus Wiman, and federal Liberal Party leader Sir Wilfrid Laurier. On the other stood protectionist, Imperialists, and progressive Imperial Federationist such as George Munro Grant, George Parkin, and federal Conservative Party leader Sir. John A. Macdonald. These two sides dominated the debate over the projection of Canadian nationalism during Lord Stanley’s tenure as Governor General.

36 Ibid.
37 Berger, 74.
B) Continental Union – Unlimited Reciprocity, Continental Union, and Annexation

Beneath the drive for Canadian national destiny rested two important interconnected considerations. First, how would Canada develop economically? Second, how would this economic development affect Canada’s political allegiances? For those who wanted to see Canada fulfill a continental destiny, free trade with the United States would result in a lessening of political dependency on the British Empire. It also stood to produce the weakening or the eventual dissolution of the imperial bond. Yet, this did not preclude a dismemberment of the bond of sentiment or shared history and political institutions that wedded Canada to Great Britain. Political leaders, such as Wilfrid Laurier, did not even wish to sever the Imperial bonds, but merely allow Canada to fulfill her destiny within it. On the other side, Goldwin Smith believed that Canada should join the United States, but only under its own prerogative. Those who advocated for continental union or unrestricted reciprocity with the United States differed widely in how these economic relationships would, or should, affect the political future of the Canadian State.

Economics, politics, and sentiment lay at the heart of the push towards a continental Canadian destiny. Goldwin Smith and Erastus Wiman, the two most prominent intellectual voices in favour of a continental destiny, strongly favoured a formal type of continental relationship between Canada and the United States. Both rejected the idea of a military or hostile intervention. Wiman argued in 1889 that “While the opinion that Canada should belong to the United States is general, no one proposed to

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achieve it by other than peaceable means.” For Smith, he declared in 1887 that “If political union ever takes places between the United States and Canada, it will not be because the people of the United States are disposed to aggression upon Canadian independence, of which there is no thought in any American breast.” Both agreed that Canadian economic prosperity laid in north-south trade with the Republic. Wiman looked to the history of Canadian development from 1854 to 1865, at which time free trade existed between the United States and the united Province of Canada. He outlined that “...the experience of the Reciprocity Treaty, which ended in 1865, was a great object lesson to Canadians. During the ten years of that treaty no country in the world prospered more than did Canada.” Given that experience, Wiman concluded that

If such were the effects in ten years of a free market with consumers only half as numerous as they now are, and with manufactures not nearly so developed as at present, it is easy to foresee that the consequences of an open market now would be even more advantageous. Those who have thought at all upon the subject believe that no event in the whole category of events, could occur which would benefit a country so large, with products so numerous, as to have a market near by, among a people so extravagant, and with means and facilities so ready of access to them.

In a 20 November 1888 speech to the New York State Chamber of Commerce, Smith argued that geography determined the natural course of trade relations on the North American continent. Sensing the growing importance of trade relations for Canadian federal politics, Smith stated that

...even at our bye elections popular interest in the question [on Commercial Union] has begun to tell, and at our next general election our trade relations with the United States are evidently going to be the main issue. To me is has always seemed that the map settles the question. Nature has manifestly made this continent an economical whole, ordaining that its products, Northern and Southern, shall supplement each other, and that all its inhabitants with the varied gifts and industries, shall combine in creating its common store of wealth.

Free trade with the United States best maximized the future economic prosperity of Canadian citizens.

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42 Erastus Wiman, “Commercial Union. Mr. Erastus Wiman’s Views on this Important Subject,” *The Chicago Tribune*, October 5, 1889.
43 Ibid.
Both Wiman and Smith believed that stronger formal ties to the United States represented the best avenue to obtain these desired economic benefits. Wiman, when asked about what type of formal relationship best suited Canada and the United States, responded:

...it is proposed to accomplish it very much the same as in the case of the German Zollverein. Here were a group of States, around every one of which there was a customs line. This they agreed to abolish, and instead of having half a dozen customs lines athwart the country, they simple lifted them up and put them right around the country, and created what is known as a Commercial Union. There is no difference whatever so far as trade and commerce are concerned, between commercial union and political union.45

To gain the benefits of continental free trade, Canada need not forfeit her political separation from the United States. Smith agreed with Wiman’s sentiments and promoted the abolition of tariffs between the two countries while maintaining a common tariff against the rest of the world. He argued that “...the principle of Commercial Union applies merely to the internal trade of the continent...We only say a line of custom houses drawn across the continent, whether between New York and Pennsylvania or between New York and Ontario, is, on any hypothesis, a nuisance, and ought to be removed.”46 Like Wiman, Smith preferred to keep the political consequences separate from the economic. He continued that “We want a verdict on the straight commercial question, whether internal free trade will not be beneficial to the commerce and industry of this continent. We want a verdict on that question apart from all political issues with which, in the vortex of party politics, it has been mixed.”47

Despite the insistence of Wiman and Smith on removing the political from the economic, both understood the momentous political arguments involved in pursuing unlimited reciprocity or commercial union between Canada and the United States. Importantly, both men believed that a reduction of hostility between the United States and Great Britain resulted from this economic

45 For Wiman, there stood no chance of achieving political union with the United States, no matter the positive or negative economic consequences. He argued that “The difficulties in the way of a political union...between Canada and the United States are very great, so great that it will take a lifetime to remove them...from 1865-1885, - twenty years, - although the losses from the repeal of Reciprocity were simply enormous, there was not a whimper of discontent.” Wiman, The Chicago Tribune, October 5, 1889.
47 Ibid.
manoeuvre. Pointing to the disagreements over fishing rights in the North Atlantic, Smith argued that “If Commercial Union embraced the Fisheries and the Coasting Trade there would be an end to these wretched bickerings which otherwise will never have an end.”

Wiman argued that conflict over trade stood as a real possibility between Canada and the United States. He commented that “It might even happen that a persistence in a nagging and unfriendly policy, as shown in the harsh and antiquated interpretation of the Fishery Treaty, the constant invitation to retaliation by acts of apparent bad neighborhood, by hostile tariffs and other irritating influences, might work up a sentiment in the United States that would demand and justify the military capture of Canada.” No internal tariffs or trade barriers removed such potential for conflict and hostility. Furthermore, both men knew that public opinion in Canada disapproved of political unity with the United States. Wiman proposed that “No man, however favorable he may be to a political union between the two countries, can believe that such a revolution in public sentiment is possible as would elect within a period of twenty years a Parliament whose main plank should be annexation to the United States.” Smith agreed on the difficulties of political unionists, but felt greater optimism at its prospect. He commented that “It has been said that you could not speak of political union before a meeting of Canadians without being stoned. I feel sure that this is not true…a meeting of ordinary Canadians would hear you discuss in proper terms the possible reunion of the English-speaking race on this continent without showing any inclination to take up stones.” The Canadian public’s fear of Americanization proved a large obstacle for continentalists. They attempted to both assuage fears of closer American contact by removing the issue of political union altogether. Furthermore they argued that sentiment, both towards the United States and Great

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50 Ibid: 666.
Britain, provided justification for moving closer towards formal ties with the United States and away from the Imperial connection.

Both Smith and Wiman insisted that closer connection to the United States resulted from a great degree of mobility and shared culture between the two countries. Smith argued:

The structure of society, the character of the people and their social sentiments are the same in British Canada that they are in the Northern and Western States. There is an official and quasi-aristocratic tinge on society at Ottawa. There is an English tinge on society at Toronto. But the English tinge is dying away now that the British regiments are gone, and the leadership of the professions, of commerce, and of society, which used to be in the hands of immigrants from England, has passed into the hands of native Canadians.\(^52\)

For Smith, “...British Canada and the United States are now one people under two governments and with a Customs line drawn across it.”\(^53\) Wiman noted that closer relations in part lay with the tremendous immigration of Canadians to the United States. He recounted that “…fully one-fifth of the adult population of Canada are at present resident in the United States; that Canada has contributed to the United States a larger quota in proportion to the population remaining in that country than any other country.”\(^54\) More importantly, continentalists needed to alleviate the concerns that moving closer to the United States rendered the historic, cultural, and political associations to Great Britain obsolete for the Canadian population.

Smith believed that much of the negativity in this direction came from an overzealous and anti-British sentiment in the American Press. He implored “The reason of this [Canadian condemnation of annexation] is that their British and Anti-American feeling is being always kept alive by the insults by which your press daily fling on everything British.”\(^55\) Furthermore, Smith believed that Canadians would not dare act against British interests in annexation. He concluded that “Without the consent of England, 

\(^{52}\) Ibid.
\(^{53}\) Ibid.
\(^{54}\) Wiman, *The Chicago Tribune*, October 5, 1889.
Canada will do nothing. To Canada, at all events, England, according to her lights, has been a good mother.\textsuperscript{56} He argued that Canada would not lose its Britishness, or even its Canadianess through close connection to the United States. For Smith, “Nor need any Canadian fear that the political separation to which perhaps he clings will be forfeited by accepting Commercial Union. A poor and weak nationality that would be which depended upon a customs line. Introduce Free trade at once throughout the world and the nationalities will remain as before.”\textsuperscript{57} So long as historic or national sentiment proved strong, trade could not destroy it. Furthermore, the material prosperity of the United States compared to Canada afforded rationale for Canadians to extend trading privileges with them.\textsuperscript{58} Wiman argued that increased prosperity provided the greatest justification for commercial union, not a rejection of Britishness or desire to become Americanized. In a direct response to a letter asking specifically about Canadians sacrificing the British connection in favour of commercial union, Wiman responded that “…the motive which prompts the movement among Canadians here toward commercial union is the good of Canada, combined with the maintenance of British connection.”\textsuperscript{59} He argued that “…Canada ought in some way to more largely benefit than she does by the growth, right at her own borders, of a nation so powerful, so rich, and so much in need of all that she has to offer.”\textsuperscript{60} Rather than eschew the formal relationship with Great Britain, commercial union afforded Canadians both open markets to the United States and also a maintenance of their political relationships.\textsuperscript{61} Wiman argued that advocates of

\textsuperscript{56} Smith, “Speech of Mr. Goldwin Smith,” November 20, 1888.
\textsuperscript{57} Goldwin Smith, \textit{The Schism of the Anglo-Saxon Race}, 42.
\textsuperscript{58} Smith argued with access to American markets, Canada would grow in population and wealth: “…the five millions [Canadian population] would rapidly become ten; their wealth would increase as well as their numbers.” Smith, “Speech of Mr. Goldwin Smith,” November 20, 1888.
\textsuperscript{60} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{61} Many argued that entering a commercial union with the United States necessitated a hostile commercial policy of Canada towards Great Britain. Yet, since the introduction of the National Policy by Sir. John A. Macdonald and his Conservative Party in 1878, Canada, independent of any trade deal with the United States, enacted a stiff tariff on British manufactured goods to stimulate Canadian manufacturing. Robert Brown, \textit{Canada’s National Policy 1883-1900: A Study in Canadian-American Relations} (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1964), 11. Thus, any
commercial union “...make it clear that British connection is in no respect either weakened or imperilled by its [commercial union] adoption.” These thinkers focused mostly on the causes and complaints of English Canadians. Yet, they understood that the French constituency in Canada harboured its own motivations and prejudices concerning commercial union.

The problem of creating a unitary Canadian national identity rested primarily on Canada’s bilingual composition. This created at times intense conflict between two competing groups with their own strong identities. Contemporary thinkers and politicians who posited a view of Canadian national destiny during Lord Stanley’s tenure needed to present French-Canadian opinions independent of the majority English population. For Smith, the French in Canada represented an entirely separate nation. He proclaimed to his American audience in New York that “French Canada stands apart. She is a French nation with a practically theocratic government, the power being in the hands of the priesthood to whom the political leaders generally owe their position.” He believed that “The patriotism of the French Canadian centres entirely in French Canada.” Concerning the United States, Smith argued that “The relation of the French Canadians to the United States at present is that of peaceful invaders on a large scale of your North-Eastern States.” Smith disapproved of the lack of assimilation of the French into an English-Canada. He argued that it produced much social tension and ultimately doomed the project of Canadian nationality. He deplored that “British Canada has not had force to assimilate the French element of Quebec as you have assimilated enough at least for political purposes the French elements in Louisiana; and the result is this French nationality which is threatening to break the unity of

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62 Wiman, Does Annexation Follow?, 2.
63 During Lord Stanley’s tenure, the Jesuits’ Estates Controversy and the attendant Manitoba Schools Crisis displayed this fracture in Canadian society. For more on these controversies and their hampering the creation of a Canadian national identity, and Lord Stanley’s responses please refer to Chapter VI.
65 Ibid.
66 Ibid.
In Smith’s calculation, the French opinion mattered not at all, given that he fully believed them to be duped, deceived, depraved, and misled by their religious, and by extension, political leaders. Wiman supported Smith’s description of French-Canadian society in the late nineteenth-century. He claimed that “It may be doubted if anywhere else in the world this great clerical institution [the Catholic Church] rules more absolutely that in Quebec.” Wiman noted that the assertiveness of the Catholic Church in the political activities of Quebec, and of the Dominion, created “...serious alarm for the future in the minds of the Protestants of Canada.” The prospect of either political or commercial union with the United States threatened the Church’s hegemony over French-Canadian society. Wiman argued that “The complete control of education, the possession of vast estates for religious purposes, freedom from taxation, and public grants, could hardly be tolerated in a free State of the Union; while, above and beyond all, would be feared the danger of an influx into Quebec of intelligent Protestants, owing to the development of natural resources and the increase of foreign capital.” For Wiman, French-Canadian views of any amalgamation with the United States flowed from the Church.

Scholar Aaron Boyes examined the opinions of Quebecers to annexation and political union during the period. He argued that, unlike previous moments of national uncertainty, Quebecers engaged in no organized or sustained movement for either commercial or political union between 1887 and 1893. Quebecers undoubtedly realized the potential benefits of material prosperity and wealth, but weighed these benefits against the potential loss of national sovereignty. Some French Canadians argued that within the Republican United States, the French could indeed maintain their language and

67 Ibid.
69 Ibid.
70 Ibid: 668.
72 Ibid, 28.
religious liberties. Given the outbreak of English-French conflict over the Riel execution, the Jesuits Estates controversy, and the movement of Protestant agitators to eradicate French influence in Canada outside Quebec, such arguments could indeed gain traction. Importantly, Premier Mercier supported Reciprocity. He convened a conference in 1887 with five other Premiers, the Interprovincial Conference. They resolved to support unrestricted reciprocity. Other influential thinkers in Quebec, such as Father Édouard Hamon, did not fear annexation or commercial union. Hamon believed that the French language and Roman Catholic religion bound French Canadians together. In the event of annexation, he believed the United States, with Canada now ensconced, would become too large to effectively govern. Devolution of power ensured that the French could form their own confederacy in Quebec and in parts of New England where French immigration produced majorities. Despite the actions of a few, the sentiment in Quebec largely conformed to the prescriptions of the institutional clergy that dominated social life in Quebec. Ultimately, no individual, akin to Smith or Wiman, advanced the cause of commercial union in Quebec. The predisposition of most Quebeckers against any union with the United States could not be overcome. Hence, Smith’s and Wiman’s characterizations of indifference for the majority of Quebec’s population to commercial union proved accurate.

Commercial union, in addition to a serious intellectual proposition, gained traction with contemporary politicians on both sides of the border. The largest legislative effort in the United States to push towards Unlimited Reciprocity originated with Congressman Benjamin Butterworth of Ohio’s

73 Boyes argued that annexationist talk and calls for free trade materialized in Quebec in the election of 1891, but largely absent prior. Ibid, 32-34. Boyes detailed French Canadian newspapers who advocated for annexation, Ibid, 35-38. Discussion of the election of 1891 follows in this chapter.
74 Historian Robert Brown argued that the specific resolution served as an afterthought to the main attention of the premiers at the conference; largely to induce better terms from the Federal Government and strengthen provincial rights. Brown, 134.
75 Boyes, 41.
76 Ibid, 126-126
77 There are multiple reasons for this which cannot be as easily reduced as both Smith and Wiman argued. For a full discussion on the nuances of French Canadian, and in particular Quebecker, opinion on this matter see Aaron Boyes, “Canada’s Undecided Future” The Discourse on Unrestricted Reciprocity and Annexation in Quebec, 1887-1893,” MA thesis, University of Ottawa, 2010.
first district. On 14 February 1887, Butterworth introduced a motion in the United States House of Representatives to establish in all but name Commercial Union between Canada and the United States. Indeed, Butterworth’s Bill provided the impetus for Wiman and Smith to promote the idea of commercial union. Butterworth also sparked support in the United States Congress, most notably with Illinois Representative Robert Hitt. Speaking before Wiman’s Canadian Club in New York City, Butterworth spoke to his motivation in tabling the Bill. He proclaimed that “What is proposed in the present instance, and the merits of which I propose to discuss, is full and complete reciprocal trade and commerce between the United States and Canada, by the terms of which, for all purposes of trade, barter and exchange, the two countries shall be as one.” In the preamble to the Bill, Butterworth noted that the commercial union stood to resolve the continuing strife between Canada and the United States over fishing and other trade controversies. He stated:

...by reason of the contiguity of the two countries and the similarity of interests and occupations of the people thereof, it is desired by the United States to remove all existing controversies and all causes of controversy in the future, and to promote and encourage business and commercial intercourse between the people of both countries, and to promote harmony between the two Governments, and to enable the citizens of each to trade with the citizens of the other without restriction and irrespective of boundaries, as fully and freely as though there was no boundary-line between the two countries.

Security and shared interests also formed key components of Butterworth’s justifications for pushing commercial union. Butterworth also pleaded that commercial union did not endanger the familial

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78 Historian Christopher Pennington argued that the Butterworth Bill served only as a tactic to gain press attention for idea of commercial union. Butterworth, along with Ohio businessman Samuel Ritchie never believed the bill would pass. Rather, they hoped to curry favour for the plan, in order to profit off Ritchie’s Canadian mine holdings. The plan worked as newspapers in the United States and Canada quickly picked up the idea and promoted it. Christopher Pennington, *The Destiny of Canada: Macdonald, Laurier, and the election of 1891*. History of Canada Series (Toronto, ON: Allen Lane Canada, 2011), 54-55.


80 Butterworth implored that this plan did not disrupt the current political relationship between Canada and the United States. Benjamin Butterworth, “Commercial Union Between Canada and the United States,” speech given at the Canadian Club, New York, New York, May 19, 1887.

81 The Butterworth Bill, H.R. 11158, 49th Congress, (1887).
relationship between Canada and Great Britain. In his address to the Canadian Club, Butterworth reminded Canadians that “The growth of Canada in the direction of substantial independence in the matter of managing her own affairs has in no wise disturbed the filial regard, if I may use that expression, which naturally and inevitably grows out of the relations which Canadians sustain to the people of England.” He respected Canadian loyalty to the British. He viewed it as natural given Great Britain’s recognition of their political rights and the slow devolution of power to them. On Dominion Day, 1 July 1887, Butterworth came to Canada, along with Wiman, and preached at Dufferin Lake to a receptive audience about Commercial Union. They repeated these arguments to another enthusiastic crowd in Port Hope, Ontario, two days later on 3 July 1887. The Globe newspaper, a Liberal Party supporter, commented on 5 July 1887 the enthusiasm for the plan, especially amongst farmers. This enthusiasm led the power brokers in the federal Liberal party to propose unrestricted reciprocity as a main plank of the Liberal Platform. Free trade between the United States and Canada began legislatively in the United States and quickly formed the central issue of the opposition party in Canadian Federal politics in the late 1880s.

C) Wilfrid Laurier and Unrestricted Reciprocity

Canadian historian Christopher Pennington argued that far from a fringe opinion, the idea of unrestricted reciprocity and commercial union with the United States held large influence over public opinion. He stated that “Almost half of the voters [in the 1891 election] backed free trade, and many

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83 He contrasted this method of independence to the American version, in which the British did not recognize or grant the American colonists those rights, leading the fracture of the American Revolution. Ibid.
84 Pennington, 68-70.
85 Canadian farmers clamoured for free entry of their natural products into United States, a market with greater manufacturing capabilities and a population thirteen times that of Canada. The farmers also suffered from high taxes and interest charges while only having direct access to the small population in Canada. Commercial union resonated with them as it promised to ease many of these troubles. “It Is Our Politics” A Strong Endorsation of Unrestricted Reciprocity.” The Globe, July 5, 1887.
86 Pennington, 70.
were motivated by a continentalist brand of nationalism that maintained that Canadians could compete successfully against Americans under free trade without compromising their economic or political independence.”

Importantly, Pennington framed those who advocated for commercial union as genuine Canadian nationalists. When Wilfrid Laurier made the political calculation to include unlimited reciprocity as a central tenet of the Liberal platform, he did so out of a legitimate belief in its benefits for Canadian prosperity.

