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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

A HISTORY OF SPORT IN CANADA, 1807-1867

by



PETER LESLIE LINDSAY

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
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ABSTRACT

The primary purpose of the study was to investigate the development of sporting activities in British North America from 1807 to 1867. This development was found to be closely allied with the social, cultural, economic, and technological influences of the period. Thirty-two activities were discussed, namely, curling, hockey, ice sailing, skating, snowshoeing, tobogganing, baseball, boxing, cricket, football, golf, lacrosse, lawn bowling, quoiting, track and field, canoeing, rowing, sailing, swimming, fox hunting, horse racing, ploughing, sleighing, trotting on ice, fishing, hunting, rifle shooting, billiards, bowling, gymnastics, handball, and racquets, these being grouped as winter, summer, aquatic, equestrian, field, and indoor activities. International competition, sport in schools and colleges, the influence of the military garrisons, and woman's place in sport received separate attention, while the year, 1867, was singled out for detailed presentation to show the total sporting environment at the end of the period.

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PREFACE

The several Canadian sport histories which have appeared in recent years, coincidental with the centennial celebrations, have served to reinforce the words of L'Heureux that:

Sport in Canada is a phenomenon which is ubiquitous, topical and historical; its protagonists have upon occasion become national heroes. It had achieved considerable stature as a commercial enterprise in the entertainment industry. Political attention has come its way, and of late, it has become the object of scientific study, as our interest in the human body in active motion quickens.

Yet, though the great names of Canadian sporting history, the Paris Crew, Joseph Dion, Edward Hanlan, Louis Cyr, Marilyn Bell, Barbara Ann Scott, Percy Williams, Bill Sherring, Sandy Somerville, and the Edmonton Grads to name but a few, conjure up images of an exciting past, the volume of literature pertaining to this rich sporting heritage is relatively small. Roxborough,² Bull,³ Davidson,⁴ Hall,⁵ and Howell and Howell⁶ have all made valuable contributions, but none has presented a detailed and

¹W. J. L'Heureux, "Sport in Modern Canadian Culture," Journal of the Canadian Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation, XXIX (April-May, 1963), 7.

²H. Roxborough, One Hundred—Not Out (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1966).

³W. Perkins Bull, From Rattlesnake Hunt to Hockey (Toronto: Perkins Bull Foundation, 1934).

⁴S. A. Davidson, "A History of Sports and Games in Eastern Canada Prior to World War I," (unpublished Doctoral thesis, Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York, 1951).

⁵M. A. Hall, "A History of Women's Sport in Canada Prior to World War I," (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1968).

⁶M. Howell and N. Howell, Sports and Games in Canadian Life, 1700 to the Present (Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada Ltd, 1969).

comprehensive treatment of early time periods. Though Roxborough has added the subtitle, "The Story of Nineteenth Century Sport," to his book, it deals almost entirely with sport in Montreal and Toronto. His complete lack of footnotes and index limits the value of his work as reference material. Bull's interesting history offers the reader an insight into the sporting spirit of the nineteenth century when the game was "played for pleasure, for physical health, and for the honour of achievement,"⁷ but, unfortunately, it is restricted to the County of Peel (Ontario). Davidson's thesis also succumbs to the criticisms of time and place, for it is concerned only with the provinces of Quebec and the Maritimes, while its treatment of the early period is very brief and appears to be based largely upon secondary sources. Hall's original contribution, in the form of women's participation in sport, covers a large time span, and is of limited value to the general field of sport due to its delimitation with regard to sex. Howell and Howell have made a major contribution in their endeavour to place Canadian sporting history within the context of the period. As sport is basically a cultural product, sport history without context has little meaning. Due to a time span of approximately two and a half centuries, however, the space devoted to the period prior to Confederation by Howell and Howell is quite small, nevertheless, the authors have, through the magnitude of their study, made a valuable contribution to Canadian sport history. The lack of detailed coverage of this early period by previous writers was, in part, due to the unavailability of ready source material. The present

⁷Bull, op. cit., p. 430.

study has attempted to rectify this deficiency.

The year 1807 has been selected as a starting point for the study, as it was more pertinent to the development of Canadian sport than was 1800. In 1807, the Montreal Curling Club was organized, this being accepted as the first regularly organized sporting club in Canada. The year 1867 was a convenient terminating point, for it marked a time which was historically significant for both Canada and Canadian sport. Confederation, though not universally accepted throughout Canada on July 1, 1867, nevertheless conveys a concept of unity to the nation today, a unity well envisioned in the proposal to name lacrosse as Canada's national game, at the Lacrosse Convention held in Kingston in September, 1867, during which the National Lacrosse Association was formed. Confederation Year also saw two Canadian sporting teams leave the continent to demonstrate their talents in Europe,—the famous Paris Crew from St John, New Brunswick, whose members defeated Europe's best rowers in Paris, France, and the Caughnawaga Indian lacrosse team who demonstrated the Canadian game in England. Sport, as a conveyor of the Canadian image overseas, had arrived.

Within the context of the study, the term, "sport," has not been restricted only to competitive activities. It has been used to include physical recreation generally, so that the beginnings of modern competitive sports may be shown against the total sporting environment of this early period. However, emphasis has been directed towards the development of organization within the various sporting activities.

Although the name Canada has been used throughout the study to refer only to the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada prior to

Confederation, it was found more convenient, in view of following studies, to use the modern connotation of the name Canada in the thesis title. Throughout the body of the text, the more correct name of British North America has been applied when referring to the whole country. Also, to avoid the constant need to use the names, Canada East and Canada West, instead of Lower and Upper Canada once 1840 had been reached in the various activities, the earlier names were retained throughout the period for the sake of continuity. This is no departure from the popular usage in vogue amongst the residents of these provinces following the Act of Union.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

An examination of the development of sport in British North America, from 1800 to Confederation, is a reflection of the development of British North American society itself, and the social, economic, technological and cultural influences exerted on it.

Quebec, founded initially in 1608, and Montreal, younger by a mere thirty-four years, were the old remnants of New France. Halifax had been established in 1749, and Newfoundland, the oldest British colony in North America contained, besides its scattered fishing villages, the small but vigorous town of St John's. By 1800, New Brunswick, under the leadership of an elite group of United Empire Loyalists, had assumed its own identity, together with its largest towns, St John and Fredericton. The western township of York, hub of the vast tracts of Upper Canada, could be said to have passed its frontier stage by 1800. The United Empire Loyalists who had been responsible for the initial growth of the province were, in large part, experienced pioneer settlers who had already conquered the American frontiers to the south. When the Province of Upper Canada was proclaimed in 1791, its largest town was Detroit, which then had a population of two thousand. On the town's subsequent cession to the United States in 1796, one thousand seven hundred of its citizens crossed the border to remain under British rule.¹ There were many

¹Edwin Guillet, Early Life in Upper Canada (Toronto: Ontario Publishing Co., 1933), p. 321.

others like these immigrants from Detroit who, after the revolution caused their expulsion or voluntary withdrawal, efficiently established their pioneer homes once again in the north. Just beyond their small, recent settlements in Upper Canada was the frontier, its boundaries crossed only by the intrepid voyageurs and coureurs de bois, a few Frenchmen and Englishmen, half-breeds and Indians, until the Scottish immigrants of Lord Selkirk formed the nucleus of settlement in the midst of the wilderness on the banks of the Red River, in 1812.

The life led by these individualistic fur-trapping adventurers in their preferred exile in the wilds, has become folklore and romantic legend. In reality, the coureur de bois, in escaping from the confines of society, often took its worst elements with him, as a sordid entry in the diary of Alexander Henry, a Nor'Wester, demonstrated:

Feb. 16, 1804 [Red River]: Grand Gueule stabbed Perdrix Blanc with a knife in six places; the latter, in fighting with his wife, fell in the fire and was almost roasted, but had strength enough left, despite his wounds, to bite her nose off.²

This incident, which occurred after "high wine" had been consumed, would attest to the remarkable endurance, if not the heroic nature of the fur-seekers. A few years later, as the beginnings of civilization reached this outpost, the coureur de bois moved further afield, while the instruments of his trade, the canoe, the sleigh, and the snowshoe, remained in the play activities of the communities that followed him.

²E. Coues (ed.). Journals of Alexander Henry and of David Thompson, 1797-1814 (London, 1892), cited in Arthur R. M. Lower, Canadians in the Making (Toronto: Longmans, Green and Company, 1958), p. 169.

The Red River settlement, however, progressed neither smoothly nor rapidly on the land granted to it by the Hudson's Bay Company.³ Skirmishes with the Nor'Westers and the Metis who felt that the settlement threatened their livelihood, prevented early consolidation of the outpost, while its very isolation so far from the communities of Upper Canada impeded its social development. The settlement's amusements, therefore, were to remain those of a frontier township beyond Confederation, with horse races, dances, gambling and drinking predominant. Similar activities took place in the small community of Fort Edmonton, which had been established as a fur-trading outpost by the Nor'Westers in 1794, and Hudson's Bay officials in the following year. In 1858, it had a total population of 150, of whom 80 were children.⁴

These amusements were also to be found in the British colony of Victoria, established on Hudson's Bay land in 1849, when the discovery of gold dramatically increased both its population and its social problems in the late fifties. Yet this colony, unlike Winnipeg, did not remain a frontier town, becoming part of the Province of British Columbia in 1866, and entering the Dominion four years after Confederation. This rapid progress was possible because the colony's growth was directed by the traditions and experience of the original settlers, amongst whom were retired Hudson's Bay officers, government officials,

³Manitoba was not to become a province until 1870, at which time the population of its capital numbered 250. (F. H. Schofield, The Story of Manitoba (Winnipeg: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1913), I, 319).

⁴Archibald O. MacRae, History of the Province of Alberta (The Western Canada History Co., 1912), p. 136.

and English gentlemen.

British North America then, in the year 1800, was a country still in the making. In the east were the established urban and mercantile centres, each province and its towns distinct, each with clear characteristics of its own. The communities of Upper Canada were emerging, as farms were cleared amidst timber, townships were formed, and population grew. The wilderness stretched to the west, waiting to receive in time, the intrusion of settlement.

Sport within this milieu was in existence, and, like the communities it served, in an early stage of development. It is not surprising that early sports, being closely linked with the lives of the participants, were utilitarian as well as recreational. Canoeing was fun, but it was also the most effective method of transportation through trackless forests traversed by a multitude of waterways and lakes. Similarly, snowshoeing provided healthy exercise, and a tramp on snowshoes in the company of several friends was a pleasant social occasion. But hunting on snowshoes after a heavy snow fall was also the surest and most efficient method of stalking and capturing the deer and moose, on which settlers depended for their meat. The work "bees" of the early rural communities were regarded as gala social events in the hard and lonely life of the frontier family. The contests, dances, and drinking which generated this eager excitement were only celebrated, however, when the real work was over.

Bees took several forms; for example, there were the serious work bees such as logging, stumping, house and barn raising, as well

as the bees of a more social nature, such as those of apple picking, husking, and quilting.⁵ Sometimes two would be combined, so that the men were busy with the raising of the house, while the women were attending to the making of a warm quilt, or floor rugs. Haight⁶ has emphasized the social aspect of the quilting bee when he wrote that some young man usually found himself being tossed up and down in the quilt, to the immense amusement of the rest of the company.

The bees did much more than provide the means of clearing land, raising homes, and harvesting the crops. They were also festivals, so that the settlers, whose existence must have been monotonous, could gather together and so make life a little more enjoyable.⁷ Whiskey was plentiful, and a "dry" bee was a rarity.⁸ Mrs Moodie had not been impressed by this, for she described logging bees as "the most disgusting picture of bush life," for they were "noisy, riotous, drunken meetings often terminating in violent quarrels, sometimes even bloodshed."⁹ But as true as this criticism may have been, it neglected the vital relationship the bees held in the life of the early pioneer.

⁵Una Abrahamson, God Bless Our Home (Canada: Burns and MacEachern Ltd., 1966), p. 30.

⁶Caniff Haight, Country Life in Canada Fifty Years Ago (Toronto: Hunter, Rose and Co., 1885), p. 67.

⁷Such a need for congregation was felt by the populations of urban centres also, where the race course served equivalently.

⁸Abrahamson, op. cit., p. 31.

⁹Susanna Moodie, Roughing It in the Bush, 1832 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1962), p. 156. See also Isabel Skelton, The Backwoodswoman (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1924), p. 241.

This life was such that the bees provided a necessary "safety valve," releasing frustrations built up in his struggle with nature.

After the work was done and the supper eaten, thoughts turned to contests and dancing. Trials of strength were popular, as well as wrestling, running, jumping, putting the stone, and throwing the hammer,¹⁰ the type of activity being dependent upon the country of origin of the settler, as well as his religious beliefs. Except among communities where dancing was considered sinful, the usual end to the day was a dance in the house, barn, or "ball-room" of a tavern. Despite the effects of a hard day's work, these dances often lasted until day-break.¹¹ Recreation at this grass-roots level existed in 1800, and existed still in 1867, moving ever westward with the extending frontier and creeping settlement.

Though the urban communities of the Maritimes, Lower Canada, and some parts of Upper Canada had left this stage of development, the utilitarian sports still remained for their amusement value. Meanwhile, other influences emerged, replacing those of the early societies. One such influence was immigration. British North America, in 1800, contained French and English races; highland and lowland Scots who had settled mainly in Nova Scotia, but who were also spread throughout the other provinces; British Americans who had moved north during or after

¹⁰ Samuel Strickland, Twenty-Seven Years in Canada West (London: Richard Bentley, 1853), p. 37. According to Haight, there was a great deal of sport at the close of these "social industrial gatherings." (Haight, op. cit., p. 67).

¹¹ Abrahamson, op. cit., p. 32.

the revolution, and Americans of the republic who had emigrated for reasons which, presumably, were not political; a small number of Europeans, mainly Dutch and German; immigrants from Ireland; and a few Negroes.

Within the next fifty years, British migration created the greatest influx of population into the country, and the greatest proportion of these migrants, during the famine years of the 1840s, were from Ireland.¹² Schooners from the United States and British America, which unloaded their cargoes in Cork in the winter of 1846, were mobbed by "swarms of creatures entreating to be carried away."¹³ Yet, strangely, the Irish, for all their numbers, left little trace in the sporting development within their new country. While it is true that one of the possible origins of ice-hockey is thought to be the ancient Irish game of hurling, even the possibility of that influence is negligible, for it was reported that soldiers from the Halifax garrison in the eighteenth century played "hurley" or hockey on the Dartmouth Lakes,¹⁴ just as they were to play cricket on ice in 1805,¹⁵ in an attempt to overcome nostalgia and the long Canadian winter.

It was the ubiquitous Scotsman who, together with his English cousin, was to transport his sporting traditions with his household to

¹²Helen I. Cowan, British Emigration to British North America (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), p. 289. The greatest total number of immigrants landed in Quebec in the famine year of 1847 (89,562). This comprised 31,505 Englishmen, 3,747 Scotsmen, and 54,310 Irishmen.

¹³Ibid., p. 177.

¹⁴Infra, p. 42.

¹⁵Infra, p. 90.

British North America. Golf was reported to have been played by some of General Wolfe's Scottish officers,¹⁶ though it did not become an established sport in the period before Confederation. Curling, on the other hand, after its inception under similar circumstances,¹⁷ thrived, becoming, in 1865, one of the select group of sports to enter international competition. The one's failure and the other's success serve to demonstrate the relationship which existed between sport and the developmental stage of British North American society at that time. In the early part of the nineteenth century, large tracts of land, difficult to maintain and of recreational use to a comparatively small number of people, were an unaffordable luxury, whereas, in the Canadian winter, ice was everywhere for everyone. Also scattered throughout the provinces were the military garrisons. The great majority of the officers of these garrisons were English gentlemen who perpetuated in their new country, two old traditional loves, cricket and equestrian sports.

Yet such is the nature of sport that it crosses the boundaries of nationality. Games introduced by Scotsman or Englishman soon numbered among their adherents, men from the mixture of races which even then was to be found in the provinces. In addition, sports that owed little traditional allegiance to any particular racial origin were emerging and growing in popularity. These ranged from simple and useful sports such as tobogganing, sleighing, skating, and sailing, through

¹⁶Infra, p. 113.

¹⁷Infra, p. 22.

the individual sports advocated for their general health values such as gymnastics, athletics, and swimming, to such highly complex sports as rowing, where the skill of the rowers was inextricably combined with the science of the boat-builders. In 1867, Canadian rowers were able to demonstrate to the world the success of such a combination, during the Paris Exhibition.

One of the factors which inhibited participation in sport for many throughout the period was economic. Durant¹⁸ has stated that only after the initial toil associated with the establishing of a society is over, can man afford leisure time for those pursuits which feed the spirit. Material necessities must always precede play in importance. For this reason, the common man, forced to work for others for his living, had little time for recreational sport. Sunday was free, but the desecration of the Sabbath with frivolous pursuits was forbidden by law. The majority of the active sportsmen throughout the greatest part of the period, were from a minority section of the community, that is, gentlemen players from the upper strata of society, and officers of the garrisons.

A concern with the pallid appearance of the working man instigated crusades in the newspapers for his more active participation in exercise and sport:

It is one of our social mischiefs that the great bulk of the population seem uncared for and unthought of with regard to innocent public amusements. As compared with the

¹⁸ Will Durant, The Mansions of Philosophy (New York: Garden City Publishing Co., 1941), p. 401.

people of other places, they have no opportunities for this sort of enjoyment.¹⁹

This lack of opportunity was alleviated by the adoption of earlier closing hours by shop and factory employers, giving employees some time in the evenings to join the hitherto privileged few in skating, cricket, football, baseball, and lacrosse.²⁰ A similar move throughout the 1850s and 1860s in some centres had freed workers on Saturday afternoons,²¹ this becoming a favourite time for many of the reported sporting competitions. As Confederation Year approached, "the mechanic, the employee, and the labourer,"²² became eligible to exert their influence on the sporting scene, which was no longer entirely under the monopoly of the elite of the city and garrison.

Just as the bee had stimulated the beginnings of sport in the frontier society, other circumstances were moulding the recreational activities of urban dwellers, either in the small outlying townships that were still the centres of pioneer rural communities in Upper Canada, or the older established cities of the Maritimes and Lower

¹⁹Newfoundlander, July 31, 1854.

²⁰As the New Brunswick Reporter and Fredericton Advertiser had argued on January 12, 1866, early closing associations were to be found in almost every city of Canada. St John had successfully applied the principle, and the young men of Fredericton equally required "time for instruction, recreation, and amusement." Within five weeks, such time had been granted.

²¹Niagara Chronicle, June 16, 1854, reported the agreement of wholesale dealers in Toronto to close their warehouses at three o'clock on Saturdays from June to August, and December to February, and moved for similar liberality in Niagara. In the Hamilton Times, July 8, 1863, it was suggested that, since wholesale merchants had closed at one o'clock on Saturdays for some time, the move should be a general one.

²²Hamilton Times, July 10, 1863.

Canada. Glazebrook²³ has listed approximate populations in 1850 in Lower Canada as 890,260, Upper Canada, 952,000, Nova Scotia, 276,850, and New Brunswick, 193,800, most of the provinces showing a respectable two to threefold increase. In Upper Canada, however, the population had multiplied tenfold since the turn of the century. The Province of British Columbia did not begin its development until "gold fever," in the period from 1858 to 1862, brought a phenomenal influx of migrants from every corner of the globe to the Cariboo and to Victoria, where twenty-five thousand miners arrived during the summer of 1858 alone.²⁴ With this growth came the social problems which were common, at various times, to the eastern provinces.

One of these problems, universally deplored from Halifax to Victoria, was the prevalence of drunkenness among the working class. In the mid-thirties, Mrs Anna Jameson²⁵ condemned the society of upper Canada where the large number of taverns and the cheapness of whiskey, contrasted with the scarcity of libraries and the expensiveness of books, so that "taverns and low drinking houses [were] the chief places

²³G. P. deT. Glazebrook, A History of Transportation in Canada (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1967), I, 142.

²⁴S. D. Clark, The Developing Canadian Community (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), p. 82.

²⁵Anna Jameson, Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1923), pp. 40-41. There was a 30 per cent duty on books, but no duty on whiskey imported from the United States. This, she was officially told, was to prevent the province's being over-run with illicit stills, and "another source of crime and depravity added to the main one." (Ibid.) . Mrs Jameson's estimate that only one in fifty could read at this time explains the lack of books and bookstores. (Ibid., p. 69.)

of public amusement."²⁶ Guillet has listed the number of inns and taverns in Toronto in 1850 as one hundred and fifty-two, with an additional two hundred and six bar shops.²⁷ Halifax, notorious as a city of "war, booty, piety, and sin,"²⁸ had newspaper correspondents who shared Mrs Jameson's concern. Finally, drunkenness allied with gambling and brawling, was responsible for public opinion's forcing the prohibition of race meetings in that city for several years. Though Quebec never resorted to discontinuing its races, an eye witness at the Quebec Races attested to the presence of the same vices, as tavern-keepers' "new Whiskey" and a roulette wheel on the premises produced the inevitable results.²⁹ An effort was made to preserve the horse races for the members of the elegant society who organized them, and fences were erected around new courses in the hope of excluding the "rowdy" element. Since the working class could climb as well as drink, this move was not completely successful.

When the problem was later correctly diagnosed as originating in boredom, more realistic and democratic solutions were sought throughout the provinces from Victoria³⁰ to St John's.³¹ Remedies were suggested in establishing and improving healthy, recreational facilities for the enjoyment of all strata of society. In the small townships, however,

²⁶ Ibid., p. 69.

²⁷ Guillet, op. cit., p. 298.

²⁸ Lower, op. cit., p. 150.

²⁹ Infra, p. 214.

³⁰ Clark, op. cit., p. 88.

³¹ Newfoundlander, August 11, 1856.

taverns were far more than mere drinking houses where boredom might be forgotten in whiskey; they were also social centres for all ages and both sexes. In contrast to their associated role, they sometimes served as churches and as locations for such public amusements as circuses, travelling and amateur theatricals, dances, balls, and banquets, as well as general meeting places.³² Numerous sporting clubs and societies had their inception at a meeting of enthusiasts held in a convivial tavern.

Many of these societies, besides their purely social and often nationalistic nature, fostered recreation for the common man. Scottish societies such as the Caledonian and St Andrew's Societies, the first of which were established in Quebec and Montreal in 1835,³³ featured athletic events, for the most part Scottish in origin, at their picnic celebrations. On the other hand, Agricultural Societies provided the opportunities for such rural sports as ploughing contests and horse races, at their Fairs and Provincial Exhibitions. These Exhibitions, held in the major cities, were a common meeting ground for city man and country man.

A further mingling occurred at regattas, when Indian and voyageur competed against settler.³⁴ John Mactaggart, and presumably many of

³²Guillet, op. cit., p. 314.

³³Wilfred Campbell, The Scotsman in Canada (Toronto: The Musson Book Co. Ltd, n.d.), I, 408. In Bytown, a meeting to establish a St Andrew's Society on June 18, 1846, was held in the Bristol Hotel. (Ibid., pp. 409-410.)

³⁴Guillet, op. cit., p. 305.

his fellow townsmen, found the scene at one of these early contests inspiring, as he watched "fifty canoes on the smooth broad lake, voyageurs fancifully adorned, the song up in full chorus, blades of the paddles flashing in the sun, as they rapidly lift and dip."³⁵

The greatest social mingling occurred at the race course, despite efforts made to discourage the attendance of the lower class. Horse racing was always in evidence in cities and towns where garrisons were stationed, serving as a diversion for the regimental officers, many of whom kept stables of horses. In fact, it was the British officer's love of horse racing, together with his leisured existence, which gave impetus to such allied sports as hunting, trotting, and steeplechasing. The officers were a privileged, wealthy, aristocratic group, at home in the company of the highest officials of government and church, and a glamorous and exciting addition to the upper levels of British North American society. By the end of the 1812 war with America, there were approximately thirty thousand British troops throughout the provinces,³⁶ a sizable proportion of these being eligible officers, to whom "every prominent professional man and every rich merchant hoped to marry his daughter. . . and a surprising number succeeded."³⁷ There was little wonder that the ladies, or muffins as they were sometimes called, were enchanted with such gallant escorts so readily available, for the officers spared no expense in maintaining

³⁵John Mactaggart, Three Years in Canada, 1826-1828 (London: Henry Colburn, 1829), I, 308.

³⁶Infra, p. 352.

³⁷Lower, op. cit., p. 250.

dashing sleighs and elegant driving carriages. They also added colour to such recreation centres as the skating rink, the toboggan slide, and the ball room. Twice a year in the winter, these recreations were combined at gala evenings held in the grounds of Rideau Hall. The guests of the Governor-General, to "the crash of the military band, the merry whirr of the skates and the roar of the descending toboggans," spent an exhilarating evening, supper being served in the indoor, unheated curling rink by servants who waited on table in heavy fur coats and caps.³⁸

The sporting gentlemen of the period had as much reason to be grateful for the presence of the officers as had the ladies. Not only did these officers re-establish in their new environment the sporting traditions of their homeland, but they were eager to adopt and sponsor new activities also. Their all-encompassing interest and enthusiasm resulted in a broad spectrum of sport being established within the communities, which consequently benefited the whole of British North American society.

Yet sports enthusiasts who wished to follow their favourite activities in the press were doomed to frustration throughout most of the period preceding Confederation. In the early years of the nineteenth century, most papers were produced by one man who, if he were fortunate, had the aid of an apprentice. Working with wooden, flat-bed, hand-operated presses, the printer would have found it extremely

³⁸Lord Frederic Hamilton, The Days Before Yesterday (London: Hodder and Stroughton, 1920). Cited in Luella Creighton, The Elegant Canadians (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd, 1967), p. 60.

difficult to produce more than sixty copies of one side of a sheet in an hour.³⁹ It is not surprising that early papers were only published weekly, and that sporting information was very meagre.

By the 1850s, the situation had changed considerably. Toronto and Hamilton were linked by magnetic telegraph in December, 1846, marking the introduction of this innovation to British North America. Montreal extended the linkage in August of the following year, while St John was connected with Boston and Halifax in 1849.⁴⁰ A clearly noticeable increase in sport reporting followed, which consequently led to an awareness of other sporting teams within the communities, and eventually, as problems due to difficulty of transportation were solved, to inter-town competitions. The improvement in communications alone could not have made this possible, without such mechanized improvements as the iron press, type casting, and steam powered presses.⁴¹ These, through increasing the speed of production, made daily editions of newspapers a reality. Yet, in the sixties, reporters could still be frustratingly terse, as in the following:

Horse and foot races on the tapis for some hours, and, as usual, many lost, some won money. This is about the result.⁴²

or vague:

The display of proficiency in the graceful art was most credible, the gathering of friends was very large, the

³⁹W. H. Kesterton, A History of Journalism in Canada (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd, 1967), p. 8.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 23.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 24.

⁴²Ottawa Citizen, May 21, 1866.

members of the committee were very attentive, and the band of the Royal Artillery played in magnificent style. To sum up the whole in a sentence—it was a great success.⁴³

In an endeavour to ensure publicity and subsequent coverage of their sporting events, some clubs sent complimentary tickets and even year-memberships to editors of newspapers. Those clubs which abstained from this practice were likely to find their activities reported thus:

We should have tried to be present at the last day's Races but as the proprietor of the Course refuses to acknowledge the rights of the press, to the courtesies usually extended to them in civilized communities, we saved ourselves the trouble and expense.⁴⁴

Such unhappy relationships were rare, however, most editors feeling a responsibility to their readers to print information relative to the community as a whole. Therefore, the general increase in sport reporting during the fifties and sixties reflected an awareness of the growing importance of sport within the communities of British North America. Through reports in the press, club members had been made aware of enthusiasts and potential rivals in other cities. Nevertheless, little inter-city competition took place before the 1850s, because primitive means of transport made travel long and uncomfortable.

In the early years of the century, long distances were best travelled in the flat-bottomed bateaux and Durham boats. Built to traverse the rapids, these were used exclusively before the earliest canals were opened. Keeled sailing vessels were restricted to the Great

⁴³Morning Chronicle, Quebec, January 22, 1866. A Quebec Skating Club display.

⁴⁴Montreal Gazette, August 6, 1852. Report after the St Hyacinthe Races.

Lakes and the lower reaches of the St Lawrence. As settlement, agriculture, and industry increased, so did the number of vessels, but passengers were largely at the whim of weather and captain. A traveller in 1810 was said to have taken forty-nine days to reach Montreal, from Detroit.⁴⁵

Of the technological advances which occurred before 1867, the steam engine was to have the greatest impact on society as a whole, and on the sporting scene in consequence. The steamboat, the steam powered printing press, and the railway engine all contributed to the expansion of sport in the fifties and sixties. The first steamboat had made its appearance in 1809, making the journey from Montreal to Quebec in thirty-six hours. By 1818, these boats were fairly common, yet, in 1835, the run from Toronto to Kingston still took twenty-four hours. When the canals between Kingston and Montreal were completed in 1842, the St Lawrence seaway was open, and sporting teams faced a more reasonable trip between Montreal and Toronto. Steamboats made excursion trips possible which before had been too impractical to contemplate for both teams and spectators. In fact, by offering return trips to matches for the price of a single fare, the steamship companies provided a stimulus to inter-town sporting competition. Newspaper editors were quick to point out that such philanthropic gestures were not devoid of self-interest, as an encouragement to sporting competition meant more spectator-passengers for the steamboats, an

⁴⁵Glazebrook, op. cit., I, 66.

advantage railway companies later recognized when they also adopted the practice.⁴⁶

But although steamboat travel was faster and more convenient than road, inter-town journeys for match play often necessitated several days being spent away from home. For example, when the Cobourg Cricket Club travelled to Bowmanville in 1846, a distance of twenty-five miles, they were advised to travel on the day before the proposed match. Steamboats were not without their hazards at this time, disasters occurring on several occasions when boilers exploded. This did not deter some skippers, however, from racing their steamers against others on the same run:

The Steamers Peerless and Welland have been amusing themselves with the very questionable sport of racing between this port [Niagara] and Toronto. There is nothing objectionable in steamers testing their sailing capacities; indeed, it is a subject on which the public generally feel as much interest as in a horse race, but it is decidedly wrong to race in the regular course of business, and expose the lives and property of travellers to danger. . . . In the race alluded to, the Peerless had the advantage by some seven to eight minutes in a distance of 36 miles.⁴⁷

The only "rapid" means of transport by land before the advent of the railroad was the stage-coach. The prospect of a stage journey could have inspired little delight in travellers, for early starts and tediously long hours of rough travel were common. In 1811, the trip

⁴⁶For example, Novascotian, March 5, 1855. "The steamboat Company ought to be very much obliged to the curlers for increasing the travel across the Ferry." Reported on the occasion of the Halifax, Thistle, and Dartmouth bonspiel on First Lake, Dartmouth.

⁴⁷Niagara Mail, September 6, 1854. It is interesting that the editor rebuked the captains, then published the results.

from Montreal to Quebec by four-horse stage took two days of travel, from four o'clock in the morning to eight in the evening each day. Upper and Lower Canada had been connected by stage line in 1816 when the Montreal to Kingston run was opened, the run extending to York in the following year. By 1843, this journey still required four days of long travelling. Before the canals were completed, such long journeys were usually made by steamer-stage combinations to take advantage of the available waterways.

Conditions involving several days of travelling in order to play one game were not conducive to inter-city sporting matches. Even reasonably short distances on land were discouraging to the initiation of such competition, as a writer in Upper Canada in 1836 related:

Here we have comparatively few or no good roads, we have often to wade through mud and swamps for many miles together, and except in the sleighing season, find it almost impossible to go any distance.⁴⁸

The sleighing season apparently offered only fleeting improvement in comfort, however, as cahots, or large icy bumps, quickly built up on frequently travelled roads.

With the great increase in population throughout the provinces, and especially in Upper Canada, by 1850, railways were the only answer to the transportation problem. Although the planners' original scheme was merely to supplement the St Lawrence seaway, such a near-sighted policy was destined for a short life. The 1850s saw great advances made in railway construction, and sportsmen shared in the delight of

⁴⁸A correspondent to the Toronto Patriot, September 13, 1836, cited in Glazebrook, op. cit., I, 140.

all travellers, because this meant "swift" journeys⁴⁹ between towns, making one-day excursions possible.

Toronto was connected with Montreal in 1856 by the Grand Trunk Railway, the line moving through to Sarnia by 1859. The Great Western Railway was open from Hamilton to London in 1853, and to Windsor in the following year, connecting with Toronto in 1855. The Buffalo and Lake Huron Railway ran from Port Erie to Paris and Stratford in 1856, and on to Goderich in 1858. Bytown and Prescott were linked in 1854, as were Cobourg and Peterborough. In Lower Canada, Montreal was connected to Richmond in 1851, to Sherbrooke in 1852, and to Point Levis in 1854. With the completion of the Victoria Bridge at Montreal in November 1859, teams might travel from Upper Canada almost to Quebec, should they be so inclined. In Nova Scotia, a small coal line had been constructed from Albion Mines to New Glasgow in 1839, and, in 1858, it was possible to cross the province by rail from Halifax to Windsor.

The railway age, bring with it both expansion and consolidation, introduced a new era to British North American society, and to sport within that society.

⁴⁹Speeds averaged 10 miles per hour at this time.

CHAPTER II

WINTER ACTIVITIES

British North America during the winter was a land of snow-bound settlements and frozen lakes and rivers. The pioneer houses were seldom comfortable, being smoke-filled and ill-lighted, and town houses, though architecturally superior, were equally cold, so there was little incentive for remaining indoors during the long winter months. Since most communities were adjacent to waterways, which facilitated summer transportation, under winter conditions such skills as skating could provide desirable exercise and amusement in the open air, while snowshoeing permitted the performance of normal activities. For all strata of society, winter was a season of festivity and relaxation; for the Scottish settler, it provided both time and suitable conditions for indulgence in his national game of curling; for the young at heart, tobogganing and shinty were available; while, for the ice-bound sailor, the ice-boat was the season's substitute for the sailing boat.

Curling

According to Guillet,¹ curling began in British North America towards the close of the eighteenth century, when some of the Scottish officers of the garrison at Quebec indulged in the game as a means of relieving a monotonous term of duty. The Morning Chronicle, January 25,

¹Guillet, op. cit., p.-305.