On 5 April 1888, Laurier made the impassioned case for unlimited commercial reciprocity in the House of Commons. He first admonished those who repeatedly argued that any closer relationship to the United States would result in a destruction of the British connection. He challenged his contemporaries by asking: “You who object to reform because you fear the good results will be accompanied by some evil result – are you satisfied with the condition of this country, that nothing is to be risked for its advancement? It is your opinion that, if there be to the south of us accessible fields of wealth, we should be deterred from the ennobling spirit of enterprise by the cowardly consideration that possibly increased prosperity would seduce us from our allegiance?” Laurier emphasized the lack of material prosperity in Canada as opposed to the United States. For him, the constant emigration of Canadians highlighted an internal deficiency in Canadian policy. He argued: “When we contemplate that this young country with all her capabilities is losing her population, that every day hundreds of her sons are leaving her shores to seek homes in a country not more favoured by nature than our own, the conclusion is inevitable that something is wrong which must engage the attention of every one for whom patriotism is not a vain and empty word.”

Commercial union offered a winning position

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88 The Liberal leader also looked to the 1887 Interprovincial Conference where five premiers endorsed unrestricted reciprocity as evidence that the policy engendered widespread support amongst Canadians. Boyes, 39.


90 Ibid: 392.
amongst farmers and those who dealt in natural products and raw materials. Laurier pleaded their case extolling that

The fisherman will tell you that if he could send his fish free to Boston and Portland [Maine], he would ask nothing more; the farmer will tell you that if he could send his productions to the cities and towns on the other side of the line [border], which are almost within arm's length, he would ask nothing more; the lumberman will tell you that if he had access to that immense range of territory which needs the products of our forest, he would ask nothing more; and the manufacturer will tell you – the genuine manufacturer, not the monopolist – that all he asks, is a fair field and no favor, and that if you remove the barriers which stand in his way, he is ready to compete with Americans in their own market.91

Laurier stood on his Classical Liberal ideology and harangued protectionism, the official economic policy of the Canadian Government since 1878. For him, it not only oversold its promises but under-delivered in material prosperity.92 For Laurier, unrestricted reciprocity not only represented a winning view amongst prospective Canadian voters, it aligned with his Classical Liberal ideology. The genuine sagacity of Laurier’s position gave hope to continentalists in the fight for Canadian destiny. Yet, standing opposed them stood another determined constituency: the Imperialists who proposed a new progressive federation as the answer to Canada’s current woes and future prosperity.

D) Imperial Federation – Protectionism, Imperialism, and Progressivism93

Despite the growing support behind continentalism in Canada during the late 1880s and early 1890s, a rival conception of a Canadian future garnered the attention of intellectuals and politicians. Rather than draw closer to their continental neighbours, some Canadian nationalists wished to further entrench Canada within a British Imperial framework. However, they did not endeavour towards a continued

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91 Ibid: 398. Laurier also alluded to the fact that the majority of Canadians worked in the production of natural resources and agriculture. Ibid: 397-399. Thus, the policy of unlimited reciprocity stood to resonate with the large segment of the Canadian population. Wiman also made this case, arguing that commercial union resonated with this large class of Canadians. He stated that “The main reason why there is hope in Canada for Commercial Union is that the vast majority of the voting power in the Dominion is made up of farmer’s, their sons, farm hands, and the men dependent on them, such as proprietors of country stores and their clerks, wagon makers, cabinet makers, saddlers, blacksmiths, etc., and the agricultural populace and their dependencies generally.” Wiman, The Chicago Tribune, October 5, 1889.


93 This section deals exclusively with arguments made by Canadians regarding Canada’s role and the direct consequences for Canada in an Imperial Federation.
dependency. Rather, they envisioned Canada as a nation, equal to England, within a larger Imperial Confederacy, with a Canadian nationality subsumed under a larger British identity. Yet, these need not be mutually exclusive. They believed that Canadian economic progress stood the best chances to develop with access to the markets under the aegis of the British Crown. Through this arrangement, Canada, as a country, would rise to equality with the governing nations of the Empire. In an Imperial Parliament, Canadian delegates would possess the ability to shape Imperial trade and defense policies, while retaining sovereignty over domestic policies. Politicians, such as Sir John A. Macdonald, capitalized on the large sentiment in Canada that wished to preserve and strengthen Imperial bonds. Yet, he did not formally propose to fight for the creation of a new supranational Imperial Federation. Intellectuals, such as George Parkin and George Munro Grant, however supported such acts and promoted the idea fervently in Canada. Ultimately, the Imperial Federationists failed in producing a new governmental apparatus. However, they succeeded in strengthening the ties of sentiment and tradition in Canada towards the British Empire.

Economics, defense, and sentiment provided the motivations of those who advocated for Imperialism and Imperial Federation in Canada, similar to continentalists. At an address before the Imperial Federation League in Winnipeg on 13 September 1889, Queen’s University Principal George Munro Grant, extolled the virtues of Imperial Federation for Canadians. He explained the move towards such a governance scheme as wholly organic given Canada’s political development. He argued that “Imperial Federation from a Canadian point of view means simply the next act in a process of political and historical development that began in 1763, when Canada...was declared to be British. From that day, the development of Canada from the position of a British colony into that of a British nationality

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95 For a detailed discussion on the British origins of Imperial Federation please refer to chapter VI.
has gone on steadily.\textsuperscript{96} Canadian Imperial Federationists argued that Canada could not remain in her state of graduated dependency, as did continentalists. George Parkin commented in an 1888 magazine article that “The growing influence, immense interests, and widening aspirations of the greater colonies – the commercial, legislative, and even social exigencies of the whole national system – make it clear that this great political problem cannot long be delayed.”\textsuperscript{97} Just as Canada reached towards the heights of national aspiration, Imperialists witnessed a revival in the popularity and necessity of Imperialism.\textsuperscript{98} Parkin continued that “Great Britain has found that she still has to fight for her own hand, commercially and politically, and cannot afford to despise her natural allies. The vigor of colonial life, the expansion of colonial trade and power, and the greatness on the part which the colonies are manifestly destined to take in affairs, have impressed even the slow British imagination.”\textsuperscript{99} It appeared to Canadian proponents of Imperial Federation that both the resuscitation of the Empire and the continued maturation of Canada as a sovereign nation pointed towards an imperial solution to the problems of Canadian destiny.

Where the advocates for Commercial Union focused heavily on economic matters, the proponents for Imperial Federation rested upon stronger themes of sentiment. Developing out of the idea of the organic growth of Canada within the Empire, many argued that Canada needed more responsibility within the Empire to fully enter national adulthood. Grant argued that “…by Imperial Federation we [Canada] would gain full self-government, and with it self-respect, and that only by this method would we gain our rightful place in the history of the world, the place to which all our historical evolution points.”\textsuperscript{100} Just as continentalists argued about the affinities of race on the North American continent,

\textsuperscript{96}George Munro Grant, “The Case for Canada,” speech given to the Imperial Federation League at Victoria Hall, Winnipeg, Manitoba, September 13, 1889.
\textsuperscript{98} Parkin specifically noted the rise and decline in popularity of ‘Little Englandism’. He named John Bright and Goldwin Smith as its vocal advocates in Britain and Canada, respectively. Ibid.
\textsuperscript{99} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{100} Grant, “The Case for Canada,” September 13, 1889.
Imperial Federationists argued that the bonds of race and history bound Canada perpetually to the British Empire. As the colonies reached maturity, duty bound them to co-administer the Empire. George Parkin commented that “The British people at home cannot continue to bear alone the increasing burden of imperial duties. Great communities like Australia or Canada would disgrace the traditions of the race if they remained permanently content with anything short of an equal share of the largest possible national life.” As opposed to a continental unity of Anglo-Saxons, Parkin preferred an Imperial unity, stating “For both mother land and colonies that largest life will unquestionably be found in organic national unity. The weight of public sentiment throughout the empire is at present strongly in favor of such unity, and national interest recommends it.” Sentiment towards British heritage played a decisive role in the arguments for Imperial Federation in Canada.

The romantic association between Dominion and Mother Country also generated a sense of national self-determination for Canadians, argued Imperial Federationists. On 4 June 1888 at a meeting of the Imperial Federation League in Halifax, Archbishop O’Brien thundered: “The promoters of Imperial Federation are called dreamers. Well, their dream is at least an ennobling one, one that appeals to all the noble sentiments of manhood…The principle of nationality in Canada has taken too firm a hold on our people to permit them to merge their distinct life in that of a nation whose institutions give no warrant of permanency, as they afford no guarantee of real individual and religious liberty.” Canadians had developed nationally to a point where they had an identity which could be lost. Furthermore, expanding nationality in the Empire, as opposed to on the continent, affirmed Canada’s British identity. Grant argued that “…the making of Canada, the formation of a full-bodied, distinctive nationality, it is the first step in Imperial Federation; the first but not the only step. For, if our

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102 Ibid.
forefathers have slowly gathered a great inheritance, is it not well that the sons should go into partnership with the parents? Is it necessary that they should begin life without a share in the common inheritance? Imperial Federationists believed that the natural connection between the mother country and the colony need not dissolve once the colony reached maturity. Instead, Canada could only reach her national destiny within the Empire, but as an equal. The United States stood in opposition to the Empire, and constituted an external political entity, one that threatened the historic development of Canada. Yet, it also stood as an example for the future of Imperial Federation. Because of its disassociation from the British Empire and the construction of its own Continental Federated Empire in North America, the United States stood as a model for Imperial Federationists. George Parkin praised the organization of the United States, stating: “The development of the United States has proved that the spread of a nation over vast areas, including widely separated States with diverse interest, need not prevent it from becoming strongly bonded together in a political organism which combines the advantages of national greatness and unity of purpose with jealously guarded freedom of local self-government.”

The federal model of the United States, along with the newly federated united Germany, provided an example of how an Imperial Federation might operate. A federal design offered both Canada and the British Empire an opportunity to both preserve the past and embark on a new future together.

Imperial Defense provided a large impetus in the drive towards an Imperial Federation. Given the British Empire’s relative decline in the late nineteenth-century and the emergence of international rivals, consolidating the oceanic trading empire proved of paramount importance to all Imperialists. For Canadian Imperial Federationists, the ability to shape defence policy affirmed the Country’s maturity. George Grant argued that “Ought we [Canada] not to contribute our share towards securing the peace

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104 Grant, “The Case for Canada,” September 13, 1889.
105 Parkin, “The Reorganization of the British Empire: 190.”
of the Empire and the peace of the world, instead of being selfishly satisfied that we ourselves are out of reach of war?”

Canadian Imperialists believed that a strengthening of Imperial defense resulted not only in better security for British interests, but also in a movement towards sustained global peace.

George Parkin stated that “The best guarantee of permanent peace that the world could have would be the consolidation of a great oceanic empire, the interests of whose member would lie chiefly in safe commercial intercourse.” To secure the economic advantages of unrestricted trade within the Empire, the Empire needed to expand its defensive capabilities to defend that trade around the world.

On 30 January 1891 in Toronto, George Grant affirmed this reality. He commented that “We cannot expect Britain to concede preferential trade to us, on the ground that we are part of the Empire, unless we are willing to share the responsibilities of the Empire.”

Technological innovation aided this geographic consolidation, and Canada provided a key link in the Empire’s global defense strategy. The completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway gave Great Britain three routes to the trading centres of Asia. The effects of technological change greatly increased the viability of governing such a large area.

Parkin argued that using technology “[The British Empire] unites the comprehensiveness of a world-wide empire with a relative compactness secured by that practical contraction of our planet which has taken place under the combined influences of steam and electricity.”

The importance of defense for Canadian Imperial Federationists resulted from a nationalist conception of Canadian responsibility

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106 Grant, “The Case for Canada,” September 13, 1889.
108 Grant, George Munro, “Advantages of Imperial Federation,” speech given to the Imperial Federation League, Toronto, Ontario, January 30, 1891.
109 In addition to traversing Canada from east to west to bridge the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, the British had access to the Suez Canal along with their control of naval stations in South Africa. This enabled them to protect trade through the Red Sea via the Mediterranean and around the Cape of Good Hope, respectively. Control of these routes corresponded to areas of natural coal production, thus giving the British a string of defended coaling stations to protect her shipping interests around the globe. Parkin, “The Reorganization of the British Empire”: 190.
110 Ibid.
within an enlarged global trading empire that required technological improvement to facilitate effective
governance and defence over the global imperial territory.\footnote{The Canadian funding and completion of the Canadian Pacific Railroad enabled Canadians to simultaneous
proclaim all three of these important features in providing for defense. Canadians bore the total cost of financing
the completion of the railroad; that is they did not receive any funding from the Imperial Government. Secondly,
by connecting the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans across entirely Imperial controlled territory provided the Empire
both a secure means to transport troops to the East, but also to secure vital food exports from Canada in the event
of a global conflagration that could close off all other trade routes and partners. Thirdly, the CPR revealed the
mastery of human engineering and technological innovation triumphing over nature to effectively shrink the
Empire, thus making it more governable and defensible. For a more detailed description of this rationale and
justification for the importance of the CPR to Imperial Defense please refer to these two nineteenth century
pamphlets: By the West to the East. Memorandum on some Imperial aspects of the completion of the Canadian
Pacific Railway (1885), “Papers of Frederick Arthur, 16\textsuperscript{th} Earl of Derby,” box 21, Liverpool Central Library, Liverpool, United Kingdom. Canada’s Contribution to the Defence and Unity of the Empire (n.p. [1886?]), “Papers of Frederick Arthur, 16\textsuperscript{th} Earl of Derby,” box 21, Liverpool Central Library, Liverpool, United Kingdom.}

Imperial Federationists argued for a unity of British colonies and the motherland, yet Canada herself
did not constitute a united nationality. How did Canadian Imperial Federationists include the French in
their visions of a Canadian national destiny interwoven into an expanded British Empire? Importantly,
they argued that the French in Canada respected British governance forms. Through their political
institutions, the British helped the French preserve their linguistic and religious identity in Canada.
George Parkin noted that “Even in the case of a distinct race, with strong race instincts, it has achieved a marked success. French-Canadians are not only content with their political condition, but warmly loyal to British connection.”\footnote{George Parkin, “The Reorganization of the British Empire”: 189.} He noted that “There is no doubt that in respect of either religious freedom or political security the preference is justified. The lapse of years bring into stronger relief the truth of Montalembert’s remark, that the Frenchmen of Canada have gained under British rule a freedom which the Frenchmen of France never knew.”\footnote{Ibid.} In his speeches for Imperial Federation, George Grant omitted a reference to the French. He believed that the French held no future to guide policy in Canada due to the overwhelming success of the English in Canada, specifically in assimilating immigrants and
establishing English provinces.\textsuperscript{114} Canadian imperialists used the French to extoll the virtues of British Governance forms. Yet, because of their relative lack of progressive spirit, the French in Canada held no future in a national sense.

The French in Quebec, aside from the racializing, in which Continentalists also engaged in, remained indifferent to the designs of Imperial Federationists. Imperialists assumed that the French minority needed to acquiesce to the demands of an Imperialist majority. Historian Carl Berger noted that Canadian Imperialists believed that “The influence of the French was inexorably decreasing; they had to support imperial consolidation if the majority wanted it; given their strong attachment to British institutions and their suspicion of the United States there was simply no other course.”\textsuperscript{115} However, Historian A.I. Silver noted that many nineteenth-century Quebecers endorsed the ideological underpinnings of Imperialism. Specifically, Silver argued that the conservative and hierarchical nature of Catholicism, strong in Ultramontane Quebec, made Quebecers receptive to the sense of mission inherent in late nineteenth-century imperialist thought.\textsuperscript{116} Yet, the inherent religious overtones of colonial Imperialism necessitated that British protestant imperialism differed from the motivations behind Quebecers understanding of that ideology. Quebecers intoned this difference and lobbied to form a strong sense of identity through control of policies in Quebec.\textsuperscript{117} This precluded them from theorizing about schemes to strengthen Imperial unity.\textsuperscript{118} Quebec and French Canada did not figure largely into the plans of the Imperial Federationists, nor did the French themselves engage with that idea in any substantive manner.

\textsuperscript{114} George Munro Grant, \textit{The Week}, 8, (1891): 382.
\textsuperscript{115} Berger, 146.
\textsuperscript{116} Particularly, this imperial zeal in Quebec manifested itself in sending Catholic missionaries abroad but not in sending out French emigrants to colonize the Canadian north-west. A.I. Silver, \textit{The French Canadian Idea of Confederation 1864-1900} (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 237-241.
\textsuperscript{117} Ibid, 241.
\textsuperscript{118} Silver noted that Quebec imperialism took the form of Catholic Imperialism. Ibid, 225-229.
Just as commercial union and unrestricted reciprocity became issues for the Liberal Party, strengthened Imperial relations formed a major plank for the Conservative Party. Led by Sir. John A. Macdonald, Canada’s first Prime Minister, the Conservative Party in the late 1880s embraced Imperialism. Macdonald and the Conservatives did not fully embrace the push for a new supranational Imperial Federation. Instead, they positioned themselves as defenders, protectors, and fortifiers of the British connection. On 4 October 1888, the United Service Gazette in London, England, solicited Macdonald’s opinion regarding Imperial Federation. Macdonald replied that “This [Imperial Federation] is so vague a term that until some scheme is worked out for consideration, no decided opinions for or against it can be framed.” Yet he added that “Any arrangement which would bring together more closely the mother country and the colonies deserves, and I think have no doubt will receive, favourable considerations.” Specifically concerning the prospect of an Imperial Parliament, Macdonald had reservations, stating that “I think, however, that anything like a common legislature with powers at all similar to that of the British Parliament, is altogether impracticable.” However, Sir Charles Tupper, the Canadian High Commissioner in London, supported Imperial Federation. His endorsement of the scheme proved troublesome for Macdonald at home. Macdonald wrote to Tupper on 14 August 1889 explaining that “Your speech on Federation has excited much attention in Canada, and a good deal of dissatisfaction in Quebec. The manner in which it has been treated in the English press generally, which will insist that you have spoken the opinions of the Canadian Government and as if by its authority, has aroused the suspicions of the French.” Macdonald feared political defeat over official support for

119 Sir John A. Macdonald to the Editor of the United Service Gazette, September 18, 1888, in Correspondence of Sir John Macdonald, ed. Sir Joseph Pope (Toronto, ON: Oxford University Press, 1921), 422.
120 Ibid, 423.
121 Ibid.
Imperial Federation, in large part due to the anti-Imperial sentiments in Quebec and in the Federal Liberal party. He wrote Tupper again on 28 September 1889, reiterating the negative political consequences that still reverberated from Tupper’s endorsement of Imperial Federation. Macdonald stayed away from Imperial Federation partially out of a political calculation as to its popularity across the Dominion.

Macdonald also believed that Imperial Federation offered an unnecessary solution to problems that could be solved through other formal political channels. A strong supporter of the British connection, Macdonald wanted Canada elevated with respect to her colonial dependence. He fought for greater Canadian sovereignty, in addition to a strengthening of Imperial bonds. On 4 April 1890, Macdonald wrote to Rev. C.H. Machin in Port Arthur, Ontario, outlining this position, in addition to a refutation of Imperial Federation. Macdonald affirmed:

I am very desirous that the connection between the mother country and the colonies shall be drawn closer, and that the large group of colonies should assume by degrees a position less of dependence and more of alliance. I think this can only be done however by treaty or convention, and I am a total disbeliever in the practicability of colonial representation in the Imperial Parliament. There is no necessity, however, for such a representation. The great objects of common defence and preferential trade can be arrived at by treaty arrangement.

Macdonald wished for stronger Imperial ties, greater Canadian autonomy, and responsibility within the Empire, but not under the aegis of a new supranational Parliament. Yet, compared to Wilfrid Laurier’s policy to extend unrestricted reciprocity to the United States, Macdonald’s Conservative Party represented the Imperialists and, by extension, the Imperial Federationists. The battle lines marked for the 1891 federal election reflected the anxieties of the Canadian population in regards to their national

124 Macdonald specifically noted that Laurier would attempt to find common ground with the French over this supposed Imperialist position of the Conservative Party. He implored Tupper to assuage the public that his remarks concerning Imperial Federation represented his own opinion, and not that of the Canadian Government. Ibid.
destiny; one which portended either closer relations to the United States, or strengthened relations with the Empire.

E) Federal Election of 1891

Historian Robert Brown argued that in the 1891 federal election, that for English Canada “...there was but one issue, the trade question.”127 A multiplicity of issues dominated the election for French Canadians, including the running of the first French-Canadian candidate for Prime Minister, his endorsement by the French nationalist Premier, and the appeal of unrestricted reciprocity. The Conservatives won the election, with a comfortable majority of thirty-one seats in the House of Commons. Yet the popular vote revealed a more even distribution of support for both parties. The Conservatives only garnered 51.1% of the votes, importantly only 48.9% of votes in Ontario.128 Historian Christopher Pennington argued that “The election of 1891 was a turning point in Canadian history, but not because Sir John A. Macdonald saved the Dominion from the veiled treason of Wilfrid Laurier and the Liberal Party. The truth is that the campaign was a struggle between two competing yet equally patriotic visions of the destiny of Canada.”129 The battle over economic preference underscored the larger battle waged during the campaign. As Pennington noted, the issue of trade preference responded more to the sentiment of national destiny than to the dollars and cents of the matter. This election represented a bell-weather test on the correct vision of Canadian identity, and the national future envisioned by its proponents.

In 1890 a dramatic series of events, revolving around free trade and protectionism between Canada and the United States, precipitated the general tone of the 1891 Canadian Federal election. In late December 1889, US Representative Robert Hitt prepared a resolution advocating Commercial Union.

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128 Ibid, 210-211.
129 Pennington, The Destiny of Canada, 284.
Hitt and Sir Richard Cartwright, Liberal Member of Parliament and advocate of Commercial Union, corresponded on the resolution to create a commission of Canadian and American delegates to negotiate potential terms of a Commercial Union. In early 1890, Cartwright, along with Erastus Wiman, met with the leading figures in the American Congress who advocated Commercial Union. They met with urgency due to the protectionist Republican Party gaining control of the White House in the 1888 election of Benjamin Harrison. The Republican President, along with the Republican-controlled House and Senate, prepared to revive protectionism in the form of an updated tariff. Forwarded by Congressman William McKinley on 16 April 1890, the McKinley Bill, later to become the McKinley Tariff, reached the House floor. McKinley’s stated goal for the tariff, concerning Canadian products, amounted to blocking Canadian agricultural products from entry into the United States. The prospect of such trade restrictions provided a temporary boon to the Liberal cause. Given that the Liberals supported free trade, many Canadians who made their livelihoods exporting goods to the United States believed that the Liberals offered the best chances of getting McKinley to reduce the severity of the tariff. Wiman used the aggressive protectionist measures of the United States to appeal to Canadian agriculturalists concerning the need to defeat the Conservatives. In an August 1890 article in The North American Review, he argued that “The McKinley Bill comes just in time to serve as an object-lesson to the Canadian farmer, and all dependent upon him, of what they will encounter if the Tory government prevails. If he prefers the Tory government, then the prohibition of his exports to the United States under the provisions of that tariff will ensue.” The prospect of a Liberal electoral victory for Wiman evinced “...a decision looking to the most intimate relations with this country; to the opening-up of every resources that Canada possesses for American energy, ingenuity, and capital; to an adjustment of

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130 Brown, 186-187. Liberal leader Sir. Wilfrid Laurier downplayed the move towards Commercial Union between 1888-1890 to avoid arousing suspicion that the Liberals were moving towards annexation. Ibid, 188.
131 Ibid, 192-193.
132 Pennington, The Destiny of Canada, 122.
all question that now vex the two peoples; to the creation of a market for the manufactures and
merchandise of the United States.” The McKinley tariff aided the Liberal and continentalist cause by
providing a foil against which to employ their arguments.

The Conservatives countered by strengthening their endorsement of the protectionist National
Policy. They touted its place in national development, both in economic and patriotic terms. On 7
February 1891, Macdonald outlined his vision concerning the upcoming election to Canadian electors.
Concerning the National Policy, Macdonald argued that upon its enactment in 1878, “Almost as if by
magic, the whole face of the country changed. Stagnation and apathy and gloom, and want and misery
too – gave place to activity and enterprise and prosperity...The age of deficits was past, and an
overflowing treasury gave to the Government the means of carrying forward those great works
necessary to the realization of our purpose to make this country a homogeneous whole.” Macdonald
positioned the National Policy as developing Canadian identity, specifically in uniting the country from
east to west via the federally-financed Canadian Pacific Railway and through other public works projects.
This characterization positioned the opponents of protection as anti-Canadian nationalists. He accused
the Liberal party in the precise manner. He continued that “During all this time [of prosperity begat from
the National Policy] what has been the attitude of the Reform [Liberal] Party? Vacillating in their policy
and inconsistency itself regards their leaders, they have, at least, been consistent in the particular, that
they have uniformly opposed every measure which had for its object the development of our common
country.” Given their futility in predicting the demise of Canada through the Conservative economic
agenda, Macdonald argued that “Disappointed by the failure of all their predictions, and convinced that
nothing is to be gained by further opposition on the old lines, the Reform Party has taken a new

134 Ibid.
135 Sir John A. Macdonald, “To the electors of Canada.” In Memoirs of the Right Honourable Sir John Alexander
136 Ibid.
departure, and had announced its policy to be Unrestricted Reciprocity.” Important, Macdonald framed the Liberals, and by extension the policy of unrestricted reciprocity, as unpatriotic. The Canadian voting public largely understood these terms through the exposition of what Macdonald termed ‘veiled treason’, a conspiracy by members close to Liberal organizations to annex Canada into the United States.

Macdonald triggered the election in early 1891 on information concerning the proof sheets of an intended pamphlet authored by Globe journalist Edward Farrer. According to historian Peter Waite, the pamphlet, intended for private printing for one of Farrer’s American friends for possible recitation in the American Senate, summarized the arguments on how American politics could be brought to weaken Canada and move her towards annexation. The Conservatives capitalized on this information and used it to broadly paint the Liberals and their newspaper The Globe as treasonous annexationists. The revelation of Farrer’s proofs also helped distract the electorate from the scandals of the Conservative Party. On 19 November 1890, Minister of Public Works, Sir Hector Langevin, found himself implicated in a corruption scandal by the Quebec City newspaper Le Canadien. The paper charged that Langevin enjoyed kickbacks through construction deals with the private firm of Larkin, Connolly, and Company. The damning revelation that Robert McGreevy, brother of Thomas McGreecy, a Tory MP and also Langevin’s son-in-law, worked as a contractor for that firm exposed the official corruption of dispensing

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137 Ibid, 334.
139 Waite makes the argument that the Conservatives ultimately had no choice but to use the Farrer proofs as campaign justification and fodder. They attempted to pull the cover off their clandestine negotiations between themselves and the United States, represented by Secretary of State James Blaine, to reveal that they were working towards partial reciprocity. By negotiating for unrestricted access of Canadian natural products into the United States, the Conservatives tried to undermine the Liberal’s economic position, leaving them as merely annexationists, and not worried about the best economic prospects for the country. When James Blaine flatly denied the existence of these negotiations in the press, the Conservative thus needed to expose Farrer in order to paint the entire Liberal organization as treasonous annexationists. Ibid, 222-223.
140 Pennington, The Destiny of Canada, 122.
government contracts to well-connected insiders. The Liberals felt optimistic that the Canadian population’s disgust with this overt political corruption and the seemingly growing popularity of unrestricted reciprocity gave them enough inertia to defeat the Government in the event of an election. Both sides used their opponent’s political scandal and their own economic visions of a prosperous Canadian future as justifications to elect them. Ultimately, the role of sentiment towards the home country and the desire to stave off Americanization carried the day. Importantly, the Liberal scandal intimated that underneath the rhetoric of economic consolidation with the United States stood a desire for political amalgamation. The Conservative scandal merely exposed an environment of corruption and patronage which Canadians unfortunately came to expect from their elected officials.

The painting of the Liberals as treasonous resonated on a number of levels across the Canadian electorate. It mobilized a nationalist sentiment within Canadians. The accusation worked to simultaneously engender a pride in Canadian nationalism and independence and also to evoke the historic British connection. The Liberals, through the promotion of unrestricted reciprocity, argued the Conservatives, sought to undermine both of these identities. In Macdonald’s appeal to Canadian voters he argued that “… [Unrestricted Reciprocity] would, in my opinion, inevitably result in the annexation of this Dominion to the United States.” He invoked the British connection as he contended “To the descendants of these men [French and English pioneers], and of the multitude of Englishmen, Irishmen, and Scotsmen who emigrated to Canada, that they might build up a new home without ceasing to be British subjects – to you Canadians I appeal, and I ask you what have you to gain by surrendering that which your father held most dear?” He connected Canadian independence to both British imperial

141 Ibid, 123.  
142 Pennington noted that Canadian’s understood the maxim ‘to the victor goes the spoils’ in terms of awarding contracts to party supporters. Yet Canadian felt disgust over a trusted Minister accepting kickbacks along the way. Ibid. Yet given the electoral results, this disgust could not overcome the accusations of treason bandied by the Conservatives against their Liberal opponents.  
143 Sir John A. Macdonald, “To the electors of Canada,”: 334.  
144 Ibid: 335.
guidance and cooperation. He stated that “Under the broad folds of the Union Jack, we enjoy the most ample liberty to govern ourselves as we please, and at the same time we participate in the advantages which flow from association with the mightiest Empire the world has ever seen.”

Macdonald characterized the election in terms of identity, sentiment, and association. For him,

> The question which you [Canadian electorate] will shortly be called upon to determine resolves itself to this; shall we endanger our possession of the great heritage bequeathed to us by our fathers, and submit ourselves to direct taxation for the privilege of having our tariff fixed at Washington, with a prospect of ultimately becoming a portion of the American Union?...[I believe] that you will proclaim to the world your resolve to show yourselves not unworthy of the proud distinction that you enjoy, of being numbered among the most dutiful and loyal subjects of our beloved Queen.

Macdonald concluded this plea to Canadians with a personalized and impassioned defense of Canada’s place within the British Empire. Importantly, he stressed that this course, and only this course, enabled Canada to remain on the path towards greater sovereignty. He proclaimed, “A British subject I was born – a British subject I will die. With my utmost effort, with my latest breath, will I opposed the ‘veiled treason,’ which attempts by sordid means and mercenary proffers to lure our people from their allegiance...I appeal with equal confidence [to the Canadian electorate]...to give me their united and strenuous aid in this, my last effort, for the unity of the Empire and the preservation of our commercial and political freedom.”

Macdonald framed the election as nothing less than a battle over the survival or demise of Canada as a national project.

Yet, Wilfrid Laurier and the Liberals did not believe their actions and motivations in the election to be treasonous at worst or at best, unpatriotic. Upon assuming the leadership of the federal Liberal Party in 1887, Laurier made a rousing speech to his French-Canadian compatriots extolling both Canadian nationalism and the British connection. On 2 August 1887 in Somerset, Quebec, Laurier challenged Quebecers to become Canadian patriots, stating that “I ask you to remember this [duty of

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146 Ibid: 335.
147 Ibid, 336.
federal politicians to federal matters] in order to remind you that your duty is simply, and above all, to be Canadians. To be Canadians! that was the object of Confederation and its authors; the aim and end of Confederation was to bring the different races closer together, to soften the asperities of their mutual relations, and to connect the scattered groups of British subjects.”

He lauded the British connection, proclaiming that “We are British subjects and should be proud of the fact; we form part of the greatest empire on the globe and are governed by a constitution, which has been the source of all the liberties of the modern world.” Laurier believed that the unity hoped for in Confederation had not yet been achieved. His efforts as Liberal leader aimed to draw Canadians into closer unity and greater prosperity. The Liberal Party, rather than diminishing their goals of unrestricted reciprocity in the face of the onslaught of Conservative condemnation, responded by aggressively pursuing the program in their campaign. Sir Richard Cartwright defended the policy boldly at a party rally in Oshawa, Ontario, on 10 February 1891. Importantly, Cartwright pleaded to the crowd that unrestricted reciprocity actually supported the British connection. As reported by The Globe, he stated “As for the interest of Britain...every English statesman who knows his business know that it is a thousand times more to the interest of Great Britain to cultivate friendly relations with the United States than to preserve the miserable trade with Canada.” Cartwright reasoned that due to immense English capital investment in Canada, “It is better for England that we should propose and be able to pay the interest on that money [[$300,000,000 English capital investment]] than the present condition should be maintained to preserve a paltry portion of the paltry trade.” Cartwright, and by extension the Liberals, stood

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149 Ibid, 161.
150 He blamed this on the Governing class, especially at the foot of the Conservative Party. He believed that fostering Unity represented the ultimate goal of Canadian politicians and that all citizens should strive towards patriotism as a virtue and duty. O.D. Skelton, Life and Letters of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, vol. 1 (Toronto, ON: Oxford University Press, 1921), 354-355.
152 Ibid.
“...prepared to prove that it is to the interest of Britain, as well as of Canada that we should regulate our own commercial affairs with a view to maintaining Canadian interests.”\textsuperscript{153} Cartwright appealed to British pocketbooks in order to highlight the sensibility of unrestricted reciprocity. Ultimately, Canada’s prosperity and friendly relations with the United States produced far better results for Britain than maintaining the status quo.

While Cartwright appealed to practical matters concerning the British connection, Laurier attacked the Conservatives characterization of disloyalty and treasonous behaviour using sentimental arguments. He also harangued the actions of the Conservatives themselves as disloyal by their own standards. Speaking at Jacques Cartier Hall in Quebec City on 11 February 1891, Laurier boldly defended himself and the Liberals against Sir John A. Macdonald’s charges. He indicted Macdonald’s actions as treasonous using Macdonald’s own characterization of the Liberal program:

\begin{quote}
In his manifesto Sir John, as usual, appeals to the loyalty of his British subjects against the prejudices of the Liberal Party. He says we are disloyal because we want reciprocity. Then he himself has been guilty of that crime, for formerly he advances such a policy and recently, when he found out that the country was clamouring after free trade, he again committed the same crime by stealing from us [Liberal Party] that part of the program. No gentleman; as of yore we are still true and loyal to our Sovereign Lady the Queen.\textsuperscript{154}
\end{quote}

Laurier boldly announced not only his loyalty to the Queen, but a strictly defended Canadian independence. He argued that in the event of contradiction between Canadian and British welfare, “We are Canadians and we will watch Canada’s welfare before all.”\textsuperscript{155} Laurier published a direct appeal to Canadian electors in \textit{The Globe} on 13 February 1891 to combat Macdonald’s manifesto. Concerning the charge that unrestricted reciprocity ultimately destined annexation, Laurier responded that “…if it means anything it means that unrestricted reciprocity would make the people so prosperous that, not satisfied with a commercial alliance, they would forthwith vote

\textsuperscript{153} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{154} “Mr. Laurier at Quebec. The Liberal Leader Fails to Tell How He will Run the Country Without Revenue.” \textit{Montreal Gazette}, February 12, 1891.
\textsuperscript{155} Ibid.
for a political absorption in the American Republic. If this be not the true meaning implied in the
charge, I leave it to every man’s judgement that it is unintelligible upon any other ground.”

Laurier defended his positions as Canadian at heart, and without any aspect of disloyalty
attendant to them. He loudly proclaimed that “…in the present contest nothing is involved which
in one way or another can affect the existing status of Canada.”

Despite Laurier’s concerted attempt to frame his vision of Canada as patriotic and loyal,
Macdonald’s vision captured the imagination, or stoked enough fear, within the Canadian
population to carry the election. Pennington noted that “The “loyalty cry” had saved the day.”

Ultimately, fears of American annexation proved too deep for Laurier and the Liberals to
overcome. The destiny of Canada turned towards the British, and consequently towards the
Empire, rather than towards the United States and a continentalist future. Yet, Canadians did not
vote to further knit Canada formally into a new Imperial Federation. They merely decided that
progress towards Canadian independence within a British framework should continue. Canadian
Politician James Young perhaps best demonstrated this thinking. He passionately defended
Canadian nationality while opposing both Commercial Union and Imperial Federation. In an 1888
pamphlet Our National Future, he announced that “I do not see how any patriotic citizen, at least
without deep regret, can take any lower view of the true future destiny of Canada, and it appears
to me that Imperial Federation, the outcome of super-Royalism, or an American Zollverein, its
reverse and opposite, are alike hostile to its successful accomplishment [the fostering of Canadian
nationality].”

On 21 April 1891, Young addressed the National Club of Toronto, presenting an
even stronger case for Canadian nationality outside both schemes. He discussed Canada’s

157 Ibid.
158 Pennington, The Destiny of Canada, 250.
159 James Young, Our National Future: Being Five Letter by Hon. James Young in opposition to Commercial Union
(as proposed) and Imperial Canada (Toronto, ON: R.G. McLean, 1888), 1.
positive material, institutional, and intellectual development. Young admitted that “...our political horizon, both internal and external, is at present somewhat uncertain.”\(^{160}\) For him “I have mistaken my fellow-countrymen if they are not too proud of the races from which we have sprung, too hopeful of a great future for Canadian Nationality, to ever seriously think of separation from Great Britain to join any other nation.”\(^{161}\) He argued against Imperial Federation for the same reason: Canadian Nationality would not permit such an arrangement. He proclaimed that “... [against Imperial Federation] there is a more fundamental objection. As a native Canadian, whose first duty is to Canada, I am not prepared to go back to something like Downing Street rule, or to give up one single of those cherished rights of self-government which our forefathers so long and so earnestly struggled to obtain.”\(^ {162}\) Young’s assertions against both schemes reflected the votes of Canadians to maintain British connection, and against either scheme. For Lord Stanley, as Canada’s Governor General during this crucial election and period in the struggle over Canadian destiny, how did his own political views for Imperial Federation contrast against his political duty as Governor General? How did he mean to affect Canadian unity given his political preferences?

**F) Stanley’s Position**

Stanley’s promotion of Imperial Federation represented a Progressive political position.\(^ {163}\) Given that the Canadian population never voted on the creation of an Imperial Federation, how could Stanley best strive towards this political goal? How could he achieve this scheme given that his office as Governor General largely precluded politicization? Given Stanley’s own beliefs on aristocratic duty in office, Stanley himself would not use a political office to further a personal political agenda. He generally

\(^{160}\) James Young, “Canadian Nationality: A Glance at the Present and the Future,” speech given at the National Club, Toronto, Ontario, April 21, 1891.

\(^{161}\) Ibid.

\(^{162}\) Ibid.

\(^{163}\) For a discussion on this characterization please refer to Chapters V and VI.
aligned himself with the Conservative Party, and struck up a personal relationship with Sir John A. Macdonald. He gave speeches at Imperial Federation Leagues across the country. Importantly, he maintained the momentum of previous Governor Generals who leveraged personal popularity to enhance both the legitimacy and prestige of the British Connection. From his associations and activities as Governor General, Stanley’s activities in Canada worked to uphold both the duty of the office and to promote Imperial Federation.  

Sir John A. Macdonald’s request to dissolve Parliament on 2 February 1891 and trigger an election fell on Stanley. As Governor General, he alone held the authority to dissolve Parliament formally, upon request by the sitting Prime Minister. Macdonald’s possession of the Farrer proofs gave him the smoking gun he believed routed the Liberals as annexationists. This gave him the confidence to dissolve Parliament amidst the scandal embroiling Sir Hector Langevin and the Conservatives. Lord Stanley felt strongly against this act of Partisan gamesmanship. He wrote to Macdonald imploring that “Were I engaged in the election contest, I must say that I should not like depend on this [Farrer proofs], as evidence of the annexationists being identical with the unrestricted reciprocity men.” Stanley’s biographers described his relationship with Macdonald as “extraordinary.” As Prime Minister, Macdonald and Stanley corresponded over official government business. They shared political beliefs as well, which resulted in a friendship. Through his personal correspondence, Stanley clearly preferred the Conservative Party over the Liberals. Concerning the 1891 election, British Minister to the United States Sir Julian Pauncefote wrote to Lord Stanley on 25 February 1891. Pauncefote noted that “I do hope that

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164 Importantly, Stanley did not officially express any desire on the part of his office, nor use his authority to advocate this position. Rather, his behaviour, alongside the prestige of the office, worked to strengthen the British connection already strong in the Canadian population. Through his official duties as Governor General he affected support for the Empire. Given the tumultuous debates over Canada’s destiny, especially against the prospect of continentalism at the time, this informal influence alone, without any discussion over formal Imperial Federation served his personal political preference. Thus, even though his duties and ambitions aligned, he did not overstep his own beliefs concerning the bounds of aristocratic duty in political activity. 

165 Pennington, *The Destiny of Canada*, 149. 


Sir John will keep up his usual strength & energy which were never more needed than at the present
crisis.” While Pauncefote reported the lack of serious attention that annexation attracted in the
United States, he nonetheless referred to the Liberal Party as the “traitors” in Canada. Furthermore, he
commented on Macdonald’s divisive manifesto, stating that his “…powerful address has struck deep in
the hearts of the Canadian people.” Pauncefote’s observation echoed the sentimental strategy of
Macdonald’s campaign and noted its effectiveness.