1861, reflecting on the history of curling, stated that the first game ever played in the province occurred in 1805 on the Mill Dam at Beauport, a few miles outside Quebec. The distance from town proved to be inconvenient for these otherwise hardy curlers, and an artificial rink was made on one of the wharves in the Lower Town in 1808. This also eliminated the problem of rough ice which faced those who attempted to curl on the rivers, St Charles and St Lawrence. Scotsmen in Montreal were also active at this time, having formed the Montreal Curling Club in 1807, the first curling club on the American continent.² One of the first rules of this club, which contained twenty members, stipulated:

The club shall meet at Gillis' on Wednesday, every fortnight, at 4 o'clock to dine on salt beef and greens. The club dinner and wine shall not exceed in cost seven shillings and sixpence a head, and any members infringing on this rule, shall be liable to a fine of four shillings. No member shall ask a friend to dinner, except the President and the Vice-President, who may ask two each. . . . The losing party of the day shall pay for a bowl of whisky toddy, to be placed in the middle of the table for those who may chuse it.³

The stones used by these early players tended to break on impact with one another, so recourse was made to cast-iron ones. A model for these was first made of wood by a cooper in the Lower Town of Quebec, then sent to the forges at Trois Rivières, from whence the finished products were eventually obtained.⁴ These "stones," or curling irons as they were sometimes called, were shaped something like a large tea-kettle,

²Montreal Gazette, January 5, 1841.

³John A. Stevenson, Curling in Ontario, 1846-1946 (Toronto: Ontario Curling Association, 1950), p. 23.

⁴George Beers, "Canada in Winter," The British American Magazine II (December, 1863), 168.

weighed from forty-six to sixty-five pounds each, and were the common property of all club members.⁵

The war of 1812 to 1814 curtailed the activities of the curlers somewhat,⁶ but renewed interest following the end of hostilities led to the foundation of the Quebec Curling Club in 1821.⁷ Halifax curlers were not far behind their Quebec counterparts, forming the Halifax Curling Club in the winter of 1824-1825.⁸ Little is known of curling in the twenties, but it could not have been a flourishing activity, for Mactaggart, writing of his stay in Canada from 1826 to 1828, found the game non-existent:

Notwithstanding the numbers of lakes and rivers which abound in Canada, and all the intensity of the winter frost, still the game of curling, the great ice amusement of Scotland, is unknown. There was a curling club formed in Montreal some time ago, but it seldom attempted the game. The weather is too cold even for the keenest curler to endure; and the ice is generally covered very deep with snow. The "curling stones," if I may use the expression, they have constructed of cast-iron; but as iron is a great conductor of heat, they were not found to answer well, as they stuck into the ice. The surface of the lakes, too, is never what a person knowing the game would call true, that is, level; let no Scottish emigrants then, as heretofore, conceive

⁵John Kerr, Curling in Canada and the United States (Toronto: Toronto News Coy, 1904), p. 143.

⁶For example, Stevenson says, in recording a resolution passed in February, 1820, that the club should dine at the beginning and at the end of the season, the Secretary added, "This was adopted because the club had not met to dine for more than six years, partly occasioned by the war in which we were engaged with the United States." (Stevenson, op. cit., p. 24.)

⁷Morning Chronicle, Quebec, January 25, 1861.

⁸John Quinpool, First Things in Acadia (Halifax: First Things Publishers Ltd, 1936), p. 85. Kerr gives 1825-1826 as the date of the formation of this club. (Kerr, op. cit., p. 81.)

they will be gratified with plenty of this amusement. Thus it does not follow, that where there are⁹ plenty of men, water, and frost, there will be curling.

During the winter of 1835-1836, Montreal accepted a challenge from Quebec to play a match at Trois Rivières, half-way between the two cities. The match occurred on January 10, 1836,¹⁰ and the Montreal curlers, being the losers, paid over £3 each for the dinner which followed, and a similar sum for transportation. That two sporting clubs, some 180 miles apart, should come together for friendly competition, was without parallel at this time. The Montreal players left their city on January 7 and 8, some in the stage and others in their own conveyances, the first of them arriving at Trois Rivières at about mid-day on the 9th.¹¹ Apparently their spirits were undaunted by this arduous journey, for, on December 22, 1836, the Montreal Gazette announced that the two clubs had agreed to a match in January of the following year. During the next season, the Montreal Club constructed a new artificial rink made of wood, and erected it under cover in the St Ann suburb, near the Lachine Canal. This, in all probability, was the first covered curling rink in British North America.¹²

In the period prior to 1840, curling underwent a popular impetus in

⁹Mactaggart, op. cit., II, 222.

¹⁰Morning Chronicle, Quebec, January 25, 1861. Kerr has listed this match for 1835. (John Kerr, History of Curling (Edinburg: David Douglas, 1890), p. 324.)

¹¹Guillet, op. cit., p. 362.

¹²Ibid.

Upper Canada. Clubs were formed in Kingston (1820), Fergus (1834), West Flamborough (1835), Toronto and Milton (1836), Galt and Guelph (1838), and Scarborough (1839), though games were played by local enthusiasts before the establishing of clubs. The growth of the sport in this region was due to the large influx of Scottish migrants encouraged by the Canada Land Company under the management of John Galt, the Scottish novelist. For a time, the Fergus club was almost entirely a family affair, being comprised of the founder, Hugh Black who was also the keeper of St Andrew's Tavern, his four sons and his two sons-in-law, as well as James Webster, William Buist, and James Dinwoodie, who lived seven miles away.¹³ Whether the club was an excuse for a "social drink," or whether whiskey was merely a suitable adjunct against the cold is debatable, but, nevertheless, a bottle was usually to be found somewhere at the edge of the ice, and club dues were sometimes paid in Canadian whiskey.¹⁴

James Young, Galt's first historian, related that the first game in that district took place in the winter of 1836-1837, and he had this to say of that early game:

It is not surprising that being so largely settled by Scotsmen, Galt early practised the game of curling, so much in vogue in the land of "the mountain and the flood." The first game of which we have been able to find any recollection took place on Altrieve Lake, as it is called, a pretty sheet of water near Mr James S. Cowan's residence, about two miles west of the town. Among those who took part in it were Messrs Robert Wallace Sr (who was on a visit from

¹³ Hugh Templin, Fergus, the Story of a Little Town (Fergus: Fergus News-record, 1933), p. 261.

¹⁴ Ibid.

Brantford), Robert Wallace Jr of Galt, John Warnock of Beverley, and John Wallace of Dumfries. They made blocks out of the maple tree, putting in pieces of iron as handles, and, although labouring under some disadvantages, the survivors describe it as a jolly and long-to-be-remembered meeting.¹⁵

The Galt Club was organized as an informal group in 1838, but it was not until 1841 that it was organized under the management of an executive committee.¹⁶ Most of the pioneer clubs in Upper Canada used the wooden "stones" alluded to by Young. These were cut from the solid trunk of a maple or birch tree, and then shaped on a lathe. Bands of iron were added to give the required weight as well as to prevent them from splitting, and their iron handles were made at the nearest blacksmith's store.

Several players, particularly those skilled at stone-masonry, shaped their curling stones from "ice-borne boulders of whinstone or granite called hard-heads" which were cleared from ground being prepared for cultivation.¹⁷ An advertisement for such stones appeared in the British Colonist, Toronto, in 1839:

Curling stones may be had on application to the subscriber who has taken great pains to collect a number of blocks of the most excellent grain. Several members of the Toronto Club have already been supplied, and specimens may be seen on the Bay on Playing Days or on application to Mr McDonald at the City Wharf, or to the subscriber at his residence, 16 New Street. The price of the stones is eight dollars per pair, according to the handles and finish. Peter McArthur (maker of curling stones)¹⁸

¹⁵James Young, Early History of Galt and the Settlement of Dumfries (Toronto: Hunter, Rose and Coy, 1880), p. 127.

¹⁶Stevenson, op. cit., p. 27. W. Dickson was the President.

¹⁷Kerr, Curling in Canada, p. 336.

¹⁸Cited in Henry Roxborough, One Hundred—Not Out (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1966), p. 101.

This advertisement may have been in anticipation of a coming bonspiel, for, on February 12 of that year, one was held on the Don River, when twenty-four curlers from outside Toronto matched their skill against an equal number from the Toronto Club. It was reported that the Governor-General of Upper Canada, Lord Sydenham, and the Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, Sir George Arthur, were spectators at this bonspiel.¹⁹

The forties began with a bonspiel between Quebec and Montreal Clubs, in which each of the clubs sent a rink to the other's city to play simultaneous matches.²⁰ Both home rinks were successful, Montreal winning the aggregate by seven points. The Thistle Club, formed in 1842,²¹ provided the Montreal Club with further competition, while the 71st Regiment at nearby St Jean was also active in the early forties. Concerning a match with the latter, played on the St Lawrence River by Montreal in 1841, the Montreal Gazette reported that thousands of spectators were in attendance, including the Governor-General, for the duration of the match from eleven o'clock in the morning to six in the evening.²² In the same year, the Toronto Club journeyed to Bonn's Lake to play against the newly formed Newmarket Club for the championship of the district. Much to the surprise of either side, the Newmarket

¹⁹Guillet, op. cit., p. 366.

²⁰Montreal Gazette, February 1, 1840.

²¹Kerr, Curling in Canada, p. 143, gives this date, though the Montreal Gazette, December 11, 1848, says the club was instituted five years previously.

²²Montreal Gazette, February 16, 1841.

Club won by one point.²³ Upper Canada once again saw the greatest expansion in curling activity during this period, other clubs being reported at Barrie, Paris, Elora, Woodstock, London,²⁴ Hamilton, Dundas, Ancaster, and Whitchurch.

In Lower Canada, the Chambly Curling Club was given press space in 1848, while in 1849, two Quebec clubs, Stadacona and Cameron, also received mention. In Nova Scotia, groups from the Albion Mines and Pictou were noted in competition, as well as the continuing Halifax Club, while in St John's, Newfoundland, the Avalon Club was formed in 1843.²⁵ When news of the formation of the Grand Caledonian Curling Club in Edinburgh reached Canada, Montreal and Quebec Clubs offered their allegiance. The Montreal Gazette, August 24, 1841, remarked on the admittance of the Montreal Club to membership in July of that year:

This favour, as generous as it was unexpected, will, we doubt not, have a favourable effect in giving a new incentive to the exertions of the numerous admirers, in Montreal, of the healthful and manly game of curling.

This philosophy may have had foundation, for the Thistle Club was formed soon afterwards. Due to some lack of inter-club play, the various clubs used ingenuity in arranging competitions within their own membership. Medals were presented for competition by interested individuals as well as the Royal Caledonian Club,²⁶ while Toronto,

²³Ibid., March 13, 1841.

²⁴Formed in 1849, but its members played only a few games that season. Lack of interest delayed reorganization until 1855.

²⁵W. A. Creelman, Curling, Past and Present (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1950), p. 132.

²⁶Changed from "Grand" to "Royal" in 1842.

Montreal, and Quebec Clubs established annual "bachelors versus married" and "Canadians versus Scots" contests. One of the Toronto Club's medals was that presented to the club by its President, George Denholm, Esq. Play for this medal occurred each year, long after the death of its originator. In the Denholm Medal competition for the year 1843, the trophy was won by William Reynolds, a Canadian, which caused this bold response from the Toronto Colonist: "Curling may now be considered in this Province, a Canadian rather than a Scottish game." It also gave credit to the club for its encouragement of participation by those other than natives of Scotland.²⁷

Transport difficulties for curlers with their heavy stones continued to remain a major deterrent to the spread of competition during the forties. Local rivalries flourished, however, such as those between Toronto and Scarborough, Paris and Galt, Hamilton and Dundas, and Montreal and Thistle. The Paris-Galt rivalry was quite keen, and by the end of the decade, Stevenson has referred to it as being "positively ferocious."²⁸

Press reports in Upper Canada by 1859 indicated that new clubs had been formed in Ayr, Hamilton, Ancaster, Dundas, Newcastle, Darlington, Cobourg, Burlington, Bayfield, Peterborough, Ottawa, Buckingham, and Almonte, giving the game considerable spread throughout the province. In the smaller rural centres, large families could comprise most of the members of the club. For example, when three rinks of the

²⁷Cited in Montreal Gazette, March 2, 1843.

²⁸Stevenson, op. cit., p. 52.

Ancaster Club played against a similar number from the West Flamborough Club in 1856, seven of the twelve Ancaster players were members of the Calder family.²⁹ The Galt Club was very strong at this time, and their prowess may be attributed to the rigid discipline which prevailed among members. During the 1849-1850 season, it was decreed by the club executive that any member swearing on the ice should be fined three and a half pence, and any member living within a mile of the centre of the town, who did not arrive by two o'clock in the afternoon on practising days, should be fined two pence. These rules were well enforced, for club records show that, during the initial season, of the fourteen members fined for swearing on the ice and the forty-nine fined for missing practice, all but four paid their penalties.³⁰

An important event in the organization of curling in Canada was the formation of the Canadian branch of the Royal Caledonian Curling Club in 1852.³¹ Local clubs were encouraged to join the association and so become eligible to compete for the medals presented by the parent body. It was felt that such an association, with its own powers and regulations, would do much towards fostering the interests of curling in Canada, but, in itself, it reflected the inherent Scottish desire for discipline and order. The Montreal, Thistle, Quebec, and Stadacona Clubs were charter members, while in Upper Canada, the Cobourg and Bytown Clubs joined in the same year. The Ontario Club of Hamilton

²⁹Globe, Toronto, December 29, 1856. This same ratio continued throughout the remainder of the decade.

³⁰Stevenson, op. cit., p. 176.

³¹Montreal Gazette, April 9, 1852.

followed in 1854, and, in 1855, Kingston, Toronto, London, Paris, and West Flamborough became affiliated, though Cobourg was expelled through failure to pay its annual dues.³² Burlington was admitted to the branch in 1857, thus four Royal Caledonian Medals were then required for competition in Upper Canada. In 1858, the members of the association issued an invitation to the Royal Caledonian Club to send out a rink to play in Canada, but, although the invitation was accepted,³³ no further action was taken.

Cold winter travel was always a deterrent to teams' visiting other centres, but a group from the Toronto Club partially solved the problem for a trip to Hamilton in January, 1855. The Lord Mayor's carriage and four was obtained, and the party, consisting of Messrs A. Morrison, J. Hutchinson, J. Helliwell, J. Ewart, J. Dick, D. McBride, A. McPherson, and G. Ewart, travelled in grand style to Burlington Bay.³⁴ The advent of railways made large bonspiels more feasible towards the end of the decade. In 1858, the first Grand East-West Bonspiel was held on Burlington Bay, with thirty-two rinks competing.³⁵ The following year saw the Don River at Toronto as the scene for the next bonspiel, with clubs entered from Montreal, Bowmanville, Newcastle, Scarborough, Darlington, Toronto, Burlington, Paris, Bayfield, Dundas, Ancaster, London, West Flamborough, Fergus, Guelph, and

³²Stevenson, op. cit., p. 30.

³³Globe, Toronto, December 3, 1858.

³⁴Ibid., January 20, 1855.

³⁵Ibid., February 19, 1858.

Hamilton, a total of one hundred and sixty-eight players, and forty-two rinks.³⁶ The increasing effects of transportation may be noted from a Montreal meeting of the Canadian branch, in the month previous to the bonspiel, when it was reported that nearly all the curling clubs of Upper and Lower Canada had representatives present.³⁷

Meanwhile, curling in Lower Canada was also growing in popularity, a third Montreal club, Caledonia, being formed in 1850.³⁸ At a bonspiel on the ice opposite St Lambert in 1851, one hundred curlers were in attendance despite windy conditions,³⁹ and, by 1852, the Montreal players numbered two hundred. The fiftieth anniversary of the Montreal Curling Club was celebrated on January 22, 1857, by a "joyous bonspiel" on all the rinks of the Montreal, Thistle, and Caledonia Clubs of the city.⁴⁰ Curling was not restricted to the upper classes of society, for it was remarked by a writer in the Montreal Gazette that, at one particular bonspiel:

Amongst the players we noticed the Merchant and the Mechanic,

³⁶Ibid., February 9, 1859.

³⁷Morning Chronicle, Quebec, January 20, 1859.

³⁸The founder of this club was George Gillespie, an illustrious figure in the curling world, who had emigrated to Canada in 1844. He spent one year in Toronto, followed by six in Montreal, finally moving to Hamilton where he became a member of the Ontario Club. (Stevenson, op. cit., p. 212).

³⁹Montreal Gazette, February 19, 1851. Hence, "A keen curler can be distinguished from one of these gentry at a glance, by his vigorous frame and the healthy glow on his countenance, only to be acquired by manfully facing Jack Frost in his own element, with 'stanes an' besoms an' a'." (Ibid., November 7, 1851).

⁴⁰Ibid., January 22, 1857.

the Soldier and the Civilian, the Pastor and his Flock, all on an equal footing, for the game of curling levels all ranks.⁴¹

Nevertheless, when mid-week competition was involved, and, indeed, most of the games took place then, only those who had leisure time at their disposal could participate.

In the same year that a Canadian branch of the Royal Caledonian Curling Club was formed, a Nova Scotia branch was instituted, with four clubs, Halifax, Pictou, Thistle, and Dartmouth. The Caledonian Club of Pictou was admitted to the branch in 1854, as well as the New Glasgow Club, whereas the Antigonish Club joined in 1856.⁴² In New Brunswick, the Fredericton Club appeared in 1854,⁴³ and the St Andrew's Club of St John, in 1856,⁴⁴ the first match between the two taking place in Fredericton on February 26, 1857.⁴⁵

During the sixties, the continued expansion of curling in Upper Canada brought new requests for admission to the Canadian branch. Dundas was admitted in 1861, followed by a second club from Ancaster in 1862. The next five years saw the admission of nine additional clubs; Chatham, Hope (Port Hope), Thames (London), Ayr, Otonabee (Keene), Galt, Thamesville, New Dominion (Ayr), and Cobourg Waverley

⁴¹Ibid., January 10, 1855.

⁴²Kerr, Curling in Canada, p. 84.

⁴³Headquarters, Fredericton, December 27, 1854.

⁴⁴Kerr, Curling in Canada, p. 120. Creelman gives 1855 as the foundation date of this club. (Creelman, op. cit., p. 131.)

⁴⁵Headquarters, Fredericton, March 4, 1857.



Curling on the Don River, 1860



Curling in High Park, Toronto, 1860



Curling on the Don River, 1860



Curling in High Park, Toronto, 1860

(replacing the defunct Cobourg Club).⁴⁶ New clubs also appeared in Vaughan (1860), Sault Ste Marie (Lake Superior Curling Club, 1861), Scarborough (Heather Club, 1862), Ancaster (Calder Club), Ottawa (1862),⁴⁷ Niagara (1864), Chatham, Sarnia (1866), Hamilton (Great Western Railway Club), Belleville (1867), Arnprior (Madawaska Club, 1867), and St Catherines (1867). In 1861, one of the draws for a Royal Caledonian Medal competition placed the Toronto Club in opposition to the Stadacona Club of Quebec, the match to be played in Montreal.⁴⁸ This necessitated a round trip of 370 miles for the Quebec players, and 700 miles for the Toronto group, something that would have been unthinkable before the railroad era. Railroad employees had soon joined the curling scene, for it was recorded that, in 1862, employees of the Grand Trunk Railway at Toronto played those of the Great Western Railway at Hamilton.⁴⁹ These certainly were not the only societal groups outside the regular clubs to band together for the purposes of curling. The St Albion miners of Nova Scotia conducted bonspiels with the Pictou Club during the fifties, and it was reported in the Montreal press that the congregation of St Andrew's Church, encouraged by the Reverend Dr Mathieson, engaged eight rinks of "outsiders" in February, 1855.⁵⁰ The

⁴⁶Stevenson, op. cit., p. 31.

⁴⁷Allan Gilmour, a keen outdoorsman, was the President of the re-organized Ottawa Club. In 1866, the President was J. M. Currier, M.P.P., who presented the Currier Silver Cup for annual competition between the Ottawa and the Buckingham Curling Clubs. (Ottawa Citizen, February 8; February 13, 1867.)

⁴⁸Globe, Toronto, March 18, 1861. ⁴⁹Ibid., January 25, 1862.

⁵⁰Montreal Gazette, February 16, 1855.

following month, three rinks from the Cathedral undertook to play a like number from St George's Church,⁵¹ while in 1867, members of the Montreal Corn Exchange curled against their clerks for a silver trophy.⁵² Politics had also entered sport at an early date, for, after the unfavourable reception of the Rebellion Losses Bill in 1849, the Montreal Thistle Club erased the name of Lord Elgin from its list of members. This action was approved by resolution at a meeting of the Quebec Stadacona Club also.⁵³

The highlight of this later period was the international bonspiel held at Buffalo in 1865. The way had been paved for this event in January, 1864, when the Toronto Club and the Buffalo Caledonia Club enjoyed a successful meeting at Buffalo.⁵⁴ Almost fifty United States and Canadian clubs, incorporating two hundred and forty players, participated in this international match, which led to the initiation of the annual Thomson-Scoville Medal series in 1866.⁵⁵ The international bonspiel also saw the appearance of a strong Toronto rink, all dressed in a brilliant red uniform. The name "Red Jackets" was immediately applied, and the group went on to gain great prestige as the best in the province, winning additional laurels in Montreal and the United States. The members of this rink in 1865 were John Shedden (Skip),

⁵¹Ibid., March 1, 1855.

⁵²Roxborough, op. cit., p. 105.

⁵³Montreal Gazette, April 30, 1849. Lord Elgin had become Patron in 1847.

⁵⁴Globe, Toronto, January 26, 1864.

⁵⁵Infra, p. 301.

Major Gray, J. Thomson, and Captain Charles Perry.⁵⁶ Thomas McGraw replaced Thomson in 1866, while, in 1867, Shedden retired from regular curling due to the pressure of his business affairs.⁵⁷ His place was taken by David Walker, a new arrival from Chatham, and this foursome played seventy-five matches before suffering their first defeat—a remarkable record.⁵⁸

While curling in Upper Canada expanded to new centres, in other areas the scene was mainly one of consolidation. A Letter to the Editor of the Nor'Wester, in 1860, stated an intention to form a club to be called the Royal Fort Garry Curling Club,⁵⁹ but no reports of its activities were published in the following issues. No new clubs were formed in Montreal up to 1867, though an annual competition between the military and the civilians was inaugurated in 1863, the military usually proving superior in the ensuing years.⁶⁰

William Barbour was the acknowledged champion of the Quebec Curling Club around the middle of the decade. He won the Baron Falkenberg Cup for club play in 1865 and 1867, only losing in 1866 by one point in a play-off, after tying for first place with the club Secretary, Mr W. Brodie.⁶¹ Across from Quebec, the Hadlow Curling Club was

⁵⁶Captain Perry was a regular winner of the Toronto Club's Mitchell Medal competition.

⁵⁷Stevenson, op. cit., p. 174. ⁵⁸Guillet, op. cit., p. 368.

⁵⁹Nor'Wester, March 28, 1860. The Manitoban Curling Association states that curling began in the province in 1876 (cited in Creelman, op. cit., p. 142).

⁶⁰Montreal Gazette, March 20, 1863; February 19, 1864; February 27, 1865.

⁶¹Morning Chronicle, Quebec, January 29, 1866; January 7, 1867.

established in Levis, and this club was able to boast a covered rink right from the time of its formation in 1862.⁶² Clubs had been rather slow to erect covered rinks, due largely to the expense involved in protecting an ice surface of sufficient size. During the forties, moves were made in Montreal to erect small sheds for club play, though reports on venues were often vague. The Montreal Thistle Club obtained a site in Craig Street behind the Racquet Court in 1844, which was to have been enclosed and covered,⁶³ but it was reported in 1847 that the Thistle Club's Silver Medal competition was played on the Montreal Club's covered rinks.⁶⁴ For larger competitions, when several rinks were engaged in play, it was usual to use the frozen St Lawrence River, where, to procure a smoother surface, the Fire Companies co-operated by flooding the cleared areas. The Toronto Club moved indoors on December 31, 1859, when they obtained possession of two sheds "in rear of the public building."⁶⁵ The Ontario Club of Hamilton played on covered rinks during the early sixties, while the Ottawa Club spent \$1,000 on erecting a building which was to be opened on January 1, 1868.⁶⁶ This new Ottawa building was to be used in summer for roller-skating, archery, and bowling, all to cater for women as well as men.

⁶²Ibid., January 14, 1862.

⁶³Montreal Gazette, December 5, 1844.

⁶⁴Ibid., December 29, 1847. The Montreal Club was under cover in the 1837-1838 season.

⁶⁵Globe, Toronto, December 27, 1859.

⁶⁶Ottawa Times, December 14, 1867.

Although French Canadians received little mention as participants in the sporting scene, there is evidence that they were encouraged in Quebec curling circles. It was reported in the Morning Chronicle, January 9, 1861, that the Quebec Curling Club Annual Gold Medal competition was won by Benjamin Rousseau, "a true French Canadian," who had become a member only that year, though he had displayed previous interest in the game. The Hadlow Club followed a similar policy and one of its regular matches pitted French Canadians against British Canadians.⁶⁷ Although these incidents set precedents, they remained isolated, for the majority of French Canadians continued to display little interest in following sports of such British tradition.

Hockey, Bandy, Shinty, and Hurley

The origins of the modern game of ice hockey are to be found in the similar ancient games of bandy, shinty, hurley and hockey. Gomme has described bandy as "a game played with sticks called 'bandies,' bent and round at one end, and a small wooden ball, which each party endeavours to drive to opposite fixed points. . . . The adverse parties strive to beat it with their bandies through one or other of the goals."⁶⁸ Roxborough has stated that in England, in the 1830s, bandy on ice had definite rules, and he gives the following examples:

- (1) No bandy stick shall be more than two inches wide in any part.

⁶⁷ Morning Chronicle, Quebec, February 8, 1862.

⁶⁸ Alice B. Gomme, The Traditional Games of England, Scotland and Ireland (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1964), p. 16.

- (2) No one is allowed to raise the bandy above his shoulder. Only the goalkeeper may hit the ball while it is in the air.
- (3) No player is to be considered offside when within his own half of the playing ice.
- (4) The game begins by the referee throwing up the ball in the centre of the ice.
- (5) The team consists of eleven players.⁶⁹

The games of shinty and hockey did not differ very greatly from bandy, the distinction being more one of location than playing rules.⁷⁰

In shinty, the object was simply to drive the ball beyond the opposing team's goal, rather than through a marked area, as in hockey or bandy.⁷¹ Hurley, or hurling, was the Irish variation, the name being derived from the stick, or hurley, used in play, and it may be the oldest of the games, mention of it being made in the earliest existing Irish manuscripts.⁷² Gale is of the opinion that:

Hurley, played with a thin piece of cordwood, or a still branch, with a slight curve at one end, for a stick, when one had to "shinny" his side to avoid a sharp blow on the legs or feet, was no doubt, the forerunner of hockey. At all events,⁷³ that is the sort of hockey that was played in the olden days.

Evidence of hurley's being played on ice early in the nineteenth century in British North America, is found in a passing reference to

⁶⁹Roxborough, op. cit., p. 137.

⁷⁰For example, hockey was a London game, whereas shinty was played more in the areas of Cumberland and Sheffield (Gomme, op. cit., p. 190), while bandy hailed from Devonshire (ibid., p. 16), and Huntingdonshire (Roxborough, loc. cit.).

⁷¹Gomme, op. cit., p. 191.

⁷²"Hurling," Encyclopedia Britannica, (1961 ed.), XI, 935.

⁷³George Gale, Quebec, 'Twixt Old and New (Quebec: Telegraph Printing Co., 1915), p. 263.

the use of the hurley by women skaters on Lake Lily near St John, New Brunswick, in 1833. The report suggested that, as women were adept in the use of a racquet, they should find no difficulty in swinging a hurley when they joined the skating club.⁷⁴ This would indicate that hurling was already in vogue amongst the members of the club, and that women members were now invited to join the activity. It is even more certain that this is the game to which Quinpool referred when he stated that "the Chain Lakes, Dartmouth, Nova Scotia, [were] reputed the scene of the first hockey in Canada,"⁷⁵ for T. H. Raddall, in his Halifax, Warden of the North, wrote:

Ice hockey, Canada's national game, began on the Dartmouth Lakes in the eighteenth century. Here, the garrison teams found the Indians playing a primitive form of hurley on the ice, adapted it, and later put the game on skates. When the soldiers were transferred to military posts along the St Lawrence and the Great Lakes, they took the game with them; and for some time afterwards continued to send to the Dartmouth Indians for the necessary sticks.⁷⁶

An eighty-four year old resident of Montreal, Mr John T. Knox, claimed, in 1941, that his father had played in Canada's first ice-hurling [sic], or hockey match in Montreal in 1837:

In the first game between the Dorchesters and the Uptowns on the last Saturday in February, 1837, the Dorchesters claimed the championship of Montreal when the crowd flocked onto the ice after Dorchester had scored the only goal of the game and the teams were unable to continue.⁷⁷

⁷⁴Novascotian, December 26, 1833.

⁷⁵Quinpool, op. cit., p. 83.

⁷⁶T. H. Raddall, Halifax, Warden of the North (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd, 1948), p. 281.

⁷⁷Montreal Gazette, January 1, 1941; an article by Harold McNamara, cited in M. Howell and N. Howell, Sports and Games in Canadian Life, 1700 to the Present (Toronto: Macmillan Coy of Canada, 1969), p. 33.

A rematch was arranged two weeks later, with the pre-agreement that the first team to score three goals should be declared the winner.⁷⁸

Mr. Knox also recalled, from the records of his father, the names of the players and their positions:

Uptowns: Jov. Chanlebois, Goal; Dollard Roy, Point; Alfred Peloquin, Cover Point; Emile Guilbeault, Centre; Josh Devlin, Rover; Dick Duchesneau, Home; Alex L'Esperance, Right Side; Pat Hogan, Left Side.

Dorchesters: Jim McClune, Goal; Jim Stapleton, Point; J. Perreault, Cover Point; Pete Glemmon, Centre; Mont Gleason, Rover; Paul Joyal, Home; Jos. Dion, Right Side; Michael Knox, Left Side.⁷⁹

Kingston has also had its share of the publicity concerning the Canadian origins of ice hockey. A committee appointed by the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association to determine these origins reported:

The first hockey was played by the Royal Canadian Rifles, an Imperial unit, stationed in Halifax and Kingston in 1855; it is quite possible that English troops stationed in Kingston from 1783 to 1855 played hockey, as there is evidence in old papers, letters, and legends that the men and officers located with the Imperial troops as early as the year 1783, were proficient skaters and participated in field hockey. It is more than likely that the pioneers played their field hockey in those early days on skates but it is not an established fact. The playing of hockey games as early as 1855 in Kingston is certain.⁸⁰

Edwin Horsey, an historian of Kingston, was another who drew attention to the ice-activities of the soldiers in that city. Quoting from his father's diary for the years 1846-1847, he wrote:

⁷⁸Ibid.

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 34.

⁸⁰Cited in Foster Hewitt, Hockey Night in Canada (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1968), p. 3. Mr. Hewitt's father, W. A. Hewitt, was a member of this committee, as were George H. Slater, and James T. Sutherland.

. . . Shiny [sic] was their great delight. Groups would be placed at the Shoal Tower (opposite City Buildings in the harbour) and Point Frederick (the point of land where the Royal Military College stands);⁸¹ and fifty or more players on each side would be in the game.

Organized shinty games began in Kingston on New Year's Day, 1839, with a match between the Town and Point Frederick arranged by "numerous" players, chiefly boys.⁸² In the following winter, a shinty group, calling itself the Camac Club, invited others to join in the game on January 13, either on the ice in front of the town, or on the Common near the Kirk, the only stipulation being that all players must provide themselves with clubs.⁸³ Some three hundred people, including spectators, turned out for the game which lasted three hours.⁸⁴ In the New Year's Day contest in 1841, the players alone numbered two hundred, the game lasting, with "unabated energy," for several hours, both old and young being noted among the participants.⁸⁵

In January, 1843, a match was advertised to take place between Scotsmen born in the counties of Argyle and Ross.⁸⁶ Two teams of twenty-eight a side contested a three hour game which was terminated by darkness, with the score at one "hail" each.⁸⁷ During the match,

⁸¹ Cited in Roxborough, op. cit., p. 138.

⁸² Kingston Chronicle and Gazette, January 2, 1839. This paper, on January 15, 1840, stated that 1840 was the second year in which the "noble and manly" game of shinty "had been played there."

⁸³ Ibid., January 11, 1840.

⁸⁴ Ibid., January 15, 1840.

⁸⁵ Ibid., January 16, 1841.

⁸⁶ Ibid., January 25, 1843.

⁸⁷ Ibid., January 28, 1843.

the number of spectators increased to the point of impeding the play, much to the annoyance of the competitors.⁸⁸ This same year saw a match arranged in Hamilton, though no details appeared subsequently in the press.⁸⁹ Kingston continued to maintain its interest in shinty throughout the period, for, in 1867, "unruly boys" were reported to have found amusement there through using their "shinties" to trip young ladies on the public skating rink.⁹⁰

No other reports of shinty or hockey matches were evident in the press of the period, though the game was certainly being played. For example, the Mayor of Toronto ordered the arrest of a group of boys aged from thirteen to sixteen, whom he had observed playing shinty on a Sunday.⁹¹ The arresting constable could manage to catch only one of the group, and he, fortunately, was released on the orders of Alderman Ewart, who perceived his plight as the young criminal was being escorted to jail.⁹² George Brown, Editor of the Globe, commented unsympathetically that "twenty-four hours in the cells would be a good means of stopping boys from practices of this kind on the Sabbath."⁹³

Ice hockey, by Confederation, existed only through its variant forms of localized play. Shinty was the most popular game, and it is

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Montreal Gazette, October 23, 1843.

⁹⁰ Daily News, Kingston, January 7, 1867.

⁹¹ Globe, Toronto, October 12, 1863.

⁹² Ibid., October 13, 1863.

⁹³ Ibid., November 2, 1863.

most probable that games of "hockey," referred to during the pre-Confederation period, were of this nature.

Ice Sailing

Although the amount of information concerning ice-boats is extremely sparse, it is known that they were in use in British North America in the 1820s. The Novascotian, October 25, 1827, published a description of one which was stowed on the deck of a ship in the harbour. This particular ice-boat was twenty-three feet long, having a mast and sail similar to those of an ordinary sailing boat. Three skates supported the vessel, the two leading ones being attached to either end of a strong cross-bar, while the third skate was fixed to the base of a movable rudder at the rear. The Novascotian's correspondent assured readers that such craft were "fearfully rapid," for a navy friend of his had travelled at a speed of twenty-three miles an hour in one, while others had crossed from York to Fort Niagara, a distance of forty miles, in approximately forty-five minutes.⁹⁴ Gale,⁹⁵ in describing ice-boats in use on the Quebec reaches of the St Lawrence, stated that they carried two sails, rigged from mast and bowsprit, and were built by shipsmiths of the Coves for sportsmen residents of that district. A crew of two was required to handle these craft, though Beers⁹⁶ and Geikie⁹⁷ claimed that most ice-boats could accommodate

⁹⁴Novascotian, October 25, 1827. ⁹⁵Gale, op. cit., p. 273.

⁹⁶George Beers, "Canada in Winter," op. cit., p. 170.

⁹⁷John Geikie, Adventures in Canada (Philadelphia: Porter and Coates, 1864), p. 396.

five or six passengers lying on the platform-like deck. Ice conditions near Quebec were evidently not conducive to regular ice sailing, for the Toronto Globe remarked, in 1854:

All the world and his wife are sporting away on the smooth ice opposite the city.—Four years have glided away since Quebecers were so favoured. Skates, ice-boats, . . . will be the rage for some weeks.⁹⁸

Beers, writing in the sixties, observed that ice-boating was greatly in vogue on Lake Ontario, though this activity failed to be reported in the press. The author also remarked on the ability of the craft to "wear" and "tack" in the same manner as conventional sailing boats, and was much impressed with their speed, which, he claimed, made them capable of covering five miles within four minutes.⁹⁹ Geikie,¹⁰⁰ in admitting that the craft were new to him, reinforced the earlier statement in the Novascotian, that they were "necessarily peculiar to the lakes of Canada."¹⁰¹ His description added that the two foremost runners were long enough to pass over the cracks and air-holes in the ice, thus making the sport a relatively safe one.¹⁰²

Although ice sailing provided enthusiasts with outdoor winter recreation prior to Confederation, no groups, however, were sufficiently enterprising as to form clubs, nor were individuals mentioned by the press in relation to the sport. The first ice-boat club was not formed in Canada until 1878, when W. Gilbert was elected Commodore of

⁹⁸Globe, Toronto, February 13, 1854.

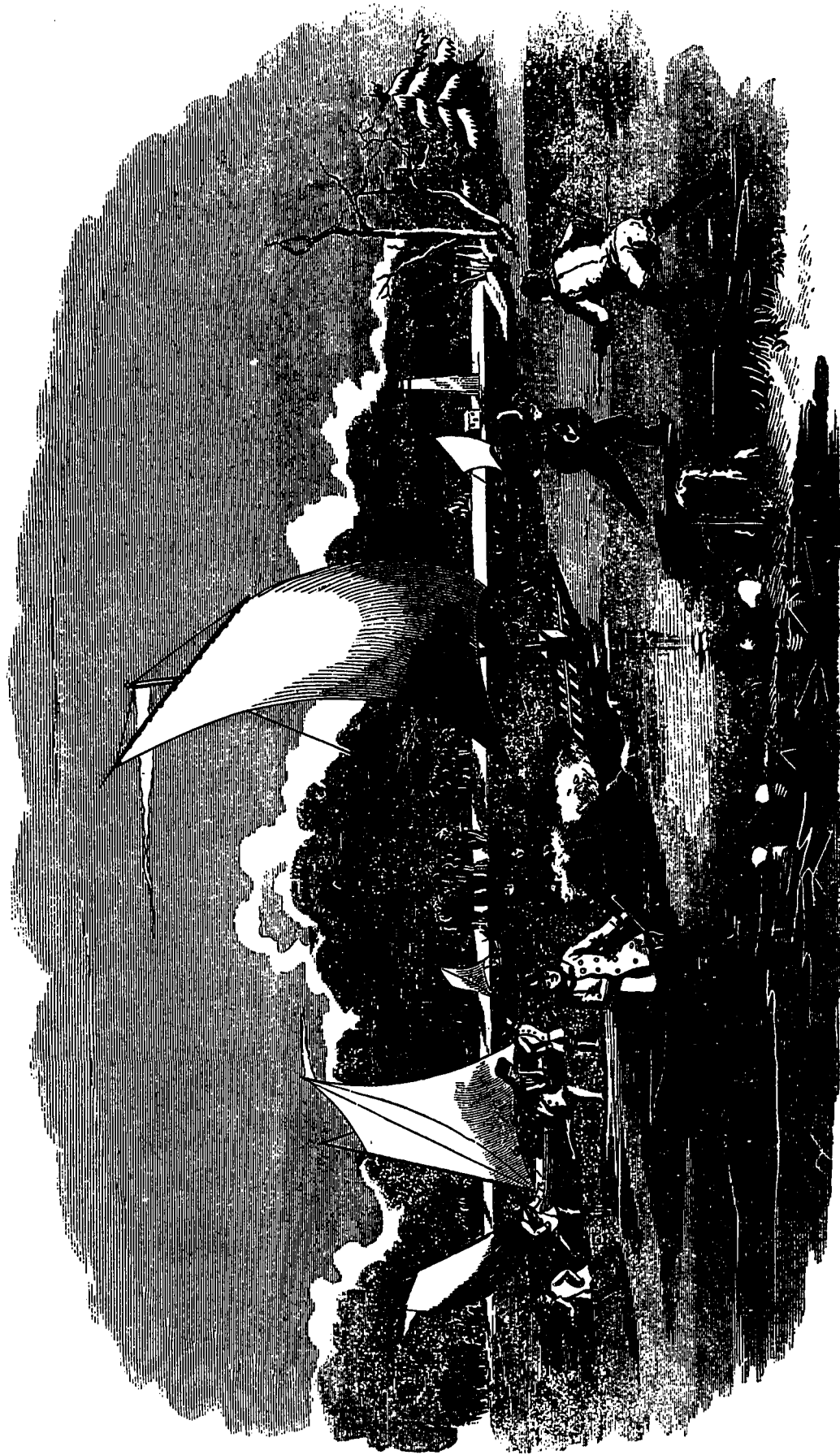
⁹⁹Beers, loc. cit.

¹⁰⁰Geikie, loc. cit.

¹⁰¹Novascotian, October 25, 1827.

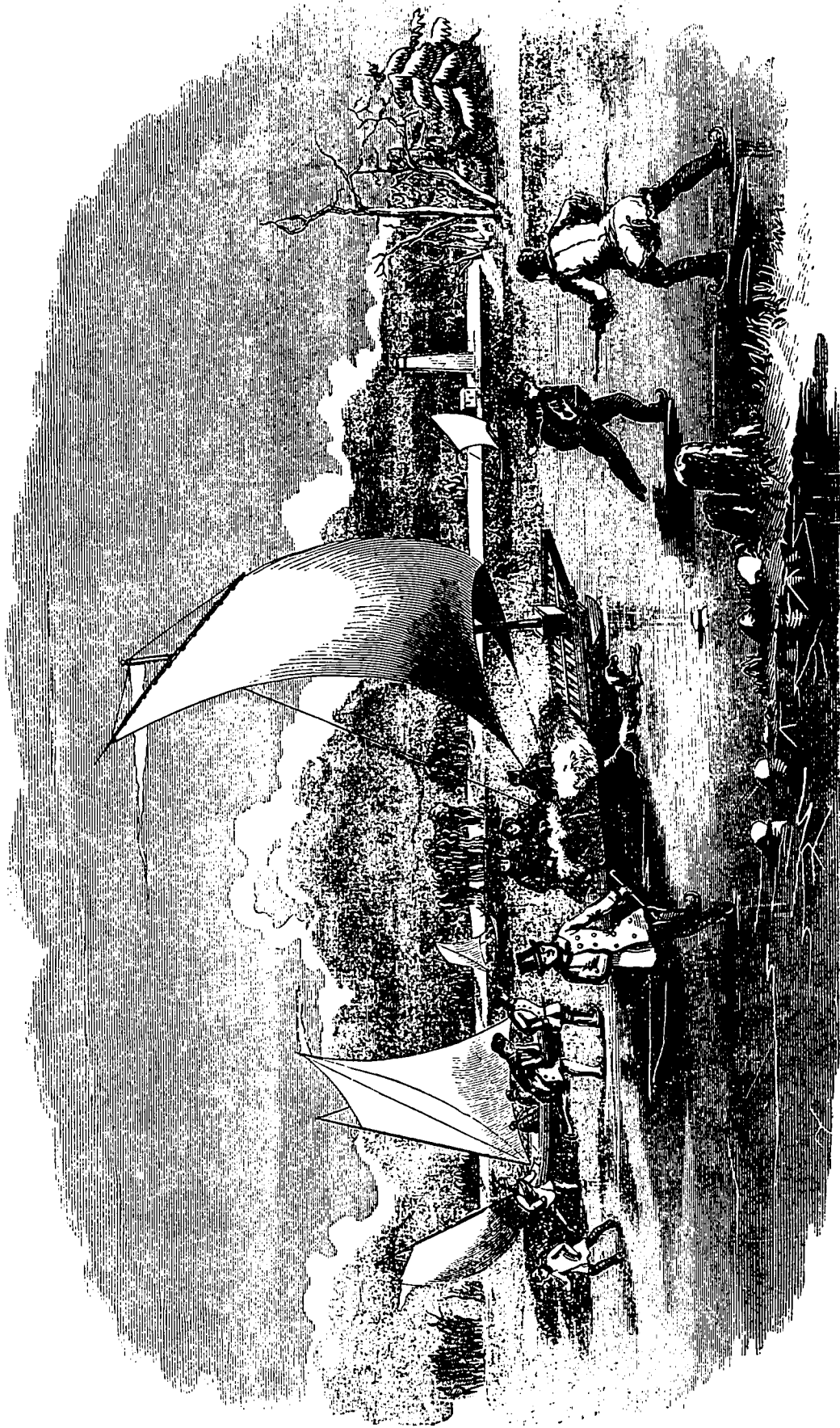
¹⁰²Geikie, op. cit., p. 397.

PLATE II



Ice Boats on the Bay of Toronto
Illustrated News (New York), January 22, 1853

PLATE II



Ice Boats on the Bay of Toronto
Illustrated News (New York), January 22, 1853

the Club at Trenton.¹⁰³

Skating

The pleasure derived from skating was not unknown to the people of British North America as the nineteenth century dawned. Quinpool¹⁰⁴ has stated that De Mont's expedition to Acadia in 1604 provided the first mention of skating, and that, when a settlement was established at Annapolis Royal in 1605, the "first permanent skating in Canada must have taken place." Although this enjoyable recreation received little mention by writers of the first half of the nineteenth century, there can be little doubt that some skating was indulged in by early settlers, particularly children, during the winter months. In fact, skating had become so popular in St John by 1833, that a skating club operated on Lily Lake, which included women in its membership.¹⁰⁵ Conditions, however, were against the spread of skating as a popular recreation during this period. Both the type of skate and the ice conditions were not conducive to regular practice.

The usual skate consisted of a wooden platform to which was attached an iron blade, elaborately curled at the front. A long screw secured the frame to the heel of the skater's regular shoe, while two leather straps attached to the side of the frame were wrapped tightly around the foot and ankle. The obvious disadvantage was that a gimlet

¹⁰³Globe, Toronto, October 31, 1878.

¹⁰⁴Quinpool, op. cit., p. 79.

¹⁰⁵Novascotian, December 26, 1833.

was needed to drill or clean out a hole in the skater's shoe, and then a screwdriver was necessary so that the heel screw might be tightened. The supporting straps also presented problems, in that skaters had to be warned frequently of the danger of over-tightening them, and so restricting blood circulation. There was certainly no shortage of ice available for skating, but the rough surfaces of the lakes and rivers were not attractive to learners.

By the mid-century, skating began to increase in popularity, until, in the sixties, a "skating mania" gripped the country. In Halifax, skating was then "first chop on all the lakes and ponds in the vicinity of the city."¹⁰⁶ George Beers, the notable exponent of lacrosse, wrote that, in 1862,

There was a skating mania from Gaspé to Sarnia, and I don't believe you could find four out of every twenty without one or more pair of skates in the house. . . . On the sides of the lakes and rivers, on brooks and ponds and wherever there is ice, you may see multitudes on the steel runners. . . . Skaters who never saw each other before, involuntarily start off on a race.¹⁰⁷

In Montreal, "almost all the world goes to skate."¹⁰⁸ The Toronto Globe, on December 28, 1863, wrote that "on Saturday afternoon and evening there must have been several thousand persons on the Bay, engaged in the exhilarating amusement of skating." In Quebec, skating was "decidedly the great rage of the day,"¹⁰⁹ and the Morning Chronicle

¹⁰⁶ Novascotian, December 17, 1849.

¹⁰⁷ Beers, "Canada in Winter," op. cit., p. 167.

¹⁰⁸ Montreal Gazette, December 14, 1863.

¹⁰⁹ Morning Chronicle, Quebec, February 9, 1865.

captured this spirit as it described a typical weekend scene:

The skating mania increases daily. . . . With the fine weather of Saturday and yesterday the skating mania rose to fever heat. In the early part of Saturday afternoon, almost every second person, young or old, seen in any of the leading thoroughfares, was possessed of "a pair of irons" and hurrying along towards the rinks on the river. Again yesterday afternoon [Sunday] the number was very great. Even at an early hour yesterday morning many practitioners and not a few beginners were to be seen.

Geikie¹¹¹ claimed that schoolboys headed for the ice as soon as they were out of school, and that clerks and shopmen were there, the instant the shutters were up and the door fastened. Skating became the winter equivalent of the summer evening stroll along the esplanades, and women as well as men sought better facilities for this social recreation.

Probably the greatest encouragement to skating was provided in the form of prepared ice surfaces. Enterprising gentlemen began to realize that skating held potential for commercial profit, provided that conditions for skaters could be improved. The simplest method was to prepare an area, and then have the local fire brigade flood it with water on occasion. A group calling themselves the Montreal Skating Club led the way in such a venture, preparing an area on the corner of Alexander and Craig Streets in December 1850, then charging subscription memberships of ten shillings.¹¹² It met with immediate success, even to the extent of desecrating the Sabbath due to public demand—

¹¹⁰ Ibid., January 29, 1866.

¹¹¹ Geikie, op. cit., p. 396.

¹¹² Montreal Gazette, December 23, 1850.

a bold precedent at the time.¹¹³

Despite this auspicious beginning, other centres were not quick to follow until the great expansion of skating popularity in the sixties. This expansion was derived from two causes; the success of the early closing movement which provided people with increased evening recreation time, and the growth of private enterprise which began to provide increasing numbers of rinks. Allied with these, were the improvements in skate design. All-metal skates made their appearance and helped revolutionize the sport:

Initial all-metal skates in the middle of the nineteenth century had brass plates at toe and heel, and corresponding plates were inset in the sole and heel-tap of shoes. The plates engaged and locked with a pin. In the next improvement the heel-plate turned up as a lug at the back of the boot. There was a metal nut set in the back of the boot heel, and a small thumb-screw passed through the lug into the nut.¹¹⁴

An advertisement in the Hamilton Times, on December 26, 1862, announced a boot-skate, which eliminated the need for restrictive straps. Merchants began to import recognized brand skates from overseas. The Ottawa Citizen, on December 9, 1864, advertised a new shipment of imported London Club skates, which included the celebrated Rocker and Parisian Lady's skate, as well as the Jackson Haines model. Cheap German and American skates were also advertised in this paper,

¹¹³Ibid., January 27, 1850. A Letter to the Editor stated: "They took every precaution to prevent the evil spoken of, they having gone to the expense of hiring a man for that purpose, and not finding him sufficient, paid extra to get a policeman stationed there [on Sunday], but all to no purpose, and it was not until all these precautions had been taken, the evil measure was resorted to."

¹¹⁴Quinpool, op. cit., p. 78.

but only the English skate could be depended on "not to turn on the edge," which suggests that hollow grinding was employed on these more expensive models. More overseas firms began exporting skates to British North America, but the greatest advance in design was the spring skate, manufactured and patented by John Forbes at Dartmouth, Nova Scotia. His skates could be adjusted or removed very quickly, and were immensely popular from 1865 onwards, at a time when no other spring skates were being made.¹¹⁵ Most of the organized skating was still done on outdoor rinks on the St Lawrence, though lakes, ponds, and flooded low-lying areas were also employed. Each city contained such a multiplicity of rinks that many of them were named. In Toronto, there were rinks known as Royal, West End, Toronto, Victoria, Yorkville (later Clover Hill), Maria Street, plus the Military rink. Quebec rinks were named St Michael's Cove, Royal Victoria, National, Imperial, Grand Allée, Union, St Louis Road, Stadacona, Globe, Prince of Wales, and Rentier's. All the centres of population from Victoria to Halifax promoted skating rinks, each capable of accommodating several hundred people.

The obvious disadvantage of the outdoor rinks was their dependence on the weather. Heavy snow falls sometimes prevented their use for several days at a time. Covered rinks were the only solution, and

¹¹⁵Ibid., p. 79. It is possible that Quinpool is mistaken. An advertisement appeared in the Toronto Globe, December 24, 1863, for Lawler's Self-Adjusting Spring Skates, which were called "unique and superior." These, however, may have been of the partial spring design, similar to that which Forbes had been making since 1861.

each of the major cities with snow problems possessed one indoor rink, usually built through public subscription by private enterprise. The first of these was constructed in Quebec in 1852, and measured 120 feet in length and 60 feet in width.¹¹⁶ Nigel Brown¹¹⁷ stated that the first covered rinks in the world appeared in Canada around 1862. Thus, this rink was the world's first and only such rink during the fifties, a unique distinction Quebec enjoyed until February, 1860, when the Montreal Skating Club Rink was completed.¹¹⁸ A Letter to the Editor of the Spirit of the Times, reproduced in the Montreal Gazette, May 1, 1861, described the scene within the new structure:

The building is about 200 feet long by 40 feet wide, with two dressing rooms for ladies and gentlemen on either side of the door. It is well lighted from the roof by an immense quantity of gas burners, and must be very profitable to the stock holders of the gas company. On entering, I was very much struck with the brilliancy of the whole scene. The band of the Canadian Rifles was playing a tune to which ladies and gentlemen, grandmothers and grandchildren were flying about, as if they were mad.

Montreal soon led all other cities in the provision of indoor rinks, opening the Victoria Skating Rink on Christmas Eve, 1862,¹¹⁹ and Guilbault's Rink late in 1863,¹²⁰ thus becoming the only city in Canada to operate more than one covered rink. The two newer rinks were slightly larger than the Montreal Rink, the Victoria measuring 250 feet by

¹¹⁶ Novascotian, January 5, 1852.

¹¹⁷ Nigel Brown, Ice Skating--A History (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1959), p. 83.

¹¹⁸ Montreal Gazette, February 21, 1860.

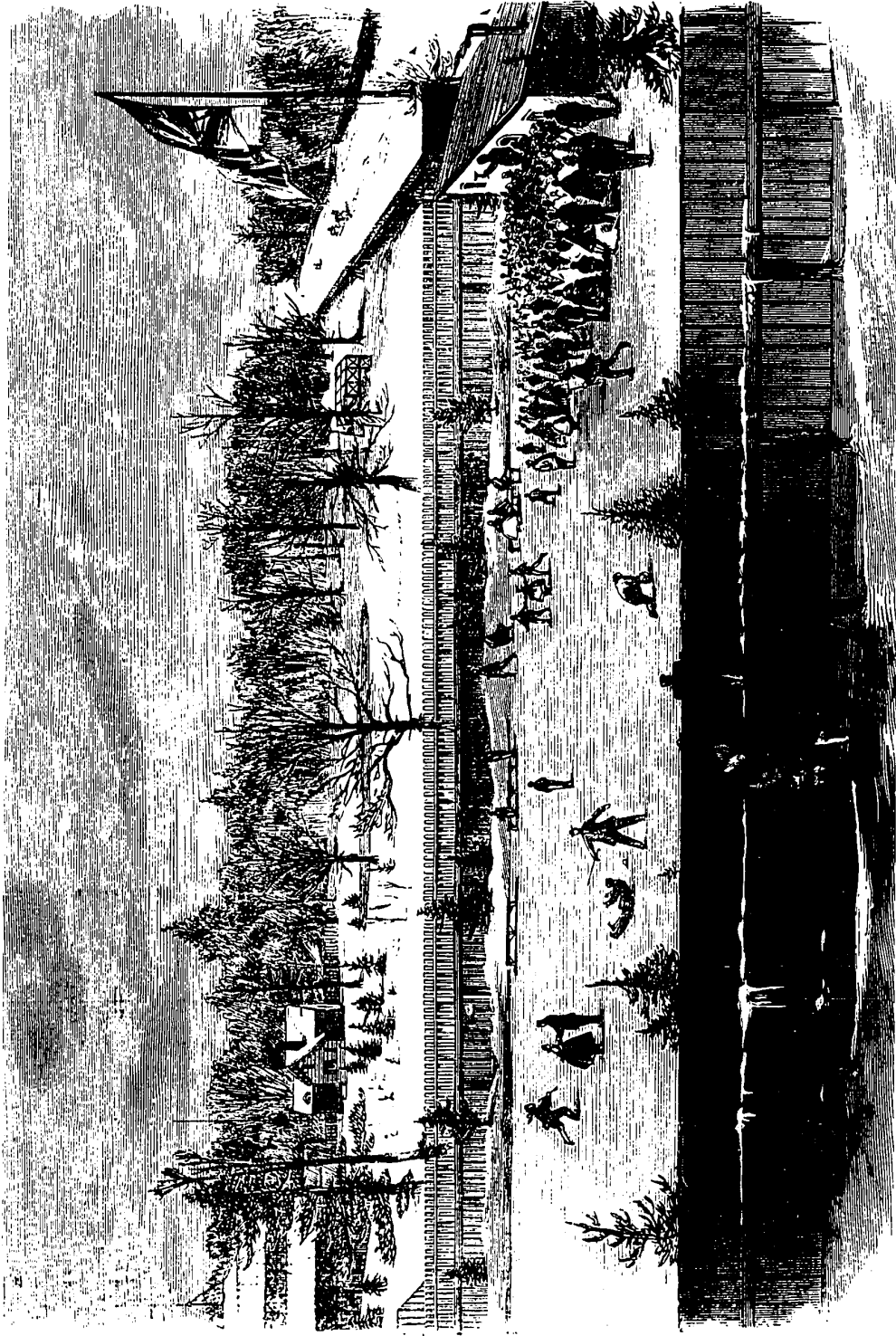
¹¹⁹ Ibid., December 26, 1862. ¹²⁰ Ibid., November 12, 1863.

PLATE III



Victoria Skating Rink, Toronto
The Canadian Illustrated News (Hamilton), April 4, 1863

PLATE III



Victoria Skating Rink, Toronto
The Canadian Illustrated News (Hamilton), April 4, 1863

100 feet, with a ceiling elevation of 50 feet at its apex, while Guilbault's Rink measured 200 feet by 60 feet, with a ceiling of 24 feet.

The Maritimes were not slow to follow Lower Canada's lead. Halifax opened a rink at the Horticultural Gardens on December 26, 1862,¹²¹ which measured 180 feet by 60 feet, and St John followed with their Victoria Rink in 1864. The latter was an impressive structure, which was described as being:

. . . of circular form, 160 feet in diameter, and [which] covers an area of 20,000 superficial feet. It is an immense dome resting on a perpendicular wall 20 feet high and pierced with 39 windows, and is surrounded by a principal cupola, or lantern,¹²² the height of which is 80 feet from the ground.

Hamilton and Toronto were the only other major cities to afford covered rinks, the latter opening the Royal Skating Rink on December 13, 1864, with subscriptions of five dollars for families, two dollars for single gentlemen, and one dollar for ladies.¹²³ That the cities of British North America felt close ties with Britain at this time is readily apparent in the names chosen for their skating rinks. The name, "Victoria," was applied to rinks in at least seven centres, namely, Toronto, Quebec, Montreal, Hamilton, Sarnia, Brantford, and St John. In several cities, there were skating groups of sufficient strength to be able to organize regular clubs, Montreal (1859), Quebec (1862),

¹²¹Novascotian, December 29, 1862.

¹²²Ian Sclanders, "New Brunswick Parade," Telegraph-Journal, St John, November 15, 1948; cited in Howell, op. cit., p. 23.

¹²³Globe, Toronto, December 14, 1864.

Ottawa (1863), Fergus (1864), and Hamilton (Ontario Club, 1866), being leaders in this regard.

In 1862, Quebec displayed further initiative in introducing a gala Ball on Ice, at which one thousand people were in attendance.¹²⁴ The innovation developed, and spread to other towns. Evening masquerade carnivals became extremely popular, due, in part, to the early closing of business establishments which allowed workers to finish their tasks at six or seven o'clock in the evening, instead of at the previous hours of nine or ten. The Toronto Globe, on February 15, 1865, claimed that one thousand five hundred performers and spectators were present at the Royal Rink Masquerade Carnival, held the previous evening. The Victoria Skating Rink in Montreal presented a colourful spectacle on the evening of January 24, 1866:

The interior of the Rink was brilliantly lighted and with its long vistas of banners, transparencies, chinese lanterns, and festoons of evergreens above, and its dazzling expanse of ice below, contrasting with the gliding, rushing, swirling, grotesque figures arrayed in all the hues of the rainbow, and a few others not comprised in that phenomenon presented a sufficiently striking phantasmagoria.¹²⁵

This new enthusiasm was not restricted to indoor rinks only. The Quebec Morning Chronicle of February 28, 1866, told of four to five thousand spectators who gathered to witness a masquerade carnival at the Globe Rink on the St Lawrence, over water sixty to seventy fathoms deep. Reporters attempted to capture and portray the excitement and

¹²⁴ Morning Chronicle, Quebec, February 15, 1862.

¹²⁵ Montreal Gazette, January 25, 1866.

brilliant display of these carnivals by employing their most extravagant vocabularies. A Hamilton writer described a local masquerade as "a promiscuous gathering of glacial rovers who, in all imaginable garbs, will flit about the rink as if moved at the will of someone controlling the varying gyrations with a fairy wand."¹²⁶

Despite this glamour, skating was not without its own peculiar dangers if one ventured from the prepared areas. Reports of skaters falling through the ice tended to diminish towards the sixties, though in Victoria, with its milder climate and therefore infrequent ice cover on lakes, the danger was always present. The Toronto Globe related the unusual story of a boy, aged twelve, who was blown out into the bay by a strong wind, and had to crawl back on his hands and knees, his feet becoming so cold that he was unable to use them to make progress against the breeze.¹²⁷ Even the prepared rinks contained their particular hazards. The writer of a Letter to the Editor of the Globe, January 15, 1862, complained of the "menace" offered by cigar smokers at the Victoria Rink:

It is not a pleasant thing while moving along to have successive puffs of tobacco smoke blown full in one's face, or to be exposed to the danger of what might happen in a collision, of having the burning end of a lighted cigar thrust in one's face.

But the dangers were minimized, and the accent was always on fun when it came to skating, even to the "advice" offered through the columns

¹²⁶Cited in Roxborough, op. cit., p. 212.

¹²⁷Globe, Toronto, January 22, 1866.

of the newspapers: "If you skate into a hole in the ice, take it coolly. Think how you would feel if the water was boiling hot."¹²⁸

It was natural that, once a certain standard had been reached in skating, competition would follow. The most common competitive events were match distance races, and hurdle races. In 1854, three British army officers were reputed to have raced from Montreal to Quebec, down the St Lawrence River.¹²⁹ Hurdle races were usually held in the rinks, with barrels used for obstacles. A typical race consisted of three heats of two laps each, over six hurdles per lap.¹³⁰

At Kingston, a speed skating tournament was inaugurated in 1865, as an addition to the annual fancy dress carnival. By 1867, the programme for this tournament consisted of eleven events, ranging from a Young Ladies' Race for girls twelve years and under, which involved one circuit of the rink, to a Gentlemen's Long Race over ten laps. Novelty events included a paired race for ladies and gentlemen, a tethered race where the skaters had legs joined by a twenty inch rope, skating backwards, and hurdle races.¹³¹

The most publicized form of competition was that of figure, or "fancy" skating. This was made popular through demonstration tours by such champion American performers as Jackson Haines, in 1864, and Mr J.

¹²⁸Montreal Gazette, January 24, 1867.

¹²⁹Howell, op. cit., p. 22.

¹³⁰Globe, Toronto, March 5, 1864.

¹³¹Daily News, Kingston, February 20, 1867.

Engler, in 1866. Among the early exponents in this field was Henry Sheppard of Quebec, who was regarded as Canada's best in the early sixties. He proved this by winning the men's prize at Lennoxville in March, 1863, when the best skaters in the province were assembled there in competition.¹³² The ladies of Sherbrooke were held in high regard at this time also, Jessie Brown winning the ladies' prize at Lennoxville.¹³³ Competitive events were not restricted to adult entries. During the skating carnival held at Toronto's Victoria Rink in March, 1863, a silver cup was the prize for the seventh event, for boys under six years of age.¹³⁴ Other age-events appeared on programmes during the sixties.

The greatest skater of the period was Mr F. Perkins of Toronto, who won five medals during the 1866 and 1867 seasons, including the Champion Gold Medal of Canada at Hamilton on February 28, 1867.¹³⁵ The Hamilton Times questioned the acceptability of Perkins' win, arguing that he should be classed as a professional due to the fact that he had been Champion of Toronto for several years, and had won medals previously.¹³⁶ The controversy led to a rivalry between the Victoria Rinks of Hamilton and Toronto, which climaxed in a men's ten-a-side challenge competition on March 6, in Toronto:

¹³²Morning Chronicle, Quebec, March 18, 1863.

¹³³Beers states that the first rink in Canada was in Sherbrooke, but offers no dates to support his claim. (Beers, "Winter in Canada," op. cit., p. 167.)

¹³⁴Globe, Toronto, March 2, 1863.

¹³⁵Ibid., March 1, 1867.

¹³⁶Hamilton Times, March 1, 1867.

The Hamilton skaters appeared on the ice first, and after performing a variety of evolutions, were followed by the Toronto skaters in a body. To facilitate their decision, the judges paired off a proportion from each side, and the contest was left between Messrs Gelkeson, Hebden, and Street of Toronto, and Messrs Lillie, Campbell, and Henderson of Hamilton.¹³⁷

The Hamilton skaters emerged victorious. Perkins's status remained in dispute, though he won another Provincial Champion Medal in London, two weeks later. However, on March 29, when the Victoria Skating Club of Montreal offered a Championship Cup "open to the world," but excluding professionals, Perkins was conspicuous by his absence. In fact, his name passed from the sporting scene, due probably to the sudden lapse in skating interest which followed Confederation Year.

The Meagher brothers were Canadian skaters of renown at this time. Being professional entertainers, they preferred to limit their performances to the larger and more lucrative centres in the United States. Their native town, however, was Kingston, and they returned there in 1867 to give exhibitions of their talents for the first time.¹³⁸

Snowshoeing

In pioneer days, hunters had quickly learned from the Indians the advantages of snowshoes, finding that their use permitted them to overtake the moose or deer after heavy snowfalls. For hunting under such snow conditions, a heavy stick was the only weapon necessary.¹³⁹

¹³⁷ Ibid., March 7, 1867.

¹³⁸ Daily News, Kingston, March 6, 1867.

¹³⁹ Montreal Gazette, January 28, 1837.

As a recreational activity, snowshoeing was confined largely to Lower Canada, particularly Montreal.

Although the Montreal Snow Shoe Club was formally organized in 1843 with Colonel Ermatinger as President, it had been in existence since 1840; when a group of twelve men began to meet habitually each Saturday afternoon for a ten to twelve mile walk through the snow.¹⁴⁰ Upon their return, they further enjoyed one another's fellowship as they dined at Monsieur L. Tetu's cafe, situated on St James Street, near the corner of St Peter Street.¹⁴¹ In 1843, snowshoe races at the St Pierre race course were conducted by the club for the first time, these races becoming an annual event. The four-mile race was won by Deroche, a "Nor'West Voyageur," who adopted the cunning procedure of attaching spikes to his snowshoes, to help overcome the icy patches on the track. Edward Lamontagne, a noted athlete of the city, won the one-mile steeplechase over hurdles four feet in height, while Frank Brown took second place.¹⁴²

The 1844 races saw the introduction of the "racing snowshoe" by the Indians, this weighing only one and a half pounds. Narcisse, the noted Indian runner, wore these to win the four-mile event, but in the half-mile race, both he and Baptiste, the Indian chief who led the Caughnawaga lacrosse team, were defeated by Frank Brown.¹⁴³ Lamontagne repeated his 1843 victory in the hurdle race, as he did also in the

¹⁴⁰ Hugh W. Becket, The Montreal Snow Shoe Club, 1840-1881 (Montreal: printed by Becket Bros, 1882), p. 4.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Ibid., p. 10

¹⁴³ Ibid., p. 11.

following year when Rogers won the race for boys under the age of sixteen.¹⁴⁴ The interest of French Canadians in snowshoeing was always high, as evidenced by the names of contestants in races, and on December 4, 1847, L'Avenir reported their holding a meeting in order to form a club, though their activities did not receive press coverage in subsequent editions.

Meanwhile, in Quebec, the sport had its enthusiastic followers. A Quebec correspondent to the Montreal Gazette in 1842, while describing the activities in that city, indicated that snowshoeing had been in vogue for some time:

Walking on snow-shoes is, certainly, most splendid exercise, that is, when, like other good things, it is taken in moderate doses. Throughout the winter season, it is in much practice here, and the usual "tramps," in the way of regular stiff going are various and well chosen; and for distance, as well as the country to be gone over, admirably tend to brace the frame, and perfect its endurance of fatigue. The favourite trips are across the ice, when the snow lies deep and level upon it, either to the Morenci [sic] Falls, or the upper end of the island of Orleans; round through the Caronge forest to St Foi, and thence, homeward, along the edge of the hill cresting the Bijou valley and swamps; or across the country, by Indian Lorette, to the three upper falls of the Morenci—these excursions averaging in themselves distances, going and returning, of some fifteen to twenty-five miles. It is to the prevalent predilection, manifested by our young men of all grades, for this manly and invigorating winter exercise, that so many persons may be noticed in our streets, or sallying forth into the country, at this season, in their snug blanket capot, and raquettes slung at their back, and with a bronze-like, healthy flush upon their pleasant looking "mugs," most refreshing to look at.¹⁴⁵

Gale¹⁴⁶ has stated that there is no existing record of the year of origin

¹⁴⁴Montreal Gazette, February 11, 1845.

¹⁴⁵Ibid., January 8, 1842.