Stanley believed that the 1891 election represented a potential watershed for Canadian national
destiny. As an Imperialist, Stanley abhorred the notion that Canada might diverge from the Empire, and
worst of all, join the United States. In a 12 February 1891 letter to Colonial Secretary Knutsford, Stanley
outlined the stakes and strategies of the election. He informed Knutsford of deliberations between the
Liberal Party and pro-unrestricted reciprocity American statesmen. Concerning Canadian support of
unrestricted reciprocity, Stanley stated to Knutsford that “The Americans are not fools – all their papers,
almost without exception – look upon this question of unrestricted reciprocity as being a test of
annexationist policy.” He agreed to an extent concerning the implications of the Farrer proofs, the
ultimate annexation aims of the Liberal Party, and the appetite in the United States to absorb Canada.
He implored to Knutsford that “We want all the help we can get, if we are to keep things straight
here.” To keep Canada in the Empire, nothing less than Conservative victory sufficed. For Stanley, the
Liberals under Laurier represented a new dangerous political element, distinct from the old Liberal Party
of Blake and Mackenzie. He informed Knutsford that “The opposition have thrown themselves much
more openly into the arms of the US agitators lately, and Blake – one of their best men at Toronto and

168 Sir. Julian Pauncefote to Lord Stanley, January 25, 1891. “Stanley family papers, incl Canadian papers of the 16th
Earl of Derby (1841-1908),” Folder 17, document 4, Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, United
Kingdom.
169 Ibid.
170 Lord Stanley to Viscount Knutsford, February 12, 1891. “Stanley family papers, incl Canadian papers of the 16th
Earl of Derby (1841-1908),” Folder 8, document 4, Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, United
Kingdom.
171
formerly leader of the opposition, and also Mackenzie, formerly Prime Minister – have both refused to come back to Parliament because they are not in line with their pro-American friends."172 Stanley enlisted the help of the Home Government, asking them to change their diplomatic procedures to ensure Canada stayed within the Empire. He asked Knutsford if “...you departed from the traditional policy of dealing on one footing with all North American colonies – there would be great danger that they would be tempted to break off from Confederation – under the inducements possible under the McKinley Bill.”173 This referenced the possibility of Newfoundland brokering her own treaty with the United States, while Canada still suffered under the McKinley tariff provisions. Stanley displayed a keen sense of the stakes in the Canadian election. He understood the intense debate over Canada’s national future, and the uncertainty upon which it rested. He wrote to British Prime Minister Lord Salisbury on 11 October 1891, months after the election, discussing the uncertain future of Canada. Stanley understood the vicarious position of Canada, as a sovereign dependency. He wrote to Salisbury that “Canada is just at the stage when she cannot walk alone, and yet rather resents being led.”174 He described his projections of Canada’s future stating that in “Another quarter of a century will see her [Canada] either an independent state in defensive alliance with the mother country, or else annexed to the U.S.”175 Stanley internalized the two main ideals forwarded during the election. He clearly believed that unlimited reciprocity ensured annexation, just as the Conservatives campaigned upon. Furthermore, he asserted Canada’s independence, but within a larger more representative Imperial governmental structure or formal alliance. Stanley did believe in Canadian nationality. Resolved to uphold and preserve that idea, he wrote to Salisbury that “The more freedom you allow us here, the less chance of annexation to the US there will be. People here care little about European politics, but they

172 Ibid.
173 Ibid.
175 Ibid.
do care about questions touching themselves or their trade.”

Stanley moved to strengthen Canadian sovereignty, hoping to reduce the possibility of annexation. In order to maintain an independent Canada, Stanley hoped to induce a strong sense of nationality to unite the country. Given his mandate as Governor General to promote national unity, Stanley used another element of the burgeoning Progressive ideology, culture, sponsored through the State, to foment a strong sense of nationality. His own personal love of sport, and his contact with sport loving Canadians, shaped his outlook that this cultural activity best suited the Canadian population as a national unifier.

The Use of Sport to Promote National Identity

As noted earlier, Stanley’s personal political ideology stood as largely Conservative, but laced with a healthy dose of Liberal ideals. These Liberal ideals reflected the rise of New Liberalism, or Progressivism, and did not reflect Classical Liberal tenets. Furthermore, in Great Britain, creeping collectivism amongst Liberals aligned with traditional ambitions of Conservatives. Importantly, Conservatives and Progressives shared common ground on the need for social reform, the importance of the nation, and a general revulsion to industrialism and the development of unfettered capitalism.

English historian Matthew Fforde defined ‘collectivism’ as “the creed which advocates increased state ownership or control of property in the interests of a group, groups, or society as a whole, and this to the material benefit of the less advantaged.” As collectivism entered Liberal thought, New Liberals internalized these lofty goals of social reinvigoration into their ideology. For traditional Conservatives, collectivism represented national unity, a sense of duty towards the nation, and the sacrifice of individual for collective goals. Progressivism posited a positive role for the State to mediate societal interactions to produce collective aspirations. For a Progressive Conservative politician such as Lord

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176 Ibid.
177 A detailed discussion of Stanley’s ideology can be found in Chapter V.
179 Ibid, 9.
Stanley, the State should be used to promote unity amongst the population. Additionally, such activity needed a social reform element. Where Conservatives differed from New Liberals was in their belief on the locus of social reform. Progressives, inspired by European continentalist political philosophies concerning nationality and the destructive nature of capitalism, wished for a societal restructuring to combat social degeneracy and improve material prosperity. Conservatives, on the other hand, wished to preserve the social structures which supported the nation, and rather sought to change the behaviour of the individual in order that they might uplift themselves in order to best serve the nation. Both ideologies converged around sport as an activity that could accomplish these goals. A Conservative like Lord Stanley could promote a Progressive idea that the State should sponsor cultural activities that both uplifted society and promoted unity amongst its population. In Canada, these ideals coalesced around the promotion of English sporting philosophies, but through Canadian sporting forms.

A) Imperial Federation: A Progressive Ideology

A reaction against the new social order unleashed through industrialization and the development of a capitalistic society characterized the Progressive and Conservative agendas of the late nineteenth-century in the Anglo-Atlantic Triangle (Great Britain, the United States, and Canada). Primarily, both groups looked to alleviate urban poverty, uplift a social morality, and reconstitute central authority to remedy the ills of society. Sport provided such an activity that reformers believed could induce these changes. Furthermore, the retrenchment of political decentralization, through the marginalization of Classical Liberalism, posited a greater role for the state to regulate not only economic, but also cultural

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180 The emergence of nationalized sports helped both Conservatives and Progressives. Their desire to place nationalized character demands upon the population merged with ideals of the Games Ethic, Athleticism, and Muscular Christianity. Social Reform, Nationalism, and Sport thus coalesced together to promote the political goals of both these groups.

181 For a detailed discussion concerning the social reform element in the development of modern sports in the Anglo-Atlantic Triangle please refer to Chapters III and IV.
and social aspects of collective national life.\textsuperscript{182} By the late nineteenth-century, sport occupied a prestigious role in the Progressive panoply of cures for the social problem.

Above other considerations, Progressives viewed societal and civilizational ‘progress’, unleashed primarily through science and technology, as a manifest destiny. Just as the natural laws of the universe became understandable through scientific discovery, unearthing natural laws of governance and human society, discoverable through the emerging social sciences, followed. Scholar Richard Adelstein noted that for Progressives, “Just as scientifically trained managers could rationally pursue profit in the interest of the corporation, the institutions of democratic government could be devoted to identifying the interests of the social organism, and a corps of disinterested, expert administrators, equipped with the conceptual tools of the emerging social sciences, charged with furthering them.”\textsuperscript{183} Industrialism shattered the prevailing economic and social relationships of the pre-industrial world. The progress unleashed through technology simultaneously created complex new social problems in the emerging industrial urban centres. By the end of the nineteenth-century, these problems, not fully addressed in the Anglo-Atlantic triangle, formed the basis of the emergent Progressive movement.

Discussing the rise of Progressivism in late-Victorian England, scholar Michael Freeden argued that “... [the] progressive tide shifted the centre of ideological gravity towards the ‘left.’”\textsuperscript{184} The issue of social reform dominated political thought in this area. The social problem differed among the three Anglo-Atlantic countries but rested upon similar foundations: that industrialism caused the displacement of people and pushed them into already crowded urban centres. These crowded areas became a breeding ground for poverty, immorality, unsanitary living conditions, and the promotion of

\textsuperscript{182} For a detailed discussion about the emergence and decline of Classical Liberal political thought please refer to Chapter V and Chapter VIII


radical political philosophies, namely socialism. In Great Britain specifically, the ‘social problem’ presented a chance for a novel progressive imperial solution: Imperial Federation. Lord Stanley supported the notions of a progressive state solution to this problem, state directed emigration. In order to combat the effects of disastrous commercialism and industrialism, British paupers needed to be sent to the hinterlands of the empire. The denigration of commerce rose amongst Imperialists and Conservatives, giving credence to Freedeen’s assertion of a general movement towards the left. Canadian Imperial Federationist and Conservative George Parkin argued that commercial activity should not form the basis of national life. This greatly contrasted with the veneration of capital and commerce by Classical Liberals. Discussing the prospect of Commercial Union with the United States, Parkin commented that “When Canadians are told that they must look to political union with the United States for any increase of commercial prosperity, and that such a connection will at once draw them into a tide of greater business energy, I cannot but think that a prosperity purchased by such means is obtained by the sacrifice of that which gives prosperity its greatest worth.” The traditional Conservative collectivism around the nation and the new social reform movement coalesced around the new ideals of positive state action. The mutual denigration of industrialism and its side effects brought the two sides to the left of Classical Liberal ideologies.

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186 For evidence of Stanley’s support please refer to Chapter V.

187 Bell, 47.

188 In Canada, the Classical Liberalism of Sir Wilfrid Laurier manifested in the promotion of commerce and trade as penultimate national goals. This explains in part his insistence on running on a free trade platform, arguing about the material advantages to Canada in the 1891 and 1911 Federal Elections. On the other hand, the Conservatives eschewed the discussion over the economic matters of free trade and focused on collectivized notions of nationality and tradition.

For Canadians, Imperial Federation provided the perfect example of Progressive Conservative ideology. Parkin provided a synopsis of the progressive elements in his 1892 book *Imperial Federation.* Firstly, only technological innovation in communications and transportation enabled Imperial Federation. He stated that “The almost instantaneous transmission of thought, the cheap transmission of goods, the speedy travel possible for man, have revolutionised pre-existing conditions in commerce and society, once more widening our horizon...Why should it not be admitted among the ordinary considerations of political life as well?”

Furthermore, Industrialism produced an entirely new and artificial society. Parkin argued that “…never in the history of the human race has any great nation lived under such artificial conditions as do British people at the end of this period of extraordinary industrial development...All the circumstances of national existence have been revolutionized.” For Parkin, industrialism provided for material prosperity, but also created new conditions, overturned previous societal norms, and, most importantly, transformed the very essence of national existence. To preserve British nationality necessitated new institutions. This drive highlights the convergence between Progressivism and Conservatism under an Imperial framework. Central to the notions of Canadian Imperial nationalists stood Canada’s own national development. Parkin noted that “With comparative suddenness Canada has now caught the inspiration of a large national public life.” For Canadian Imperialists, maintaining the British connection fulfilled the destiny of that quest for a national definition. Sport proved one important cultural touchstone which both connected Canadians to the mother country but also allowed them to proclaim their own sense of nationality.

B) *Sport in the Promotion of Imperial Connection*

Historian J.A. Mangan argued that the English ‘Games Ethic’, applied through the promotion of team sports, helped sustain Imperial activity through the disparate British Empire. The games ethic for late

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190 Ibid, 34.
191 Ibid, 104.
192 Ibid, 115.
Victorians encouraged the virtues of “robustness, perseverance, and stoicism.” In Canada, the growth of team sports reinforced the values obtained through participation in English sports. During the late Victorian period, the British Empire faced relative decline, which produced a national anxiety. Historian Duncan Bell argued that “The quest for a British polity was one of the most ambitious responses to the rupture of Victorian national self-confidence". Politics stood as one way to reinvigorate the apparent loss of British global supremacy. Furthermore, industrialism uprooted the traditional English markers of nationality: race, land, and class. Sport represented an activity to reconnect to this pastoral past, before the upheavals of the industrial revolution. Based on the theory of athleticism and the games ethic, sport imbued positive character traits in its participants. It stood as a remedy for curbing degeneracy, primarily in the male youth of the Empire. Furthermore, Imperialist denigration of capitalist and materialist commercial society focused on the undermining of national adventurism, respect and diffidence to authority, and, importantly, the spirit of self-sacrifice and service.

Sport served to strengthen the Imperial connection in a number of forms. Firstly, it functioned to maintain a cultural bond between colony and mother country. George Parkin noted the draw of sport to Imperial connection. He opined that “The young Australian or Canadian who begins to practice with the cricket-bat or oar is already in imagination measuring his skill and strength against the best that Great Britain can produce, nor has the cricketer or oarsman of the United Kingdom gained his final place in the athletic world till he has tested his powers on Australian fields or Canadian waters.” Through sport competition, colony and mother country drew closer together. Technology facilitated these

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194 For a full discussion on the Games Ethic, the concept of Athleticism, its origins in Great Britain, and diffusion and mutation in the United States and Canada please refer to Chapters III and IV.
195 Bell, 12.
197 Berger, 252.
international intra-imperial competitions. For the public, ocean travel and telegraph communication shrunk the Empire to make feasible both travel and communication to the public of such events. For Parkin “The eager interest with which either hemisphere the tour of a selected team or the performance of a champion sculler is watched from day to day is a curious proof of the intimacy of thought made possible by existing means of communication.” 199 Sport provided a cultural bond, one which produced a type of intimacy, as noted by Parkin, that few other cultural activities held the power to nurture. Specifically, adherence to the strict Amateur code provided an even greater synergy between the sporting environment in the Dominion and the mother country.

Integral to the cult of athleticism and the promotion of the games ethic stood the concept of the Amateur Gentleman. This middle-class conception of proper athletic conduct buttressed the character-building arguments put forward for the moral value of sport. 200 Lord Stanley himself believed strongly in the Amateur creed. As an aristocratic sportsmen, he felt duty-bound to uphold the sporting principles he learned both from his father and his schooling in elite English public schools. When he returned to England to succeed his brother as the Earl of Derby, he immediately received solicitations to promote and foster amateurism in sport through the ‘Sporting League.’ 201 The ‘Sporting League’ represented a concerted effort to organize politically an interest group that sought to influence legislation concerning

199 Ibid.
200 The amateur code emerged in the late 1870s in British rowing competitions in order to preserve the domain from outside influences of professionalism. The code essentially barred the working classes from proper competition, keeping proper sport in the realm of the middle and elite classes. But in the United States, the strong democratic spirit and tradition precluded such a rigid application of the term amateur. Eric Halladay, “Of pride and prejudice: the amateur question in English nineteenth-century rowing,” in A Sport Loving Society: Victorian and Edwardian Middle-Class England at Play, ed. J.A. Mangan (New York, NY: Routledge, 2006): 246-247.
201 On 6 March 1895, Stanley received a request from W. Allison, the secretary of the ‘Sporting League’ to join the association. Allison wished for the ‘League’ to “…be fully represented in every part of the Kingdom.” W. Allison to Lord Stanley, March 6, 1895, “Papers of Frederick Arthur, 16th Earl of Derby,” Box 3, Liverpool Central Library, Liverpool, United Kingdom.
the regulation of sporting activities in the United Kingdom. With regard to amateurism, the League endeavoured “To discourage all malpractices in connection with sport, and to raise its tone wherever necessary...[and] Generally to do whatever may from time to time seem advisable for counteracting the pernicious influence of “Faddists.””. Stanley’s concern for the state of sport mirrored his fiduciary and philanthropic commitment to promoting athletics during his tenure as the 16th Earl of Derby.

In Canada, the promotion and preservation of the amateur code represented a strong link to British sporting ideologies. During Stanley’s tenure, the Montreal Amateur Athletic Club represented the vanguard of amateurism. In Stanley’s archive, he kept a copy of the 1888 M.A.A.A publication Athletic Leaves. According to the M.A.A.A, “The moral influences of the M.A.A.A are very considerable. Honor and fair play are inculcated...Pure amateur sport of all kinds is encouraged...A loyal feeling for everything Canadian and national is engendered, and in fact no more healthy and strong moral organization exists for young men anywhere.” Stanley therefore understood the efforts of sport promoters in Canada to recreate the amateur code and embed it within Canadian sport.

In contrast to the United States, where amateurism could not fully penetrate the democratic spirit of American sporting ideology, Canadian sportsmen lauded the amateur code. They took great pains to

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202 The main objet of the League stood to “…resist the Encroachments of the various bodies who occupy themselves in interfering with the sports and recreations of the people.” The Sporting League (London, UK, [?]), “Papers of Frederick Arthur, 16th Earl of Derby,” Box 3, Liverpool Central Library, Liverpool, United Kingdom.

203 Ibid. “Faddists” represented those in political office who wished to regulate and ban sports betting. Seeing betting as a legitimate activity, the members of the Sporting League organized to preserve sports and games from State interference. Furthermore, the League represented an act of Conservative Populism, hoping to preserve the class divisions of aristocrat and serf which served the development of sport well in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Mark Clapson, “Popular gambling and English Culture, c. 1845 to 1961,” PhD thesis, University of Warwick, 1989, 49-50.

204 For a more detailed discussion of his activities in this regard please refer to Chapter VI.

205 The M.A.A.A created the Amateur Athletic Association of Canada in 1884 to regulate all the sports under its aegis and to provide leadership in the diffusion of amateurism in Canadian sport. Alan Metcalfe, Canada learns to play: The Emergence of organized sport, 1807-1914 (Toronto, ON: McClelland and Stewart, 1987), 104-107.

206 That publication communicated the entire history, list of clubs, description of facilities, and the general mission of the association.

protect and foster it as the guiding ideology behind elite sport in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In Canada, sports organizations were stewards in the rise of amateurism. Canadian sport historian Alan Metcalfe detailed that “Their [sport organizations] greatest, and possibly most destructive, contribution was the definition of the amateur, which served to exclude large segments of Canadian males [and females] from participating in amateur sport.” Importantly, Metcalfe argued that the spread of amateurism through sport organizations represented a nationalizing effort to standardize, and harmonize, sport across Canada. The reproduction and transmission of amateurism across the Canadian sporting landscape reinforced the cultural link between Canada and Great Britain through sport.

The link between organized team sports and militarism provided another form in which sport maintained the Imperial connection. Carl Berger noted that team sports provided an opportunity to develop social solidarity amongst the male youth of the country. That solidarity allowed them to inherit the important values of self-sacrifice, teamwork, duty, and discipline. As Imperialism resurfaced in the late nineteenth-century, the state of Imperial defence maintained a primary position in the minds of Imperialists. For Parkin, both the expansion of militaries in Europe and the extension of British oceanic trade necessitated a greater emphasis on military matters. Furthermore, urban degeneracy contributed to a growing crisis of masculinity gripping the Anglo-Atlantic countries. Participation in sport, especially team sport, encouraged both the resuscitation of masculinity and the inculcation of martial virtues. The promotion of sport, particularly British forms of sport, served the interest of

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208 Metcalfe, 99-100.
209 Particularly, Metcalfe argued that “… [amateurism] provided a focus of agreement for amateur sportsmen across the country and served to dampen the forces of regional discontent and the drive for autonomy of individual sports.” Ibid, 100.
210 Berger, 211.
211 Parkin argued that this new military reality necessitated a new political reorganization of the Empire. Parkin, Imperial Federation, 3.
212 For a detailed discussion of this crisis and its relation to urbanization and industrialism please refer to Chapters III and IV.
Impartial defence. To defend the Empire’s trade and interests, a robust military necessitated a robust population.

During Lord Stanley’s tenure as Governor General, this crisis of masculinity manifested itself in two different ways. First, Stanley decried the state of the Canadian militia. As agitation with the United States intensified to the point where a conflagration seemed possible, if not likely, anxieties about the preparedness and abilities of the Canadian militia heightened. Throughout his time as Governor General, Stanley sought to strengthen the militia.\textsuperscript{213} He believed conflict with the United States to be a true possibility. His support for Imperial Federation also rested upon the need for strong imperial defense. The climate in Canada for Stanley, according to his biographers, “…demanded…a program of “manliness and militarism” that was systemically enforced in nearly every aspect of Canadian life.”\textsuperscript{214} In part, the move towards this cult of militarism and manliness reflected Canada’s growing independence in the Empire. As a young but now mature nation, Canadian Imperialists wished for Canada to contribute her share towards Imperial defence.\textsuperscript{215} As Canada matured as a nation, it needed to take on the full responsibilities, which included defence. Historian Mark Moss argued that by the 1890s, the Canadian population became enamoured with war and warriors.\textsuperscript{216} As Canada matured as a nation, it needed to take on the full responsibilities, which included defence.