¹⁴⁶Gale, op. cit., p. 271.

of the Quebec Snow Shoe Club, but the earliest minutes date from 1845. One of the earliest reported activities of the club was a five-mile steeplechase for a gold medal, in February, 1848, in which fourteen members competed. The race was won in forty-two and a half minutes by F. Roe, with the Sewell brothers taking second and third places.¹⁴⁷

The fifties saw no further spread of clubs beyond Montreal and Quebec. In 1851, the Montreal garrison withdrew their support from the Snow Shoe Club, and began to conduct their own annual races. The principal event of their first meeting, a race over a distance of five hundred yards, was won by Willis of the Artillery, from a field of thirty competitors. A novelty event, the "Grand Scurry," was raced without snowshoes.¹⁴⁸ The Montreal Club increased its outings in this year to two afternoons each week, on a Tuesday and Saturday,¹⁴⁹ changing this to Wednesday and Saturday in the following year.¹⁵⁰ Participation by children was receiving more encouragement at this time, for, at the annual races held on February 18, 1852, a race for boys under ten was introduced, and subsequently won by Master Murray, younger brother of John Murray, one of the club's best athletes.¹⁵¹ Nevertheless, during the club races in February 1856, at Priest's farm off Sherbrooke Street, John Murray found himself outclassed in the four-

¹⁴⁷ Montreal Gazette, February 23, 1848. Note that, in connection with the origin of this club, this race was referred to as the "Second Anniversary Race of the Snow Shoe Club."

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., March 10, 1851.

¹⁴⁹ Becket, op. cit., p. 17.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 21.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

mile event by two Indians, Ignace and Thomas:

The Indians were in splendid trim and worked like machinery, they kept up a lively conversation as they cantered away in company from their white rival and won as they pleased. The winner Ignace had a training which few of the whites were ever likely to get; he was one of those selected by Sir George Simpson, on account of his great muscular power and strength of endurance, to accompany the last Expedition in search of the remains of Sir John Franklin and his crew, consequently he was so well accustomed to walk and run on Snow Shoes, that the four mile run was in this instance but mere pastime.¹⁵²

In the following year, Mr Murray claimed a victory over Thomas in the one-mile event, when he raced against four Indians. That same day, he won the two hundred yards hurdle event and the hundred yards sprint, while his young brother was the first to finish in the half-mile race.¹⁵³ Nicholas Hughes of lacrosse fame, won the one-mile walk on this same programme, and at the next two meetings in the following years, he won the champion five-mile walk, and gained possession of the Club Medal.¹⁵⁴ In 1858, a disagreement within the club caused the departure of some members to form the Aurora Snow Shoe Club,¹⁵⁵ while, in the following year, the St George Club received publicity for the first time.¹⁵⁶ This year, 1859, also found the University Club in operation, for it was reported that this club and the Montreal Club met

¹⁵²Ibid., p. 26. In this year, the club announced a membership of over fifty, (ibid.), while in the following year, membership climbed to seventy-one (ibid., p. 29).

¹⁵³Montreal Gazette, March 14, 1857.

¹⁵⁴Becket, op. cit., p. 39.

¹⁵⁵Ibid., p. 32.

¹⁵⁶Ibid., p. 46.

at Compain's Hotel at the completion of one of their walks, and dined together.¹⁵⁷

Evidence of the lack of interest in snowshoeing in Upper Canada during the 1850s was presented at the Quebec Garrison Races on the Esplanade, in February, 1854. The Royal Artillery, the 66th and the 71st Regiments all took part, but it was stated that the 71st were at a disadvantage, having recently arrived from Upper Canada where there was "little or no snowshoeing."¹⁵⁸ By 1860, however, snowshoe races were reported on the Ottawa River, but the number of entrants was small, a total of six competitors contesting the four adult events. One other event was listed, that being for boys under fifteen years of age, with a five dollar prize for the winner.¹⁵⁹ In 1861, an Ottawa report of a one-mile race between Messrs W. Millar and E. Johnson, which took place on the river opposite Barrack Hill, drew the comment, "We should be glad to see athletic exercises in greater vogue among our young men."¹⁶⁰

This plea must have been heeded, for, early in the following season, two snowshoe clubs were formed, the Ottawa Pioneer Snow Shoe Club,¹⁶¹ and the Ottawa Snow Shoe Club,¹⁶² with John Rogers and Captain Gallway the respective Presidents. During the Volunteer period, in

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 39.

¹⁵⁸ Morning Chronicle, Quebec, February 22, 1854.

¹⁵⁹ Ottawa Citizen, March 9, 1860.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., February 19, 1861. ¹⁶¹ Ibid., December 17, 1861.

¹⁶² Ibid., December 20, 1861.

1864 and 1865, recreational snowshoeing remained dormant, but the Ottawa Snow Shoe Club was re-formed in 1866 under the presidency of J. P. Buckle.¹⁶³ The Ontario Pedestrian Club encouraged snowshoeing towards the end of Confederation Year, their first walk being advertised for Christmas Eve, with arrangements made to drive participants home, should the need arise.¹⁶⁴

Montreal continued to remain the centre of snowshoeing during the 1860s, the parent club feeling sufficiently secure in the talents of such athletes as Stanley, Murray, MacDougall and Radiger, to issue the following challenge in 1860:

The Montreal Snow Shoe Club offers a silver cup (value \$40) as a prize to be competed for by members of the Club against "all comers." Entries to be made with the Secretary within ten days.¹⁶⁵

Its challenge, however, was not accepted. In 1861, the Erina Snow Shoe Club was formed, and, by March, had enrolled fifty members, all former residents or descendants of residents from Ireland.¹⁶⁶ McGill College instituted a programme of races for its students this year, with George Massey, who later was to play an important role in organizing lacrosse in Ottawa and Toronto, winning the one-mile event.¹⁶⁷ The Prince of Wales Club appeared in 1861 also, and to the astonishment of many, it

¹⁶³Ibid., December 5, 1866.

¹⁶⁴Ottawa Times, December 20, 1867.

¹⁶⁵Becket, op. cit., p. 55.

¹⁶⁶Montreal Gazette, March 20, 1861.

¹⁶⁷Becket, op. cit., p. 72.

was composed of ladies.¹⁶⁸

In March, during the annual races of the Montreal Club, a silver cup for "open" competition was donated by General Williams, the three-mile race for the trophy being won by MacDougall of the Montreal Club from thirteen entries, with Robert Gray of the Aurora Club taking second place. The time for this event was twenty-one minutes and twenty seconds, which was said to have been equal to the fastest time made by Indians.¹⁶⁹ By the end of 1861, ten Montreal Clubs had been reported in operation; Montreal, St George, Aurora, Erina, Prince of Wales (ladies), Excelsior, Young Canada, Phoenix, Independent, and America. Most of these clubs were soon disbanded, as the interests of the young men turned to Volunteering. Only the activities of the Montreal and Aurora Clubs continued to appear in the press during this period, and, although membership of the former club remained at seventy-five in 1862, the average number of members who participated in each walk was twelve, due to the fact that,

. . . [the] club in conjunction with the "Aurora" had organized a Rifle Regiment. The "Beaver" Lacrosse Club members were the first originators of the scheme during the summer preceding, but as most of the gentlemen forming it, were also prominent members of both clubs, they will probably pardon the pride which dictates a share in the honour of its formation to the Snow Shoe Club.¹⁷⁰

In 1863, several race meetings were conducted. The Aurora Club conducted its annual races on February 28,¹⁷¹ while on March 6, the

¹⁶⁸ Montreal Gazette, February 9, 1861.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., March 15, 1861.

¹⁷⁰ Becket, op. cit., p. 81.

¹⁷¹ Montreal Gazette, March 2, 1863.

Grand Trunk Railway Club held the first of its annual races,¹⁷² though Becket¹⁷³ claimed that this was not a regularly constituted club. A few days later, the Montreal Club conducted its races, with Radiger winning both the half-mile and the mile events, his time for the latter, six minutes and two seconds, being claimed as the best on record.¹⁷⁴ Becket¹⁷⁵ stated that, in this race, Radiger defeated the Indian, Tachitacka, who had won laurels in England and America. In the same month, an open competition was held for Major General Lord Paulet's Cup. This race was won by Tate of the Aurora Club, from twelve starters, this being the first instance of a Montreal Club defeat on the race track.¹⁷⁶

While annual races were again conducted in 1864, it was additionally reported that two Volunteers, Lieutenant Fraser and Ensign Prendergast of the Victoria Rifles, walked on snowshoes from Quebec to Montreal, averaging thirty miles a day.¹⁷⁷ Although races were held in 1865 and 1866, the attendance was low, membership numbers being affected by rival "skating mania," as well as Volunteering.¹⁷⁸ Mr W. L. Maltby joined the Montreal Snow Shoe Club in 1865, the Indians acknowledging their recognition of his talents by bestowing on him the title,

¹⁷²Ibid., March 10, 1863.

¹⁷³Becket, op. cit., p. 112.

¹⁷⁴Montreal Gazette, March 16, 1863.

¹⁷⁵Becket, op. cit., p. 98.

¹⁷⁶Ibid., p. 96.

¹⁷⁷Morning Chronicle, Quebec, March 8, 1864.

¹⁷⁸Becket, op. cit., p. 123.

"White Deer."¹⁷⁹

The renewal of athletic activities in 1867, following the decline in the Volunteer movement, led also to a revival of snowshoeing. For the 1866-1867 season, the membership of the Montreal Club climbed to sixty-nine¹⁸⁰ from a low of thirty-eight for the previous season.¹⁸¹ Aiding in this expansion were additional members from the Montreal Pedestrian Club, including Messrs F. Johnson and C. Davidson.¹⁸² The Aurora Club apparently forgot the differences with the Montreal Club which had led to its formation in 1858, for Becket stated that the two clubs amalgamated under the older club's name in 1867.¹⁸³

The greatest boon to snowshoeing was the game of lacrosse, which underwent a phenomenal growth in the number of its participants towards the end of the year. Many lacrosse club members wished to continue athletic activities during the winter months, and the logical choice was snowshoeing. Apropos of this was the announcement in the Montreal Gazette, December 6, 1867, that the Aurora, Arena, Caledonia, and Dominion Lacrosse Clubs had organized Snow Shoe Clubs, and that others were following their example.¹⁸⁴ Requests for membership in the Montreal Snow Shoe Club were so numerous, that, at the end of the year,

¹⁷⁹Roxborough, op. cit., p. 37. Maltby had joined the Montreal Lacrosse Club in 1861, and had quickly become a star player.

¹⁸⁰Becket, loc. cit.

¹⁸¹Ibid., p. 129.

¹⁸²Montreal Gazette, March 4, 1867.

¹⁸³Becket, op. cit., p. 130

¹⁸⁴The Alexandra Snow Shoe Club was noted here also.

it was moved by Nicholas Hughes and seconded by C. Radiger, "that owing to the number of candidates for admission, the Bye-law confining the number of members to 150 be repealed."¹⁸⁵ It is quite evident that, although Ottawa and Quebec contained their snowshoeing enthusiasts, a history of snowshoeing in Canada is virtually a history of snowshoeing in Montreal, and, in particular, the Montreal Snow Shoe Club.

Tobogganing

The coureur de bois had early found that the toboggan was an ideal conveyance for transporting to his home the spoils from his hunting expeditions, another practice he had adopted from the Indians. Also, there can be no doubt that the fun value of this carriage was soon discovered by both children and adults, long before reports of tobogganing activities appeared in print.

A description of the toboggan in use in the nineteenth century shows that the simple construction and method of steering have varied little over the years. Two pliable strips of wood, some eight to ten feet long, were joined together by wooden brackets, the front section being turned up like the dashboard of a horse-drawn sleigh. The person riding at the rear acted as steersman, aided by two small pieces of wood held in his hands, which he dragged in the snow in order to correct the direction of the toboggan.¹⁸⁶ Favoured tobogganing areas

¹⁸⁵Becket, op. cit., p. 133.

¹⁸⁶Beers, "Canada in Winter," op. cit., p. 170.

were the ice-cone at Montmorency Falls, the hill at Kingston on which stood Fort Henry, and the Côte des Neiges hill at Montreal.¹⁸⁷ The Montmorency Falls was the site most mentioned in reports of tobogganing, a high ice-cone being formed there by the spray of the Falls as it froze and sprinkled down upon a large rock in the lower level in the river. According to Charles Mackay,¹⁸⁸ this cone sometimes rose as high as the top of the Falls in very cold winters, forming a precipitous hill, some two hundred feet high. Upon viewing the spectacle of people sliding down this cone, Bender wrote:

Nothing could be more exciting and exhilarating than a slide on sleigh or toboggan, from the lofty summit of the ice-mound or cone down to its base, at lightning speed, and thence along, with a sense of relief, but with blinding velocity for hundreds of yards, on the level, glassy roadway which hides the St Lawrence from view. This is yet and must always continue a delightful pastime to all who love feats of daring and vigorous exercise in the open winter air.¹⁸⁹

Tobogganing has always held a fascination for children, and, in 1860, the Montreal Gazette reported that police had been called upon to prevent the use of Beaver Hill, at the head of Drummond Street, as a sliding area on a Sunday. It was stated that thirty or forty "sleighs" belonging to lads were seized, but as soon as the police departed, the tobogganers found satisfactory substitutes in boards

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ Charles Mackay, Sketches of a Tour in the United States and Canada in 1857 and 1858, cited in Gerald Craig, Early Travellers in Canada, 1791-1867 (Toronto: Macmillan Coy of Canada, 1955), p. 225.

¹⁸⁹ Louis P. Bender, Old and New Canada, 1753-1844 (Montreal: Dawson Bros, 1882), pp. 201-202.

removed from Mr Glenons' fence.¹⁹⁰

Neither were the garrison soldiers averse to such sport. It was reported that younger "hearts" among the Guards in Quebec found "capital exercise" in an uphill climb, followed by "the exertion of attending to 'number one' during the rush down."¹⁹¹ Greater speeds were found to accrue from covering the bottom of the toboggan with copper sheeting, which added to the exhilaration of the ride by making the vehicle more unmanageable. Thus, the rider and the vehicle often parted company, "displaying certain grotesque and singular graces of person and attitude, which is edifying and amusing in the extreme to the bystanders."¹⁹² Mrs Monck wrote that her husband was a "constant slider" during their stay in Quebec with the 17th Regiment, in 1864 and 1865:

The slide is up now for toboggining [sic], but no one has begun yet. The slide is a raised wooden platform with an inclined plane placed on the top of a hill upon which the snow falls, and when rolled and frozen over, you slide down on a toboggin, which is a flat piece of birch bark curled up at the end to receive one's feet; . . . terrible sport, I think, but I must try it once! You shoot down one hundred yards further than the slide, all across the cricket ground.¹⁹³

¹⁹⁰ Montreal Gazette, February 8, 1860. "The sliding down Beaver Hill ought to stop. It is always dangerous and terrifies ladies. We have no wish to abate the pleasures of lads, but the impeding of great thoroughfares is too big a price to pay for it." (Ibid.)

¹⁹¹ Ibid., December 28, 1841.

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ Mrs Frances E. Monck, My Canadian Leaves (Printed for private circulation in Dorchester: Dorset County Express Office, 1873. Re-produced by University of Toronto Press, 1963), p. 97. Mrs Monck was the wife of Colonel Richard Monck, brother of Lord Monck, the Governor-General.



The Ice Cone, Montmorency Falls, 1829

Col. J. P. Cockburn



The Ice Cone, Montmorency Falls, 1842

Mrs M. Chaplin

Mrs Monck carried out her intention, and, although at first she did not find sliding "pleasant amusement," she persevered because "others do it," trying to ignore her feelings of sea-sickness,¹⁹⁴ until finally, after further attempts, she found that she was beginning to like it.¹⁹⁵ This early excitement to be found in tobogganing was well captured by Beers in his description of a descent from the summit of the Côte des Neiges hill, in Montreal:

All ready? Fire away! A little shove and off we go, slowly at first but soon at a "break-neck pace," the trees and fences seem to be running a race up the hill! Isn't it dreadfully exciting! The novice holds his breath. "Oh! if we should meet a horse as we dart across that street!" It would be bad for the horse, methinks! But what if we did: if it would only stand we must all lie back, and the pilot will steer us under its belly! It has actually been done more than once. But on we go! Now we dart like an arrow over a crystal-ice-covered part of the hill, or shoot over the cahots, while the old French habitant going to market stares at us with astonishment, and exclaims his usual "Mon Dieu!" On we go, tearing and dashing along like "highway comets," while the very life blood goes quivering and thrilling through our veins with sympathetic excitement. And here's the foot of the hill! A swift ride over a mile—wasn't it fine!¹⁹⁶

Conclusion

It is evident from the above examinations of winter activities that there were many inhabitants of British North America who were determined to find amusement during the long winter months, through outdoor activities. The Scot, always disciplined and well organized, took the opportunity to foster his national game of curling. The fact that curling was the first sport to have a provincial governing body

¹⁹⁴Ibid., p. 105.

¹⁹⁵Ibid., p. 108.

¹⁹⁶Beers, loc. cit.



Tobogganing at Montmorency



Tobogganing at Montmorency

was illustrative of this desire for organization, which, again, could not have been put into effect without the advent of the railway. Large bonspiels, as well as competition for Royal Caledonian Club Medals which involved contests between teams as far apart as Toronto and Quebec, brought a new concept to competitive sport in Canada. There was a great need for a winter team sport at this time, to balance the summer game of cricket, and curling went a long way towards satisfying that need.

Prepared ice-surfaces were a boon to both curler and skater, the latter being assisted also by the provision of rinks and the development of skates by private enterprise. The spring skate alone could not have inspired the skating mania which swept the land during the 1860s. Rather, it was the ice rink which gave impetus to skating, for it not only provided a smooth, safe surface, but also allowed the socially elite to maintain their place of elegance in society. This they did through the masquerade balls, which gave them the opportunity to "dress up" and be the centre of attention. The publicity from these carnivals probably did as much to increase skating enthusiasm as did the provision of the rinks themselves, though the timely invention of the spring skate cannot be overlooked.

Although skating reached a far greater percentage of the population than did curling, the same could not be said of organized snowshoeing, while ice-boating found an even smaller number of followers at this time. Several snowshoe clubs were in existence for a select number of members, but no real growth occurred until lacrosse players

either sought membership in the established clubs, or formed clubs of their own, during the 1867-1868 season. Until this occurred, snowshoeing was largely a spectator sport, by virtue of its annual races, though the common use of the snowshoe for winter walking and hunting is not denied.

Shinty and tobogganing found enthusiasts among adults, but these activities were largely for the young, and, therefore, were generally ignored by writers. Ice-boating suffered a similar fate at the hands of the various newspapers, indicating that these publications were concerned mainly with organized competition, this being of more interest to subscribers. Indeed, it is highly probable that the subscribers were from the middle and upper classes of society, and, therefore, were the participants in such competition.

Although the garrison personnel were not ardent curlers, with the exception of a few Scottish detachments, they were frequent visitors to the skating rink and the toboggan slide. Their organizing of snowshoe races was a natural outcome of snowshoeing tramps which had become a part of winter training.

Thus, the winter season presented opportunities for all who wished to indulge in outdoor amusement. Their choice lay in the organized competition of curling, the athletic exercise of snowshoeing, the fun of shinty, the social pleasure of skating, and the exhilarating sense of speed experienced in ice-boating and tobogganing.

CHAPTER III

SUMMER ACTIVITIES

The summer months were busy ones for pioneer, farmer, and merchant. There were houses and barns to be erected, land to be cleared and ploughed, trading to be done, ships in the harbour with cargoes to be handled, and preparations for the ensuing winter to be made. There was little time for recreation in these early days. For most of his term of service, however, the garrison officer's duties were not onerous, and cricket was his favourite sport. In 1823, William Ellis made his historic run at Rugby School in England, which added a new dimension to the game of football, while, for the ever active Scot, athletic games of the highlands, and quoiting, were preferred activities. As the years passed and urbanization increased, more leisure time was available for the working man, with the result that other team sports, catering for a person who was more Canadian than British, were sought. The Indian game of baggataway received wider attention at this time, while, to the south, baseball began to develop from the 1840s onwards.

Baseball

To Hamilton must go the title, the Baseball Centre of British North America. From a friendly game between Toronto and Hamilton on the Queen's Birthday in 1859,¹ baseball grew with astounding rapidity so that, by 1867, Hamilton newspapers could report matches between

¹Hamilton Times, May 26, 1859.

seventeen local clubs, several of which fielded more than one team. Baseball had developed in the United States during the late forties; therefore, its introduction and rapid growth in the Hamilton area during the sixties seemed, apparently, a direct result of an influx of American immigrants across the border, following the outbreak of the Civil War. On the other hand, baseball, like football, was a game for the "rude mechanicals,"² and like lacrosse, it helped to fill the sporting void which faced working class men at a time when early closing movements were providing more leisure time for this section of society. However, the concentration of the game in the vicinity of Hamilton suggested a strong American influence.

The pioneer clubs of baseball were the Burlington Club, the Maple Leaf Club of Hamilton, the Barton Club, and the Canadian Pioneer Club of Toronto. Each of these made its initial appearance in 1859, though the Maple Leaf Club, formed on July 10,³ was the only one to continue in existence until Confederation Year. In 1861, the famous Young Canadian Club from Woodstock played its first reported match against the Maple Leafs, defeating them by a score of twenty-four runs to twenty-two. The Young Canadians remained undefeated by a Canadian team from this time until September 1867, when the Independent Club of Dundas performed the upset.⁴

²E. Guillet, Toronto: from Trading-Post to Great City (Toronto: Ontario Publishing Co., 1934), p. 439.

³Hamilton Times, July 11, 1859.

⁴Ibid., September 20, 1867.

In 1862, the Ancaster Victoria, and the West Flamborough Clubs joined the baseball scene, together with the Union, and the Rough and Ready Clubs of Hamilton. Clubs from Victoria were reported in the following year, where the first match of the season was played on Beacon Hill, on March 24, 1863.⁵ This game was contested between the Fashion and the Roebuck Clubs, though cricketers were the usual opponents in matches on the Island. In fact, the cricketers defeated the baseball players, forty to thirty-four, in a match reported in the Daily Colonist, on April 3, 1863.

This 1863 season saw the Young Canadians of Woodstock play fifteen successful matches, a feat which they claimed gave them the right to be named Champions of Canada.⁶ As there was no recognized trophy for such a championship, the Woodstock club solicited subscriptions for the purpose of purchasing a Silver Ball, the holder of which would automatically become the Champion Base Ball Club of Canada.⁷ As this was a challenge trophy, the club holding the Silver Ball was to play any regularly organized club in Canada, on ten days notice. The first match for the trophy was played in August 1864, the Young Canadians defeating the Maple Leafs of Woodstock by thirty-two to two, thus officially earning the championship title.⁸

On September 30, 1864, the first baseball convention was held

⁵Daily Colonist, Victoria, March 25, 1863.

⁶Hamilton Times, August 20, 1863.

⁷Ibid., August 10, 1864.

⁸Ibid., August 20, 1864.

in Hamilton with the purpose of forming a baseball organization. Three representatives had been invited from each of the existing clubs, and the result was the brief formation of a Canadian Base Ball Association, with Mr W. Shuttleworth as President.⁹ New clubs to appear in the 1864 season were the Defiance Club of Hamilton, the Guelph Maple Leafs, and the Ingersoll Victorias. In order to provide a game of high standard, an East versus West game was arranged for September 30. Barton, Hamilton, and Flamborough each provided three players for the East, while Guelph, Woodstock, and Ingersoll represented the West. For their part in assisting the West to victory, the three Ingersoll players won a Silver Cup for the highest combined batting score.¹⁰

During the 1865 season, new clubs were formed in Newcastle, Darlington, Montreal, Hamilton, Niagara, and Dundas. The Montreal Football Club incorporated baseball within its activities, and changed its name to the Montreal Foot and Base Ball Club, with a membership of fifty.¹¹ On August 8, despite heavy rain, the club played baseball until the light failed, then contested two games of football. Club President at this time was Alfred Rimmer, Esq., Justice of the Peace. Scores reported for baseball matches in these early days of the sport would raise the eyebrows of modern players, winning totals often reaching into the thirties. In one game, however, the Young Canadians

⁹Ibid., October 3, 1864.

¹⁰Ibid., October 1, 1864.

¹¹Montreal Gazette, July 22, 1865. Baseball was included among the games prohibited in the public parks of Montreal in 1865, under a penalty of \$5. (Roxborough, op. cit., p. 29.)

defeated the Beaver Club of Newcastle by the immense score of eighty-nine to twenty-eight.¹²

Hamilton clubs, Eagle and Independent, were newcomers in 1866, whereas, in Victoria, two new groups, the Olympic and the City, were formed to replace the defunct Fashion and Roebuck Clubs. Another East versus West tournament was arranged in Hamilton on September 28 of this year, with the team from the East gaining the victory. This team comprised players from Hamilton's Maple Leafs (J. Mason, A. Secord, H. Sweetman), the Flamborough Live Oaks (W. Miller, A. Murray, W. Haines), and the Dundas Mechanics (E. Collins, J. Borland, P. Collins). The West team was formed from the Ingersoll Victorias (J. Hearn, J. Jarvis, J. Rawlings), the Woodstock Young Canadians (J. Pascoe, R. McCohinnie, R. Douglas), and the Guelph Maple Leafs (W. Nichols, J. Colson, W. Sunley). In this tournament, the Silver Cup went to the three Hamilton Maple Leaf players, for their combined total of ten runs.¹³

The season of 1867 was an eventful one for Canadian baseballers. In Victoria, the Anglo-American Base Ball Club was formed,¹⁴ Oshawa's newly formed Confederation Base Ball Club met for play each Wednesday and Friday morning,¹⁵ the Upper Canada College Club played its first

¹²Hamilton Times, August 14, 1865. This was a challenge match for the Silver Ball.

¹³Ibid., September 29, 1866.

¹⁴Daily Colonist, Victoria, May 1, 1867.

¹⁵Oshawa Vindicator, June 12, 1867.

game,¹⁶ while the Halifax and the Independant [sic] Clubs were formed in Halifax.¹⁷ No fewer than seventeen clubs, half of them newly formed, were reportedly engaged in matches in Hamilton. These were the Maple Leaf, Eagle, Star, Rough and Ready, Independent, Oak Leaf, Union, Sunshine, Golden Leaf, Ontario, Beaver, Mechanics, Enterprise, Active, Unknown, Young Canadian, and Burlington Clubs.

The event of the year was the tournament in Detroit, on August 15, in which the Young Canadians of Woodstock suffered their first defeat since their entry into competition in 1861, at the hands of the Alleghanies from Pennsylvania.¹⁸ Two other Canadian teams competed in the tournament; the Hamilton Maple Leafs, who secured third prize in the first class competition, and the Victorias of Ingersoll, who won first prize in the third class division. Both teams received one hundred dollars for their efforts, the Victorias also receiving a gold ball valued at one hundred dollars, and the Maple Leafs a gold mounted bat valued at seventy-five dollars.¹⁹ The death of Mr Harris, Woodstock's star player, just prior to the tournament, was reported to have greatly weakened the Young Canadian team, and this was borne out one month later, when they suffered their first Canadian defeat, at the

¹⁶Globe, Toronto, October 21, 1867.

¹⁷Novascotian, October 7, 1867.

¹⁸Globe, Toronto, August 18, 1867.

¹⁹Hamilton Times, August 23, 1867.

²⁰Ibid., August 16, 1867.

hands of the Dundas Independents.²¹

Baseball, then, by the end of 1867, had achieved such status that, allied with another indigenous North American game, lacrosse, it was already a threat to the popular supremacy enjoyed by cricket throughout the Dominion.

Boxing and Wrestling

A local pastime in pioneer communities was the contest involving feats of strength between rival villages. Most common was the challenge to fight or wrestle, and a township's local champion would be pointed out with some measure of awe. Thomas W. Casey, in his Old Time Records,²² related an amusing incident illustrating the resentment of the inhabitants of Marysburg towards their neighbours across the Bay of Quinté in Adolphustown, early in the 1800s. The "Fourth-towners," as the residents of Adolphustown were called, considered themselves superior to the Marysburgh "Fifth-towners," much to the latter's indignation. To disprove their conceit, the Fourth-towners were thus challenged by Marysburg to a wrestling contest. The three best wrestlers were chosen from each village, Adolphustown being represented by Samuel Dorland, Samuel Casey, and Paul Trumpour, but who their opponents were is not known. After the time and the place for the confrontation had been decided, hundreds gathered to see which township sported the best

²¹ Ibid., September 20, 1867.

²² Cited in W. S. Herrington, The History of Lennox and Addington (Toronto: Macmillan Coy of Canada, 1913), p. 137.

men:

Samuel Dorland, afterwards a Colonel in the militia and a leading official in the Methodist Church, was an expert wrestler, and used to boast, even in his old days, that he seldom if ever met a man who could lay him on his back. He soon had his man down. Samuel Casey, who afterwards became a leading military officer and a prominent justice of the peace, was one of the strongest men in the township, but not an expert wrestler. He was so powerful in the legs, that his opponent, with all his skill, could not trip him up, and at last got thrown down himself. Paul Trumpour, who was the head of what is now the largest family in the township, was not so skilled in athletics: but he was a man of immense strength. He got his arms well fixed around his man and gave him such terrible "bear-hugs" that the poor fellow soon cried out "enough," to save his ribs from getting crushed in, and that settled it. The Fourth-town championship was not again disputed.²³

Though Gourlay wrote, in 1817, that "another bad custom, once considered prevalent in some parts of the province appears to be declining, . . . the vulgar practice of pugilism,"²⁴ Talbot²⁵ stated that "rough and tumble" boxing was very general in Canada during his five-year residence. Gourlay's remarks, that fighting was "a transgression of the law of God,"²⁶ reflected the rising religious abhorrence of the sport. He went on to say that it degraded a national or provincial character, injured public morals and manners, vulgarized public taste, and checked the progress of social refinement. The rough and tumble boxing that Talbot described was most certainly wrestling, and it was

²³Ibid.

²⁴R. Gourlay, Statistical Account of Upper Canada (Wakefield, England: S.R. Publishers Ltd, 1966), p. 252.

²⁵E. Talbot, Five Years' Residence in the Canadas (London: Longman et al., 1824), p. 59.

²⁶Gourlay, op. cit., p. 253.

of a most crude kind:

The contest always opens with a turn at wrestling,—for they never dream of applying their knuckles; and he who has the misfortune to be thrown, generally suffers a defeat. The principal object of the combatants appears to be the calculation of eclipses; or, in other words, their whole aim is bent on tearing out each other's eyes, in doing which they make the fore finger of the right hand fast in their antagonist's hair and with the thumb,—as they term it,—gouge out the day-lights. If they fail in this attempt, they depend entirely on their teeth for conquest; and a fraction of the nose, half an ear, or a piece of a lip, is generally the trophy of the victor.²⁷

Although reports of wrestling contests do not appear in the newspapers, the sport of boxing apparently had its followers. The Newfoundlander, January 9, 1828, presented a three-columned full page coverage of a fight between Simon Byrne and Robert Avery, near Glasgow, in Scotland. Locally, the Canadian Freeman, on May 8, 1828, in York, published in lengthy detail a report of a \$50-a-side bout between "Hornet," a celebrated Scottish amateur who was forty-five years of age, and "Grampus," a Canadian youth of seventeen, the latter scoring a knockout in the sixth round.

The stigma which was attached to the sport of boxing, made instructors very cautious in their press advertisements for pupils. For example, Mr J. Crerar of Kingston, in advertising lessons for English Boxing, assured his would-be patrons that the exercises were suited to the feelings of gentlemen, and that no others would be admitted. Small boys were to be given instruction also.²⁸ Resistance to boxing as a

²⁷Talbot, loc. cit.

²⁸Kingston Chronicle and Gazette, February 4, 1843.

public spectacle nevertheless continued. The Sarnia Observer, on October 8, 1857, remarked that "those disgusting exhibitions [were] emphatically a disgrace to any civilized community." Morrison²⁹ related an incident which occurred in the vicinity of Windsor in 1858, concerning a contest between two Detroit boxers who had picked this venue in an attempt to evade the law of the United States which prohibited prize fighting. Two interested Windsor constables were present during the bout, but took no action as the area was beyond their territory. The Mayor of Windsor was rather disturbed by the whole affair, and threatened his officers with suspension.

The centre of the boxing world in Toronto was "Pop's Academy." According to Bull,³⁰ Alexander Lawson, one of the period's more colourful sportsmen, periodically made weekend trips to Toronto in order to box there. Lawson was also a fine runner and high jumper, but seldom entered open competition, preferring to wager money on individual contests. One of his favourite stunts involved leaping from the floor, to land carefully on two upturned glasses on the bar.

During the sixties, reports of boxing matches occurred more frequently in the press. The Heenan—Sayers fight for the Championship of England in 1860 was given round by round coverage in the Ottawa Citizen, on May 1, 1860. A crowd of two thousand soldiers and civilians watched two Fusilier Guards battle through thirty-one rounds at Point

²⁹N. F. Morrison, Garden Gateway to Canada (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1954), p. 47.

³⁰W. Perkins Bull, From Rattlesnake Hunt to Hockey (Toronto: Perkins Bull Foundation, 1934), p. 34.

St Charles, on New Year's Day, 1863.³¹ This type of contest, which was long and bloody, with the faces of the combatants losing all human resemblance, resulted in a negative report in the press where it was stated that, "it is hoped that such scenes will not be witnessed again in this city."

In Victoria, where boxing matches were evidently sporting contests rather than battles, the newspapers were not so biased against the sport, as the tone of the following statement indicates:

Ned Allan and Billy Williams will have a set-to this evening at the Royal Hotel Tap. Several of the sporting community will be present, and some excellent sparring may be anticipated.³²

However, their tolerance was strained in 1866 by a bout between Joe Eden, a young Englishman, and George Baker, the "Canadian Pet," which ended in defeat for Baker after one hundred and twenty-eight rounds!³³ This spectacle was reported with admirable reserve by the Vancouver Times, March 11, 1866, which stated, after drawing comparison between the contestants and ancient gladiators, "We would much prefer to see the nerve and muscle of our young athletes put forth in some more beneficial and respectable manner." Neither his defeat nor the press rebuke was to deter Baker, however, for he signed a contract to meet George Wilson in a fifteen round knockout bout for \$500-a-side, in October.³⁴

³¹Montreal Gazette, January 3, 1863.

³²Vancouver Times, Victoria, January 11, 1865.

³³Roxborough, op. cit., p. 235.

³⁴Daily Colonist, Victoria, October 26, 1866.

A fitting press comment which may well be applied to many, if not most of the long bouts common at the time, appeared in the Montreal Gazette, in 1867:

The fighters did a good deal of shaking hands. They shook hands the last thing before the fight and the last thing after it. In my opinion, this was the best and most scientific part of their performance.³⁵

Cricket

The impetus given by the military regiments to the game of cricket cannot be too strongly emphasized. Wherever they were stationed, their example was followed by British gentlemen eager to form teams and enter into competition against them. But even though cricket was played from the east coast of British North America to the west, and was most certainly the game of the period, team participants in the regular clubs were mainly officers of the regiments and upper and middle class members of society.