Historians Shea and Wilson noted that “Nineteenth-century military life and organized sport of the same era are so inextricably tied that it is hard to determine where one stops and the other begins.”\textsuperscript{217}

The crisis of masculinity contributed to the convergence of militarism and organized sport in Canada in

\textsuperscript{213} For a detailed discussion on Stanley’s actions concerning the Canadian militia, please refer to Chapter VI.
\textsuperscript{214} Shea and Wilson, 89.
\textsuperscript{215} Parkin argued that Canada needed to contribute to naval defenses after expending capital on Imperial projects internal to Canada. In order to safeguard British oceanic trade, all the colonies needed to, at the time of maturation, contribute accordingly. Parkin, \textit{Imperial Federation}, 84.
\textsuperscript{216} Mark Moss, \textit{Manliness and Militarism: Education Young Boys in Ontario for War} (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2001), 38.
\textsuperscript{217} Shea and Wilson, 89.
the late nineteenth-century. In addition to the heritage of “bush masculinity” that penetrated Canadian sporting forms and national identification, the crisis of masculinity contributed to the advancement of strenuous and oftentimes violent team sports endorsed as Canada’s national sports. Participation in traditional British team sports did not produce the type of masculinity Canadian nationalists and imperialists demanded both for a national definition and to train the correct Canadian soldier-type. These sports needed high levels of violence to accurately reflect the sensibilities of Canadian existence.\textsuperscript{218} The promotion of an indigenous sport that accurately mirrored both the unique Canadian national association with the north and winter and also produced a rough masculinity due to a violent play naturally endeared itself to those who loved sport, promoted it to produce positive character traits, posited it as a solution to the crisis of masculinity, and believed it to be an important element in the creation of national identity. Lord Stanley stood as one such person. Ice hockey stood as that sport.

\textbf{C) The Place of ice hockey}

Ice hockey rapidly emerged in the late nineteenth-century as a legitimate national sport of Canada. Its quick rise into the pantheon of national cultural products highlighted that Canadian nationalists believed that the sport held an intrinsic importance to Canada’s national destiny. First, it originated in Canada, which removed the taint of an imported sporting form representing a new Canadian nationality.\textsuperscript{219} Second, ice hockey provided the proper elements needed to induce social reform through sport. Namely it promoted the correct type of masculinity and character traits needed for an industrializing imperialist Canadian State. Third, ice hockey represented a type of progressive sport technology; compared to traditional pastoral sports, ice hockey relied upon technology. Ice hockey


\textsuperscript{219} Mangan, \textit{The Games Ethic and Imperialism}, 163. To say ice hockey originated in Canada simply means the rules of ice hockey were written in Canada by a Canadian.
impressed most because of its demand for speed and skill. Lastly and most importantly, the sport of ice hockey rested heavily upon notions of nationalism. It reflected the sensibilities, both in identity creation and preservation, of the leaders who strove to create a Canadian national identity. Through the nexus of these factors, ice hockey ultimately became a tool in the Progressive Imperial agenda to build a strong nationality within an Imperial framework.

Progressive reformers viewed sport as a utility to help alleviate the social and physical degeneration caused by industrialism. In the late nineteenth-century in Canada, that reform revolved specifically around the production of strong middle-class men. The sport of ice hockey fit easily with this mission. Importantly, participation in sport served to recreate a Victorian society in Canada. Sport reformers sought to use sport to inculcate physical fitness, produce a trustworthy, obedient, and productive workforce, and generally lower social tensions through organized competition.²²⁰ Importantly, sport, in order to serve this function, needed alignment to British standards of fair play.²²¹ Ice hockey, during Lord Stanley’s time in Canada, performed such a utility. Canadian politician and former athlete R.T. McKenzie argued in February 1893 that “Its [ice hockey] whole tendency is to encourage and develop in boys that love of fair play and manly sport so characteristic of the British gentleman. With so many advantages, both intrinsic and extrinsic, one of the most potent influences in building up a race of men, hardy and self-reliant, will, throughout the future, be by Canada’s national winter game.”²²² For McKenzie, ice hockey produced a national type. Importantly, it reproduced the British sporting gentleman type. Historian J.A, Mangan posited that Canadian reformers viewed ice hockey as the “...Canadian interpretation of muscular Christianity.”²²³ Ice hockey became a main vehicle on which a Canadian masculine type developed.

²²⁰ Robidoux: 212.
²²¹ Shea and Wilson, 90. Thus, the reproduction of the amateur code in Canada reflected this sensibility.
²²³ Mangan, The Games Ethic and Imperialism, 163. The concept of muscular Christianity is described in Chapter III.
In addition to its utility concerning reform, a prime motivation of Progressives, the sport of ice hockey itself reflected certain aspects of the Progressive outlook. The sport naturally lent itself to technological advancement for the players, spectators, organizers, and promoters. For the players they advanced the technology of skate manufacturing through tinkering with new methods of production. By the late nineteenth-century, ice hockey players had their own distinct set of skates, different from both speed and figure skaters.\textsuperscript{224} Being played on ice, ice hockey presented a number of technological dilemmas. Technological innovation solved the problem of seasonal variability, that is, a certain temperature conducive to create ideal conditions of the ice surface, which threatened the regularity of play. Temperature also limited its geographic dispersal to less frigid areas of Canada, namely the temperate British Columbian Coast and Southwestern Ontario.\textsuperscript{225} Technology diffused nationalism, just as with the Canadian Pacific Railway, with regards to the spread of ice hockey.\textsuperscript{226} Communications technology, namely the telegraph, made instant reporting of matches possible. This also allowed sports reporting and sports reporters to grow in profile, stature, and importance. The reporting of ice hockey, starting with the report of the first game played in Montreal by James Creighton and his friends in 1875, induced spectator popularity. As the games attracted more and more spectators, bigger facilities needed to accommodate them. As technology produced better skates, making better skaters, and better ice, for better passing and skating, more and more spectators flocked to the game as it grew more entertaining. The game’s own momentum in development sprung in part from technological innovation and in turned sustained its growth from it.

Another element in ice hockey which related to the Progressive ideology resulted from the speed and skill of the game. The speed of the game, resultant both from its nature and the constant

\textsuperscript{224} George Meagher, \textit{Lessons in Skating} (Toronto: George N. Morang & Company, Limited, 1900), 5.
\textsuperscript{225} John Wong noted that despite the existence of artificial ice-making technology, Canadian elite hockey nevertheless still relied on seasonal temperatures to determine the playing season. John Wong, \textit{Lords of the Rinks: The Emergence of the National Hockey League, 1875-1936} (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 32-33.
\textsuperscript{226} Parkin argued that the railways actually welded Canada together, thus precipitating a nationality where one may not have emerged. Parkin, \textit{Imperial Federation}, 176-177.
improvement of skate manufacturing and ice maintenance, captivated a population enamoured with speed. The examples of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the telegraph highlighted the importance of the concept of speed to the ideal of progress. Berger argued that “Few aspects of progress attracted so much attention as speed; it seemed that history itself moved more swiftly and dramatically than at any other time.”²²⁷ Compared to other team sports at the time, ice hockey was the fastest. A 1901 guide to the sport, written to educate an American audience on the finer points of both the rules and strategic scientific play, emphasized the importance of speed to the game. Author Arthur Farrell, a Canadian who played elite level ice hockey in Canada with St. Mary’s College and the Montreal Shamrocks of the Amateur Ice hockey Association of Canada, described the game as “Fast, furious, brilliant...Offspring of “Our Lady of the Snows,” ice hockey is, among her many, varied games, the most fascinating, the most exciting, the most scientific.”²²⁸ Speed appealed to both spectators and players. Farrell noted that “Essentially an exciting game, ice hockey thrills the player and fascinated the spectator. The swift race up and down the ice, the dodging, the quick passing and fast skating, make it an infatuating game.”²²⁹

The application of science towards all aspects of life provided a corollary to the fascination with speed amongst Progressive intellectuals and reformers. Progressivism, or New Liberalism, rested upon a positivist assumption concerning truth, ethics, and morality, and their discoverability through scientific inquiry.²³⁰ Michael Freeden argued that “…science for them [New Liberals or Progressives] a general or narrow sense: in the one hand, the empirical verifiability of an assertion; on the other, the commitment to a certain method, or technique, the essence of which was quantification.”²³¹ For sport in general, and

²²⁷ Berger, 110.
²²⁹ Ibid, 25.
²³⁰ Michael Freeden argued that due to this positivist nature, Progressives “…felt assured not only of the righteousness, but of the irrefutable reality of their principles.” Freeden, 8.
²³¹ Ibid, 8-9. Freeden noted that Progressive’s adherence to empiricism differed from early positivist thinkers only in as much as a general societal fascination and acceptance of science and scientific enquiry by the end of the nineteenth century. Ibid, 9.
ice hockey in particular, the reverence for scientific inquiry led to a celebration of scientific play. Sport historian Mel Adelman noted that scientific play and application of scientific measurements represented two important pillars in the modernization of sport.\footnote{Adelman labelled these \textit{role differentiation} and \textit{statistics and records} in his table differentiating pre-modern and modern sport forms. Mel Adelman, \textit{A Sporting Time: New York City and the Rise of Modern Athletics, 1820-1870} (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 6.} For the play itself, role differentiation necessitated specialization of certain skills, leading to the introduction of new techniques and strategies. Applying scientific measurement and quantification led to the establishment of statistical records, and the idea of measuring performance to set benchmarks to be broken through the application of new techniques and technologies. Ice hockey provided such an arena for the blending of sport and science. Farrell commented about the sophistication of the sport recalling that “The sight afforded by a scientific ice hockey match acts upon the spectators in a variety of ways...they are gradually worked into a state of warmth by an excitement that makes them forget the weather, their friends, and everything but the keen scientific play in progress.”\footnote{Farrell, 25.} Farrell dedicated an entire chapter of his guide to the ‘Science of Ice hockey’. Focusing on rationalization through scientific application, an important corollary to the increasingly rational and industrial economic landscape emerging in Canada at the end of the nineteenth-century, Farrell argued that “The fancy play, the grand-stand play, is a waste of energy, childish, worthless. The play that counts, the play that shows the science of a man who makes it, is the immediate execution, in the simplest manner, of the play that a player conceives when he considers the object of his playing.”\footnote{Ibid, 41.} An entire method of executing combination plays followed in Farrell’s analysis, showcasing the forms upon which science impacted the actual play of the participants.\footnote{Ibid, 44-50.} The Progressive veneration of science penetrated deeply in the core of ice hockey, both for participants and for spectators.
Perhaps ice hockey’s greatest connection to the emergent Progressive ideology lay in its ability to foster a strong sense of nationalism. By the late nineteenth-century, ice hockey promoters increasingly connected the sport to national identity. Progressive reformers and intellectuals posited the importance of the national. The national federation in Germany in addition to the national consolidation of the United States proved that large-scale national projects, welded together through a strong Federal Government, not only were viable, but offered a model on which to base future Progressive governance. George Parkin argued that “…the standard possible size for a nation has steadily enlarged in the course of history.” Progressives argued both for strong national and local forms of government. For Parkin, the Americans exemplified such a balance. He opined that “It [The United States] has shown that the spread of a nation over vast areas, including widely-separated states with diverse areas, need not prevent it from becoming strongly bound together in a political organism which combines the advantages of national greatness and unity of purpose with jealously guarded freedom of local self-government.” Late nineteenth-century nationalists argued that a strong national culture needed to rest underneath the national political structure. For Progressives, their incorporation of socialist economic maxims into liberal political thought led to an emphasis on economic nationalisation as a corollary to political nationalisation. Similar to nationalist arguments concerning culture, Progressives argued that collectivizing conceptions of society resulted in greater individual fulfillment. Writing in 1891 in the American Progressive magazine The Arena, Soloman Schindler described this conception amongst Progressive thinkers. He argued that “With every century we behold people stepping more and more out of the sphere of individualism into that of socialism, and every step which made the individual less self-sufficient, and forced him to unite his efforts with others for common purposes, brought about not alone a higher state of culture or an increase in wealth, but also

236 For a detailed discussion of this process, please refer to Chapter VI.
237 Parkin, Imperial Federation, 33.
238 Ibid.
an increase of individual rights.” While not outright socialist, New Liberals (Progressives), argued Michael Freeden, engaged in “A love-hate relationship with socialism, certainly more a question of ideology than of political action, forced a clarification of basic problems on liberal thinkers and did much to bring liberalism to a fresh awareness of its powers and potentials.” As socialism infiltrated liberal thinking, collectivism began to constitute a core tenant of Progressive ideology.

Without a strong basis of nationality, such as shared history, religion, and language, Canada stood as a national aberration in the late nineteenth-century. For Anglophone countries, sport provided a ready cultural activity that demarcated association with the national. Progressives already promoted sport as one remedy to the social problem wrought through industrial development. Sports association to the national, or promotion towards the national, simultaneously encouraged two Progressive goals. In addition to a social reformation, a sport that represented the zenith of national character could legitimate the nation itself and the State constructed upon it. As ice hockey promoters continued to associate the game with the production of nationality, the sport itself came to be recognized as national. If the activity itself generated a national type, then that national type in fact existed. For the Canadian political project, at a time of national uncertainty, such reassurances held indelible influence. As intellectuals and politicians bickered and argued, the Canadian population embraced the game as their own. Determined to fulfill his duties to impart unity amongst Canadians, for Lord Stanley the sport offered a vehicle upon which to ride towards the aspirations of a national type: a Canadian.

D) The Role of the Stanley Cup

240 Freeden, 25.
241 Contemporary nationalist theory posited that shared interest, sentiment, and politics could overcome the lack of traditional nationalist markers for heterogeneous nationalities. Please refer to Chapter III for a greater explanation.
242 For a detailed discussion of the historical evolution of this idea, please refer to chapters III and IV.
To convey such a symbolic message concerning ice hockey and nationality required a physical symbol. As elite ice hockey developed in Eastern Canada in the late 1880s, the intense competition required the crowning of a champion. Without a central championship, different teams could claim local and regional supremacy. Yet no national champion could legitimately emerge. Metcalfe argued that organizing championships helped to bring cohesion to an otherwise chaotic arrangement. In order for ice hockey to truly bring Canadians together in a display of national cohesion, a national championship needed establishment. The creation of a physical symbol of national ice hockey supremacy helped support the Canadian State by creating a shared basis of national sentiment. It induced competition across a national system of ice hockey participants. The quest for local and regional glory, within a national framework, helped spread the game across the country. Stanley’s official role as Head of State added legitimacy to the sport as national endeavour. Furthermore, the State sanction and promotion of the activity conformed to Progressive ideology concerning the stimulation of culture through State guidance. Stanley’s donation of a silver cup to represent national ice hockey supremacy aided the creation of a Canadian identity, and posited the State as a positive agent in both generating and sustaining such a culture.

At a banquet held to honour the 1891-92 Ottawa Ice hockey Club on 18 March 1892, Lord Stanley’s aide-de-campe Lord Kilcoursie rose to recite an address written by Lord Stanley, who could not attend the event. Earlier in the evening, Philip D. Ross rose to thank Lord Stanley for his great interest in the sport and his support of ice hockey in Ottawa. Lord Stanley’s interest in the sport and his duties as Governor General intersected. Kilcoursie read Lord Stanley’s intentions aloud:

I have for some time been thinking that it would be a good thing if there were a challenge cup which should be held from year to year by the champion ice hockey team in the Dominion. There does not appear to be any such outward sign of a championship at present, and considering the general interest which matches now elicit, and the importance of having the game played fairly and under rules

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243 Metcalfe, 99.
244 “The Champions Dined,” *Ottawa Daily Citizen*, March 19, 1892
generally recognized, I am willing to give a cup which shall be held from year to year by the winning team.\textsuperscript{245}

Stanley believed that ice hockey needed a national championship in order to grow the game effectively across the country. Specifically, he believed that travel across the country, in order to compete for this cup, would greatly facilitate this nationalizing process. Kilcoursie continued his recitation of Stanley’s address:

\begin{quote}
I am not quite certain that the present regulations governing the arrangement of matches give entire satisfaction, and it would be worth considering whether they could not be arranged so that each team would play once at home and once at the place where their opponents hail from.\textsuperscript{246}
\end{quote}

As an ice hockey enthusiast and steward of Canadian nationality, through the office of the Governor General, Stanley thought that the lack of a codified national championship hurt the development of the game. By forwarding the possibility of a home-and-home series to award the championship, he hoped to induce a feeling of nationality across the Dominion. Just as Lord Stanley’s own travels across the country displayed to him the ability to shrink the country geographically via technology, he hoped to encourage a common sentiment through ice hockey. By forcing cross-country travel, citizens from across the disparate geography not only engaged with their fellow countrymen from different regions, they at once felt a communality around a shared interest in an indigenous Canadian cultural activity.

To induce such a spirit of community, Lord Stanley stipulated that the cup should be competed for on the basis of a challenge system. When delegating the stipulations for competition, Stanley explicitly confirmed that “The Cup shall remain a challenge cup, and should

\textsuperscript{245} “Stars of the Ice – The Dinner to the Ottawa Hockey Team. Lord Stanley Gives a Challenge Cup Open to the Dominion, to be Competed for Next Year – A Successful Reunion,” \textit{The Ottawa Journal}, March 19, 1892. 
\textsuperscript{246} Ibid.
not become the property of one team, even if won more than once.”

The nature of the cup as a challenge entity underscored Stanley’s intent of the cup promoting unity. Stanley did not specifically grant the trophy to either of the two elite amateur ice hockey associations, the Ontario Ice hockey Association and the Amateur Ice hockey Association of Canada. Furthermore, Stanley did not specify any guidelines on the administration of the cup, nor the guidelines upon which challenges could be accepted. The challenge aspect of the trophy proved paramount. Stanley named the trophy “The Dominion Ice hockey Challenge Cup.” His choice reflected the nationalist overtones attendant to the trophy. The challenge format gave all Canadians access, not strictly clubs hailing from the established elite ice hockey associations. Thus, the cup intoned a future in which different regions and locales would compete when they merited a chance. It did not discriminate against competitors on the basis of league affiliation. Stanley’s motivations led to distinct results in the spread of ice hockey across the country. His desire to spread the game to foster Canadian identity, unity, and community affected the trajectory of ice hockey as a Canadian national sport.

Lord Stanley’s official governmental status and Vice-Regal position officially sanctioned the game. Commenting on the spread of ice hockey to the “North West”, writer H.J. Woolside noted the importance of Stanley’s sanction to the diffusion of the game. In 1896, reviewing the ice hockey season of 1892-93, he argued Stanley’s donation of the cup in the spring of that year produced “… a wave of ice hockey that rolled over the North-West like a flood. No town or village with any pretensions but had its ice hockey club. In Winnipeg, the game basked in the popular

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248 Shea and Wilson, 376-377.
and Vice Regal favour, and spread and flourished until the city poured out its teams as did Thebes its armies from a hundred gates.”249 The game started to spread across the country in the late 1880s. After the donation of the cup, the organization of the sport spread dramatically. By 1895 many large Canadian cities had intra-city leagues, teams outside of those leagues competing on a challenge basis, and communities in less densely populated regions competed in regional associations. Metcalfe argued that “By 1905 it [organized ice hockey] had invaded all corners of Canada.”250 Importantly, after Stanley’s sanction of the sport, existing institutions that initially resisted the game actively promoted it. In addition to Royal and State sanction, schools, churches, and municipal governments began to support the growth and organization of the sport.251 The donation of the Stanley Cup directly spurred this cultivation. Through inducement of national prestige and glory, localities could announce their “national arrival” by winning the Cup. In 1896, the first team west of Ontario won the Cup, when the Winnipeg Victorias defeated the Montreal Victorias. Hundreds of Winnipeggers crowded into the city’s hotels to listen to the play-by-play transmitted over the Canadian Pacific Railway’s telegraph cable. Some Winnipeggers even made the over two thousand kilometer trip to watch the game in person.252 Upon news of their victory, the *Winnipeg Free Press* reported that “...everyone wanted to shake hands with everybody else and for several minutes old enmities were forgotten in the magnificent victory.”253 When Montreal returned to Winnipeg ten months later to challenge the Victorias, the newspapers reported the immense popularity the game attracted. Due to the fact that “...there will be hundreds of people who will be unable to attend the game, the management of the Manitoba

249 Woodside also noted that hockey in Winnipeg started in 1890 and that already within a few years it was the most popular winter sport in the city. H.J. Woodside, “Hockey in the Canadian North-West,” *Canadian Magazine*, 6, no. 3, (1896): 242-247.
250 Metcalfe, 63-64.
251 Ibid, 68.
Hotel has made arrangements to have a telegraphic report of the match read in the spacious rotunda of the hotel."\textsuperscript{254} The excitement attendant on the spectacle necessitated the laying of "A special wire [that] will be run from the rink to the hotel, and every move of the puck will be announced."\textsuperscript{255} As a microcosm, this episode in 1896 displayed the success of Stanley’s intentions. In the first instance, technology brought the country together. A team from Winnipeg and its fans could easily travel to Montreal for a challenge, and vice versa. Fans in Winnipeg received up-to-the-minute reporting of the game through telegraph. Thousands of kilometers no longer kept these communities apart. Secondly, and most importantly, these communities came together over ice hockey. The sport provided a sense of fraternity, of unity, amongst the disparate urban centres. Through hosting the Montreal Victorias, the people of Winnipeg greatly impressed their Eastern visitors. A member of the Montreal team relayed to the \textit{Free Press} “Winnipeg people are such a fine lot that it seems too bad they cannot keep the Stanley cup. It couldn’t be in better hands, but we came a long way for it and of course we must not go back without it.”\textsuperscript{256} The cup connected and produced convivial feelings between them. Scholar Michael McKinley summed up the importance of the cup in bridging the geographic distance and fostering a sense of Canadianess amongst the cup’s challengers. He argued that “In less than a decade, the Stanley Cup had gone from being a vice-regal sports trophy to a national dream because the dream could come true for any team good enough to lay down the challenge and get to a train station.”\textsuperscript{257}

The 1896 challenge matches between Winnipeg and Montreal highlighted another important aspect of the cup’s donation: royal sanction. Both of these teams named themselves after Canada’s sovereign, Queen Victoria. The outcome of the 1891 election displayed an intense

\textsuperscript{254} “Hockey. The Visitors,” \textit{Winnipeg Free Press}, December 19, 1896
\textsuperscript{255} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{256} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{257} McKinley, 37.
loyalty amongst the Canadian population. Even the Liberals, whose economic policies amounted to outright treason in the eyes of their opponents, proclaimed a strong sense of loyalty. Historian Phillip Buckner argued that by the end of the nineteenth-century, most Canadians associated the concept of Canadian with the identity of being British. He argued that “...for most English Canadians their British and Canadian identities were so completely interwoven that one could not be disentangled from the other. In their minds, to be Canadian was to be British.” As the Queen’s representative, Lord Stanley held gigantic symbolic importance to these identities. His archive contained a program from Winnipeg’s 1891 Dominion Day celebrations. The pamphlet included orations by previous Governor Generals noting both Canadian nationality and Imperial loyalty. Lord Dufferin’s entry stated that “You [Canadians] are no longer Colonists or Provincials – you are the owners, the defenders and guardians of half a continent – of a land of unbounded promises and predestinated renown.” Stanley’s predecessor, the Marquess of Lorne, also contributed to the program. His entry declared that “Remember you are Canadians, and remember what this means. It means that you belong to a people who are loyal to their Queen, whom they reverence as one of the most perfect women, and as their Sovereign; and who see in her the just ruler under whose impartial sway the various races, creeds, and nationalities of this great Empire are bound together in happiness and unity.”