One of the earliest games on record was played, strangely enough, on ice. The Nova Scotia Royal Gazette, February 28, 1805, reported a match on the ice at the head of North West Arm, Halifax, between the Artillery Company and the Light Infantry, which lasted for six hours. It would not be presumptuous to assume from this that cricket also had its participants during the summer months, although press accounts of such activity are lacking. In fact, scant evidence is available for the game much before 1830. The Montreal Gazette, September 11, 1826,

³⁵Cited in Roxborough, op. cit., p. 213.

anticipated a match at Côte à Baron on September 14, stating, "From the novelty in this country of contests of this description, we anticipate that a numerous assemblage of spectators will be congregated on the spot." Unfortunately, neither the teams nor the results of this match were mentioned in later editions. This same paper, on July 6, 1829, announced a coming match between the citizens of the Montreal Cricket Club and the gentlemen of the 68th Regiment, the challenge originating with the latter. The garrison team was reputed to have been of superior talent in this activity, therefore its members must have been playing for some time previous to the challenge. This same article referred to another match which was to have been played in Quebec on July 3, between the 15th Regiment and the 66th Regiment. By 1831, the Montreal Gazette was able to report that matches were being played every Tuesday and Friday afternoons, in the field at the rear of John Delisle's house.³⁶ Meanwhile, a group in Newfoundland had formed themselves into the St John's Cricket Club in 1828,³⁷ and this may well have been the first cricket club in British North America.

Just before the end of the twenties, cricket had made its appearance in York, now Toronto. In a Letter to the Editor of the Globe,³⁸ dated July 7, 1868, George A. Barber, one of the first masters at Upper Canada College, claimed that he introduced the game to that city

³⁶Montreal Gazette, June 23, 1831.

³⁷Newfoundlander, August 14, 1828. See September 12, 1833, for further mention of this club.

³⁸Globe, Toronto, July 8, 1868.

in either 1828 or 1829. By 1836, the College Club was formed and proved themselves good enough to defeat the Toronto Club by an innings.

During the thirties cricket spread to other centres, so that inter-town matches were feasible whenever transport difficulties could be overcome. An early match in this category took place in 1834 in Hamilton, the contesting teams being Guelph and Toronto, each having to make an all-day journey to and from the match.³⁹ A much longer journey was undertaken in 1835, when a Sherbrooke team travelled to Toronto and Hamilton, an arduous trek "by foot, horseback, stagecoach and vessel."⁴⁰ A Kingston Cricket Club was formed in 1835 in answer to a challenge from the 24th Regiment Club, and they immediately expressed interest in challenging Toronto and Guelph.⁴¹ The Kingston Chronicle was to have given a detailed account of the match against the garrison, but stated that, because the game of cricket was so little known, "we fear it would not prove sufficiently interesting to the generality of our readers."⁴² In the same year, Guelph defeated Toronto on two occasions in Hamilton, but the latter team was revenged in 1837, again in Hamilton, and so "retrieved their characters as cricketers."⁴³ These visits from outside teams spurred Hamilton cricketers into action,

³⁹ Guillet, Toronto, p. 439.

⁴⁰ Roxborough, op. cit., p. 53.

⁴¹ Kingston Chronicle, August 12, 1835.

⁴² Ibid., August 8, 1835.

⁴³ Montreal Gazette, August 31, 1837. One of Guelph's outstanding players was John Wilson, certainly one of the steadiest batters of his time, and also considered as the best long-stop in Canada, during the next decade.

and their first match was against Brantford, on August 14, 1837.⁴⁴ The Niagara Cricket Club⁴⁵ and the Kent Cricket Club of Chatham⁴⁶ were also operative in the late thirties.

In 1840, much to the surprise of Toronto cricketers, a team from New York arrived with the expectation of playing a pre-arranged game for five hundred dollars. Although the visit was the result of a hoax, the ensuing hurriedly organized match was the forerunner of other matches with United States teams. The same year saw the foundation of the Carleton Cricket Club in Bytown.⁴⁷ During the period from 1846 to 1848, this club was disbanded, but revived again as the Bytown Club in 1849, matches being played on the Common where the Parliament Buildings now stand.⁴⁸ Competitions were arranged with the 32nd Regiment, Aylmer, and Prescott. The Cobourg Club was formed in 1843,⁴⁹ and early matches were played against Belleville, Toronto, and Port Hope. There were two categories of members in the Cobourg Club, playing and honorary, the former being liable to be called on to play in any match. A fine of seven and a half pence was levied against any player who failed to appear when the wickets were pitched, or who left before a match ended.

⁴⁴Colin F. Whiting, Cricket in Eastern Canada (Montreal: Colmur Co., 1963), p. 16.

⁴⁵Niagara Chronicle, May 30, 1838.

⁴⁶Canadian Cricketer's Guide (Ottawa: Free Press Office, 1867), p. 30.

⁴⁷J. Hall and R. McCulloch, Sixty Years of Canadian Cricket (Toronto: Bryant Publishing Co., 1895), p. 128.

⁴⁸A. Ross, Ottawa, Past and Present (Ottawa: Thorburn and Abbott, 1927), p. 178.

⁴⁹Hall and McCulloch, op. cit., p. 18.

Among the matches scheduled for the 1846 season was one at Bowmanville. As there were no railways in Upper Canada at this time, the Cobourg team was advised by letter from the Secretary of the Bowmanville Club that travel by steamer and stagecoach, on the day before the match, would be necessary.⁵⁰

The Kingston Club was re-formed in 1843, due largely to an influx of players who had participated in the game during their days at Upper Canada College.⁵¹ Matches against teams from the garrison and Toronto were soon arranged. Although Hamilton cricketers had played matches as early as 1837, the Hamilton Cricket Club was not formed until May 10, 1847.⁵² Peter Hunter Hamilton was the first President, and by July, the club could boast eighty members.⁵³ During the decade which followed, the Hamilton Club played against teams from Paris, Guelph, Galt, Simcoe, Brantford, Burlington, Dundas, and Toronto.⁵⁴ The Upper Canada College Club, under the leadership of George Barber, continued to provide stiff competition throughout the forties, due to the fact that the team retained the services of students after they had passed through the College.

The 1848 season was a busy one for Upper Canada, and the Spirit

⁵⁰E. Guillet, Cobourg, 1798-1948 (Oshawa: Goodfellow Printing Co., 1948), p. 111.

⁵¹Kingston Chronicle and Gazette, June 28, 1843.

⁵²Hall and McCulloch, op. cit., p. 32.

⁵³Montreal Gazette, July 8, 1847.

⁵⁴Ivan Miller, Hamilton Centennial Sports Review (Hamilton: Centennial Sports Committee, 1967), p. 127.

of the Times⁵⁵ listed matches played by Belleville, Kingston, Brantford, Hamilton, Darlington, Toronto, Dundas, Flamborough West, Paris, the Rifle Brigade, Upper Canada College, the Seniors and Juniors of Guelph, the Military of Upper Canada, Woodstock, and the 20th Regiment, while the Globe⁵⁶ added Colborne and Grafton to the list.

Montreal was the centre of cricketing activity for Lower Canada during the forties, and the Montreal Cricket Club was formally organized on August 17, 1843.⁵⁷ A subscription rate of one dollar per player was levied, and two teams met for a friendly match on August 25. It was not long before Mr Shipway showed his worth, and, in the match against the Garrison Club on September 13, he made the remarkable score of eighty-two without losing his wicket. The Montreal Gazette, in its description of this match, acknowledged public approval of the club's organization, stating that:

Having made so fair a beginning, it is to be hoped the Cricket Club will not be allowed to fall through for want of some little encouragement on the part of the mercantile community and others in authority, in permitting the young men in their employment occasional relaxation of an afternoon, in a manner so well calculated to improve their physical systems.⁵⁸

Before the formation of the club, representatives of Montreal had been mainly officers from the garrison. For example, the "Montreal district" team which accepted a challenge from the Chambly Garrison Club to play

⁵⁵Cited in Hall and McCulloch, op. cit., p. 34.

⁵⁶Globe, Toronto, June 14, 1848.

⁵⁷Montreal Gazette, August 19, 1843.

⁵⁸Ibid., September 14, 1843.

"any eleven the gentlemen of Montreal can bring against them, whether civilians, officers, or men,"⁵⁹ was composed of ten officers and only one civilian. Nevertheless, the resultant match was rather a gala occasion. Large marquees were pitched, bands from the King's Dragoon Guards and the 56th Regiment played alternately throughout the day, and a large gathering of spectators attended.⁶⁰

Reports of matches by the Quebec Cricket Club appeared in 1841,⁶¹ but, once again, opponents were found from amongst the garrison teams. After observing the growth of cricket in Upper Canada, and urging French Canadians to take up the game, the Montreal Herald, August 6, 1843 continued:

We only wish we had a little of their cricketing spirit in Lower Canada, for we have an idea that if we could only get Jean Baptiste to handle a⁶² bat properly we should soon make him a good Englishman.

Unfortunately, the wish remained unfulfilled, for the French had no tradition of cricket implanted in their cultural heritage, and otherwise seemed reluctant to participate in the British sports.

In Montreal, on August 19, 1846, during the running of the Montreal Races, a match between Lower and Upper Canada was played, the respective provinces being represented by Montreal and Toronto.⁶³ The match was arranged as a means of concentrating in one place the

⁵⁹Ibid., June 23, 1841.

⁶⁰Ibid., July 28, 1841.

⁶¹Ibid., September 14, 1841.

⁶²Cited in Hall and McCulloch, op. cit., p. 18.

⁶³Montreal Gazette, August 21, 1846.

cricketing strength of Canada, so that a representative team could be selected for the purpose of accepting New York's annual challenge. Of the Toronto players, the Montreal press remarked:

The western men can certainly field better than we, and their bowling is of a nature to puzzle us at first most completely, ranging, as it does, in the most eccentric manner, from wide to straight.⁶⁴

As the decade progressed, two further clubs appeared in Montreal, the Aurora and the Burnside Clubs, though the latter was of very short duration. The Aurora Club was able to field two teams, and they exhibited such keenness that one of their matches commenced at five o'clock in the morning.⁶⁵

A cricket club was formed in Halifax during the summer of 1842. Reflecting on the value of "manly and athletic sports," the Novascotian expressed regret at the general lack of interest prevalent among the young men of the city.⁶⁶ On August 4, 1845, however, this newspaper remarked that the Common was occupied almost every afternoon by garrison officers or civilians of Halifax engaging in cricket practice. The Fredericton Club was active by 1843, but had to wait until 1848 before it was skilful enough to defeat its military opponents.⁶⁷

During the fifties, the spread of the game throughout the provinces was attested through mounting press reports of matches played

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid., July 10, 1847. See also Hall and McCulloch, op. cit., p. 18.

⁶⁶ Novascotian, May 15, 1843.

⁶⁷ New Brunswick Reporter, September 22, 1848.

in small, thriving communities. Teams began to travel more, as railways spread across the land in the latter part of the decade. Sport became an excellent excuse for inter-town visiting, as most towns possessed a cricket team of some kind. For example, by 1860, the Sarnia Observer could report matches between teams from Sarnia, Mooretown, Arkona, Strathroy, and Wallaceburg, with Dawn Mills, Florence, Oil Springs, Wyoming, and Watford entering soon after. The fact that it was not so much the cricket itself which was important, but rather the social atmosphere surrounding the game, is evident from an editorial remark made, concerning the England versus Montreal game in 1859: "These affairs to us, seem altogether unworthy of the importance or interest attached to them."⁶⁸

In Upper Canada during the period from 1850 to 1860, the principal matches were those between Upper Canada College and the Gentlemen of Upper Canada, as well as the series between East and West, and the international matches against the United States. The first were surrounded with a great deal of prestige, for it became quite an honour to be chosen for the Gentlemen's team. These matches were inaugurated in 1847,⁶⁹ and continued intermittently throughout the period, with College teams showing their superiority. The East versus West series originated in 1856,⁷⁰ the matches being played annually, but, in order

⁶⁸ Sarnia Observer, October 7, 1859.

⁶⁹ Globe, Toronto, September 4, 1847.

⁷⁰ Ibid., August 16, 1856.

to achieve better balance between the teams, selected members from the Toronto Club usually played for the East.⁷¹ The matches with the United States had been discontinued following a dispute in 1846, but were resumed in 1853, continuing until the outbreak of the Civil War. Harry Philpotts was Toronto's "gift" to international cricket at this time, representing Canada as wicket-keeper throughout the forties and fifties. Other clubs reported in the Upper Canada press during this period were, Newmarket, Bradford, Oakville, Don, Yorkville, Brampton, Weston, Mimico, Acton, Georgetown, Streetsville, Ontario (Whitby), Victoria (Toronto, 1859), Union (Toronto, 1859), Trinity College (Toronto, 1852), Crescent (Toronto Juniors, 1859), Churchville, Carleton (Toronto), St Catherines, Yonge St (Thornhill),⁷² London, Thames (Chatham, 1856), Grand Trunk Railway (Hamilton, 1854), Wellington Square (Hamilton), Valley City (Dundas), Hamilton Juniors, Niagara, Fergus (1858), Prescott, Brockville, Alma (Ottawa, 1856), and Rideau (Ottawa, 1856). One of the outstanding achievements of the period was the score of ninety-one, not out, recorded by Mr Phillips when playing for Paris against St Catherines in July, 1855. This was the highest individual score then recorded in British North America.⁷³

In Lower Canada, during the fifties, there was far less expansion of the game of cricket than appeared in Upper Canada. Military teams

⁷¹Hall and McCulloch, op. cit., p. 547 ff.

⁷²Ibid., p. 27. A match is listed for this club, against Toronto, on July 29, 1845.

⁷³Whiting, op. cit., p. 24.

continued to provide most of the competition for the established clubs in Montreal, Quebec, and Sherbrooke. Of passing interest concerning the skill of the Montreal Club is the fact that, in a match with the 20th Regiment, Montreal scored only fifty-five runs in its first innings, yet gave away sixty-eight sundries alone, when the garrison team was at bat. New teams reported in the province were the Victoria Club (Montreal, 1854), St Andrew's Club (1855), a re-organized Aurora Club (Montreal, 1856), and the St Jean and Lennoxville Clubs (1859). On the west coast, the Victoria Pioneer Club relied solely upon sailors from the Fleet for outside competition, though the formation of a club in New Westminster in 1860⁷⁴ provided a team within travelling distance in the next decade.

The fifties saw new clubs appearing in the major Maritime cities on the eastern seaboard also. The clubs in Sydney, Cape Breton Island, and in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, found the garrison teams more than a match for them, while the thriving Fredericton Club engaged in new competition with the St John Club, formed in the spring of 1855.⁷⁵ Fredericton was proud of its club, as is indicated in the following extract from the Headquarters:

This fine old English game has always been a favourite with Frederictonians, and from the fact that swarms of boys, of all

⁷⁴Daily Colonist, Victoria, April 28, 1860. The first cricket ground in New Westminster was only 50 yds by 30 yds, but the Government gave a grant of £60, and a Chinese contractor was hired to enlarge and grade the area. The next year, the chain gang rolled the ground. (B. Mather and M. McDonald, New Westminster, (Vancouver: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd, 1958), p. 131.)

⁷⁵Headquarters, Fredericton, September 5, 1855.

ages from six years and upwards, may be seen practising in various parts of the city every fine summer evening, there has never been any trouble in keeping up the numbers of "The Club."⁷⁶

In Newfoundland, the St John's Club continued its long existence, while in Halifax, the Oakland Club had its beginning in 1856,⁷⁷ and the Mayflower, Thistle, and Dartmouth Clubs, in 1857.⁷⁸ The 63rd Regiment team was particularly strong, defeating all challengers, including an All-Halifax team in August, 1858.⁷⁹ On July 2, 1858, when playing another garrison eleven, this team compiled the amazing total of two hundred and sixty-seven runs in one innings, the highest score yet made in British North America. In this match, Captain Grey of the 63rd had the highest individual score of fifty-two not out. The weakness of their opposition was revealed in the sundries total of one hundred and seventeen, which comprised seventy-three byes, nine leg byes, thirty-four wides, and one no-ball.⁸⁰ In October of the same year, the first match between teams from different towns in Nova Scotia took place, when a composite team from the Thistle and Mayflower Clubs of Halifax journeyed to Windsor to play against their College team.⁸¹ This year, 1858, was a memorable one for Halifax cricketers, for it was then that the Honourable M. B. Daly achieved the distinction of scoring the first

⁷⁶Ibid.

⁷⁷Novascotian, July 6, 1857.

⁷⁸Ibid., July 20, 1857.

⁷⁹Ibid., August 9, 1858.

⁸⁰Ibid., July 12, 1858.

⁸¹Ibid., October 4, 1858.

recorded century in Canadian cricket.⁸²

With the arrival of additional garrison troops during the early sixties due to the threat posed by the Civil War to the south, cricket, and indeed all sports, received a tremendous impetus. Also, the growth of railroads made it possible to combine teams for better competition. One such match between the Toronto Club and the Peterborough and Cobourg district team was honoured by the presence of His Royal Highness, Prince Alfred, amongst the spectators:

The crowd—as crowds always do at cricket matches—pressed inwards past the flags, and men were appointed to keep them outside of the boundary. One of these individuals, not knowing the Prince, laid both hands on his shoulders and pushed him backwards. He was about to repeat the process on the Governor-General, but recognized that famous personage before making a second mistake.⁸³ The Prince good humouredly laughed at the blunder.

Commercial groups began to organize themselves into teams, and the earliest among these were the tailors and the shoemakers of Toronto.⁸⁴ Junior bandsmen, Hibernian, and Caledonian Societies also succumbed to the cricketing urge. No fewer than eleven new teams were reported in Toronto alone within the first three years of the decade, and to add to it all, the Toronto Club hired themselves a professional bowler.⁸⁵ In 1863, a new group entered the sporting scene in the form

⁸²Hall and McCulloch, *op. cit.*, p. 571. The only other player to achieve this coveted total before Confederation was Thomas Wright, playing for Brampton against Georgetown on July 10, 1863. (*Ibid.*)

⁸³*Globe*, Toronto, June 26, 1861. ⁸⁴*Ibid.*, August 20, 1861.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*, June 5, 1863. This club had proved itself progressive on an earlier occasion in 1853, when a catapult or bowling machine had been imported through Mr Henry Rowsall. (*Ibid.*, June 4, 1853.)

of the Volunteers. The match between the 16th Regiment and the Victoria Rifles of Toronto was labelled, the "first ever played on Canadian soil by a Volunteer eleven."⁸⁶ This same period saw the introduction to the Toronto press of clubs from Klineburg, Colborne, Aurora, Islington, Barrie, Cookstown, Collingwood, Port Hope, Lindsay, and Peterborough. In 1863, the urge for cricket was so great in Toronto that a special week was set aside as a cricket week, or "cricketana" as it was popularly called.⁸⁷ Three top-line matches were arranged; East versus West, Military of Montreal and Hamilton versus fifteen Civilians of Toronto, and Montreal versus Toronto. The following winter, a novelty match caught the attention of a Globe reporter; the players were the Belleville Cricket Club, and the venue, the Citizens' Skating Rink.⁸⁸

In Ottawa, cricket interest seemed to suffer a slump during the early sixties, though press reports of matches from Aylmer, Almonte, Arnprior, Prescott, Richmond, and Ashton still appeared. By 1865, however, with assistance from Captain Pemberton of the 60th Rifles, who had laid a pitch at Rideau Hall, the old Carleton Club was re-organized as the Ottawa Cricket Club on July 1.⁸⁹ The team immediately set off on a tour in which they played against Prescott, Kingston, and Oswego,

⁸⁶Ibid., July 31, 1863.

⁸⁷Ibid., July 28, 1863. The first of these was held in Montreal, during the first week of September, 1862. (Infra, p. 105.)

⁸⁸Ibid., February 22, 1864.

⁸⁹Ottawa Citizen, July 3, 1865.

losing all three matches. The Ottawa Maple Leaf Club was formed in 1867 and, along with the Rifle Brigade, Prescott, and Brockville, provided the main competition for the Ottawa Club during the season. In Kingston and Oshawa, the popularity of the game increased in the middle sixties. The Kingston Club was re-organized in 1867 after a lapse of a few years,⁹⁰ while in Oshawa, where cricket had been "long neglected," the Oshawa Willow Club was formed in 1866.⁹¹ In the more isolated region of Goderich, matches were played between the Goderich Club and sailors from gunboats in the harbour, and also Clinton and Stratford.⁹²

In the Hamilton district, a reverse pattern seemed to occur. In the early years of the decade cricket flourished, with matches reported between the Hamilton Club, the Provincial Club (Hamilton), the Wellington Square Club (Hamilton), the Victoria Club (Hamilton), the Mountain Club of Barton, the Ancaster Club, the Grimsby Club, the Young Canada Club (Hamilton), the Peninsular Club of Detroit, the St Catharines Club, the London Club, the Vagabond Club (London), the Guelph Club, the Paris Club, the Brantford Club, the Waterdown Club, the Rising Generation Club (Hamilton), the Caledonian Club, the Dundas Club, the Chatham Club, the Niagara Club, the Great Western Railway Club (Hamilton), and the McKenzie Club (Hamilton). This provided a healthy sporting scene, and allowed the Hamilton Club to fulfil its objective of playing

⁹⁰Daily News, Kingston, June 13, 1867.

⁹¹Oshawa Vindicator, July 11, 1866.

⁹²Semi-Weekly Signal, Goderich, April 26, 1867; July 19, 1867.

matches every Saturday throughout the season.⁹³ However, by 1865, cricket was declining in the area, and particularly within Hamilton itself. A Letter to the Editor of the Hamilton Times, on July 18, 1865, enquired as to why the Hamilton Club had not begun practices for the season. The obvious answer was the tremendous rise in popularity of baseball in these southern regions.

In Lower Canada, the spread of the game confined itself mainly to the established cricketing centres during the sixties. By the end of the 1862 season in Montreal, there were nine civilian clubs; United, Social, Young Canada, Montreal, Britannia, St George, Grand Trunk, Civil Service, and Hochelaga. The highlight of this particular season had been the "cricketing week" held in the grounds of the Montreal Cricket Club during the first week in September.⁹⁴ The six continuous days of cricket consisted of three two-day matches between East and West, the Military and the Civilians of Canada, and the Rifle Brigade and the Montreal Club. Military bands were in attendance, while ladies were admitted free of charge, and gentlemen, for twenty-five cents. The Union Club of Trois Rivières, which was reported as being one of the oldest clubs in the province when it was revived in 1867,⁹⁵ played its first outside match in May, 1861,⁹⁶ against the Union Club of Montreal.

⁹³Hamilton Times, July 3, 1863.

⁹⁴Montreal Gazette, September 1, 1862.

⁹⁵Ibid., June 26, 1867. No date was given for its earlier formation.

⁹⁶Ibid., May 29, 1861.

Competition from Quebec, Sherbrooke, Lachine (1866), Lennoxville, and a large number of garrison teams provided a busy schedule within the province, and led the Montreal Gazette, on June 19, 1865, to write, "This eminently English game seems to be all the rage this season."

There can be no doubt that, apart from the increased number of soldiers in the provinces, one of the main stimulants to cricket in Upper and Lower Canada during the early sixties was the tour by the English cricket team in 1859.⁹⁷ Matches were played in Montreal and in Hamilton, and descriptions were carried in most newspapers throughout Canada. In the words of Lillywhite, who wrote a small book after the tour, it was "impossible to describe the excitement that prevailed"⁹⁸ Cricket had taken on a new dimension.

In Manitoba, cricket had its inception with the formation of the North West Cricket Club in the Red River settlement on September 24, 1864, with Governor Mactavish as President.⁹⁹ Lucas, in his historical diary of Winnipeg, related an amusing incident which must have been typical of cricketing afternoons in that remote settlement:

A small red flag was planted on a staff on one part of the field while the more expert players began bowling and batting; for perhaps half an hour the business was briskly kept up while the members present were constantly receiving augmentations from belated members. A proposal made that some gentleman should forthwith go and hunt up "refreshments" was passed by an overwhelming majority, and the deputy adjourned to the Fort Garry shop, whence, some time afterwards he emerged bringing with him the stimulants desired, contained in a little keg,

⁹⁷Infra, p. 293 ff.

⁹⁸Fred Lillywhite, The English Cricketers' Trip to Canada and the United States (London: F. Lillywhite, Kent and Coy, 1860), p. 18.

⁹⁹Nor'Wester, October 1, 1864.

in one hand, and a tin kettle of water in the other. His appearance was the signal for an immediate cessation of ball practice, while the members circled in a social knot, tried conclusions with the good things provided for their entertainment.¹⁰⁰

In Victoria, in the days before the formation of other clubs, novel ways of choosing teams for competition within the existing club were arranged. Reported matches in this category consisted of English-born versus Canadian-born, old residents versus new residents, married versus single, and first half of the alphabet versus last half. Similar arrangements were made in other regions of British North America where competition was lacking, and half the fun came from finding new categories. The United Victoria Cricket Club was formed in 1864,¹⁰¹ and, in the same year, reports of a Nanaimo Club reached the press. A match against the New Westminster Club was finally arranged on June 8, 1865,¹⁰² and the Victorians were successful in this and in each of the other two games played against the mainland team that year. In July, 1865, a public meeting was held to find people interested in forming a team to play the Victoria Club, and, to everyone's surprise, these neophytes defeated the established club by ten wickets. The jubilation was such that it led to the formation of the City Club in October.¹⁰³

On the other side of the country, the established clubs of the

¹⁰⁰ Fred Lucas, An Historical Souvenir Diary of the City of Winnipeg (Winnipeg: Cartwright and Lucas, 1923), p. 163.

¹⁰¹ Daily Colonist, Victoria, April 25, 1864.

¹⁰² Ibid., June 10, 1865.

¹⁰³ Vancouver Times, Victoria, October 4, 1865.

Maritime cities were thriving, while the newly formed St Anne's Club of Fredericton proved more than a match for them all. The St John's Club found competition against the Conception Bay cricketers, while the Charlottetown Club was large enough to incorporate several senior and junior teams. By 1864, the Novascotian could report that cricket was "rapidly rising in public favour," and that:

In various towns and villages throughout the province, this sport commands considerable attention. . . . On the Commons almost any fine afternoon, a person will probably see more than one company bowling and batting away in the most jolly manner imaginable.¹⁰⁴

The same comment could well apply to most of the established towns of British North America. If, by Confederation, any game could lay claim to being called Canada's National Game, it surely was cricket.

Football

An early game of football was recorded during the Christmas festivities at York Factory in 1822. The ice surface was no deterrent to these men of the Hudson's Bay Company, and several vigorously contested matches were played, aided, no doubt, by the thought of the two-gallon keg of gin which was offered as the prize by Mr McTavish.¹⁰⁵

References to games of football were quite vague in relation to either the method of play, or even the type of game that was being

¹⁰⁴Novascotian, August 29, 1864.

¹⁰⁵George Barnston, in a Letter to James Hargrave, February 1, 1823, Hudson's Bay Company Documents, B 235/C/1. (Information obtained from microfilm at the Public Archives of Canada, by John Foster, Ph.D. student in History, University of Alberta, 1969.)

played. Without standardized rules, it was only natural that several forms of football would arise, and it was quite common to have the umpire read out the particular rules of a game before the match commenced. One of the earliest organized matches was played in Toronto in August, 1859,¹⁰⁶ as the result of a general challenge made by twelve members of the St George's Society. Twelve Irishmen accepted the challenge, the game being played in University Park before a crowd of two thousand. Mr Brown, the President of the St George's Society, read the rules under which the match was to be played, all players assenting to them. Each team lined up at its own goal line, and the match was started by the President's tossing up the ball in the centre of the field,¹⁰⁷ at which there was a general rush for possession. One hour's continuous play followed, the game being judged a tie after a tripping dispute. Apparently, there were no sidelines, for when the ball was kicked amongst the spectators they scattered to avoid the rush of pursuing players. A return match was scheduled for September 8, but after only six of the St George team arrived, six volunteers from amongst the onlookers were enlisted. The match was decided by the best of three goals, or "hales" as they were called, with the Irishmen having the advantage.¹⁰⁸ It is evident that the usual game was a form of soccer,

¹⁰⁶Globe, Toronto, August 27, 1859. It should be noted, however, that football was included among the games prohibited on Sundays by the Lord's Day Act of 1845.

¹⁰⁷The ball was eight inches in diameter, and made of inflated India rubber.

¹⁰⁸Globe, Toronto, September 9, 1867.

or "kicking football" as it was called that same year in Fredericton, in a report of a match played during the Firemen's Pic-nic.¹⁰⁹

It would be presumptuous to say that organized football was wide-spread prior to Confederation, for reports of matches tend to confirm that they remained isolated events. The keenest followers of the sport were to be found in the various educational institutions of the day. Schoolboys delighted in the game, with matches being reported between Upper Canada College and the Model Grammar School in 1861,¹¹⁰ and Sir William Mulock, when he was a student, played on the Toronto University campus in 1863.¹¹¹ A typical student game at Trinity College in 1864, was described by one of the students, F. Barlow Cumberland, who later became a master there, as consisting of attempts to propel a ball between a goal area marked by two short sticks or two piles of coats.¹¹² There were no "off side" rules, no marked boundaries, no "touchdowns," and no restrictions as to the number of players. Hacking, tripping, and charging from behind were prominent features of these early campus games, and, although carrying the ball was forbidden, players were permitted to bounce it along with the hand. Unfortunately, no other group played this specific variation of football, hence outside matches were not common.¹¹³ In 1867, several inter-faculty and inter-

¹⁰⁹ Headquarters, Fredericton, September 21, 1859.

¹¹⁰ Globe, Toronto, October 7, 1861; October 15, 1861.

¹¹¹ Roxborough, op. cit., p. 73.

¹¹² T. A. Reed (ed.), A History of the University of Trinity College, Toronto, 1852-1952 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1952), p. 269.

¹¹³ Ibid.

school games were reported in the Globe during the months of October and November, attesting to the growth in popularity of the game within the schools at this time. Although rules and duration of play still varied from game to game, the number of players per team appeared to remain constant, at twenty.¹¹⁴

Meanwhile, within the Toronto community at large, the game must have gained some measure of popularity, for Joseph Robinson and Company, of Sheffield House, advertised the arrival of a consignment of English leather-covered footballs in several assorted sizes, in October, 1863.¹¹⁵ In Montreal, soldiers were reported playing football "amid the falling snow," in November, 1864,¹¹⁶ while in 1865, the Montreal Football Club, founded by the Secretary-Treasurer, Mr R. Charlton, was in operation.¹¹⁷ Five hundred spectators watched two teams from the club, the "reds" and the "blues," play a match on the Champ de Mars, in July 1865, in which one hour passed before the first goal was scored. In 1866 and 1867, "Garrison versus Civilians" matches were organized, and reports included reference to "rugby" for the first time, though details concerning rules of play were lacking.¹¹⁸ Mr C. D. Rose was in charge of the

¹¹⁴Globe, Toronto, November 18, 1867; November 25, 1867.

¹¹⁵Ibid., October 5, 1863.

¹¹⁶Montreal Gazette, November 17, 1864.

¹¹⁷Ibid., July 22, 1865. The club incorporated baseball in July, to become the Montreal Foot and Base Ball Club. The first President was Alfred Rimmer, Esq., J.P. (Ibid., August 1, 1865.)

¹¹⁸Ibid., October 10, 1866; October 8, 1867. The latter game was reportedly played under "rugby rules" with fifteen players a side.

sixteen-man team of civilians in the former game, and he "succeeded in touching down the ball, kicking a goal for the civilians," while "the three Rugby caps with Archer, Young, and Vanneck played well for their side."¹¹⁹

Writers in other regions of British North America mentioned some form of football being played in their areas during the sixties. McDougall wrote that football, along with foot races and dog races, was played in Fort Edmonton in December, 1862, and the "fun was fast and furious."¹²⁰ The author also mentioned New Year's Day, 1866, as another holiday on which he witnessed the game.¹²¹ The Sons of St Crispin in Hamilton,¹²² and the Caledonian Benevolent Society in Victoria¹²³ both included football in their annual picnic activities, while in Kingston, sailors of Her Majesty's Gunboat Hercules challenged the townsmen to a match in August, 1867, the challenge being accepted by eleven Volunteers. The Volunteers scored the first goal in seven minutes, but after two hours had passed without further score, a sailor illegally threw the ball into the goal, thus causing a heated dispute which brought the game to a close.¹²⁴

¹¹⁹Ibid., October 10, 1866.

¹²⁰John McDougall, Forest, Lake and Prairie (Toronto: William Briggs, 1895), p. 266.

¹²¹John McDougall, Pathfinding on Plain and Prairie (Toronto: William Briggs, 1898), p. 131.

¹²²Hamilton Times, July 22, 1865.

¹²³Daily Colonist, Victoria, June 29, 1865.

¹²⁴Daily News, Kingston, August 16, 1867.

By Confederation Year, although football's popularity had spread, and the name, Rugby, had received brief mention in relation to matches, no standardized Rugby Code was yet in evidence.

Golf

Clark¹²⁵ has stated that the introduction of golf to Canada dates back to Scottish officers in General Wolfe's army, who were in the practice of playing the game just outside the walls of Quebec. No further mention of golf is to be found until 1824, when a notice was purported to have appeared in a Montreal newspaper, calling Scotsmen to assemble and play a game on Christmas Day.¹²⁶ Bull¹²⁷ quoted from The Book of Sport in saying that this game took place at Priest's Farm near Montreal, and that the golfers were asked to meet at D. McArthur's Inn. Although Roxborough¹²⁸ has somewhat dubiously remarked that Christmas Day, in the middle of a Canadian winter, would have been an unlikely date selected for a field game, nevertheless, the weather at that time in 1824 was relatively mild. The Montreal Herald reported that the temperature on that day was twenty-eight degrees, and, to the "excited surprise of everyone," it had risen to thirty-six degrees by New Year's Day, with practically no snow upon the ground.¹²⁹ Thus, it would have been possible

¹²⁵Joseph T. Clark, "Golf in Canada," The Canadian Magazine, XXVI (November, 1905), No. 1, 43.

¹²⁶Ibid.

¹²⁷Bull, op. cit., p. 176.

¹²⁸Roxborough, op. cit., p. 105.

¹²⁹Montreal Herald, January 1, 1825.

for golf to have been played during that Christmas period of 1824.