Previous Governor Generals promoted both Imperial loyalty and Canadian nationality as indicative of Canadianess. Recreating a British sporting ethos in Canada helped promote Imperial unity. However, Canadians needed their own sporting forms to display their nationality and differentiate themselves from their

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258 Buckner: 84.
259 Dominion Day, celebrated on July 1, commemorates the enactment of the British North America Act and the realization of Confederation.
British predecessors. According to Metcalfe, the very foundations of organized sport in Canada during the pre-confederation period confirmed this conception of sport and Canadian nationality. He argued that “While accepting the value system and ideology of Great Britain, these young men [native born Canadians] were Canadian...While accepting the ideology of British sport, they rejected other aspects in favour of things identified with North America”\textsuperscript{262} Stanley’s donation underscored this important dynamic in Canadian national identity creation. By sanctioning a Canadian cultural activity with Royal approval, Stanley buttressed this process of maintaining British ideology but channeled through Canadian means.

Additionally, Stanley’s promotion of the sport through the donation of a championship reflected his Progressive tendencies. Many Canadian Imperialists viewed the Empire as the vehicle upon which future progress depended.\textsuperscript{263} Furthermore, they wished for greater concentrations of power in order to fulfill their scientifically distilled solutions for economic and social problems. In Canada, Imperialism and Progressivism converged in a desire for the Canadian State to advance Canadian cultural activities. First, this manifested from a strong impulse to foster Canadian culture, a necessary ingredient for a Canadian nationality. Second, it confirmed an inclination towards greater governmental interference in the social lives of Canadians. Channeling energy towards acceptable activities molded the correct individual types needed to sustain and promote the growth of Canadian nationality. Sport proved an important activity upon which character traits not only were grafted, but were generated through participation. Continentalists additionally believed in sport as a vehicle to create nationality. Erastus Wiman, who preached for commercial union with the United States, donated considerably to the

\textsuperscript{262} Metcalfe, 30.  
\textsuperscript{263} Buckner, 73.
Montreal Winter Carnivals. Lord Stanley used his office to promote this type of affiliation between sport and nationality. He fused Government intervention into this formula. Sir John A Macdonald wrote Stanley on 17 December 1889, asking for the nomination of the founder of the Dominion Rifle Association to the K.C.M.G. Col. Gzowski also coached Canada’s Wimbledon team. Canadian politicians understood the significance of sporting contributions to Canadian national life and identity and wished to celebrate their achievements officially through Royal and State sanction. Through the donation of the Stanley Cup, Stanley exhibited a Progressive strategy to confer Imperial legitimacy upon a Canadian sport intended to strengthen Canadian nationality. Ice hockey worked to buttress the expanding Canadian State and its association with a Progressive Imperial future. The Stanley Cup provided a tangible goal for communities to strive towards in an act of national self-definition. It also symbolically underscored the British connection. Furthermore it reinforced the emergence of a new political mainstream which viewed State interventionism as necessary and positive to further national economic, social, and cultural ambitions.

Summary

Lord Stanley intimately understood Canada’s unique national situation in the late 1880s and early 1890s. Canadian Scholar John Ewart, an advocate for Canadian independence, noted Lord Stanley’s insight into this matter in a 1908 collection of essays. Discussing the use of the Red Ensign as Canada’s national flag, Stanley wrote to the Colonial Secretary on 12 December 1891 stating:

It has been one of the objects of the Dominion, as of imperial policy to emphasize the fact that by Confederation, Canada became not a mere assemblage of provinces, but one united Dominion...I submit that the flag [Red Ensign] is one which has come to be considered as the recognized flag of

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264 Shea and Wilson, 131.
He noted both Canadian independence and the British connection as important cornerstones of Canadian identity. Furthermore, Stanley comprehended the importance of the British connection in maintaining Canadian identity. Concerning a potential order barring Canadian vessels from flying the Red Ensign, Stanley commented that such a move “...would be attended with an amount of unpopularity very disproportionate to the occasion, and at a moment when it is more than usually important to foster rather than to check an independent spirit in the Dominion which, combined with loyal sentiments toward the mother country, I look upon as the only possible barrier to the annexationist feeling which is so strongly pressed upon us by persons acting in the interests of the United States.”

Stanley believed that the connection between Canadian identity and Imperial unity offered the only possible means for Canadian sovereignty in the future. Importantly, his view mirrored the transformation in Liberal political thought from Classical maxims to Progressive tendencies.

In Great Britain, the Liberal retreat from anti-imperialism signified the irrelevance of Classical Liberal ideology in the late Victorian Era. George Parkin argued in 1890 that “The integrity of the empire is fast becoming an essential article in the creed of all political parties. The idea appeals to the instincts of Great Britain’s new democracy even more strongly than to the pride of her aristocracy and with better reason, for the vast unoccupied areas of the empire in the colonies offer to the workingman a field of hope when the pressure at home has become too severe.” Parkin’s statement reflected the desire of late Victorian Imperialists to use the Empire to solve the social problems wrought through

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266 Lord Stanley to Lord Knutsford, December 12, 1891, quoted in John Ewart, The Kingdom of Canada, Imperial Federation, The Colonial Conferences, The Alaska Boundary, and Other Essays (Toronto, ON: Morang & Co. Limited, 1908): 68. The Red Ensign featured the Union Jack affixed in the top left hand of a red flag. That flag, used by the Royal Navy and eventually the flag of British merchant seaman. Great Britain’s overseas colonies adapted the flag by placing their national coat of arms in the red field alongside the Union Jack. In Canada, a crest featuring the emblems of each province of the Dominion.


industrialism. In this instance, to curb overpopulation in Great Britain by promoting immigration to the self-governing dominions. Through the concept of Greater Britain, the community comprised of the Anglo settler colonies of the British Empire, Imperialists reconciled the spectre of Empire with the principles of liberty and democracy. This in turn led to imperialism infiltrating both Liberal and Socialist ideologies in the late nineteenth-century.269

The defeat of Sir Wilfrid Laurier in the 1891 election highlighted the fall of Classical Liberal ideology in Canada. Laurier ran on a platform of free trade, a core maxim of Classical Liberal ideology. Despite a strong economic argument, the Liberal Party lost precisely due to advocacy of this policy. Imperial sentiment carried the election for Sir John A. Macdonald and his Conservative Party. For the Canadian population, emotional connection to the Empire proved paramount. The rise of Imperialism in Canada did not necessarily gain against Classical Liberal tenets, since Imperialism in one sense or another dominated Canadian national political definition. Rather, the new Canadian nationalist Imperialist ideology incorporated some Classical Liberal ideals, such as decentralized domestic political agendas for colony nations. Lord Stanley subscribed to this ideology. He acted upon it while serving as Governor General. He believed in the continued devolution of power from the mother country to the Dominion. Yet, he also strove to create strong bonds between the Empire and a more independent Canada. Through a Progressive Imperial Federation, Stanley envisioned both nations becoming stronger.

Nationalism proved critical to the rise of Progressivism and the decline of Classical Liberalism. For Canadian nationalists, identity represented the paramount factor in their quest to strengthen the Canadian State. The Canadian State intervened with energy and determination to foster a Canadian national identity. Through the National Policy of the Conservative Party, economic protectionism served

269 Bell, 267.
to promote Canadian identity. The perceived success of this policy largely resulted in the defeat of the Liberal Party in 1891. Despite possessing a discriminatory tariff against Great Britain, the National Policy defined the Canadian nation through vast public expenditures. The financing of internal improvements, such as canals and railways, in part stimulated an east-west economy. Those at the helm of the State endeavoured to realize a vision of Canadian nationality through intervention. The initial history of the development of the Dominion precipitated further State intervention into society in order to facilitate the development and growth of Canadian nationality. The ideals of nationalism, predicated upon heavily racist assumptions imagined through the lens of newly developed Darwinist theory, naturally found a place in post-Confederation Canadian society. The Stanley Cup proved another notch in this tradition.
Chapter VIII

National Sport, the State, and Political Thought

The decline of Classical Liberalism in the second half of the nineteenth-century significantly altered the political landscape in the Anglo-Atlantic triangle. Of paramount importance, the rise of New Liberalism, Collective Liberalism, or Progressivism, legitimated State intervention into many areas of political, social, economic, and cultural life. For the British Empire, the decline of Classical Liberal ideas as a legitimate mainstream political ideology undergirded the rise of nationalism, imperialism, and Progressivism in late Victorian society. Lord Stanley’s political ideology reflected this broader change in political thought. His actions in Canada confirmed this evolution. The Stanley Cup, viewed as a partial act of political nation-building, helps to tell that story. Through a greater understanding of the philosophical underpinnings which undermined Classical Liberal ideology, the donation of the Stanley Cup reaches beyond the limits of Canadian nationalist historical analysis. It helps to explain the importance of nationalist conceptions of sport during the period. Furthermore, the shift to Progressive ideologies affirmed racist imperial assumptions concerning nationality. The new emphasis of collectivism and the positive role of the State emboldened politicians to act upon such motivations. Sport provided an activity that helped to affect these desired changes. Rather, it becomes a moment in a greater story about the degeneration of the ideology, Classical Liberalism, which abolished slavery, destroyed protectionism, and expanded suffrage in less than the one hundred years from which it informally sprang.

Philosophical Revolution

Philosophic changes in English political thought preceding and during the early Victorian period precipitated the transition in Liberal thought that occurred in the late period. Most important,
intellectuals began transforming the proper role of the State to promote liberty. Samuel Coleridge began this tradition in English Political thought. Political historian Crane Brinton argued that Coleridge accepted Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s idealistic conceptions of the morality of the State. For Brinton “…his [Coleridge] theory of the regulative action of the idea of the constitution involves a notion of the State quite different from that commonly held in the previous century [eighteenth century England].”

Coleridge’s conception of the State dramatically severed the Classical Liberal conceptions of the eighteenth century. Coleridge, in his influential 1830 work *On the Constitution of the Church and State*, himself defined the State as “… a constitutional realm, kingdom, commonwealth, or nation, that is, where the integral parts, classes, or orders are so balanced, or interdependent, as to constitute, more or less, a moral unit, an organic whole.” Individuals derived their moral value from their contributions to the State or to ‘society’.

This completely inverted the axiom of Classical Liberalism that morality derived from individuals pursuing their own self-interests. For Coleridge, the Classical Liberal doctrine that social harmony resulted from the collective actions of self-interested individuals directly produced the social problems unleashed from the Industrial Revolution. He argued that “Game Laws, Corn Laws, Cotton Factories, Spitalfields, the tillers of the land paid by poor-rates, and the remainder of the population mechanized into engines for the manufactory of new rich men – yea, the machinery of wealth of the nation made up of the wretchedness, disease and depravity of those who should constitute the strength of the nation!”

Furthermore, he queried “I will ask only one question. Has the national welfare, have the wealth and happiness of the people, advanced with the increase of its circumstantial property? Is the increasing

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4 Brinton, 83-84.
5 Coleridge, 65.
number of wealthy individuals that which ought to be understood by the wealth of the nation?"  

Coleridge linked the prosperity of the nation to that of the State, arguing that individual wealth creation did not result in the prosperity of society.

The denigration of industrialism resulted from a belief that such activity degraded traditional labouring and created a mass of impoverished urban factory workers. Eighteenth-century economist Thomas Malthus noted that industrialism increased the domestic and international commercial prosperity of England. Yet, he argued that “The increasing wealth of the nation has had little or no tendency to better the condition of the labouring poor. They have not, I believe, a greater command of the necessaries and conveniences of life; and a much greater proportion of them, than at the period of the revolution, is employed in manufactures, and crowded together in close and unwholesome room.”

Malthus famously argued that the growth of population, enabled by the economic growth unleashed through industrialization, resulted in such impoverishment and misery. Largely through this pessimistic outlook, Malthus influenced nineteenth-century thinkers concerning the condition and plight of the labouring classes. He argued that a commercial society permanently produced such results. While Coleridge differed greatly with Malthus on many respects, he agreed with his general observations concerning the conditions of the urban poor. Ultimately, Coleridge rejected the tenets of commercial

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6 Ibid, 66.
8 Ibid, 37-38. Economist T.S. Ashton argued that economists such as Malthus looked only towards one specific segment of the labouring classes affected by industrialization. By focusing on only one section of labouring populations, Malthus and his contemporaries failed to recognize the mass of workers whose material living standards increased during the period of industrialization. Ashton posited that the majority of workers during the period from 1790 to 1830 saw improvements in their condition, in addition to those whose position stagnated or declined. T.S Ashto, “The Standard of Life of the Workers in England, 1790-1830,” in Capitalism and the Historians, ed. Friedrich Hayek (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1954), 158-159.
society due to internal philosophic justifications. Malthus’ prescriptions confirmed for Coleridge the detrimental aspects of commercial society.

Coleridge hoped to manage the growing urban lower class population under a Liberal framework. As a Tory Democrat, Coleridge urged for greater political representation, but guided by an educated elite, a Clerisy. For Coleridge, the Clerisy constituted "...the learned of all denominations; - the sages and professor of law and jurisprudence; of medicine and physiology; of music; of military and civil architecture; of the physical sciences; with the mathematical as the common organ of the preceding; in short, all the so called liberal arts and sciences, the possession and application of which constitute the civilization of a country, as well as the Theological." The idea of guiding the impending wave of lower-class political participation through an educated elite emerged in the form of Chartism. That philosophy and its corresponding political advocacy group owed its philosophical traditions to Coleridge. Specifically, the reimagining of the role of the State to the individual, to correspond with growing democracy in the production of social harmony, proved a decisive shift in the eventual decline of Classical Liberal supremacy in the latter half of the nineteenth-century.

Scholar H.S. Jones argued that Coleridge’s most important contribution to Victorian political thought lay in his rhetorical elevation of the idea of the ‘national’ above the provincial and local. For Coleridge, only a truly nationalized conception of society ensured future prosperity. He argued “that a permanent, nationalized, learned order, a national clerisy or church, is an essential element of a rightly

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10 This idea corresponded to the views of Edward Geoffrey Stanley. See Chapter V for discussion concerning Edward’s belief in the importance of a ruling elite to produce social harmony.

12 Coleridge, 53.

13 Brinton, 88.

14 Jones, 22.
constituted nation.”15 His belief in the organic nature of the State rested upon his veneration of the ideal of the national. Coleridge believed that nationality constituted the strongest social bond. Theological justifications underscored this importance. He attempted to solve two of the great questions concerning continental political thinkers: the exploration of national identity and how to produce social harmony.16 Coleridge venerated the idea of the national, stoking the interests of Englishmen to ponder their national existence. Secondly, he used religion, namely Christian non-denominationalism, to promote behaviours and attitudes to constitute the national. He directly influenced the Liberal Anglican or Broad Church Movement, led in part by Dr. Thomas Arnold.17 Coleridge’s ideas began the ascension of the ideas of the national in English politics. It also circumscribed the importance of religion to a national identity conception.

Coleridge, along with his Liberal Anglican followers and Liberal intellectual John Stuart Mill, fixed the idea of the national in the minds of British political thinkers in the mid-Victorian period.18 The focus on nationality necessitated the definition of a national identity. Coleridge inserted religion into that equation to justify State expansion and intervention. New ideas in science also provided fresh avenues to argue for greater State intervention. In 1859 Charles Darwin published his influential biological treatise On the Origin of Species. Darwin’s theory of biological evolution posited that all biological life on earth evolved to its present state from one or a few ancient ancestors. Through a process of natural selection, better adapted organisms survived and thrived, reproducing the variations which enabled success. This produced the natural variability in animal and plant biology in the natural world.19 Darwin’s scientific theory ushered in a transition in Liberal thought. Scholar Michael Freeden argued

15 Coleridge, 81.
16 Jones, 43-44.
17 For a discussion of this movement and Dr. Arnold’s place within it, please refer to Chapter III.
18 For a discussion of J.S. Mill’s role in promoting nationalism within a liberal framework, please refer to Chapter III.
that core tenets of Classical Liberal doctrine dissipated with the emergence of Darwinism, evolution, and the ascent of biological inquiry and field research methods.  

Classical Liberal intellectual Herbert Spencer transposed Darwin’s theory of evolution into the socio-political realm. Spencer predated Darwin’s concept of natural competition and evolution and applied it to human societies. He dubbed his synthesis ‘the survival of the fittest.’ Spencer argued that society, like nature, comprised of organic composition, evolved slowly, similar to organisms in the natural world. In an 1857 article for the Westminster Review Spencer argued that “…this law of organic progress is the law of all progress. Whether it be in the development of the Earth, in the development of Life upon its surface, in the development of Society, of Government, of Manufactures, of Commerce, of Language, Literature, Science, Art, this same evolution of the simple into the complex, through successive differentiations, holds throughout.” Given the organics of human society, man did not constitute its architects. Men could not reorder society in a mechanical fashion to affect preferred outcomes for social change. A radical adherent to l’aissez faire, Spencer justified his Classical Liberal outlook through biological evolution theory. Yet, by the late-Victorian period, according to Freeden, Spencer’s ideas were “…so absurdly out of tune with current thinking as to discredit him in general.” Rather, Darwinism more generally found support in promoting collectivist notions of society, against Spencer’s individualism. Collectivists used Darwin’s theories to counter individualist resistance to state interventionism. Jones argued that “…if society was akin to an organism, it followed that the individual

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22 Freedan, 78.
24 Jones, 78.
25 Freedan, 78.
was a social construct; and if the individual was constituted by society, then phenomena such as pauperism should be treated not as the products of moral failings in the individual, but of structural problems in society.²⁶ Both Classical and New Liberals attempted to fuse evolutionary biology into their political ideologies.

Progressives argued that Classical Liberals refused to account for the State as a natural outgrowth of an organic society. They succeeded in promoting this conception and relegated Spencer and his contemporaries to the margins of political discourse. Influential late Victorian social Liberal L.T. Hobhouse provided the fullest statement of ethical evolutionism to support a collectivist notion of society.²⁷ In a 1910 lecture given at Columbia University, Hobhouse expanded upon this connection which emerged in the late nineteenth-century. He argued that “Before we apply biological conceptions to social affairs, we generally suppose that the highest ethics is that which expresses the completest mutual sympathy and the most highly evolved society, that in which the efforts of its members are most completely coordinated to common ends, in which discord is most fully subdued to harmony.”²⁸ Hobhouse’s contention held great importance for Progressive ideology. First, it confirmed that collectivism displaced individualism as the core of social reality in Liberal ideology. Second, by elevating collective society above natural and organic society, Progressive intellectuals connected collectivism to progress. A consequence of this turn resulted in the veneration of tempered and organized competition. In the natural world, and for individualist Liberal theorists, ruthless competition provided the stimulus for progress. In the new Progressive outlook, competition still held a place, but it needed proper organization to produce the maximum gains for communal society. In the late nineteenth-

²⁶ Jones, 79.
²⁷ Freedeen, 85.
century that meant harnessing competitive commerce to fulfill national goals. As nationalistic identity formed a crucial political endeavour in the late Victorian period, Progressives appropriated Darwinist ideology to argue for greater State involvement to produce desired social outcomes.

In addition to religion, race proved a crucial component of the emerging nationalist creed in Great Britain. Race provided an important sense of national demarcation in Anglo-societies in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As industrialism created new conditions and upending traditional societal features, the concept of race likewise underwent a transformation. Evolutionary biology confirmed the variability of species due to inherited characteristics which benefitted survival in an environment of pitiless competition. Just as Spencer borrowed this concept and applied it to human societies, other intellectuals applied it to whole races and civilizations. In an age when progress proved the ultimate aspiration, the history of human progress for these nineteenth-century thinkers pointed to certain races succeeding and dominating others. Victorians appropriated the subtitle of The Origin of Species: The Preservation of the Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life to justify their racial superiority.

In Great Britain, and in North America, this amounted to a celebration of Anglo-Saxonism. Many late Victorian intellectuals believed British and American supremacy in the nineteenth-century resulted from a special racial superiority. Scholar Edward Kohn argued that the British employed an Anglo-Saxon tautology by which “Anglo-Saxon superiority justified racial conquest, which in turn proved Anglo-Saxon superiority.” Charles Dilke argued in his 1869 travelogue Greater Britain that Anglo-Saxonism actually produced human freedom and flourishing. He commented that “The ultimate future of any one section of our [Anglo-Saxon] race, however, is of little moment but the side of its triumph as whole, but the power of English laws and English principles of government is not merely an English question – its

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29 This idea reached full maturity through Benjamin Kidd’s 1894 work Social Evolution. Jones, 85-86.
31 Ibid, 4.
continuance is essential to the freedom of mankind.” Race constituted an integral component of national identity in the Anglo-Atlantic triangle. In particular, it constituted an essential quality for Imperialists. Acutely aware of ethnic and racial differentiations, Imperialists urged that racial superiority guaranteed international dominance. In a world of shifting geopolitical relationships, the issue of race proved paramount in formulating national identities. For Progressives, race was a justification for greater State involvement in social life.

In 1894, Benjamin Kidd, an English civil servant, published his influential book *Social Evolution*. In that book he synthesized Darwinism and Christianity with Progressive political ideologies. He argued that religion offered a counter-balance to the drive for immediate social reform. Through Christianity, the promotion of social reform through legislation and regulated competition mitigated a drive towards the extremes of the political spectrum. For Kidd that meant individualist anarchism and state socialism. Kidd used racial language in a Darwinian sense to explain Anglo-Saxon superiority. He noted the unfair competition between the British and the lesser races stating “Yet neither wish nor intentions has power apparently to arrest a destiny which works itself out irresistibly. The Anglo-Saxon has exterminated the less developed peoples with which he has come into competition...The weaker races disappear before the strong through the effects of mere contact.” He lamented this fact. He connected overseas imperial domination to subjugation under industrialism at home. He argued that “The Anglo-Saxon looks forward not without reason, to the day when wars will cease; but without war, he is involuntarily exterminating the Maori, the Australian, and the Red Indian, and he has within his borders the emancipated but ostracised Negro, the English Poor Law, and the Social Question; he may beat his sword into ploughshares but in his hands the implements of industry prove even more effective

33 Kohn, 6.
34 Freeden, 82-83.
and deadly weapons than the swords.” To mitigate oppression abroad and at home, ruthless competition needed regulating. Kidd argued for an expansive State to interfere in all aspects of social life to produce an equal field for competition.

As Classical Liberalism receded and Progressivism took its place, the importance of national identity grew. A focus on the collective, expressed through the national, overtook the primacy of the individual, expressed through cosmopolitanism. The importance of religion, race, and nationality underscored the promotion of identity. Importantly, the ascension of the State as a positive generator and guarantor of these characteristics of identity legitimated its reach into all aspects of economic and social life. In addition to domestic theorists, continental European ideologies helped promote the active State. The emergence of Communism and Socialism, in particular, advanced new positive conceptions of the action of the State in promoting positive social outcomes and social harmony. Professor J.R. Seeley argued that “...the modern political movement, that of Reform or Liberalism, began not in England, but in the Continent, from whence we borrowed it.” The importance of Seeley’s remark results from his conflation of Liberalism with Reform and Socialism. By 1890, the time of Seeley’s lectures, New Liberalism already replaced Classical Liberalism as the mainstream Liberal stream of political thought. That is, Liberalism came to represent a nationalist, imperialist, racist, and religiously based political ideology drastically different from its classical roots. Of greatest importance, Liberals and Conservatives at this time both promoted these ingredients of national identity. The retreat of Classical Liberalism left only these elements as legitimate for the political promotion of national identity. The new nationalism rested upon racial superiority, centralized government, and powerful state intervention to regulate competition and promote social reform, militarism, and imperial aggrandizement. These nationalists,

Ibid, 58.
37 Kohn, 6-7.
both Liberal and Conservative, used sport to enhance and promote these features of a dominant nationality.

The philosophy of sport merged with this particular variant of nineteenth-century Anglo political nationalism. In fact, the mid nineteenth-century emergence of sport as a vehicle of social reform resulted from the initial permutations of Liberal political thought. Most importantly, the transformation of the nature of the State initiated by Coleridge found support in Dr. Thomas Arnold’s moral philosophy. Arnold, schoolmaster at Rugby, used games and sports as important lessons in fostering the education of the new leaders of the Empire. Arnold’s student, Thomas Hughes, imbued these lessons and formulated them into the “Games Ethic.” Games served as an important national demarcation for the English. Games gave them a sense of national differentiation and served as a source of pride. Furthermore, the training through sport of young English men produced the impressive results of British global hegemony by the mid nineteenth-century. Political theorists in essence legitimated the claims that sports and games produced the nation, and a supreme nation at that. As the British Empire began a relative decline in the second half of the nineteenth-century, these ideas reached paramount importance in nationalist thought. Imperialists argued that sports and games provided the best means to train rigid and disciplined Christian Anglo-Saxon men to safeguard and reclaim Imperial supremacy. In the domestic sphere, sport became a tool for social reformers to elevate the impoverished urban labour classes. Just as sport could train soldiers for the empire, it could uplift those who suffered from physical degeneracy resulting from industrial urbanization. Conservatives, Imperialists, and Progressives all promoted physical activity as a social remedy. Importantly, all believed the State held a role in promoting collective unity, harmony, and prosperity. Given that all of these groups believed in the importance of nationalist collective identity, sport served a different form for each of them. Yet, by the end of the nineteenth-century, there stood no significant challenge to this political trend in Great Britain, and by extension, to Canada. In Canada, where national identity represented the paramount
political issue post-Confederation, these elements reached a particular intensity with respect to nationality and sport.

Lord Stanley and Canada

The quest to define Canadian national identity engulfed Canadian politicians and intellectuals in the decades following Confederation. As the nation-State emerged as the preeminent political design in the second half of the nineteenth-century, Canadian stakeholders sought to construct a strong conception of Canadian nationality. Political theory at that time dictated the necessity of a strong nation to support the new State apparatus. The new national political creations in Europe, Italy in 1870 and Germany in 1871, and the “national consolidation” of the United States in 1865, rested on aspects of nationality such as shared history, religion, and language. In Canada, none of these traditional markers stood to undergird the new Dominion. Canadian nation-builders hoped to establish a strong nationality to unite the country. Theories of nationality, race, and State intervention created the template. Canadian Imperialist George Taylor Denison argued for such criteria during his time in Canada First.39 He recalled in his memoirs of promoting nationalist aims in the late 1860s and early 1870s. Denison at that time argued that “…all great nations possessed a strong national spirit, and lost the position and power as soon as that spirit left them.”40 He couched his nationalist argument in racial terms proclaiming that “…this sentiment [nationality], in all dominant races, exhibited itself in the same way, in the patriotic feeling in the individual, causing him to put the interest of the country above all selfish considerations.”41 Denison importantly trumpeted many of Coleridge’s assertions concerning collective society. First, collective action represented the maxim of political activity over individual self-

39 For a detailed discussion on the Canada First movement, please refer to Chapter VII.
41 Ibid, 51.
interest. Second, through strong collective national identity, great races rose to global supremacy. In Canada, the promotion of national identity from the outset required strong State interference.

The mobilization of national identity through positive state interference proved crucial to Canadian national existence. In Canada, members of Coleridge’s Clerisy drove this conflation. In order to create an Atlantic to Pacific continental State, Canadian politicians centrally planned the welding together of provinces and territories. They subsidised railroad construction from “Ocean to Ocean.” Furthermore, through restrictive Tariffs, politicians effected an unnatural east-west trade amongst the disparate Canadian provinces and territories. To achieve a viable State in Canada required great activity on behalf of the State. As natural biology infiltrated political thought, this State activity became justified on scientific grounds. Canadian nationalist and advocate of Canadian independence William Norris argued in his 1875 pamphlet *The Canadian Question* that “In the science of Government...we find mankind continually at a loss to reconcile the different theories with the actual experience of the race.”

Norris also noted the importance of nationality to this process of collectivization. He firstly noted that “The same causes which affect the individual man affect also communities. The characteristics of the individual are the characteristics of the nation...The same causes operate upon the lives of nations as upon those of individuals.” He fully endorsed the collectivization of society and the subjugation of the individual to the national collective. For him, national progress and definition resulted from racial propensities. For Anglo-Saxons, that meant a proclivity towards producing superior

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43 Ibid, 5.
governmental institutions. Norris argued that “None other [than expedient, meaning responsible, Government] can ever be adapted to the Anglo-Saxon race, as government must adapt itself to the growth of a people, and to the circumstances in which they are placed.” Norris argued that the Canadian State needed to foster Canadian nationality. He argued that “The weakness of Canada at present consists in the differences among her people, caused by different nationalities and different religions with no common standpoint of union.” A homogenization of nationality in Canada underscored the drive to facilitate a united nationality.

For Canadian nationalists of all types, this meant a promotion of Anglo-Saxon Christian identity as the paragon of Canadianess. Whether actively promoted through the State or not, this identification served to mollify the bi-racial composition of the country. Robert Grant Halliburton promoted the racialization of Canadian national identity as early as 1869. He argued that “We [Canadians] are sprung from a dominant race, the first in peace and in war, and nothing less than a leading position will satisfy our people.” For Haliburton, a future Canadian nationality rested upon an amalgamation of northern European races. He argued that

As British colonists we may well be proud of the name of Englishmen; but as the British people are themselves but a fusion of many northern elements which are here again meeting and mingling, and blending together to form a new nationality, we must in our national aspirations take a wider range, and adopt a broader basis which will comprise at once the Celtic, the Teutonic, and the Scandinavian elements, and embrace the Celt, the Norman French, the Saxon, and the Swede, all of which are noble sources of national life.

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44 Norris described this process using the American example. Having come from England as colonists, American development reflected the condition of the people in North America and developed to suit their Anglo-Saxon demands of Government. Ibid, 12-13.
46 Ibid, 68.
47 Robert Grant Haliburton. The Men of the North and their place in history: A lecture delivered before the Montreal Literary Club, March 31st, 1869 (Montreal, PQ: John Lovell, 1869), 1.
48 Ibid, 2. This racialized conception of Canadianess resulted in the marginalization of Aboriginal tribes in the Canadian political arena. Furthermore, it resulted in discrimination against Asian immigrants and their prospects of naturalization.
In this conception of racial Canadian national identity, both English and French belonged. However, English institutions represented superior avenues to create nationality above this racial consolidation. Canadian nationalists extolled English superiority in political design. Additionally, they believed British Christianity, represented through Anglican, Presbyterian, and non-denominational sects, superior to Roman Catholicism. Norris argued that British inclination towards liberty and self-governance resulted from their religious institutions. He argued that “...religious institutions taking hold of man so soon as reason commences, and at creating impressions which can never by totally effaced, affect all men, no matter where they may reside, or in whatever circumstances they may be placed.” Norris, 16. The French-Canadian Roman Catholics, while adhering to the racial qualities of the new Canadian nation, did not fit under the institutions believed to produce national superiority. Norris continued that “The character formed by Roman Catholic teaching is difficult to describe minutely, but the main traits will be sufficient. The great fault it seems to be the absences of self-reliance. It cultivates the heart at the expense of the brain, and bring out more feeling that thought.” Although the French belonged racially to Canadian nationality, their adherence to Roman Catholicism precluded them from Canadian nation-building. Therefore, Canadianess reflected the Protestant British conception of Christianity, along with the British penchant for Governmental organization.

In Canada, the congruence of race, nationality, and religion facilitated the acceptance of sport as a marker of nationality. The doctrine of Muscular Christianity encapsulated these processes. That doctrine resulted from the Broad Church movement in Britain and its association to athletic games and sports through Dr. Thomas Arnold and Thomas Hughes. Charles Kingsley, a Broad Church priest and

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49 Norris, 16.
50 Ibid, 17.
51 For a discussion on these men, the Broad Church movement, and Muscular Christianity, please refer to Chapter III.
intellectual, helped spread the doctrine and elevated it into the political realm.\(^{52}\) Any potential Canadian national identity necessitated an aspect of ruggedness, to reflect the Canadian wilderness.\(^{53}\) Arnold and Coleridge provided the moral justification of State intervention to affect the development of nationality in mid nineteenth-century British political thought. Arnold, Hughes, and Kingsley fused the element of sport and religion into this equation through the doctrine of Muscular Christianity. Viewed through the prism of race, these ideas fully justified the notion of national identity creation through sport, supported by the State in British political thought. They provided the intellectual motivations. Furthermore, these ideas helped move British Liberal intellectuals further away from Classical Liberal ideologies.

By the late nineteenth-century, Imperialists, both Liberal and Conservative, argued for sport to produce national greatness and aggrandizement in the foreign realm. New Liberals and Conservatives argued for sport as a regenerative social cure to urban degeneracy wrought through industrialism. Both New Liberals and Conservatives railed against enlightened self-interest, unfettered commerce, and the production of wealth as a virtue, all hallmarks of Classical Liberal dogma. This resulted from the collectivization of society. In order to couch their beliefs in the scientific lexicon of the late Victorian period both groups of statists argued that the State represented the organic outgrowth of the nation. As a natural production of society, these statists believed that as society grew more complex, the State should naturally expand to organize society to its highest possible efficiencies.\(^{54}\) The collectivization of society in intellectual thought precipitated the drive towards nationality which dominated the final


\(^{53}\) For a discussion on this feature of Canadian national identity, please refer to Chapter VII.

\(^{54}\) Conservatives and New Liberals held different aspirations for the direction of State interference, and on whose behalf it was to act for. Yet, both fundamentally believed the State held the moral authority to act in the interest of the common weal, and against the sovereignty of the individual.
decades of the nineteenth-century. In particular, the promotion of racialized, gendered, religious, and imperial nationalities wedded to a State resulted from this conflation of society as the collective. The demise of the Classical Liberal intellectual defense of the individual resulted in the real destruction of individual political and economic sovereignty subsumed under the larger banner of collectivist nationalist statist ideologies.

The turn in political ideology legitimated state and nation-building through sport. Lord Stanley’s mug serves as a physical symbol which displays these forces. This represents the major consequence of this study. As a partial political act of nation-building, the donation of the Stanley Cup helps illustrate this larger intellectual move in Anglo-Political thought in the final decades of the nineteenth-century. It provides a partial explanation to the power of the Stanley Cup as a nationalist symbol in Canada, despite its formal disassociation as a solely Canadian national trophy. In its genesis then, the Cup harboured nationalist political ideals. The cup stands as a physical manifestation of the intellectual and political processes that legitimated nationalism imbued in the State and positively promoted through it. These political processes necessitated that national sports not only reflect their nations, but to also have originated within them. The Arthur Mills Commission of 1905 to search for baseball’s solely American roots confirmed this importance in North America. Scholars Richard Gruneau and David Whitson stated that Canadians began searching for the Canadian origins of ice hockey as early as 1903.\(^{55}\) It also helps to explain the intense desire of Canadians to see the Cup today return to a Canadian team, despite the fact that Canadians still comprise the majority of NHL players, coaches, and executives.\(^{56}\) Today’s critics link professional ice hockey’s expansion into the United States with reciprocal trade agreements with the United States producing a decline in Canadian State cultural and economic control as elements of an

---

Americanization of Canada. These cries echo many nineteenth-century Canadian nationalists who argued against continentalism and the destruction of Canadian nationality through commercial relations with the United States. The cause of political collectivization still reverberates through the Cup today, harkening back to its donation and part of its original intent. Montreal Canadiens Hall of Fame goaltender Ken Dryden revealed this penchant in an opinion piece written during the 2015 Stanley Cup Finals between the Tampa Bay Lightning and the Chicago Blackhawks. In *The Wall Street Journal*, Dryden argued that while commercialism and American expansion overall benefit the game of ice hockey, those same forces simultaneously weaken Canada’s national association to the Stanley Cup. He lamented that “The evolution of the NHL has unquestionably benefited the league. It has meant more high-paid players, more stable teams on both sides of the border – including Winnipeg’s return – and a more competitive game. But it also, perversely, has meant more misery for fans in Canada.”\(^57\) Canadian fans are not satiated by more professional ice hockey teams in Canada, or a better game in terms of on ice performance and competition. They are only content to have the Cup returned to them, as represented through their ice hockey teams. The original representative elements of the Cup lingers to this day in the minds of Canadian ice hockey fans. For Dryden “We don’t know yet who will win the Cup [Tampa Bay or Chicago] this year...but the loser has long been decided.”\(^58\)

\(^{57}\)Ibid.

\(^{58}\) Ibid.
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**Online Magazine Articles**


**Pamphlets**


**Selection from Dissertations**


**Speeches**

Theses

Unpublished Memoir

Unpublished Notes

Websites


Appendices

Appendix 1

1.1 Map of Canada at Confederation after the passage of the British North America Act in 1867.

<table>
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<td>Pamphlet (Settler): Mineral Resource of Canada for Emigrants, Capitalists, and Settlers</td>
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<td>Pamphlet (Government): 1885 Correspondence on Newfoundland Fisheries Treaty</td>
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<td>Pamphlet (Settler): Alberta Canada guide to settlers</td>
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1.3 Map of Canada after purchase of the Northwest Territories and Rupert’s Land and admission of Manitoba as the fifth Province in 1870.


1.4 Map of Canada after the admission of British Columbia and Prince Edward Island in 1873.

1.5 Donald Alexander Smith, Lord Strathcona, “hammering home” the final spike in the Canadian Pacific Railway on 7 November 1885 at Craigallachie British Columbia.


1.6 Joseph Colmer’s calculations of aggregated average yearly trade from 1867-1886 given in a speech before the Royal Statistical Society in London, UK on 21 February 1888.

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<td>$ 145 142 974</td>
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<tr>
<td>1872 – 1876</td>
<td>$ 200 914 189</td>
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<tr>
<td>1877 – 1881</td>
<td>$ 175 817 472</td>
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<tr>
<td>1882 – 1886</td>
<td>$ 209 511 158</td>
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Appendix 2

Appendix 2.1 – Map of Upper and Lower Canada after 1791 Constitution Act

Appendix 2.2 – Yearly Trade figures between British North America and the United States showing twelve years prior to, the period of, and twelve years after Reciprocity and the averages of these cohorts.

Years 1843-1854

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<td>$1,937,717</td>
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<td>1848</td>
<td>$3,646,467</td>
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<td>1849</td>
<td>$2,826,880</td>
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<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>$5,179,500</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>$5,279,718</td>
<td>$14,263,751</td>
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<tr>
<td>1852</td>
<td>$5,469,445</td>
<td>$13,993,570</td>
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<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td>$6,527,559</td>
<td>$19,445,478</td>
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<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>$8,784,412</td>
<td>$26,115,132</td>
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<tr>
<td>AVERAGE</td>
<td>$3,861,593</td>
<td>$11,066,668</td>
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Years 1855-1866

<table>
<thead>
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<td>$21,276,614</td>
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<td>$22,108,916</td>
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<td>1860</td>
<td>$23,572,796</td>
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<tr>
<td>Year</td>
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<tr>
<td>------</td>
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<td>1861</td>
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Years 1867-1878

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<td>1873</td>
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<td>1874</td>
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<td>1875</td>
<td>$27,866,615</td>
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<td>1876</td>
<td>$28,805,964</td>
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<td>1877</td>
<td>$24,164,755</td>
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<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>$25,044,811</td>
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<tr>
<td>AVERAGE</td>
<td>$30,248,709</td>
<td>$36,884,066</td>
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Appendix 3

3.1.1 Map of Knowsley Estate and its situation referent to Liverpool

This map comes from the British Ordnance series from 1945. The city of Liverpool sits in black on the far left of the map. Knowsley Estate is on the right, where the green parklands form the shape of a circle in between the two main east-west roads marked in red. To the direct southeast of Knowsley Estate sits Prescott, marked in concentrated black.