Uttley¹³⁰ has written that German mechanics in old Kitchener (Berlin), during the fifties, were interested in golf but, having no clubs, they resorted to practising putting with garden hoes. The only other available reference to the game inferred that Scottish naval officers set out three-hole courses in Quebec and Montreal, early in the 1860s¹³¹ though the first golfers whose names were recorded were a few Toronto enthusiasts of 1869. Chief among these was Mr J. Lammond Smith, father-in-law of Mr E. B. Osler, Member of Parliament, who was himself a devoted player and supporter of the game.¹³² The first club, however, was not formed until 1873, when today's Royal Montreal Golf Club had its foundation.¹³³

Lacrosse

If the republic of Greece was indebted to the Olympic Games; if England has cause to bless the name of Cricket, so may Canada be proud of Lacrosse.¹³⁴

Although lacrosse had its origins in the old Indian game of baggataway, the game was not adopted by European settlers until the early 1840s. The historian, Howard H. Peckham,¹³⁵ produced evidence which suggested that French voyageurs may have played the game with the

¹³⁰W. V. Uttley, A History of Kitchener, Ontario (Waterloo: Chronicle Press, 1937), p. 107.

¹³¹Roxborough, loc. cit. ¹³²J. Clark, loc. cit. ¹³³Ibid.

¹³⁴W. George Beers, Lacrosse, the National Game of Canada (Montreal: Dawson Bros, 1869), p. 59.

¹³⁵Cited in A. Weyand and M. Roberts, The Lacrosse Story (Baltimore: H. and A. Herman, 1965), p. 13.

Indians, as a means of maintaining friendly relations with them prior to this period, but no definite mention of matches was given. The part played by a diversionary lacrosse game in the massacre of the soldiers at Fort Michilimackinac in 1763, is now a well known historical episode, but Peckham has stated that, during the planning of the attack, a lacrosse tournament was arranged by Pontiac at his village, to which Huron, Potawatomes, and Frenchmen were invited. At the conclusion of the matches the Frenchmen left, and a war council began.¹³⁶

The press generally ignored the game for the first three decades of the nineteenth century, probably considering it to be too rough and uncouth to interest respectable readers. One of the earliest press references was to a match played between eight St Regis Indians and eight from the Lake and Caughnawaga tribes in 1833, as part of a ceremony for the initiation to office of five new chiefs.¹³⁷ This evidently aroused a certain measure of interest, for, in the following year, some gentlemen from Montreal arranged a match between fourteen Indians from the village of Caughnawaga, at the St Pierre Race Course.¹³⁸ This venture was an evident success, for Mr Gibb, the proprietor of the course, arranged another match for 1835.¹³⁹ Many spectators were in attendance, and it was reported that those who were obtaining a closer

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Montreal Gazette, August 1, 1833.

¹³⁸ Weyand and Roberts, op. cit., p. 14.

¹³⁹ Montreal Gazette, September 5, 1835.

view of the game from inside the race course not only impeded the players, but also obstructed the view of other spectators in the grandstands. The extent of the press coverage, in addition to the number of spectators, was a fair indication of a growing interest in the game.

It is possible that some of the more athletically inclined residents of Montreal attempted to play the game following these early matches, but no records of games are in evidence prior to those conducted by the Montreal Olympic Club in 1844, under the patronage of the Governor-General, Sir Charles Metcalfe.¹⁴⁰ On August 29 of that year, a match was reported between five Indians and seven Montrealers during the Montreal Olympic Games, but the latter, despite their numerical strength and the fact that they supposedly were "ahead in agility and swiftness," were easily defeated by the Indians.¹⁴¹ Indeed, not until 1851 were white men skilled enough to win against their Indian opponents.¹⁴² During the late forties and early fifties, little attention was given to lacrosse by writers, hence it is reasonable to assume that white participation was negligible following the disbanding of the Montreal Olympic Club. In one of these infrequent matches, played in 1850 during the St Hyacinthe Spring Races on August 8, Mr Lamontagne, a star athlete and racquets player of the time, was the only white man

¹⁴⁰Weyand and Roberts, loc. cit. These authors state that unsubstantiated claims have been made to matches in 1839 and 1840. Since the Athletic Club was formed in 1842, there is possibility of games prior to 1844.

¹⁴¹Montreal Gazette, August 29, 1844; see also August 29, 1845.

¹⁴²Weyand and Roberts, loc. cit.

amongst the two teams of Caughnawaga Indians. It was reported that he won two games for his side by out-running the opposition with the ball in his possession.¹⁴³

In the late fifties, the game met with its first real popularity following the formation of the Montreal Lacrosse Club in 1856, by former athletes of the Olympic Club.¹⁴⁴ This group undertook the re-designing of the game so that it could be played with definite boundaries and so develop into a dodging and passing game. A heavier and longer type of stick was employed, with a wide triangular net strung with gut.¹⁴⁵ These innovations changed the style of play so that the Indians found they also had to adjust if they wished to maintain their supremacy in competition against white players. The members of the 1856 Montreal Club were T. Blackwood, J. Bruneau, A. Cherrier, P. Christie, T. Coffin, F. Dowd, G. Kernick, H. McDougall, W. MacFarlane, and G. Redpath.¹⁴⁶ By 1860, three other lacrosse clubs had been formed in the city; the Hochelaga Club, in 1858,¹⁴⁷ called after the Huron name for Montreal, and the Beaver Club and the Young Montreal Club, both in the following year.¹⁴⁸ The Hochelaga Club merged with the Montreal Club in 1860,¹⁴⁹ this new association being referred to as The Lacrosse Club of

¹⁴³Montreal Gazette, August 10, 1850.

¹⁴⁴Weyand and Roberts, loc. cit.

¹⁴⁵Ibid.

¹⁴⁶Ibid., p. 15.

¹⁴⁷Ibid.

¹⁴⁸Montreal Gazette, March 17, 1860; March 21, 1860.

¹⁴⁹Weyand and Roberts, loc. cit.

Montreal.¹⁵⁰ George Beers,¹⁵¹ the father of modern lacrosse, wrote that the Beaver Club objected to the Montreal Club's being called The Lacrosse Club, and their opposition caused the name to revert to its original form in 1861.

The visit of the Prince of Wales to Canada in 1860 was the occasion for a grand lacrosse match, in which the Montreal and Beaver Clubs joined together to play a team of Caughnawaga and St Regis Indians. The latter group was led by Sawatis Aientonni Baptiste Canadien, reputed to be the best player in Canada, and an outstanding boatman on the rapids.¹⁵² The Montreal team, captained by Nicholas Hughes, was awarded the match after a dispute which resulted from Baptiste's having held the ball in his hand at a moment when the match was tied at two goals each, with the Montrealers threatening their opponents' goal.¹⁵³ Following the match, the President of the Montreal Club, George Kernick, presented the Prince with a silver mounted "Crosse" in commemoration of his visit.¹⁵⁴ The interest aroused by the publicity attached to this match led to an increase in club membership, so that, a few weeks later, the second team of the Beaver Club was announced to play against the

¹⁵⁰Beers, Lacrosse, intro., p. x.

¹⁵¹Ibid.

¹⁵²Weyand and Roberts, op. cit., p. 15.

¹⁵³Beers, loc. cit. The Prince, having sat through a long Indian match previous to this one, ended the dispute by suggesting the commencement of the War Dance, scheduled next for his entertainment. (Weyand and Roberts, loc. cit.) George Beers was one of the goalies for the match, being then only seventeen years of age. (Roxborough, op. cit., p. 173.)

¹⁵⁴Montreal Gazette, September 13, 1860.

first team of the Young Montreal Club.¹⁵⁵ Although the time of the match, five-thirty in the morning, demonstrated a certain eagerness among the players, the contest was otherwise noteworthy in that twelve players were used by each team, a number which soon was to become official for all lacrosse matches. Two weeks later, Beers, under the pseudonym of "Goal-Keeper," published his first literature concerning play, entitled The Game of Lacrosse. The work was reported to include sections on the construction of the crosse, various methods of throwing and catching the ball, dodging, checking, and goalkeeping.¹⁵⁶

The following year saw several spirited games between the Beaver and the Montreal Clubs, and also one between the Excelsior Club, formed in Ottawa in 1860, and a new Montreal club called the Shamrocks.¹⁵⁷ A further club was also mentioned in relation to this match, for the venue was the grounds of the Mechanics' Club on Colborne Avenue, though no matches by such a club were reported during the season. In 1862, a suggestion that protective equipment may have been worn, appeared in a Chambers Journal article.¹⁵⁸ The inference was, that a person wishing to excel at lacrosse should not object to an

¹⁵⁵Ibid., October 4, 1860.

¹⁵⁶Ibid., October 17, 1860.

¹⁵⁷Ibid., August 29, 1861. The Excelsior Club was formed as the Ottawa Lacrosse Club, but changed its name to Excelsior in April, 1861, feeling this name to be "more appropriate." (Ibid., April 3, 1861.)

¹⁵⁸"A Rival to Cricket," Chambers Journal, XVIII (December 6, 1862), 367. Beers claimed that the author was an ex-Beaver Club player, who stole most of this article from Beers' brochure of 1860.

occasional bump on the head or the fingers, but that, if he did, he was to wear cricket gloves and a thick cap. The author of the article further expounded the virtues of lacrosse as opposed to cricket, and suggested that, as it was suited to girls, it might well be introduced into girls' schools, for there was abundant healthy exercise involved in the playing.¹⁵⁹ He criticized the inherent weaknesses of cricket as a participant sport, arguing that lacrosse:

. . . boasts more unintermittent amusement and more simultaneous competition than cricket. The materials, too, are cheaper, and you require no "hog-in-armour" costume. It is more varied, more ingenious, more subtle than cricket, and, above all, it can be played in all seasons of the year without danger, expense, or preparation. . . above all, there is not that tiresome and wearisome waiting for the innings. The whole twenty-four men have their innings simultaneously, and have both an equal chance and an equal certainty of amusement and enjoyment.¹⁶⁰

Unfortunately, this eulogy would have fallen on deaf ears, for, from 1862 to 1865, the clubs disbanded due to the emergence of a more serious form of play—Volunteering.

One of the first clubs to be reorganized, when the American Civil War ceased to be a threat to the security of British North America, was the Ottawa Club. Its reorganization was carried out under the direction of Mr E. Cluff, with assistance from George Massey, formerly of the Beaver Club, and from Mr W. A. Stafford of the Montreal Club, since the game remained dormant for a time in Montreal.¹⁶¹ Under this new leadership, the Ottawa Club, captained by John Cullen, was strong enough

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 366.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 368.

¹⁶¹ Beers, Lacrosse, intro., p. x.

to defeat an Iroquois Indian team in a best-of-five match in July, 1865.¹⁶² By this year, interest in the sport had been aroused to such an extent that three clubs, Ottawa, Young Canadians, and Victoria, were organized in the city, and, in the following year, the Victoria Club obtained the patronage of the Governor-General, Lord Monck.¹⁶³ In May, 1866, a match was arranged at Cornwall between the Ottawa Club and some former players of the Montreal and Beaver Clubs. These latter had not played for several years, nevertheless, they scored the first two goals. At this, the betting was ten to one in favour of Montreal, but unfortunately, those who placed money on the Montreal team's winning were doomed to disappointment, for the Ottawa team scored the next three goals to win the game.¹⁶⁴ A result of this match was a renewed interest in lacrosse in Montreal, this interest being augmented by their winning the return match against Ottawa on the grounds of the Montreal Cricket Club in September, by three goals to nil. The report of this contest placed part of the blame for Ottawa's defeat upon the fact that they wore moccasins, which quickly became wet and slippery upon the soft ground, whereas the Montreal players wore light shoes or boots.¹⁶⁵ The revitalized Montreal team then entered into a match

¹⁶²Ottawa Citizen, July 4, 1865.

¹⁶³Ibid., May 24, 1866.

¹⁶⁴Ibid., May 26, 1866. Notice of two junior teams in Ottawa, the Union Jack, and the Morning Star Lacrosse Clubs, also appeared in this edition. Further evidence of the lapse of lacrosse in Montreal was presented in relation to the above match against Ottawa, for the Montreal Gazette, May 4, 1866, stated that "a number of young Montrealers have organized themselves into a Lacrosse Club for the purpose of accepting the challenge of the Ottawa Lacrosse Club."

¹⁶⁵Montreal Gazette, September 29, 1866.

against the Caughnawaga Indians in October for what was proclaimed as the "Championship of Canada," once again the Indians proving their superiority as players.¹⁶⁶ Montreal on this occasion was represented by N. Hughes (Captain), Messrs Maltby, Middlemiss, Beers, Tate, Ralston, Thompson, Henderson, C. Davidson, A. Davidson, Dowd, McDonald, and McDougall.¹⁶⁷ The Indians, as usual, were led by Baptiste.

The year 1867 witnessed the beginning of a tremendous expansion for the game of lacrosse. A club was formed in Quebec, playing its first match on July 26,¹⁶⁸ and, before the month had passed by, its membership numbered seventy-five.¹⁶⁹ In Ottawa, the three existing clubs amalgamated under the presidency of Edward Cluff, to become known as the Ontario Lacrosse Club.¹⁷⁰ George Massey once again figured in the promoting of the game when he organized the Toronto Lacrosse Club in June, 1867, after taking up residence in that city.¹⁷¹ The first game ever played in Toronto took place on the evening of June 6, 1867, in Queen's Park,¹⁷² and the first annual meeting of the club, held on

¹⁶⁶Ibid., October 15, 1866. The continued superiority of the Indians, in 1867, led to the sending of a Caughnawaga team to England in July of that year, to demonstrate the game in that country.

¹⁶⁷Ibid. ¹⁶⁸Morning Chronicle, Quebec, July 27, 1867.

¹⁶⁹Ibid., August 28, 1867.

¹⁷⁰Ottawa Citizen, April 22, 1867.

¹⁷¹Montreal Gazette, July 10, 1867.

¹⁷²Globe, Toronto, June 7, 1867. This edition noted that the club intended to practise every morning at six o'clock, and every evening at seven o'clock. Roxborough stated that this club was organized in 1866. (Roxborough, op. cit., p. 152.)

June 28, saw Mr W. Otter elected President.¹⁷³ Hamilton was assisted by the Toronto players in the formation of its club, for, on August 28, the Torontonians demonstrated the game in that city, a club being formed immediately afterwards with forty initial members.¹⁷⁴ Paris felt the influence of the game in 1867, and formed the Brant Lacrosse Club, the Toronto Club once again receiving mention for its assistance.¹⁷⁵ By the end of October, 1867, there were thirteen clubs with- in Toronto, comprising over six hundred players,¹⁷⁶ while at one match played by the Toronto Club against the Six Nations Indian team from Onondaga, an estimated three thousand spectators were in attendance.¹⁷⁷

Meanwhile, the game in Montreal, aided by the proselytizing of George Beers, was no less enthusiastically followed than it was in Toronto. In July, 1867, the Montreal Gazette reported the existence

¹⁷³Globe, Toronto, June 29, 1867.

¹⁷⁴Hamilton Times, August 30, 1867. All new clubs at this stage in the game's development were dependent upon Montreal for their supply of regulation lacrosse sticks.

¹⁷⁵Globe, Toronto, August 17, 1867. Roxborough, however, quotes William J. Mills as recalling that, "In 1865, when summer ushered in lacrosse, Parisians went berserk, and citizens slept and walked upon the doings of the wielders of the gutted stick." (Roxborough, op. cit., p. 40.) In view of the stage of development of lacrosse at this time, it may be doubted that such enthusiasm would have been felt before the general spread of the game. It is also unlikely that, if lacrosse had been played in Paris for two years prior to the formation of the Brant Club, the new club would have needed the assistance from Toronto.

¹⁷⁶Globe, Toronto, October 26, 1867. The clubs and their memberships were; Toronto (100), Victoria (40), Ontario (70), Maple Leaf (45), Caer Howell (35), Upper Canada College (40), Osgoode (70 law students), Model School, 1st Division (45), 2nd Division (40), 3rd Division (40), Montroyal (30), 13th Hussars (30), and Royal Canadian (30).

¹⁷⁷Ibid., September 26, 1867. The Indian team won by three goals to two.

of nine clubs in that city, capable of fielding a total of thirteen teams and three hundred and seventy players.¹⁷⁸ During the next few months, five new clubs were formed in Montreal, while, in October, it was announced that over sixty clubs were in operation throughout Canada,¹⁷⁹ including those in Halifax (3), Barriefield (2), Kingston (2), Brockville (1), Prescott (1), Quebec (2), Ottawa (3), Toronto (13), Paris (1), and Montreal (18). This was an increase of twenty-five clubs within four weeks, for it had been announced in the Morning Chronicle, on September 28, that there were thirty-five clubs in existence, with a total membership of one thousand three hundred and eighty players. By November, the numbers had risen to eighty clubs and two thousand players.¹⁸⁰

This dramatic increase in the number of clubs may be attributed to the Lacrosse Convention held in Kingston on September 26, 1867, at which the National Lacrosse Association of Canada was formed, with Nicholas Hughes as President, and Dr. Beers as Secretary, both of Montreal.¹⁸¹ So that the Executive Committee might be more representative, Edward Cluff (Ottawa), W. D. Otter (Toronto), and W. M. Stewart (Kingston), were elected as Vice-Presidents.¹⁸² Twenty-seven clubs

¹⁷⁸ Montreal Gazette, July 23, 1867. The clubs were Montreal, Shamrock, Beaver, Aurora, Star, Maple Leaf, Crescent, Caledonia, and Thistle.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., October 24, 1867.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., November 14, 1867. In December, many of these clubs in Montreal formed snowshoe clubs for the winter. (Ibid., December 6, 1867.)

¹⁸¹ Ibid., September 27, 1867

¹⁸² Weyand and Roberts, op. cit., p. 18.

were represented at the convention, fourteen from Ontario, and thirteen from the Province of Quebec. As an incentive for unorganized players to form clubs and join the National Association, a resolution was passed that no challenge would be accepted from clubs not registered with the national body.¹⁸³ The opportunity was also taken during the convention of organizing the first inter-provincial game between Quebec and Ontario, the former being represented by players from the Montreal, Caledonia, Dominion, Shamrock, Crescent, Aurora, and Young Mechanics Clubs, while players from Hamilton, Toronto, Ottawa, and Kingston appeared for Ontario. This historic contest was won by Quebec in three consecutive games, with Nicholas Hughes and W. Maltby the outstanding players of the match.¹⁸⁴

There can be no doubting the popularity of lacrosse in Confederation Year. During the Dominion Day celebrations, the game was featured among athletic events which constituted the main portion of the day's activities. In Montreal, an estimated five thousand spectators watched the Caughnawaga Indians defeat the Montreal Club, "as a sort of inauguration of the national game of the Dominion."¹⁸⁵ One of these spectators, who was a cricketer, was heard to wonder why that sport could not raise

¹⁸³Ottawa Times, October 1, 1867. Annual subscription was to be at the rate of five cents per member of each club (Montreal Gazette, October 15, 1867.)

¹⁸⁴Montreal Gazette, September 27, 1867.

¹⁸⁵Ibid., July 1, 1867. The Montreal Club uniforms for this match were white caps, white jackets with red cuffs, grey knickerbockers with red cord, and black stockings. (Ibid., July 4, 1867.)

a crowd of a hundred at a match, even with a military band providing additional entertainment. The Montreal Gazette provided the answer:

For the simple reason that Lacrosse is a popular game, easy of comprehension, always of thrilling interest, while cricket, barring four-hits and catches at long field, is slow to all but the players, or to understanding lookers-on. Cricket, like billiards, requires an educated audience. Lacrosse, like a horse race, is red jacket against blue, the¹⁸⁶ excitement is more intense, and the suspense is soon over.

Athletics was another sport to look enviously at the public support enjoyed by lacrosse, and it was suggested to the Montreal Pedestrian Club that one remedy for the small number of competitors present at their races in October, might be to invite lacrosse clubs to enter competitions in the future.¹⁸⁷ But if an extract from the Montreal Gazette published a few days previously is indicative, most men of Montreal had their minds on other things:

Every Saturday afternoon particularly, the Parks and Commons are crowded with Lacrosse players, from the Professor who doffs the gown for the occasion, to the little urchin¹⁸⁸ who can barely scrape together 50¢ to purchase a crosse.

Although in the years following Confederation, lacrosse began to be played in quite a rough fashion, the matches prior to this were of a more orderly nature. The liveliest tussles reported, occurred between the Montreal and the Shamrock Clubs, and, on one occasion when a dispute arose over the scoring of a goal, "Ladies could not remain on the ground from the language used."¹⁸⁹

The proposing of lacrosse as Canada's National Game was well

¹⁸⁶Ibid., July 4, 1867.

¹⁸⁷Ibid., October 28, 1867.

¹⁸⁸Ibid., October 23, 1867.

¹⁸⁹Ibid., July 16, 1867.

publicized during 1867. It was the conviction of Dr George Beers that this Canadian game was the only suitable one for naming as a national game, and he initiated a publicity campaign for its adoption as such:

I believe that I was the first to propose the game of Lacrosse as the national game of Canada in 1859; and a few months preceding the proclamation of Her Majesty, uniting the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick into one Dominion, a letter headed "Lacrosse—Our National Field Game," published by me in the Montreal Daily News in April, 1867, was printed off and distributed throughout the whole Dominion, and was copied into many of the public papers.¹⁹⁰

This wide spread publicity evidently led people to believe that the game had indeed been accepted as the national game, and this added to its popularity "in districts where it had never been seen or heard of before, and where other field sports had been played for years."¹⁹¹

Lacrosse news in the Sporting Intelligence column of the Montreal Gazette from June 6 onwards, was headed "The National Game," and it was claimed that the match held on Dominion Day between the Caughnawaga Indians and the Montreal Club would inaugurate "the acceptance of La Crosse as our national game."¹⁹² However, the claim of lacrosse to the title was not without its opponents, as is evidenced by a letter to the Montreal Gazette, in August, 1867, written by a cricketer who objected to such usage on the grounds that:

A National Game should be one in which all classes of the nation can join—the old, or at least, the middle-aged as well as the young. Now, this is not the case with Lacrosse. The exertion it requires is manifestly too severe to be endured by any but very young men—there is too little skill and too

¹⁹⁰Beers, Lacrosse, p. 57.

¹⁹¹Ibid., p. 58.

¹⁹²Montreal Gazette, June 29, 1867.

much rough and tumble about it. A game which must necessarily be confined to boys, and those but a few years older, can scarcely deserve to be called a National Game.

A National Game should be one common to the whole nation—whereas Lacrosse is confined to a few places—indeed I may say chiefly to Montreal—and not likely to extend its limits. Local is opposed to national; and a game which is purely local can scarcely deserve to be called national.

There is but one such a game, and that, I need hardly say, is cricket, played throughout the length and breadth of the British Empire, from north to south and from east to west—played by all classes, from the lad of fourteen to the man of forty,—it, and it alone, is entitled to be called "The National Game." I have witnessed with pleasure the activity displayed by the dusky Indian in what may be his national game—but I look with much greater pleasure on the skill and science of the brotherhood who, against the best bowling, can successfully defend their wickets, and elicit the applause of spectators by a good leg hit for four.

Cricket is our national game. As such it should receive moral encouragement from the young men of Montreal, and I call upon you, sir, to use the influence of our widely circulated and well read columns to restore it to its proper place.¹⁹³

Various authors over the years have perpetuated the idea that lacrosse became the national game by Act of Parliament on July 1, 1867,¹⁹⁴ yet the above correspondent, writing in August, stated his objections in order to prevent the adoption of the term in the face of its common usage.¹⁹⁵ Although the term was popular, particularly in Montreal during 1867, no press reports concerning legislation for its official adoption were in evidence, which suggests that its popular acceptance

¹⁹³Ibid., August 7, 1867.

¹⁹⁴For example, Weyand and Roberts, op. cit., p. 18; Roxborough, op. cit., p. 6.

¹⁹⁵Montreal Gazette, loc. cit.

was due to the success of Beers' publicity campaign.¹⁹⁶

Dr William George Beers, "a flaming lacrosse evangelist,"¹⁹⁷ was born in Montreal in 1843, and was educated at Lower Canada College and Phillips School, following dentistry as a career. He was reportedly introduced to lacrosse at the early age of six,¹⁹⁸ and at seventeen, was proficient enough to be selected to represent Montreal as one of the goalkeepers in the match before the Prince of Wales, in 1860. This same year, he prepared a brochure on lacrosse, and, through a series of letters to the press, was able to keep the game before the public's attention. His enthusiasm was rewarded in 1867, when his proposal to hold a National Convention was adopted, and he was consequently elected Secretary of the national association. In 1869, in both Montreal and New York, he published his book on lacrosse, the first such book ever written.¹⁹⁹ He proposed the first rules of the game and named the positions of the players in 1867, these being adopted by the Montreal Club on July 1, and published in the Montreal Gazette on July 17, 1867, with the note that they constituted the only recognized rules of the

¹⁹⁶ A recent word on this subject appeared in Dick Beddoes' column in the Globe and Mail, December 20, 1968, which quoted Douglas Fisher of the press gallery in Ottawa as saying, that he had covered all available sources on this subject, with the conclusion that no political gathering with legislative or declatory powers ever said anything about lacrosse in this period. The perusal of over twenty Canadian newspapers for 1867, as well as Statutes of Canada, leads to the present writer's agreement.

¹⁹⁷ Roxborough, op. cit., p. 173.

¹⁹⁸ Weyand and Roberts, op. cit., p. 17.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

game.²⁰⁰ Until his death in 1900, he continued to play a leading role in the development of the game, accompanying two teams to England in 1876 and 1883, so that, today, he is known affectionately as the "Father of Modern Lacrosse."

November of 1867 saw the presentation of the Claxton Flags to Nicholas Hughes, President of the Montreal Club. The donor was T. James Claxton, who had emigrated from England in his early youth and had worked his way up from a clerk to become the millionaire head of a wholesale dry goods company. Throughout his life he was noted for his philanthropic attitude towards youth, becoming President of the first YMCA formed on the American continent, in Montreal, in 1851.²⁰¹ The Claxton Flags, valued at two hundred dollars, were for challenge competition by the amateur teams of Montreal,²⁰² and were presented first to the Montreal Club as the "acknowledged Champions of the game."²⁰³ They constituted the first trophy awarded for lacrosse competition, and were to be held for three consecutive years in order to be claimed as the property of the champion club.²⁰⁴

By the end of 1867, the phenomenal rise in the popularity of lacrosse was beginning to threaten the stronghold of cricket, but, as

²⁰⁰ See Appendix.

²⁰¹ Weyand and Roberts, *op. cit.*, p.18.

²⁰² This excluded the Indian teams for they were regarded as professionals, and always played for a purse of from twenty to sixty dollars.

²⁰³ Montreal Gazette, November 11, 1867.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., October 30, 1867. Note that the National Association had provided a banner for championship play, which bore the slogan: "Our Country and Our Game." Indian teams were eligible for this, and their superiority may have prompted Claxton to present his trophy for amateur teams only.



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yet, it was still restricted largely to Montreal and Toronto, whereas cricket was played from coast to coast. However, in the words of George Beers:

A game that can persuade over two hundred of the youth of a single Canadian city to rise at half past five, three or four mornings all through the summer weeks, when all other games put together cannot muster a corporal's guard, speaks for itself.²⁰⁵

Lawn Bowling

References to lawn bowling are extremely rare in literature pertaining to sport prior to Confederation. It has been stated in several different sources²⁰⁶ that there was a bowling green on the garrison grounds at Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia, in 1734, though there were no indications of the game's spread to other areas before 1836, when it was played in Toronto by members of the Caer Howell Club.²⁰⁷ This Toronto club was situated in College Avenue, on property once owned by Chief Justice Powell, and listed twenty-five members in its foundation year.²⁰⁸ The rules of the club stated that membership was not to exceed thirty, and that players should supply their own bowls.²⁰⁹ The yearly subscription of £1 per member was augmented by fines of one

²⁰⁵Beers, Lacrosse, p. 34.

²⁰⁶For example; Roxborough, op. cit., p. 69; George Elliot, "Bowling on the Green," Canadian Magazine, XIX (September, 1902), p. 516.

²⁰⁷Roxborough gives 1836 as the date of origin of this club, whereas Elliot quotes 1837 from club records.

²⁰⁸Elliot, loc. cit.

²⁰⁹Ibid.

shilling, levied against any member should he not be present for play at five o'clock on Fridays, though three o'clock on Tuesdays and Fridays was the regular starting time.²¹⁰ The Globe gave scant attention to the bowlers, though it did report Mr C. S. Murray as winner of the Annual Championship match in 1847.²¹¹

A bowling club was in operation in Montreal by 1851, a meeting being advertised to take place on the Green, on the evening of September 3 of that year, but once again, the press showed no interest in the activities of this group.²¹² The only other centre at which a club was reported was Hamilton, where the Hamilton Thistle Club functioned in 1852.²¹³

Quoiting

Quoits, though an old traditional English and Scottish game, similar to horseshoe pitching, received no publicity in Canada until its inclusion in the programme of the Toronto Athletic Games, held on September 11, 1839.²¹⁴ Thereafter, it became an annual event in Toronto and Montreal wherever these athletic games were held.

John Muir of Scarborough dominated the contests at Toronto during these early years, suggesting that the game was commonly played in the Scarborough district long before the formation of the first club

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Globe, Toronto, September 11, 1847.

²¹² Montreal Gazette, September 3, 1851.

²¹³ Miller, op. cit., p. 103.

²¹⁴ Kingston Chronicle, August 21, 1839. The distance between "hobs" was 22 yards.

there in 1858.²¹⁵ The 1840 Toronto Games listed two quoiting contests, Muir winning one, and the other being won by John Torrance, also of Scarborough,²¹⁶ and a noted curler of that district.

The first quoit club reported was in Montreal, it being in existence in 1841 when a match was announced at St Pierre between the club's married members, and its bachelors.²¹⁷ These contests continued as annual events until the mention of a Thistle Club in 1846.²¹⁸ At this time, it was evident that members of curling clubs were playing quoits as a summer substitute for their organized winter activities, hence it is probable that the Thistle Quoit Club was formed before 1846, when it reportedly played a match against the Montreal Club. Nine players constituted each team, the venue being General Evans' property at the head of St Urbain Street.²¹⁹ In the following year, 1847, the Thistle Club announced a two-rink match between its Scottish members and those born in Canada, the former winning by only one point, which indicated that the Canadians were approaching the game with increasing enthusiasm and skill. With the formation of the Caledonian Curling Club in 1850, the Caledonian Quoit Club commenced activities in the following summer, annual matches being arranged thereafter with the Montreal

²¹⁵David Boyle (ed.), The Township of Scarboro, 1796-1896 (Toronto: William Briggs, Printer, 1896), p. 250. However, the Globe, Toronto, September 9, 1859, announced the formation of the Scarborough Quoiting Club, under Alexander Muir, President.

²¹⁶Montreal Gazette, October 1, 1841.

²¹⁷Ibid., September 14, 1841.

²¹⁸Ibid., September 10, 1846.

²¹⁹Ibid.

Union Club.²²⁰ In the 1853 contest between these two clubs at Guilbault's Gardens, fifty players represented each group.²²¹

Meanwhile, other quoit clubs were reported from Hamilton and West Flamborough, the former issuing a challenge to the rest of Upper Canada in 1848,²²² although whether this challenge was accepted was not reported. At this time, both of these districts supported curling clubs, thus following the growing tradition of a curling-quoit club combination. Therefore, although quaiting received very meagre press coverage, it is not presumptuous to assume that other curling centres had established quoit clubs as well.

The Montreal Caledonian Society began its sponsoring of Athletic Games in 1856, one of its first projects being a quoits match against two American opponents for a wager of \$100-a-side, the Canadians emerging victorious in each of the three games.²²³ By the end of the decade, other quoit clubs had been reported in Halifax (Studley Quoit Club, 1858),²²⁴ Scarborough (1858-9), Toronto, Bowmanville, Burlington,²²⁵ Dundas, and Hamilton (Maple Leaf Club, 1858).²²⁶

The Scarborough Quoit Club was said to have originated in 1858, at the instigation of Alexander Muir, and David Johnston. These two

²²⁰Ibid., August 19, 1852. ²²¹Ibid., July 25, 1853.

²²²Globe, Toronto, November 15, 1848.

²²³Montreal Gazette, June 19, 1856.

²²⁴Quinpool, op. cit., p. 72.

²²⁵Hamilton Times, June 27, 1859.

²²⁶Ibid., July 5, 1859.

gentlemen, both of Scarborough, having won a medal in the championship contest held in Toronto under the auspices of the Caledonian Society, decided to form a club in their home town, and to offer the medal for annual competition. Its first winner was John Holmes, Jnr, competing against the sixty players listed as members of the club.²²⁷ Alexander Muir was elected the first President of the club, and later achieved fame as Quoits Champion of both Canada and the United States.²²⁸ A twelve-a-side match was arranged with the Toronto Club at the Newmarket Race Course, York Township, on September 10, 1859, Scarborough winning by eighty points, and five out of the six rinks.²²⁹ The St George's Society of Toronto organized a quoits competition in conjunction with the Toronto Fair of 1859, players from Toronto, Hamilton, and Bowmanville taking part. John Scott of Toronto won the fourteen dollars first prize, while Mr S. Ferguson of Hamilton received four dollars as second prize winner.²³⁰

The sixties witnessed a further spread of competition, with matches being reported from Quebec, Yorkville, Lachute, St Andrew's, Ottawa, Whitby, and Victoria. In Toronto, in 1860, the Carleton and Yorkshire Clubs contested a game on Inkerman's Hotel grounds, in Yonge Street.²³¹ Mr W. Bell achieved a victory in Montreal in 1861, when he partnered Mr Lawson in a win over two Quebecers, Messrs Saddler and

²²⁷Boyle, loc. cit.

²²⁸Roxborough, op. cit., p. 174.

²²⁹Globe, Toronto, September 13, 1859.

²³⁰Ibid., August 25, 1859.

²³¹Ibid., August 17, 1860.

Brodie, at the race course in Quebec.²³² In 1862, Bell won the Knock-out Competition, from twelve entrants, at the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society Pic-nic.²³³ The Morning Chronicle advertised the holding of a competition for a Gold Quoit in October of the following year, this being won by John Murray, from a large number of players.²³⁴ On May 6, 1865, the Daily Colonist announced that four experienced players would play a match at Healy's Clover Point House, while a few days later, the Clover Point players were reported to have been defeated by a group from the Lion Brewery.²³⁵

By 1866, enthusiasts within the Quebec Quoit Club was sufficiently keen, that it was announced that members would meet for play every evening at six-thirty, on their grounds in St Dominique Street, St Roch's,²³⁶ whereas, in 1867, the inclusion of quaiting as an activity in the programme of the Hamilton Sewing Factory's annual beach picnic, emphasized the suitability of the game for social recreation.

Sheep Shearing

The rare occurrence of a Sheep Shearing Match was reported from the Fair Ground at Whitby, in June, 1866, under the auspices of the South Ontario Agricultural Society. The match was divided into two sections, the first section for men having fourteen competitors, and

²³²Montreal Gazette, October 26, 1861.