Source: http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/maps/sheet/new_pop/264_100

3.1.2 Map of England highlighting Knowsley and Liverpool

Source: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/england/3667883.stm
3.1.3 A depiction of the Southern Front of Knowsley Hall c. 1880

Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Knowsleyhall.jpg
Appendix 3.2: Topics of Frederick Stanley’s speeches in Parliament 1871-1877

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<td>6 March 1871</td>
<td>Military</td>
<td>204 Parl. Deb. (3rd ser.) (1871) 1428-1438.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 April 1871</td>
<td>Military</td>
<td>205 Parl. Deb. (3rd ser.) (1871) 1834.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 August 1871</td>
<td>Military</td>
<td>208 Parl. Deb. (3rd ser.) (1871) 1174.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 April 1873</td>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>215 Parl. Deb. (3rd ser.) (1873) 886.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 June 1873</td>
<td>Military</td>
<td>216 Parl. Deb. (3rd ser.) (1873) 794.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 July 1873</td>
<td>Environment</td>
<td>217 Parl. Deb. (3rd ser.) (1873) 308.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 April 1874</td>
<td>Hospital Funding</td>
<td>218 Parl. Deb. (3rd ser.) (1874) 536.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 April 1874</td>
<td>Military</td>
<td>218 Parl. Deb. (3rd ser.) (1874) 760.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 May 1874</td>
<td>Military</td>
<td>218 Parl. Deb. (3rd ser.) (1874) 1834.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 May 1874</td>
<td>Military</td>
<td>218 Parl. Deb. (3rd ser.) (1874) 1841.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 March 1875</td>
<td>Empire</td>
<td>222 Parl. Deb. (3rd ser.) (1875) 1367.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 March 1875</td>
<td>Military</td>
<td>222 Parl. Deb. (3rd ser.) (1875) 1847-1848.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 April 1875</td>
<td>Military</td>
<td>223 Parl. Deb. (3rd ser.) (1875) 325-326.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 April 1875</td>
<td>Military</td>
<td>223 Parl. Deb. (3rd ser.) (1875) 1509.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 July 1875</td>
<td>Military</td>
<td>224 Parl. Deb. (3rd ser.) (1875) 998.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 July 1875</td>
<td>Military</td>
<td>225 Parl. Deb. (3rd ser.) (1875) 1365.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 March 1876</td>
<td>Military</td>
<td>227 Parl. Deb. (3rd ser.) (1876) 1236.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 March 1876</td>
<td>Military</td>
<td>227 Parl. Deb. (3rd ser.) (1876) 1771.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 March 1876</td>
<td>Military</td>
<td>227 Parl. Deb. (3rd ser.) (1876) 1777.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 June 1876</td>
<td>Military</td>
<td>229 Parl. Deb. (3rd ser.) (1876) 1658.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 June 1876</td>
<td>Military</td>
<td>229 Parl. Deb. (3rd ser.) (1876) 2203.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 March 1877</td>
<td>Military</td>
<td>232 Parl. Deb. (3rd ser.) (1877) 1440.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 March 1877</td>
<td>Military</td>
<td>233 Parl. Deb. (3rd ser.) (1877) 197.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 April 1877</td>
<td>Military</td>
<td>233 Parl. Deb. (3rd ser.) (1877) 1221.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 3.3: Lord Stanley’s Canadian holdings up to and including 1888

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Letter: Sir John A. Macdonald to Lord Dufferin</td>
<td>1873 - October 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamphlet (Speech): American Protection vs. Canadian Free Trade by Alexander Galt</td>
<td>1880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamphlet (Speech): Foreign and Home Trade Compared by Alexander Galt</td>
<td>1880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamphlet (Domestic): Reports of Tenant Farmers Delegates</td>
<td>1880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamphlet (Speech): The CDN Northwest speech by Marquess of Lorne</td>
<td>1881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamphlet (Speech): The Future of the Dominion of Canada</td>
<td>1881 - January 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamphlet (Settler): Mineral Resource of Canada for Emigrants, Capitalists, and Settlers</td>
<td>1882</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamphlet (Domestic): The Immigrant in Ontario</td>
<td>1883</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamphlet (Speech): The Commercial Independence of Canada by James Edgar</td>
<td>1883 - January 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamphlet (Domestic): Province of BC Information for intending settlers</td>
<td>1884</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamphlet (Government): HOC - Navigation of Hudson’s Bay</td>
<td>1884</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamphlet (Government): 1885 Correspondence on Newfoundland Fisheries Treaty</td>
<td>1885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamphlet (Settler): Canada Information for intending settlers</td>
<td>1885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamphlet (Domestic): The Prairie</td>
<td>1885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamphlet (Domestic): By West to the East</td>
<td>1885 - April</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamphlet (Settler): Nova Scotia Immigrant Guidebook</td>
<td>1886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamphlet (Settler): Ontario the home for the British Tenant Farmer</td>
<td>1886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamphlet (Speech): Recent and Prospective Development in Canada</td>
<td>1886 - January 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamphlet (Domestic): Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba</td>
<td>1886 - November 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamphlet (Domestic): MTL Natural History Society</td>
<td>1886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journal: Local Government in Canada by John Bourinot</td>
<td>1887</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reference: An official handbook of information relating to the Dominion of Canada</td>
<td>1887</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department: The Experimental Farms of the Dominion of Canada</td>
<td>1887</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamphlet (Unpublished): Canada's Contribution to the Defence and Unity of the Empire</td>
<td>1888</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brochure: Commercial Industries of Ontario</td>
<td>1888</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamphlet (Travel): Quebec and St. John Rail</td>
<td>1888</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamphlet (Domestic): Vancouver its progress and industries</td>
<td>1888</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamphlet (Sport): Athletic Leaves (MAAA publication)</td>
<td>1888</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamphlet (French): Recueil des pieces relatives a la Publication des manuscrits du Marechal de Levis sur la Guerre du Canada de 1755 a 1760</td>
<td>1888</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamphlet (Domestic): CDN Society for the prevention of cruelty to animals</td>
<td>1888</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamphlet (Travel): Ottawa River Navigation Co.</td>
<td>1888?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamphlet (Domestic): Some Canadian Railway and Commercial Statistics</td>
<td>1888 - February 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamphlet (Settler): Alberta Canada guide to settlers</td>
<td>1888 - January</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 3.4: Emigrant Guidebooks for Canada held by Frederick Stanley

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Province of Nova Scotia: Information for Intending Settlers</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td>Government of Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Mineral Resources of the Dominion of Canada: Specially adapted form Emigrants, Capitalists, and Settlers</td>
<td>1882</td>
<td>Government of Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario as a home for the British Tenant Farmer who desirers to become his Own Landlord</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td>Government of Ontario</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Immigrant in Ontario! The Premier Province of Canada</td>
<td>1883</td>
<td>Government of Ontario</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Province of British Columbia: Information for Intending Settlers</td>
<td>1884</td>
<td>Government of Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Containing Information for Intending Settlers</td>
<td>1885</td>
<td>Government of Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free Farms: Manitoba, Assiniboia, Alberta, Saskatchewan</td>
<td>c. 1890</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Official Handbook of Information relating to the Dominion of Canada</td>
<td>1887</td>
<td>Government of Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reports of Tenant Farmer's Delegates of the Dominion of Canada as a Field for Settlement</td>
<td>1889</td>
<td>Government of Canada: Dept. Of Agriculture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Prairie Lands of Canada; Presented to the World, A New and Inviting Field of Enterprise for the Capitalist, and New Superior Attractions and Advantages as a Home for Immigrants compared with the Western Prairies of the United States</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Thomas Spence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Report upon Emigration to Canada by The Hon. Horace Plunkett</td>
<td>1892</td>
<td>Horace Plunkett</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Material Resources of British Columbia. Practical Hints for Capitalists and Intending Settlers</td>
<td>1889</td>
<td>City of Vancouver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Province of British Columbia: Vancouver City, its Progress and Industries, with Practical Hints for Capitalists and Intending Settlers</td>
<td>1889</td>
<td>City of Vancouver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alberta, Canada: Guide to Settlers</td>
<td>1888</td>
<td>Government of Canada: Dept. Of Agriculture</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE

CHRISTIAN YEAR:

THOUGHTS IN VERSE

FOR THE

SUNDAYS AND HOLYDAYS

THROUGHOUT THE YEAR.

——

In quietness and in confidence shall be your strength.
Isaiah xlix. 15.

——

THIRTY-FIFTH EDITION.

——

OXFORD,

JOHN HENRY PARKER:

AND 377, STRAND, LONDON,

MDCCXLIX.
Appendix 4

Appendix 4.1 – Pictures of Esquimalt Harbour taken by Isobel Stanley

Appendix 4.2 - A Map of the route of the CPR with its connecting lines in Canada and the United States

Appendix 4.3 – Drawing Room in the Stanley’s Victoria Car on the CPR

## Appendix 4.4 – Itinerary of SW Tour 1893

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Departure/Arrival</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Day</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leave Toronto</td>
<td>8:20 a.m.</td>
<td>Friday, Jan 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrive Goderich</td>
<td>10:31 a.m.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leave Goderich</td>
<td>8:23 p.m.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrive Beenleigh</td>
<td>8:52 p.m.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leave Beenleigh</td>
<td>11:10 a.m.</td>
<td>Saturday, Jan 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrive Stratford</td>
<td>12:05 noon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leave Stratford</td>
<td>8:05 p.m.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrive Goderich</td>
<td>9:45 p.m.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Goderich Sunday)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leave Goderich</td>
<td>2:10 p.m.</td>
<td>Monday, Jan 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrive Pitzbach</td>
<td>8:50 p.m.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leave Pitzbach</td>
<td>12:05 noon</td>
<td>Tuesday, Jan 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrive Sarnia</td>
<td>12:57 noon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leave Sarnia</td>
<td>6:10 p.m.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrive Chatham (via London)</td>
<td>7:05 a.m.</td>
<td>Wednesday, Jan 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leave Chatham</td>
<td>11 p.m.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrive Brantford</td>
<td>2:10 p.m.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leave Brantford</td>
<td>9:05 a.m.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrive St. Thomas</td>
<td>3:15 p.m.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leave St. Thomas</td>
<td>10:45 p.m.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrive London</td>
<td>11:15 p.m.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leave London</td>
<td>12:15 noon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrive Woodstock</td>
<td>1:08 p.m.</td>
<td>Friday, Jan 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leave Woodstock</td>
<td>5:30 p.m.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrive Stratford</td>
<td>11:10 a.m.</td>
<td>Saturday, Jan 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leave Hamilton</td>
<td>12:25 noon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendix 4.5 – Fishing on the Cascapédia River 1889

Appendix 4.6 – Paper cut out of large Salmon caught by Victor Stanley on June 23, 1892

Note: The paper cut-out was too large to photograph in one frame. The image below is two photographs side by side but not a perfect match. The essence of the image is the recording of big catches through permanent means by the Stanley family.

Appendix 4.7 – 1890 Stanley fishing tally on the Cascapédia River

Appendix 4.8 – Lord Stanley’s Monograph Racing Wallet

Source: “Papers of Frederick Arthur, 16th Earl of Derby.” Box 2. Liverpool Central Library, Liverpool, United Kingdom.
Appendix 4.9.1 – Knowsley Household Expenditure 1894/95 to 1897/98

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1894-5</th>
<th>1895-6</th>
<th>1896-7</th>
<th>1897-8</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Park</td>
<td>2834 11 4</td>
<td>2898 8 11</td>
<td>2875 10 4</td>
<td>2868 6 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gardens</td>
<td>2163 10 2</td>
<td>2807 8</td>
<td>3416 8 6</td>
<td>3776 13 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Game and Kennels</td>
<td>4824 18 6</td>
<td>4827 9 14</td>
<td>4807 12 6</td>
<td>4782 11 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stable</td>
<td>7709 11 9</td>
<td>8017 17</td>
<td>8240 8 10</td>
<td>9301 8 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boot House</td>
<td>155 1 2</td>
<td>157 1 2</td>
<td>114 2 9</td>
<td>114 1 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indoor Expenditure</td>
<td>2442 9 18 8</td>
<td>2479 1 6 1</td>
<td>2563 12 2</td>
<td>2472 4 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4457 6 12 5</td>
<td>4913 1 6 2</td>
<td>5601 16 3</td>
<td>5603 9 7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendix 4.9.2 – Knowsley Household Expenditure 1904/05 – 1905/06

Appendix 4.10 - "The Toboggan Party", Rideau Hall. This illuminated composite photograph is from Lady Dufferin's personal album. C. 1872-1875


William James Topley - This image is available from Library and Archives Canada under the reproduction reference number PA-008492 and under the MIKAN ID number 3194118 This tag does not indicate the copyright status of the attached work. A normal copyright tag is still required. See Commons: Licensing for more information. Library and Archives Canada does not allow free use of its copyrighted works. See Category: Images from Library and Archives Canada.
Appendix 4.11 - Isobel Stanley photo of the Ice Palace in MTL 1889

Appendix 4.12.1 - Stanley Family Snowshoe Tramp

“Stanley family papers, incl Canadian papers of the 16th Earl of Derby (1841-1908).” Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, United Kingdom.
Appendix 4.12.3 – Fancy Dress Skating Party at Rideau Hall with Press Clipping

Appendix 4.13 – First recorded Ladies Ice hockey Game in history. Played at Rideau Hall featuring Isobel Stanley.

“Stanley family papers, incl Canadian papers of the 16th Earl of Derby (1841-1908).” Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, United Kingdom.
Jordan Goldstein

EDUCATION

2012-Present  PhD Student, Kinesiology, Sport History, University of Western Ontario

Thesis: Stanley’s Political Scaffold: Building Canadian National Identity within the State and through Ice Hockey: A political analysis of the donation of the Stanley Cup, 1888-1893
Successfully defended on December 9, 2015

Supervisor: Dr. Robert K. Barney

2009-10  Master of Arts, History, Public History, University of Western Ontario

2004-08  Honours Bachelor of Arts, Honours Specialization History, University of Western Ontario

HONOURS & AWARDS

2012-Present  Western Graduate Scholarship

2010  Nominee: Graduate Teaching Award

2007-08  Deans List Recognition

RESEARCH & TEACHING INTERESTS

• Canadian Sport History: Post Confederation to Present
• Canadian Political History: Post Confederation to Present
• History of Physical Activity in Western Civilization
• Modern International Sporting Competition (i.e. The Olympics, World Cup, World Championships, etc.)
TEACHING EXPERIENCE

2016

Instructor, Wilfrid Laurier University
Course Title: Historical & Philosophical Foundations of Physical Activity and Sport
• Lead instructor for a class of 60 students 2nd and 3rd year students
• Course covers both normative philosophy aspects of sports and a thorough investigation of the history of sport in Western Civilization from Ancient Greece through to the present
• Hold three one hour lectures per week based on selected reading list
• Meet with students to help them with course content, essay writing, and exam studying
• Wrote the course syllabus and all related materials including all tests and assignments

2015

Instructor, Wilfrid Laurier University
Course Title: Historical & Philosophical Foundations of Physical Activity and Sport
• Lead instructor for a class of 60 2nd and 3rd year students
• Course covers both normative philosophy aspects of sports and a thorough investigation of the history of sport in Western Civilization from Ancient Greece through to the present
• Hold three one hour lectures per week based on selected reading list
• Meet with students to help them with course content, essay writing, and exam studying
• Wrote the course syllabus and all related materials including all tests and assignments

2015

Instructor, Wilfrid Laurier University
Course Title: The Modern Olympic Games
• Lead instructor for a class of 25 4th year students
• Course covers the evolution of the Modern Olympic movement and looks at the interplay between global geopolitics, focusing on the expansion of commerce and media, and the Olympics as an international sporting movement
• Hold three one hour lectures per week based on selected reading list
• Meet with students to help them with course content, essay writing, and exam studying
• Wrote the course syllabus and all related materials including all tests and assignments

2014-15

Teaching Assistant, University of Western Ontario
Course Title: Introduction to Athletic Injuries
• Responsible for marking exams and leading an review session
• Act as mediator between students and professor
• Answer student questions and concerns related to course material
2012-13  Teaching Assistant, University of Western Ontario  
Course Title: Canadian Sport History  
• Provided guidance for students during the essay writing process; including researching, crafting thesis statements, structuring arguments, and maintaining proper referencing formats and standards  
• Mark all essays and accommodate students concerns and questions related to the grading process  
• Offered help with difficult concepts in the course materials during weekly office hours  
• Delivered an extracurricular lecture on the process of writing a historical essay  

2009-10  Teaching Assistant, University of Western Ontario  
Course Title: Introduction to the History of Business  
• Responsible for developing and holding two weekly tutorial sessions to supplement and reinforce lecture materials  
• Provided guidance for students on term papers and on difficult course materials in weekly office hours  
• Grade all term papers, exams, and student participation in tutorials  

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE  
2012-Present  Doctoral Candidate, University of Western Ontario  
Course Title: Canadian Sport History  
• Examine the political context surrounding the donation of the Dominion Ice hockey Challenge Cup by Governor General Lord Stanley in 1892  
• Synthesize the development of national sports in Great Britain, the United States, and Canada with the transformation in political philosophy in those countries  
• Understanding of the process of creating a national culture in Canada post Confederation as complimentary component to the nation building projects of Canadian political leaders  
• Highlight the importance of sport in the Anglo World as an integral element in the construction of national identity in the nineteenth-century  

ADMINISTRATIVE EXPERIENCE  
2015-16  CAS Representative, Wilfrid Laurier Science Divisional Council  
2014-15  Coordinator, Kinesiology Sociocultural Graduate Student Seminar  
2013  Co-Organizer, 3rd Annual Tri-University Graduate Conference, University of Western Ontario  

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE  
2015- Present  Contributor, Mises Canada Emerging Scholar Program, Ludwig von Mises Institute Canada  
• Responsible to produce 1-2 articles of 750-1000 words per month for online publication on the Mises Canada Website  
• Articles edited by renowned and respected scholars
2014-Present

**Volunteer**, Writing Support Centre, University of Western Ontario
- Assist students from all disciplines and levels in enhancing their academic writing skills
- Responsible for two hours a week commitment

2010-Present

**General Manager/Lead Researcher/Archivist/Historian**, John P. Metras Sports Museum at the University of Western Ontario
- Responsible for the general day-to-day operations of the museum
- Lead researcher on following projects: Player Name Role Call (database containing all varsity athletes in Western’s 133 years of history; Coaches Directory (produce master list of all Western coaches in all varsity sports starting in 1920 and include a picture and biography of each coach); Team photo records (collect all team photos for all varsity teams in Western’s 133 year history)
- Presented at the Ontario Museum Association annual conference in October 2011 on the benefits of small museums creating partnerships with education resources within their communities
- Instituted a protocols handbook for cataloguing artifacts and advised the curator on proper storage, conservation, and preservation of artifacts
- Collaborated with the Public History MA Program at Western University as an instructor for a graded oral history project and website creation projects

**PUBLICATIONS**

*Published Articles – Refereed Online Publication*

*Published Articles – Non-refereed Publications*

*Submitted Articles Pending Review – Refereed Publications*

*Pending Submissions – Refereed Publications*


**CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS**

2015, May 24
**North American Association of Sport History Annual Conference**, Miami, FL
"Canada 1867-1892: Political Theory, Nationalized Sport, and the Stanley Cup"

2014, June 18
**The Ice hockey Conference**, London, ON
"Stanley’s Scaffold – The Creation of the Dominion Challenge Cup and Notions of Canadian patriotism, 1888-1893."


2014, March 21  **Tri-University Conference**, Western University  “Stanley’s Scaffold – The Creation of the Dominion Challenge Cup and Notions of Canadian patriotism, 1888-1893”

2013, May 3  **Bodies of Knowledge**, University of Toronto (accepted)  “Unlikely Allies? Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Lord Strathcona organized Physical Education in Canada, 1909” accepted for *Physical Activity and Sport Inequality*.


2013, March 13  **Faculty of Health Sciences Research Day**, Western University  “Stanley’s Scaffold: Building Conceptions of the Canadian Nation – The Creation of the Dominion Challenge Cup and Notions of Canadian patriotism, 1888-1909.”


**ACADEMIC SEMINARS**

2015, June 13-19  **Liberty and Scholarship: Critiques and Challenges**, Bryn Mawr University  Presented by the Institute for Humane Studies at George Mason University

**ACADEMIC ASSOCIATIONS**

2015-Present  **Scholar**, Emerging Scholars Program, Ludwig von Mises Institute Canada  
2013-Present  **Member**, Canadian Historical Society  
2013-Present  **Member**, North American Society for Sport History

**LANGUAGES**

French Reading Comprehension