²³³Ibid., August 11, 1862.

²³⁴Morning Chronicle, Quebec, October 27, 1863; October 30, 1863.

²³⁵Daily Colonist, Victoria, May 8, 1865.

²³⁶Morning Chronicle, Quebec, June 15, 1866.

the second, for boys under the age of eighteen, having three. Each section carried a four dollar prize, the men's being won by T. Allin, while W. Wicket won that of the boys'.²³⁷

Track and Field

The earliest record of an organized track and field meeting was the report of the Toronto Athletic Games, on September 11, 1839.²³⁸ Previous to this, only foot races, either conducted by garrisons, or as additions to horse race meetings, received public notice. As early as 1808, the Nova Scotia Royal Gazette,²³⁹ under the heading "Sporting Intelligence," printed coverage of a series of challenge races which took place over a period of several days. The 101st Regiment was the chief instigator of these events, the principal race being run over a distance of six and a quarter miles, between Mr Lynch of the 101st and Mr Skinner of the Newfoundland Regiment, in which the latter was unwisely given four hundred and sixty yards start. The Quebec Mercury, on July 18 of the same year, listed two foot races which terminated the Quebec Races of July 14, one for Indians, the other for Canadians. The usual distance for such events was once around the race course. During the Niagara Races in June, 1835, a twenty dollar purse was offered to anyone running that course within five minutes.²⁴⁰

²³⁷Oshawa Vindicator, June 13, 1866.

²³⁸Kingston Chronicle, August 21, 1839.

²³⁹Nova Scotia Royal Gazette, March 8, 1808; March 15, 1808.

²⁴⁰Montreal Gazette, June 6, 1835.

Many of the track and field carnivals commenced with a game of quoits, the Toronto Athletic Games of 1839 being no exception. Other activities on this programme included running and standing high leaps, putting light and heavy stones, short foot races (100 yards), long foot races (400 yards), running and standing hop, step and leap, throwing light and heavy hammers, a steeplechase, and sack races. Contests in shooting, archery, and cricket concluded the day.

During the forties, challenge matches continued to find space in the press, those involving a contest against time remaining popular. The Montreal Gazette, May 16, 1840, reported such a match in which Captain Cameron undertook to walk two miles within sixteen minutes for wagers of £50. The backers of "time" would not allow Cameron to be informed of the elapsed time, so he carried a watch in his hand. This watch, however, was of such quality that heat and motion were said to have caused it to lose time during the race, so that Cameron thought he had three minutes to spare, when the actual elapsed time was sixteen minutes and twenty-three seconds. A second attempt was undertaken the following day, and despite heavy rain, the distance was completed in fourteen minutes and forty-five seconds. This whole affair was an example of a typical attempt to use an athletic event to hoodwink a gullible public, whose passion for gambling was a feature of the period. Cameron was said to have deliberately walked slowly on the first day in order to obtain bets against his second attempt, but, to shrewd observers, his condition at the finish made it evident that he could have gone faster. Only those who considered the "slow watch" to have been a

fabricated excuse were foolish enough to place bets the following day.

Organized Athletic Games were inaugurated in Montreal on September 28, 1843.²⁴¹ The events were "all old English games, calculated to draw forth every variety of athletic skill, and to develop that muscular strength and nervous vigour, which have contributed so much to make our [English] race pre-eminent among the nations of the world."²⁴² Mr E. Lamontagne, a prominent athlete whose talents carried over into lacrosse, snowshoeing, and racquets, won the standing high vault, the running high leap, and also the cricket ball throw at which he reached the respectable distance of ninety-four yards.

At the 1844 carnival, the title was changed to the Montreal Olympic Games, held under the patronage of the Governor-General, Sir Charles Metcalfe.²⁴³ The two-day programme contained twenty-nine events, including five lacrosse matches. Members of the Montreal Olympic Club²⁴⁴ won the bulk of the track and field events, though they were pressed by Sergeant McGillivray of the 93rd Highlanders, who took honours in hammer throwing (15 pounds), and ball putting (9 pounds and 24 pounds).

²⁴¹Ibid., September 29, 1843.

²⁴²Ibid., September 20, 1843. This reflects the very British attitude which prevailed towards most sport of the time.

²⁴³Ibid., August 29, 1844.

²⁴⁴S. A. Davidson, "A History of Sport and Games in Eastern Canada Prior to World War I," (unpublished Doctoral Thesis, Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York, 1951), p. 52. Davidson states, without footnote, that this club was formed in 1842. However, La Minerve, August 14, 1843, gives notice of the formation of an Athletic Club, which was to have its first gathering in late September. This coincides with the date of the first Montreal Olympic Games. The change in the name of the Games to "Olympic" in 1844 may be pertinent as well. Also, this was the first time members of the Olympic Club had been singled out for special mention.

Although such challenges as:

I, the undersigned, will walk N. Hughes of Montreal, any distance, from two to ten miles, on the St Pierre Race Course, for £25 a side, to start back to back and come in face to face; or, should Hughes not like that, I will walk against time, to toss for first start; two umpires and a referee to be chosen.²⁴⁵
W. H. Boyd.

continued to appear, organized track and field meetings were held irregularly in Montreal until 1856, when the annual Caledonian Society gatherings were inaugurated.

Increased Scottish participation in Athletic Games during the forties is evidenced by the names of winners at these meetings; McDonald, McDonell, McLeod, McGillivray, McKay, McCallum, McMillan, and others. Highland Games were conducted at Lancaster on June 30, 1840.²⁴⁶ On October 8, 1847, in Toronto, a meeting of Scotsmen was held to establish a Highland Society²⁴⁷ for the further promotion of Scottish Games, following a successful Highland Games meeting there in September.²⁴⁸ This society apparently had a very short life, for the Toronto Games, held on the Queen's Birthday in 1859, were described as the first gathering of the Canadian Highland Society.²⁴⁹

Track and field activities in the Maritime regions received scant mention during the forties. A comment in the Novascotian, on December

²⁴⁵Montreal Gazette, September 3, 1845.

²⁴⁶Ibid., July 11, 1840.

²⁴⁷Morning Chronicle, Quebec, October 18, 1847.

²⁴⁸Globe, Toronto, September 22, 1847.

²⁴⁹Ibid., May 25, 1859.

9, 1844, on the advent of foot races in New York, may be pertinent in this regard:

It is really pitiable to see human beings, endowed with the attributes of rationality, taking pride in feats in which they are outdone by the cur that is fed with the crumbs that fall from their tables.

The military garrisons, ever active on the sporting scene, encouraged participation in track and field activities, and meetings from Fort Fredericton (near Kingston), London, and Williamstown were reported, together with their participation in the Games at Toronto and Montreal. In June, 1852, officers of the Quebec garrison organized two consecutive days of competition for all ranks,²⁵⁰ and their example was soon followed by the Royal Artillery and the 54th Regiment detachments at Grosse Island.²⁵¹

The highlight of the fifties was the first annual Games of the Montreal Caledonian Society, held in Guilbault's Gardens, Montreal, on Tuesday, September 2, 1856.²⁵² Two thousand spectators watched a varied, fifteen event programme. Two weeks later, Montreal athletes met again at Beauharnois where three competitors carried off nine of the twelve prizes. D. McCuaig won the twelve pound and the twenty-two pound hammer throws and the twenty-two pound stone putt, John Murray, Montreal's best athlete, the one hundred and eighty yard sprint and the running high jump, and R. Birdsall the standing high jump, the running and the

²⁵⁰ Morning Chronicle, Quebec, June 12, 1852.

²⁵¹ Ibid., July 6, 1852.

²⁵² Montreal Gazette, September 4, 1856.

standing hop, step and jump, and the cricket ball throw. All of the events carried money prizes, averaging six dollars.²⁵³

Athletics in Halifax received encouragement in this period, when it was resolved at the annual meeting of the Halifax Cricket Club, in 1859, that prizes consisting of a set of suitable cricketing items be awarded for proficiency in foot running, with the purpose of encouraging a taste for athletic sports among the youth of the city.²⁵⁴ Races were conducted for boys on the Common on November 19 in three groups, under sixteen, under fourteen, and under twelve.²⁵⁵

Among Canada's noteworthy track and field exponents during the fifties were Alexander Muir, Dave Hall, and Joseph Lawson. Muir is probably best remembered as the composer of both music and lyrics of "The Maple Leaf Forever," but he was a talented athlete as well. In 1850, when twenty years of age, and a student at Queen's College, Kingston, he established a record of forty-five feet for the hop, step and jump, which lasted for two decades.²⁵⁶ Nine years later, he was still performing well, winning both the running high jump and the running leap at the Canadian Highland Society's first gathering in Toronto.²⁵⁷ Muir's versatility extended to cricket, rifle shooting, checkers, and

²⁵³Ibid., September 16, 1856.

²⁵⁴Novascotian, July 11, 1859.

²⁵⁵Ibid., November 21, 1859.

²⁵⁶Roxborough, op. cit., p. 174.

²⁵⁷Globe, Toronto, May 25, 1859

quoits. In the latter sport, he was the first champion of the Scarborough Club, formed in 1858, and eventually he became Quoits Champion of both Canada and the United States.²⁵⁸ Dave Hall, "the Flying Tailor," was the fastest runner in the Port Hope district. Challenge matches were his specialty, and one of his feats involved his being at the Bowmanville dock when the steamer left for the east, and to be waiting at the Port Hope dock when it arrived there, having raced the distance on foot.²⁵⁹ Joseph Lawson hailed from Brampton, and was reputed to have won the North American quarter-mile championship in an international meeting at Buffalo in 1858.²⁶⁰ He also became a noted quoits player, and won the Canadian championship in 1885, 1886, and 1901.

During the sixties, track and field activities thrived, largely due to their adoption by groups following the examples set by the various Caledonian Societies. In Montreal, the Ladies' Benevolent Society, the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society, and the St Patrick's Society all instituted Annual Pic-nics at which athletics were fostered. The Olympic Club, which had become inactive during the fifties, had reappeared by 1866 under the name of the Montreal Pedestrian Club, but it restricted itself to track events.²⁶¹ James McCabe was Montreal's outstanding athlete of the sixties. He won the running and the standing high leaps at the sixth Grand Annual Gathering of the Caledonian Society in 1861, with heights of four feet seven inches, and five feet three

²⁵⁸Roxborough, loc. cit.

²⁵⁹Harold Reeve, The History of the Township of Hope (Cobourg: Cobourg Sentinel-Star, 1967), p. 151.

²⁶⁰Bull, op. cit., p. 34. ²⁶¹Montreal Gazette, October 22, 1866.

inches respectively, and then turned to challenge foot race events, finding these more profitable. He defeated De Lorimer, a Caughnawaga Indian, over one mile for a wager of \$100-a-side late in 1861,²⁶² and by May, 1862, his fame was such that five thousand spectators packed the grounds of the Montreal Cricket Club to see his unsuccessful, one hundred and fifty yard race against Private Dolman of the Grenadier Guards:

Long before the hour named for the commencement of the sport the fences on both sides of St Catherine's Street, near the race course, and every available spot whence a full view could be obtained, were crowded with spectators, whose patience in the meantime, and skill in balancing themselves in their uneasy seats, were worthy of mention.²⁶³

In Upper Canada, the garrisons and the Highland Societies continued to provide athletic competitions, while in Hamilton, the St George's Society and the Sons of St Crispin conducted events during their annual picnics. In Ottawa, the St Andrew's Society was active, and their gathering in June, 1867, was almost a one-man show with Thomas Russell winning the quoits, putting the light and heavy stones, the running leap, the hop, step and jump, the three hundred yards hurdles, and the pole leap, and also taking second place honours in the heavy hammer throw and tossing the caber.²⁶⁴ A Toronto Athlete, reported to have achieved overseas honours, was Thomas Jarmy. This gentleman, who had only one arm, was a hammer throwing specialist, and won the championship of Scotland from John Tait in the summer of 1864.²⁶⁵ In May,

²⁶²Ibid., November 12, 1861. ²⁶³Ibid., May 30, 1862.

²⁶⁴Ottawa Citizen, June 21, 1867.

²⁶⁵Montreal Gazette, May 25, 1865.

1865, a match was arranged for \$1,000-a-side, between Jarmy and Roderick McLennan of Glengarry. The contest was advertised as being for the Championship of the World Gold Medal, with each competitor allowed seven throws using twelve, fourteen, and sixteen pound balls. Railway and steamship companies ran special trips to Cornwall, and helped swell the crowd to the estimated total of ten thousand:

From early morning until the day was far advanced, the intelligent and respectable farmers of the United States, with their smiling wives, their rugged, manly sons, and charming daughters, continued to flow into town.²⁶⁶

Jarmy won the twelve pound event, but McLellan won both the fourteen and sixteen pound throws to be declared the winner.

In the far west, competition was usually in the form of challenge matches, though, during the Queen's Birthday at Queensborough in 1859, events listed included foot and hurdle races, shot putting, hammer throwing, high and long jumps, tossing the caber, as well as boxing, wrestling, and boat races.²⁶⁷ The Excelsior Gymnastics Club was active in Victoria in 1862, and arranged races of one mile and three miles for its members.²⁶⁸ Victorian champion of the sixties was Walter Knox, his specialty being the one hundred yards foot race.²⁶⁹ McDougall,²⁷⁰ from his travels across the prairies in the sixties, wrote of foot races

²⁶⁶Ottawa Citizen, May 26, 1865.

²⁶⁷Daily Colonist, Victoria, May 30, 1859.

²⁶⁸Ibid.; April 22, 1862; May 23, 1863.

²⁶⁹Ibid., September 6, 1864.

²⁷⁰John McDougall, Saddle, Sled and Snowshoe (Toronto: William Briggs, 1896), p. 53.

against Indians at Fort Edmonton, and of running, jumping, and throwing contests against a half-breed party from Lac-la-biche with whom they journeyed for a time, when travelling to Fort Garry.²⁷¹ The matches served to break the monotony of long journeys, and must have been quite good for morale, for McDougall wrote, "My men were greatly pleased at our victory. I confess to feeling well pleased myself, for I delighted in these things at that time."²⁷²

The Halifax Caledonian Club was formed in 1860,²⁷³ and this gave added impetus to regular athletic sports competition in that city. The same year saw a nineteen-event programme organized during the Prince of Wales' visit.²⁷⁴ The military garrison continued to hold competitions, but these were regarded as amusements rather than serious contests, and times and distances were of no importance beyond deciding the winner. A performance deserving recognition at this time, was that recorded by Alex McKinnin of Antigonish. During the Halifax Caledonian Club Games held on Horseshoe Island, in August, 1864, at which one thousand two hundred persons were in attendance, he earned victories in seven out of nine athletic events.²⁷⁵ These were the light and heavy stone putts, the light and heavy hammer throws, the high and the long jumps, and the caber toss—an outstanding achievement.

²⁷¹Ibid., p. 136.

²⁷²Ibid.

²⁷³Novascotian, July 2, 1860.

²⁷⁴Ibid., July 23, 1860.

²⁷⁵Ibid., August 29, 1864.

Conclusion

In the early days of the nineteenth century, cricket was the only major summer game played, its popularity due mainly to the presence of British Army Garrisons. Early civilian teams were formed largely in answer to challenges from these garrison teams. It appears that the French settlers had inherited no summer games from their home country, consequently the sports which developed were of Scottish, English, American, and Canadian origins. Although cricket was the most popular game of the period, by Confederation, its supremacy was being challenged by baseball, lacrosse, and football.

Track and field activities were encouraged by Scottish, English, and Irish societies, while the game of quoits was employed in some areas as a summer substitute for curling.

Railroad development resulted in the immense growth of sport during the sixties, though the large number of British soldiers stationed throughout the provinces provided the stimulus for competition generally. Without the deterrent of cold, uncomfortable winter travel, sport in summer received great impetus through the visits of outside sporting teams, this trend in itself producing publicity for the encouragement of physical recreation within the communities. As the newer games gained in popularity, a tendency towards Saturday competition was made possible by the initial success of the Early Closing Movements in some cities. Seven o'clock evening closing also meant that teams could practise after work, thus taking advantage of the long summer days, though for the more affluent members of society, it was week-day sport as usual.

CHAPTER IV

AQUATICS

For the aquatic enthusiast, British North America offered no shortage of water. For the canoeist, the rapids on the river provided an exciting challenge, while, for the sailor, either lake or ocean was at his disposal. The rowboat was often utilized for Sunday pleasure on a lake, and for the Maritime fisherman, it was his means of earning a living. With houses being infrequently supplied with suitable facilities, the lakes and streams were resorted to for bathing. Both the activity of swimming and the provision of bathing enclosures were natural outcomes of such conditions.

Canoeing

The canoe was both utilitarian and an instrument of fun for early settlers in British North America. The voyageur found its manoeuvrability suited to the hazardous task of conveying his provisions and furs along the many waterways. The fisherman adopted it when he would go night fishing by jack-light, spear fishing, or trolling. But the thrill of running the rapids must have provided the canoe with its most dangerous yet greatest fun value.

Wrong¹ has stated that, in the early days of the nineteenth century, running the rapids in the Murray River provided a "thrilling diversion." A walk of approximately nine miles was necessary in order to

¹G. Wrong, A Canadian Manor and its Seigneurs, 1761-1861 (Toronto: Macmillan Coy of Canada, 1908), pp. 234-235.

reach the starting point, and after "two glorious hours" on the river, the calm trip across the bay seemed relatively unexciting. The loss of a life, referred to by Wrong, is adequate reminder of the danger involved in this exhilarating activity.

Canoe events were regular features of regattas, but were regarded as novelty events rather than serious competition. The Halifax Regatta included a canoe event as early as 1827.² Other regattas wherein canoeing was encouraged were those held in St John, Quebec, Kingston, and Lachine. In Ottawa, during the Prince of Wales' visit in 1860, a special canoe regatta was organized, which included six races involving crews of two, four, six, eight, ten, and twelve competitors. This type of regatta, however, was quite unique in the period. Indians were the usual competitors in canoe events, and, due to the lack of detailed reporting given the various regattas, it is difficult to determine the frequency of entries from white residents. Both the Lachine and the Halifax regattas during the sixties listed two canoe events, one an Indian canoe race, and the other a Squaw race. Money prizes were awarded for these events on a parity with the other events in the programmes.

Rowing

Because rowing was a skill very necessary to the fishing industry of the Maritime provinces, it is understandable that the earliest competition at this skill should take place there. It may be assumed that fishermen then, as they are even today, were anxious to be the first to

²Novascotian, August 23, 1827.

the fishing grounds in order to obtain the most advantageous position. In such a hardy environment, excellent rowers were produced at St John's, Halifax, and St John, who later were responsible for bringing such fame to Canadian oarsmen as would attract challenges from the world's best.

The earliest reported organized competition was the regatta held on Quidi Vidi Lake, Newfoundland, in 1820.³ Little is known of the type of races which were held there, but, as rowing events predominated at later regattas on the lake, and as rowing played such an important role in the lives of the fishermen, it is probable that rowing matches were the feature attraction. The Newfoundlander, August 22, 1827, reported rowing matches at Quidi Vidi as forming the "annual regatta" held to celebrate the Lord High Admiral, the Duke of Clarence's birthday on the previous day. The tone of the report is such that one may infer other regattas had been held in the interim period since 1820. The mood effected by the prospect of this regatta of 1827 was one of great excitement, for "the road leading to the lake presented, at a very early hour in the morning, unusual bustle and gaiety from the numberless gigs, waggons and carts, all filled with happy passengers, who were jogging, with joyous expectancy to the scene of the amusement." Three races for six-oared whaleboats, and two for four-oared whaleboats were conducted under a sun which, "released from bondage, burst with more than wonted.

³Roxborough, op. cit., p. 58. Note however, that the New Brunswick Courier, August 21, 1819, reported a six-oared race between three of the Pilots' Skiffs, from Reed's Point round Partridge Island and back, for a prize of twenty-five dollars.

effulgence upon one of the most picturesque views we have ever beheld."⁴

The Quidi Vidi Regatta of 1828 divided the rowing matches into four classes: First Class—all six-oared boats, Second Class—four-oared whaleboats, Third Class—four-oared gigs, and Fourth Class—boats of all descriptions except gigs and whaleboats.⁵ The Newfoundlander, on August 7, 1828, in previewing the coming regatta, reaffirmed the indigenous nature of the sport by stating that boat racing of every description was "synonymous with Newfoundland pursuits—in fact, a piece of the ship." Smallwood,⁶ in a brief mention of the 1828 regatta, gave the names of the crew of Brooking's gig which won an amateur race⁷ against Hoyle's whaleboat. The men of that gig, Lash, Furneaux, Hepburn, Winter, and Pearce (coxswain), were claimed as the first known amateur crew.

These regattas were discontinued from 1830 to 1837 inclusive, during a period of religious denunciation of such gatherings, and were resumed annually in 1838.⁸ In 1839, Halifax boats took part in the Quidi Vidi regattas for the first time.

⁴Newfoundlander, August 22, 1827.

⁵Ibid., August 14, 1828. Sailing matches were separated from rowing matches, and held on the following Saturday.

⁶J. R. Smallwood, The Book of Newfoundland (St John's: Newfoundland Book Publishers Ltd, 1937), II, 162.

⁷The term, amateur, referred to non-fishermen, or citizens of St John's.

⁸These regattas were reported in the Newfoundlander from 1838 on, though Smallwood (loc. cit.), claims that there are no records of regattas from 1828 to 1844.

Rowing competitions were not new to Halifax in 1839. During the "Grand Regatta" on July 19, 1826, rowing events were conducted, and, according to the Novascotian, July 20, they excited more interest than did the sailing events. The regatta on August 21, 1827, showed an even balance between events, listing three rowing and four sailing events, and one canoeing contest. The use of the term "club" appeared quite early in newspaper reports, and was first applied to a crew of Halifax townsmen who accepted a challenge from the officers of the garrison in August, 1829.⁹ This "Halifax Club" was not an organized association but rather a group who joined together for the occasion, and the name serves to illustrate the interchangeability of the terms "crew," "team," and "club," during the early years of the nineteenth century. The garrison was very active in stimulating interest in regattas at this time, and the 52nd Regiment organized the first "rowing only" regatta at Halifax, on August 9, 1831.¹⁰ Rowing crews soon appeared among the business houses on Halifax, and the Novascotian, on October 26, 1831, listed a challenge race between the North Wharf Clerks and the South Wharf Clerks, for \$5-a-side. The challenge also was extended to the boats of the Custom House. Shortly after this, regattas fell into disrepute for a few years, as they did in Newfoundland, but were restored in 1836. In a general plea for the revival of annual regattas, a correspondent wrote:

The tendencies of society now are all towards the over exercise of the mind at the expense of the body, or the wasteful neglect of both. Regattas help to cultivate and strengthen the frame—so would footraces, leaping, wrestling,

⁹Novascotian, August 5, 1829.

¹⁰Ibid., August 10, 1831.

and other athletic sports and exercises which are constantly practised in every country, and might with great advantage be introduced into this.

This points to a rather successful religious campaign against sporting gatherings during the thirties. It is of interest to note that one of the arguments used for the revival of regattas was that more people were involved than in the sport of horse racing. This new emphasis upon participation reflected a changing attitude towards recreation. Sport was to become more than an excuse for dressing up and joining a group of spectators at an afternoon's social outing, in order to relieve the monotony of existence in these small towns. People still adhered to the rather strict religious ideals which prevailed, yet began to realize a need for diversion. The winds of change, however, were slow to take effect, and two decades passed before any appreciable increase in the amount of sporting participation was evident.

Rowing was well established as a competitive activity in St John, New Brunswick, during the thirties. Annual rowing regattas were conducted, and boats built specially for racing were making their appearance. The Carleton Boat Club was defeating all challengers by 1837,¹² while, for the 1838 Coronation Regatta, three clubs, Carleton, Indian Town, and North Wharf, added their boats to those of private entrants, making a total of six new craft built for this regatta.¹³

In Lower Canada, preparations for Quebec's first regatta were

¹¹Ibid., August 24, 1836.

¹²New Brunswick Courier, September 30, 1837.

¹³Ibid., June 23, 1838.

undertaken in August, 1830. The Quebec Mercury welcomed the new amusement, and hoped that it would encourage rowing and boating among the youth of the town.¹⁴ After a postponement from August 27, due to inclement weather, the regatta was held on August 31. The rowing events were divided into four classes: four-oared gigs rowed by gentlemen, four-oared boats rowed by sailors, whaleboats, and six-oared gigs. The gentlemen disdained the ten dollar prize awarded for all other events, and rowed for a silver medal. The report of this regatta given in the Montreal Gazette, on September 6, 1830, described a scene filled with crowds of spectators lining the shore or endeavouring to obtain a closer view via the many boats and ships in the vicinity, while the bands of the 32nd and 24th Regiments provided music. The Kingston Chronicle,¹⁵ in reporting the results of this regatta, awarded the four-oared and six-oared events to Quebec Rowing Clubs, but, as no other source used the term "clubs," it is probable that "crews" would have been more accurate.

As in Halifax, it was the presence of the military that provided the stimulus for rowing in Lower Canada. Following the success of the 1830 regatta, the officers of the 32nd Regiment stationed in Quebec ordered two new gigs from New York. A description of one of these leaves no doubt but that it was designed for racing only:

The Eagle, the four-oared gig, is 28 feet long, 4 feet wide, and built entirely of Spanish cedar. She is, described as a beautiful model, of very light construction,¹⁶ and finished

¹⁴Quebec Mercury, August 21, 1830.

¹⁵Kingston Chronicle, September 14, 1830.

¹⁶130 pounds.

in a style of elegance that would lead one almost to imagine it had been taken from its place in a glass case. . . . The thwarts are narrow and thin cedar boards, only of sufficient strength to bear the oarsmen.

Needless to say, the new boats easily won their respective events in the 1831 regatta. This roused the British patriotic spirit of some Quebecers of the Lower Town who instigated a move to procure a boat from Greenoch, Scotland, to prove the superiority of boat-building on the other side of the Atlantic. The Little Cherub arrived in the spring of 1832, but a cholera epidemic prevented a match with the Eagle until the fall of that year. The consequent defeat of the Eagle led the officers of the 32nd to order a boat from London, with speed as the prime requisite. At the Quebec Regatta on August 15, 1833, the new boat, Thames, proved her worth by defeating the Little Cherub over three miles.¹⁸ Gale¹⁹ has stated that the Quebec Yacht Club was formed originally as the Quebec Rowing Club in the thirties, and if so, it is probable that the above rivalry led to its foundation. No direct reference to such a club has been located, however, apart from the Kingston Chronicle report previously cited. The club, nevertheless, was quite active by 1840.

The first regatta in Upper Canada was held at Barriefield on July 5, 1837.²⁰ Nine boats took part, and, in what may have been the first single sculls event in British North America, James Eccles defeated

¹⁷Montreal Gazette, August 22, 1831.

¹⁸Ibid., August 20, 1833.

¹⁹Gale, op. cit., p. 266.

²⁰Montreal Gazette, July 20, 1837.

John Lambert in a "best-of-three" series, rowing an American-built skiff. According to Ross,²¹ a rowing club was organized in Bytown in 1839 when a few gentlemen procured "an elegant Clyde-built six-oared gig named 'The Water Witch'" and began practising on the river, but no record of this crew's participation in regattas was ever reported in the press.

The forties saw an expansion in the interest surrounding rowing competitions which were held with increasing frequency throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century. To the list of established regattas at St John's, Halifax, St John, Quebec, and Kingston, were added those reported at Toronto,²² Charlottetown,²³ and Montreal.²⁴ In Halifax, rowing flourished under the auspices of the Halifax Yacht Club. Single sculling events became popular as rowers strove for championship titles. James Eccles continued to dominate at Kingston regattas, while William Shaw regularly won the skiff race for the Championship of Montreal. Increased organization naturally led to the formation of rowing clubs. At the Montreal Regatta of 1844, entrants included the Quebec Rowing Club, the St Jean Boat Club, the L'Etoile Club, the St Lawrence Club, and the Rocket Club.²⁵ St John, New Brunswick, was the busiest rowing

²¹Ross, op. cit., p. 177.

²²James Buckingham, Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick (London: Fisher and Sons, 1843), p. 41. Buckingham lists 1840 as Toronto's first regatta, and reports of these regattas appear in the Montreal Gazette from 1842 onwards.

²³Montreal Gazette, August 9, 1843, gives first mention of a Charlottetown Regatta.

²⁴Ibid., September 23, 1844.

²⁵Ibid.

centre, and by the end of the decade, boat clubs such as Carleton, Indian Town, St John, Sand Point, Partridge Island, and North End were in existence. For the St John Regatta of 1843, the Carleton and the Indian Town Clubs raced in club uniforms, the former being dressed in blue striped shirts and caps, while the latter wore white shirts and red caps.²⁶ Halifax, as yet, had no organized clubs, though the sport of rowing grew apace. The Novascotian, on July 8, 1844, in reporting the forthcoming Halifax Regatta of August 28, presented a picture of an amateur in preparation:

. . . New boats are being built, crews are practising every night, and there seems to be a determination to render this aquatic sport as interesting as possible. There will be a spirited contest between the row boats. Yesterday morning, a "stiff" looking fellow, who is going through a course of nocturnal training and practice with the oars, showed us his hands, which were fearfully blistered, owing to his recent discipline in order to become master in the art of rowing.

In October, 1849, the first of spirited inter-town rivalries took place between St John and Halifax. A side bet of £100 was placed, the race taking place in Chebucto Harbour, Halifax. The St John oarsmen were from the Sand Cove Boat Club, whereas the Halifax crew consisted of three fishermen named Grey, and one named Smith, all from the village of Sambro, with John Wallace of Halifax as coxswain. A young man by the name of Coyle, from Sand Cove, who was to establish quite a reputation as a boat-builder over the years, had constructed the visiting boat from pine, fastened with copper. It was described as being thirty-four feet long, three feet wide, and fourteen inches deep, while the oars were

²⁶New Brunswick Courier, September 16, 1843.

twelve feet long, and individually shaped to fit each rower's hands.²⁷ Despite their lack of racing experience, the fishermen showed good stamina, losing by only eighty yards over six miles. This relatively small winning margin was even more surprising when it was noted that the St John boat was without the additional weight of coxswain and rudder. This radical idea was reportedly the result of an accident, when the mooring line fouled the rudder of a starting boat and carried it away. This boat went on to win the race, and consequently the coxswain and the rudder were frequently regarded thereafter as unnecessary appendages.²⁸

Halifax set the pattern for the following decade, with a presumptuous attempt in 1850, to hold a four-oared race open to the world. Though this regatta was an immense success, in that twenty rowing events were conducted, no boats from outside Nova Scotia appeared amongst the entrants for the "World Championship." The winner, Troubler, was owned and built by James Pryor, a Halifax business man, who later was to achieve local fame for his success in the boat-building sphere.

Although no further challenge matches with St John occurred until 1856, the spirit of rivalry prevailed. A group from Halifax approached Mr Coyle, the New Brunswick builder, for a boat, but he felt that he should consult his colleagues before building a boat for the opposition. The reply came that the Sand Point Club were willing to sell their winning boat of '49 for £50, as it was now considered rather slow in comparison to their new boat built by Coyle.²⁹ Meanwhile, James Pryor was improving his own technique, and his boats successfully defeated

²⁷Novascotian, October 15, 1849.

²⁸Ibid., August 10, 1857.

²⁹Ibid., September 23, 1850.

St John entrants in four-oared and six-oared events in the Halifax Regatta of 1851, at which the reported attendance was twelve thousand.³⁰

The year 1856 saw a resumption of the challenge matches between Halifax and St John, for a purse of \$1,000-a-side. The latter town was again represented by a crew from Sand Point, now the Union Boat Club, comprising Ed. Walsh (bow), John Morris, John Coyle, and Dennis Morris (stroke). In the boat Quick Step, the honour of Halifax rested upon Tom Beasley (bow), Dick Beaseley, M. Fitzgerald, and J. Holland (stroke). Although the St John crew was favoured to win, the locals won the day, with the modest assertion that "the credit of having beaten New Brunswick is justly due to themselves [sic]. It is they who taught us how to both build and row a boat."³¹ A challenge from the Union Club in October of the same year, to meet a Halifax crew in either Boston or St John in an attempt to regain that city's lost laurels, was accepted, but with the regret that the match must occur in the following year. The fishermen were about to begin the mackerel season, and there was no organized and trained boat club in Halifax to otherwise accept the challenge.³² Whether the argument presented was valid, or whether the polite request for a postponement was due to the fact that St John had recently defeated New York in Boston, is a matter for conjecture. On December 26, James Pryor received recognition for his part in the Halifax win, which Nova Scotians regarded as the championship of the continent, by being presented with an engraved cup by the Honourable

³⁰Ibid., September 15, 1851.

³¹Ibid., June 30, 1856.

³²Ibid., October 13, 1856.

Joseph Howe.³³

The attempt by the rowers of St John to regain their supremacy on July 23, 1857, for a purse of \$1,200-a-side, was an amusing fiasco. Their boat was designed for calm waters, and was described as being "cut away almost to nothing fore and aft, with her midships raised so as to work the oars to advantage, and having her rowlocks fitted to outriggers extending some six inches beyond the sides."³⁴ On the other hand, the Halifax boat, Wide Awake, "had her nose well out of the water," and looked "as weatherly as a whaler."³⁵ When the signal gun sounded, the St John crew immediately rowed to shore, declaring that they preferred to forfeit the race and the stakes, rather than lose their lives in the choppy sea running outside George's Island. The shame of such a defeat immediately brought a response from the citizens of St John, who called a public meeting at which \$1,000 was subscribed towards an attempt to restore the city's dignity.³⁶ The "Darning Needle" boat was sent home, and the sturdier Neptune, their boat of 1856, was used instead. In a closely contested race in which the Halifax boat ran wide of the course, losing three lengths in a near collision with Bennet's Wharf, St John regained their lost laurels by the narrow margin of one second, over a distance of five miles.³⁷ One interesting feature of the technique employed by the Halifax crew during the race, was a

³³Ibid., January 6, 1857. Note Also, when a Boat Club was formed in Pictou in August, 1856, with twenty-two members, they immediately purchased a sister boat to Quick Step, also built by James Pryor. (Ibid., September 1, 1856.)

³⁴Ibid., July 27, 1857.

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Ibid., August 2, 1857.

³⁷Ibid., August 18, 1857.

harness passed around their backs and then attached to the oars, in an attempt to achieve maximum effort on each stroke of the oars. From that year on, the glamour in the Halifax regattas shifted from the four-oared events to those of the single scull.

The instigator of the annual scull races for the Championship Belt of Halifax Harbour was Dr Cogswell, a prominent member of the Halifax Yacht Club, who backed his suggestion with a proposed contribution of £100.³⁸ The first competition for the Championship, or Cogswell, Belt was held during the regatta of September 8, 1858, and was won by Bernard Gallager.³⁹ In order for the belt to become the property of the winner, it had to be won five times by a native and permanent resident of Nova Scotia, thus assuring that no outsider could carry the coveted award from the province. There were eight entries for the championship in 1859, so the event was divided into two heats of four competitors. The final saw George Lovett defeat Gallager for the first of his four victories in this championship.⁴⁰ His boat, the Lady Stewart, was built of tin at his own expense by John Rodrick, and measured twenty-five feet in length, while weighing only forty pounds.

Meanwhile, the rowing scene continued to remain active in other areas of British North America during the fifties. Kempenfeldt Bay, near Barrie, provided the setting for many races over four miles, with boats that were "heavy and safe enough to be rowed across Lake Ontario

³⁸Ibid., August 16, 1858.

³⁹Ibid., September 13, 1858.

⁴⁰Ibid., July 18, 1859. Lovett also won the event in 1861, 1862, and 1863.

to Niagara."⁴¹ The Barrie Rowing Club was prominent at the Rowing Regatta on Toronto Bay in September, 1855, and was the only club mentioned by name in the press report.⁴² This regatta marked the beginning of the "Tinning era" in Toronto rowing circles, when Thomas Tinning won the Sculling Championship of Toronto Bay, and began the supremacy he was to maintain for many years. In 1856, a Toronto Rowing Club was inaugurated in conjunction with the Toronto Yacht Club, but its debut was brief, waiting until 1865 before again making an organized appearance.⁴³ Other rowing clubs achieving recognition during this period were the Toronto Union Club, the Hibernian Club (Toronto), the Shakespeare Club (Toronto), and the Montreal Grand Trunk Boat Club. Most of the entries in regattas continued to be from private persons who hurriedly assembled crews just for the occasions, and for the amusement they provided. According to Hunter,⁴⁴ clubs in those days were merely convenient places for social gatherings, for storing of boats, and depots from which to hold regattas. Boats were frequently owned by the men who rowed in them, and the simplest way to form a crew was for four men to go to the builders and purchase a skiff.

⁴¹Roxborough, op. cit., p. 63.

⁴²Globe, Toronto, September 6, 1855.

⁴³R. S. Hunter, Rowing in Canada Since 1848 (Hamilton: Davis-Lusson Ltd, 1933), p. 13. Hunter claims that this was the first rowing club on Toronto Bay, and that its members adopted a uniform consisting of dark blue jacket, anchor buttons, black cravat, blue and white striped shirt, white trousers, black belt, and straw hat with club band.

⁴⁴Ibid.

The sixties saw further expansion of rowing activities. Regattas were held as far west as Victoria, and also in the small coastal villages of Chester and Yarmouth in Nova Scotia. Ottawa, Lachine, Longueuil, Hamilton, and Windsor formed rowing clubs, and discovered the excitement of regattas. George Lovett lost his Championship Belt to Holland in Halifax in 1860, and was defeated a week later by the same gentleman in a £10 rematch. With Holland unwell in 1861, Lovett won back the trophy and held it until 1864, when George Brown began his undefeated reign as Champion of Halifax. Brown's brilliant career began in suspicious circumstances, for Lovett was accused of accepting a bribe after his boat capsized when an oar hit a buoy, when he was running second to Brown. In presenting the belt to Brown, the mayor stressed the gentlemanly nature of the contest, and stated that he felt no earnest competitor for the coveted award would condescend to accept a bribe.⁴⁵ Brown's victories in subsequent years gained him the permanent possession of the Cogswell Belt, and he became known as the Champion of the World, though never actually winning such a title in competition. His untimely death in 1875 at the age of thirty-six was a sad loss for Canadian sport. James Pryor had also played a leading role in Brown's success by building most of the boats that Brown used, and in particular the boat, Camilla, with which Brown won the Cogswell Belt for the fifth time.

St John crews continued to demonstrate their superiority in four-oared events in Boston, New York, and as far afield as Paris, France,

⁴⁵Novascotian, August 8, 1864.

where they won two events at the International Regatta held during the Paris Exhibition in July, 1867.⁴⁶

The Lachine Rowing Club was formed in 1863 under the auspices of the Lachine Boating Club, and must be regarded as Canada's oldest rowing club, for it was the earliest formed club of those in existence today. Montreal regattas were removed to Lachine when it became a suburb of Montreal in 1864. One interesting entry from Toronto in the four-oared events at the 1867 Lachine Regatta was named Edrol, by taking the last initials of each of the crew members; J. Ellis, W. Davidson, J. Robertson, W. Otter (stroke), and C. Lindsay (coxswain).

The Burlington Boat Club was formed in 1860, and commenced holding annual regattas in the Hamilton area.⁴⁷ Challenge matches between the City and the Great Western Railway Clubs of Hamilton took place and, on August 26, 1864, an inter-city, two-oared match between Galt and Hamilton was arranged. The Windsor Rowing Club made its first appearance in 1865, on Saturday, May 13, complete with club colours presented by the ladies of Windsor.⁴⁸ Competition was soon arranged with the Hamilton White Ash Club, and a four-oared match was held on Detroit River on September 1, 1865. A Hamilton scribe wrote:

Soon as the boats were fairly off, a dozen or two of buggies, with some high-mettled racers under the saddle made a grand break for down to Windsor, to be in at the close of the race. There was a race on shore as well as on the water.⁴⁹

⁴⁶Infra, p. 307 ff.

⁴⁷Hamilton Times, July 27, 1861.

⁴⁸Morrison, op. cit., p. 75.

⁴⁹Hamilton Times, September 2, 1865.



Paris Crew, St John



George Brown, Halifax



Paris Crew, St John



George Brown, Halifax

The Hamilton crew were victorious on the river; it was not stated who won the race along the river bank.

Toronto regattas continued under the direction of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club until 1865, when the Toronto Rowing Club was organized with an initial membership of sixty, under the presidency of Captain McMaster of the Naval Brigade. Thomas Tinning continued to demonstrate his ability with the oars, defeating G. Humphrey in the champion sculling race at the Toronto Rowing Club's second Annual Regatta in August, 1866. "There was an evident lack of exertion in this race," wrote the Globe reporter,⁵⁰ an excusable performance considering that the contestants had also competed in the two previous events, the two-oared and the four-oared races. An incident which occurred during the 1863 regatta marked an early example of racism in sport. A Negro, William Berry, entered for the championship sculling race, but the other competitors refused to start. The race was postponed until the following day, when the Negro was prevented from participating.⁵¹

The Ottawa Rowing Club was formed on May 30, 1867, with the Honourable John A. MacDonald as President.⁵² Its first regatta was conducted on September 26, 1867, with a civic holiday proclaimed for the occasion.⁵³

The Montreal Gazette, on December 22, 1864, proudly gave space to a noteworthy achievement by a Canadian at the running of the annual

⁵⁰ Globe, Toronto, August 22, 1866.

⁵¹ Ibid., October 17, 1863.

⁵² Ottawa Times, June 6, 1867.

⁵³ Ottawa Citizen, October 4, 1867.

Colquhoun Sculls by the Cambridge University Boat Club. Seventeen competitors entered for the event which covered five days of tough contests. The victor was John Redpath's son, an alumnus of Montreal High School and McGill College.

Rowing on the west coast had its debut in November, 1859, when, according to the Daily Colonist,⁵⁴ Victoria's first boat race was held. The prize was one hundred dollars, and three four-oared boats, manned by crews of civilians, officers and civilians, and Marine Brigade officers, respectively, took part. The race, which covered a distance of five miles, was won by the civilian crew. Regattas had been held previously in Esquimalt Harbour,⁵⁵ but these appear to have been for navy personnel only. In April, 1864, a racing gig, built at Alberni by Mr C. Coyle, was launched and tested by an amateur crew in preparation for competitive rowing.⁵⁶ October of the following year saw the Vancouver Rowing Club organized, with W. A. Young, Esq., the Colonial Secretary, as President,⁵⁷ its first regatta taking place on the Queen's Birthday, 1867.⁵⁸

Sailing

Although, from the beginnings of the nineteenth century, the

⁵⁴Daily Colonist, Victoria, November 7, 1859.

⁵⁵Ibid., June 10, 1859.

⁵⁶Ibid., April 4, 1864.

⁵⁷Vancouver Times, Victoria, October 2, 1865. Note that the Daily Colonist referred to this club as the Victoria Rowing Club.

⁵⁸Daily Colonist, Victoria, May 27, 1867.

wealthier inhabitants of Toronto owned yachts and were able to enjoy sailing on the bay,⁵⁹ it seems natural that the Maritime regions should lead in the introduction of organized regattas. Roxborough⁶⁰ has stated that one of the earliest regattas was held in 1820 on Quidi Vidi Lake, near St John's, Newfoundland. It cannot be said for certain whether both sailing and rowing events were conducted at that time, but from the records which have survived in the Newfoundland press from 1827 onwards, rowing always received a mention, whereas sailing was mentioned only intermittently. Sailing events were first recorded during the Quidi Vidi Annual Regatta of 1828, where the three classes of events were listed as fishing skiffs, bait skiffs, and pleasure boats of all descriptions.⁶¹ Halifax began to hold sailing competitions about this time, and its first regatta on July 19, 1826, contained both rowing and sailing events. However, it was reported that the sailing matches did not excite the interest of spectators as much as did the rowing contests.⁶²

Newspaper reports prior to the Halifax Regatta of 1827 claimed that Halifax had taken the lead in establishing regattas in the British dependencies, and pointed out the values to provincial industries which would accrue from improved hull designs and skill in both sailing and

⁵⁹Guillet, Early Life in Upper Canada, p. 113.

⁶⁰Roxborough, op. cit., p. 58.

⁶¹Newfoundlander, August 14, 1828. The regatta was called the "annual rowing match," which suggests that sailing was not a regular part of early aquatic competition.

⁶²Novascotian, July 20, 1826.

rowing.⁶³ A description of the scene at this regatta provided evidence of the importance which these events held in the lives of the people:

The streets leading to the dockyard were thronged by carriages and foot passengers--by the young and old--the grave and gay--"beauty tripped with conscious grace, and wrinkles pacing on were melted with mirth!" On reaching the dockyard, the scene which met the eye was highly animated. The harbour was everywhere covered with sail and row boats. H.M. Ship the Hussar was decked with flags innumerable. . . the wharves and hills were thronged with tents and spectators, and ever and anon the bands of music, which were stationed on the shore and in the ships, struck up some light and merry tune.⁶⁴

Kingston may be able to claim the first sailing club in British North America. It was reported in the Kingston Chronicle, July 14, 1826, that the Boat Race Club had entertained a party of eighty to ninety persons on Garden Island, during which time a race was held between the pleasure boats of Lieutenant Jones of the Royal Navy, and Lieutenant O'Brien of the Royal Artillery, from Point Frederick around Garden Island and back again. While this contest was in progress, the bay and river in front of Kingston displayed many pleasure craft containing "groups of the fair fashionables of the place."

Quebec held its first regatta on August 31, 1830.⁶⁵ Lord Durham added a touch of colour to the 1838 regatta when he donated a Governor-General's Cup, valued at £25, and personally presented the prize at this regatta to Mr Gilmour, owner of the winning yacht, Victoria. Toronto was not slow to appreciate such encouragement to aquatic sport, and, on August 1, 1840, a regatta was held on Toronto Bay.⁶⁶ Buckingham⁶⁷ wrote

⁶³Ibid., August 2, 1827.

⁶⁴Ibid., August 23, 1827.

⁶⁵Montreal Gazette, September 6, 1830.

⁶⁶Buckingham, op. cit., p. 41.

⁶⁷Ibid.

that, although Toronto Bay was admirably suited for aquatics, there was insufficient interest in such sports to furnish an adequate number of boats and competitors for an extensive regatta at that time. Interest was quickly aroused, however, for during the Toronto Regatta of 1843, twelve clippers were entered in one sailing match, and "the bay literally swarmed with craft of every description."⁶⁸

In Halifax, interest in yachting was always high amongst the more affluent members of society. During the regatta on August 17, 1836, forty-seven sailing boats competed in the various races. The first class sailing event for fifty dollars was won by Sir P. Halket, who had ordered a new yacht built especially for the occasion by Mr E. Mosley, himself a yachtsman of some repute.⁶⁹ The regatta held on August 30, 1837, was a momentous one for Halifax yachtsmen. This was the first regatta organized by the newly formed Halifax Yacht Club.⁷⁰ The club met irregularly during the next twenty years, but was re-organized on a permanent footing on March 23, 1857, holding a highly successful regatta on June 8, for which two Challenge Cups had been ordered from England.

At that time, the club comprised ninety members and twenty yachts.⁷¹ Yacht-building had continued during the two decades from 1837 to 1857, even though there were periods when no regattas were held.

⁶⁸ Montreal Gazette, September 11, 1843.

⁶⁹ Novascotian, August 24, 1836.

⁷⁰ Ibid., September 6, 1837. The first recorded meeting was held on July 27.

⁷¹ Ibid., May 4, 1857; May 11, 1857; June 15, 1857.

PLATE VIII



Halifax Yacht Race

John O'Brien, 1850

PLATE VIII



Halifax Yacht Race

John O'Brien, 1850

Although some of these yachts, which were built for naval and military officers, were taken by their owners when they were transferred, others were sold to Halifax citizens, a circumstance which helped to make the 1857 membership such a healthy one. In the words of the Novascotian, September 14, 1857, "This admirable association has made good use of the time since its formation. The members have sailed two matches for the Challenge Cups, one sweepstake race, and several private matches." The club has remained in existence until today, through the Royal Nova Scotia Yacht Squadron, to become the oldest yacht club in America.⁷² Its title, the Royal Halifax Yacht Club, was adopted in 1861 with approval from the Queen, following the Prince of Wales' visit to British North America in 1860. The club received a further mark of honour in 1862 when it obtained permission, through the Royal Navy, for its members to fly the Blue Ensign on their yachts.⁷³ Only "Royal" yachts were so privileged. Though the name "yacht club" implies a concern only with sailing, regattas organized by the Halifax Yacht Club included both rowing and sailing events.

During the early forties, interest in sailing had quickened, so

⁷²The New York Yacht Club, established in 1844, is the oldest in the United States. The Royal Nova Scotia Yacht Squadron was formed by a breakaway group of the Royal Halifax Yacht Club in 1876; these two clubs then amalgamated under the former's name in 1898. (Phyllis R. Blakeley, Glimpses of Halifax: 1867-1900 (Halifax: The Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1949), p. 159.)

⁷³Howell, op. cit., p. 48. Quinpool adds that the Club Emblem was included in the design. (Quinpool, op. cit., p. 71.)

that, with an increased number of entries at regattas, it became necessary to use some system of yacht classification due to the heterogeneity of sizes. For example, the sailing matches at the Kingston Bay Regatta of 1845 were advertised in three classes:

1. First Class Yachts, 15 tons and under, prize £20.
2. Second Class Yachts, 8 tons and under, prize £15.
3. Third Class Yachts, 5 tons and under, prize £10.⁷⁴

This type of classification, based on the "tonnage" system, was used until 1884, when the Seawanhaka Rule was introduced⁷⁵ with the formation of the Lake Yacht Racing Association. The tonnage system, or Thames rule as it was more correctly titled, was derived from the formula, "length minus beam, multiplied by beam, multiplied by half-beam, divided by 94."⁷⁶ This approximated the cubic content of the hull, so that the resultant "tons" were measured in cubic feet, not pounds avoirdupois as the name would intimate. Unfortunately, the system did not differentiate between yachts built on racing lines, and those built like tubs.

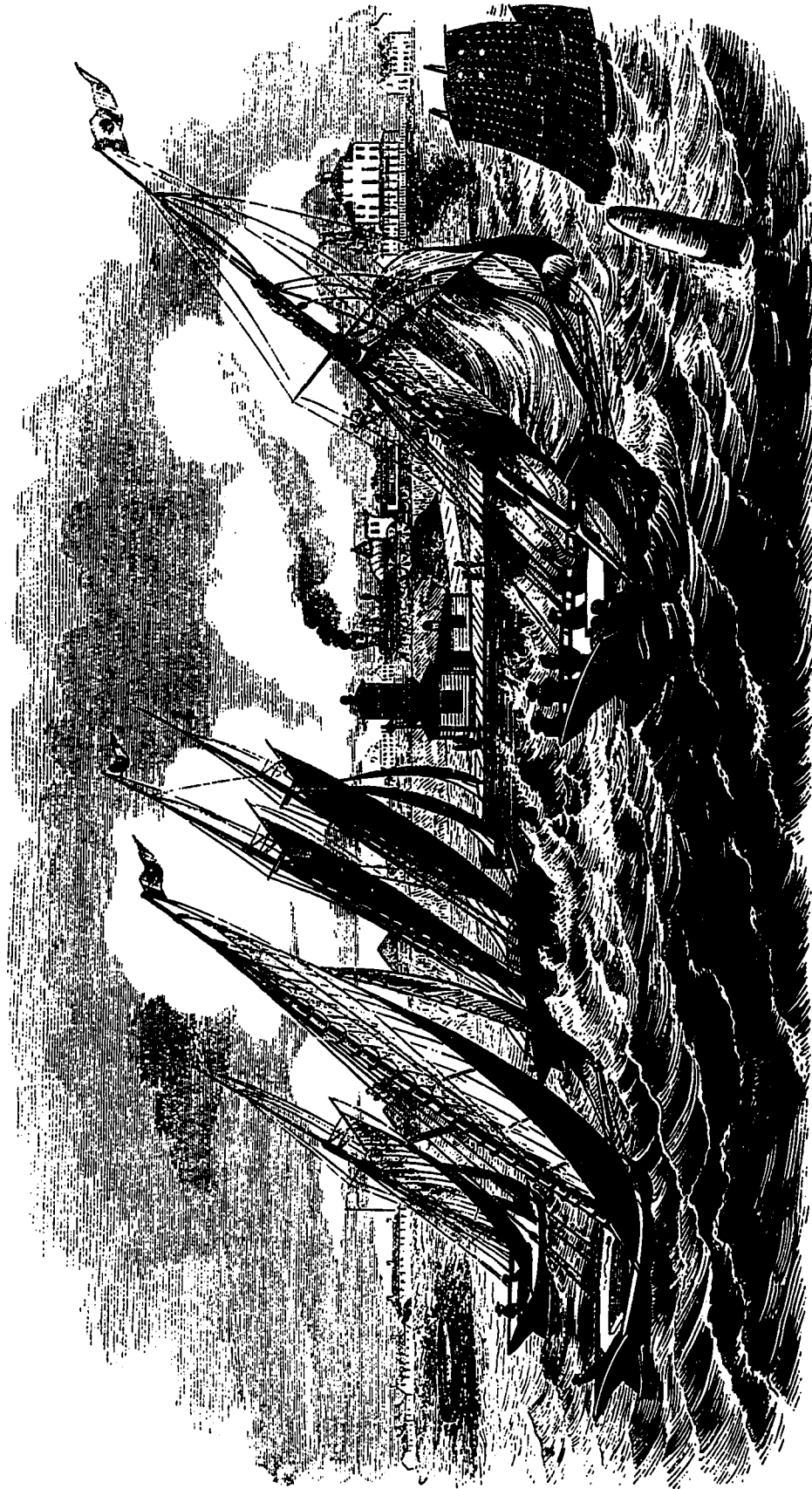
The Royal Canadian Yacht Club has also had a lengthy existence. It was formed in 1850 under the name, Toronto Boat Club, by several influential Toronto Citizens: Dr Hodder, Major Magrath, who was prominent in riding circles as well as in sailing, Mr S. B. Harman, who became

⁷⁴Montreal Gazette, September 6, 1845.

⁷⁵C. Snider, Annals of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club, 1852-1937 (Toronto: Rous and Mann Ltd, 1937), p. 29. The Seawanhaka Rule was half the sum of the waterline length and the square root of the sail area. The tonnage qualifications tended to vary from one regatta to another.

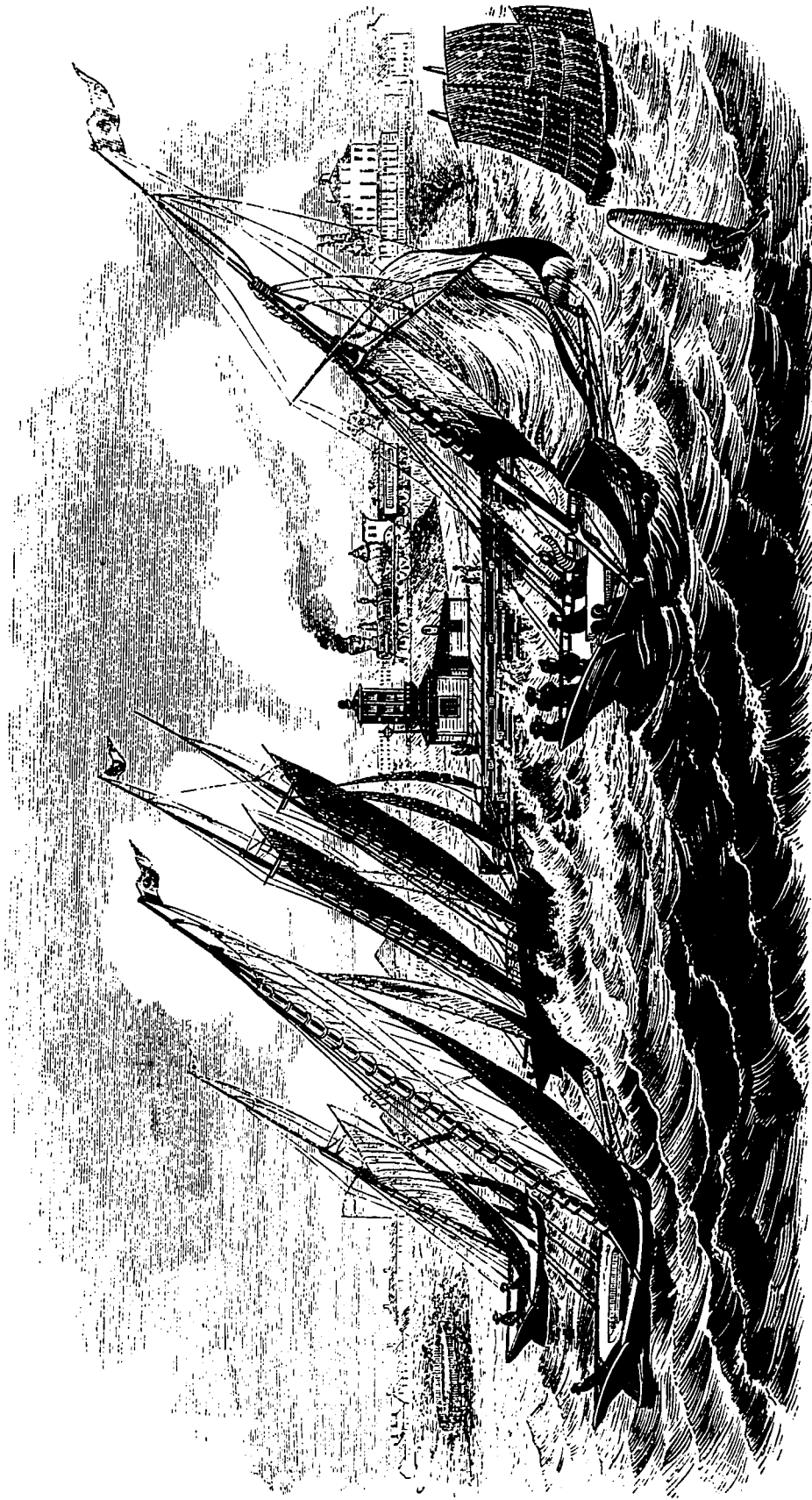
⁷⁶Ibid.

PLATE IX



Toronto Boat Club coming into the Harbour, 1853
Gleeson's Pictorial Drawing Room Companion, October 8, 1853

PLATE IX



Toronto Boat Club coming into the Harbour, 1853
Gleeson's Pictorial Drawing Room Companion, October 8, 1853

City Treasurer, John Arnold, Thomas Shortess, Charles Heath, and W. Armstrong, a drawing master and water colour artist of some renown.⁷⁷ It is not known whether the Boat Club actually functioned before 1852, but in that year, the name was changed to the Toronto Yacht Club, and the first race was held in August, when six yachts competed.⁷⁸ By 1855, there were twenty-five yachts in the club, including the famous iron cutter Rivet, which had been brought out to Montreal from Glasgow on the deck of a steamer in 1851. She sustained an illustrious racing career until 1890, when she was converted into a steam ferry.

The organization of the club was interesting, for it highlighted the naval tradition inherent in the spirit of the time. The committee consisted of a Captain (Thomas Robertson), a First Lieutenant (J. J. Arnold), a Second Lieutenant (William Copeland), and an Honorary Secretary (Captain W. H. Fellows). This committee, Snider has suggested, equated itself to a frigate of the Royal Navy:

When the Royal Canadian Yacht Club had its beginning yachting organizations under the British flag were more than associations for water sport and social activities. . . . Yachting itself as an institution was new, and one of the ideas vitalizing it was this: that in the building and racing of fast pleasure craft the Royal Navy, the bulwark of Britain, received the benefit of experience and experiment it was not possible to gain so readily under service conditions.⁷⁹

Snider may have been a little extravagant in his hypothesis, but, nevertheless, in 1853, when the club had shown signs of rapid growth, the list of officers showed that a Commodore and a Vice-Commodore had been

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 18.

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 20.

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 9.

added above the Captain, to indicate fleet status. In 1854, a further name change and granting of a Royal Charter saw the emergence of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club. From this time on, records of club races contained several mentions of yachts owned by members in Whitby, Cobourg, Kingston, and Hamilton, as well as in Toronto.⁸⁰ Dr Hodder, Toronto physician and city coroner, and a foundation member of the club, was elected Commodore in 1856 and held the position nineteen times in the period to 1877.

To ensure the respectability of the Toronto club at a time when horse racing and other spectator sports were falling into disrepute, the members had secured the services of a chaplain at their first meeting for the 1853 season. A correspondent to the Globe wrote:

We applaud the club for its praiseworthy endeavours to raise the character of their society; henceforth it will be libellous to couple or even compare the race course with a regatta.⁸¹

Prior to 1861, the Royal Canadian Yacht Club had no regular challenge trophy. Prizes for regattas were dependent upon the generosity of prominent men of the town. Match race purses were no problem right across British North America, for it was simply a matter of challenging a particular rival for a certain amount, or else printing a general challenge in the newspapers for anyone to accept. Most of the challenges were of the former variety,⁸² but a flamboyant example of the

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 25.

⁸¹ Globe, Toronto, April 28, 1853.

⁸² For example, Novascotian, October 4, 1852, reported a private sailing match for \$30-a-side between R. Marshall's Pilgrim and W. Manning's _____, from the Leopard Buoy to Dartmouth Mill Cove. Pilgrim won by fifteen minutes.

latter appeared in the Montreal Gazette, on May 4, 1842:

Challenge for 1,000 sovereigns.—The Yacht Mary Ann, built in Halifax, Nova Scotia, in 1838, by George Maybury, now lying at William Henry on the River St. Lawrence, Canada, will sail against any craft of the same tonnage, 17 tons, for 1,000 sovereigns on the 1st July, 1842 either in Boston, U.S. or Halifax, N.S.
J. B. Clarke, Lt. R.N.

During the late fifties, the practice of donating trophies for regattas became more frequent as competition spread. The Toronto Globe, on May 26, 1857, reported on a trophy called the Queen's Cup, which was presented to the Royal Canadian Yacht Club by the Mayor and Corporation of Toronto, for competition on the Queen's Birthday. Commodore Scholefield presented a cup to the club to celebrate his election to that honoured position in 1859. This cup was to be won two times in succession before being retained by the winner. Prizes at the Cobourg regattas could be substantial also, for, on August 15, 1859, the sailing prize was two hundred and fifty dollars.

Sailing as a pleasurable recreation was increasing in popularity at this time, as indicated by the interest in regattas. A report from the Sarnia Observer stated that the waters near Kingston were busy with sail on every fine evening, and that the boat-building trade, which in former days had been confined to Messrs Knapp and Barriefield, now gave full employment to half a dozen establishments.⁸³

The oldest yachting trophies for fresh water competition are the Prince of Wales Challenge Cups. One of these was presented in 1861 by His Royal Highness Albert, Prince of Wales, and later King Edward VII,

⁸³ Sarnia Observer, June 24, 1859.

to the Royal Canadian Yacht Club in commemoration of his visit, and the club's regatta held for his entertainment in 1860. This was such a magnificent trophy that a description of it appeared in the London Daily News, August 17, 1861:

The challenge cup presented by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales to this club is about one of the handsomest things of the kind that has yet been made. It consists of a vase in frosted silver, partly burnished, and will be competed for in September next. Two principal medallions in low relief illustrate an incident in the life of Columbus, in which the great discoverer quells his mutinous sailors, and the cession of a tract of land (afterwards called Pennsylvania) to William Penn. Two graceful female figures form the handles; the cup is surmounted by a figure of Britannia. The base is of ebony, bearing two shields engraved with the badge of the Prince's . . .

Although the trophy did not arrive in Canada until 1863, the first race took place in September, 1862, and was won by the yacht Wide Awake, owned by Charles Elliot of Cobourg. Another Cobourg yacht, Gorilla, owned by R. W. Standby, and regarded as one of the outstanding yachts of the decade,⁸⁵ captured the trophy for the three following years. This yacht also won first prize in the Cobourg Regatta of 1862, and at Cobourg and Kingston in 1863, when Wide Awake ran second on both occasions. The Prince of Wales Challenge Cup Race was usually run from Toronto to Port Dalhousie and return, a distance of approximately seventy miles.

The other Prince of Wales Challenge Cup was also presented in 1861, this time to Halifax. The Royal Halifax Yacht Club received the

⁸⁴Snider, op. cit., p. 34.

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 39. Gorilla was a centreboard yacht of twenty-seven tons.

trophy for annual competition amongst its members, but added the stipulation that, if any person should win it three consecutive times, it was to become his property. This feat was accomplished by Mr W. Hare in the yacht Petrel, on June 21, 1864,⁸⁶ though the trophy has been perpetuated until today. The first competition for this Halifax trophy was held on August 1, 1861, and was won by the yacht Wave, owned by Mr J. B. Crowe.

During the sixties, sailing lost in popularity to rowing in regattas, due undoubtedly to the fact that rowing events were quicker and of greater variety. Spectators were quickly bored by the hours of waiting involved in long sailing matches where the yachts were often out of sight. It became the general practice for regattas to open with a sailing match, but once the mass of spectators had assembled, the accent was on rowing. Attempts were made to overcome this by having sailing regattas distinct from rowing, but interest in yachting continued to fail. Even the annual race for the Prince of Wales Cup in Toronto could attract only three entries in 1864, and one of those, the Crinoline, entered only to make up the required three entries before a race for the cup could be permitted.⁸⁷ Nevertheless, yachting persisted. The Quebec Yacht Club appeared at this time, and was able to attract nine entries for a Silver Cup match at a sailing regatta in September, 1864.⁸⁸

⁸⁶Novascotian, June 27, 1864; see also August 18, 1864.

⁸⁷Globe, Toronto, September 8, 1864.

⁸⁸Morning Chronicle, Quebec, September 19, 1864.

In 1867 the club organized a sailing match for the Championship of the St Lawrence and engaged the steamer Arctic, to follow the race which was won by the yacht La Mouette, from six entries.⁸⁹ Regattas in Victoria, Hamilton, Toronto, Kingston, and Halifax were organized with sailing events separated from rowing, while the newly formed Burlington Boat Club of Hamilton (1860), also arranged separate days for different classes of sailing vessels, including small open boats.⁹⁰ The Lachine Boating Club, formed in 1863, continued to organize mixed regattas, but offered only two sailing events, a yacht race and an open skiff sailing race.⁹¹

On September 3, 1862, Quebec introduced an interesting diversion in the form of a sailing match for bateaux. These boats were the flat-bottomed vessels used on the rapids-plagued St Lawrence River. The race created considerable interest among the sailors of these craft, and no less than twelve boats started. The race was won by Mr Charles Blais in La Belle Rose, owned by Mr J. Blais, "one of our best known, most industrious and deservedly successful citizens."⁹² While yachting was declining in competitive importance, the small boat continued to provide pleasure for the increasing number of the middle class seeking recreation. The Hamilton Times, August 6, 1867, stated:

Moonlight evenings having again returned, sailing and rowing on the Bay is the chief diversion of large numbers

⁸⁹Ibid., September 16, 1867.

⁹⁰Hamilton Times, June 6, 1862.

⁹¹Globe, Toronto, August 15, 1866.

⁹²Morning Chronicle, Quebec, September 4, 1862.

of ladies and gentlemen.

This indicated a continuing interest for participation in sailing, but, as for sailing as a spectator sport, the people preferred the action and excitement of closely contested rowing events where the competitors could be seen exerting themselves, thus providing an empathetic bond with the onlookers.

Swimming

The terms "swimming" and "bathing" were synonymous to early writers, and were used interchangeably until swimming came to be regarded as "delightful and healthy recreation,"⁹³ as well as necessary for cleanliness. Until that time, to swim was to bathe. It could not be said that swimming was encouraged by the press. In fact, through their zeal in reporting drownings, accidents, and apparent dangers, reporters served to deter those who would venture beyond their depth. The Quebec Mercury, June 16, 1806, in reporting a drowning fatality, pointed out:

This is but one instance of many lives lost in this way. Swimmers cannot be too much on their guard against the danger of under-currents in the rivers of St. Lawrence and St. Charles.

A more positive attitude towards the problem was presented by the Montreal Gazette, January 14, 1826, when the Editor printed words of advice to non-swimmers should they find themselves suddenly projected into deep water:

To Bathers. Many individuals lose their lives in consequence of raising their arms above water, the unbuoyed weight of which depresses the head. Animals have neither notion nor ability to act in a similar manner, and therefore swim naturally. When a

⁹³Montreal Gazette, June 3, 1862.

person falls into deep water, he generally rises to the surface, and continues there, if he does not elevate his hands; or should he move his hands underwater in any manner he pleases, his head will rise as to allow him free liberty to breathe; and if he moves his legs as in the act of walking (or rather as if walking up stairs) his shoulders will rise above water, so that he may use less exertion with his hands, or apply them to other purposes. These few plain directions are recommended to the attention of those who have not learned to swim as they may be the means, in many instances, of preserving life.

With population increases and the consequent societal demands of closer living conditions, organized bathing received the attention of the press. The public was urged to observe the courtesy of bathing at least once a week. Baths, constructed to float on the St Lawrence, were available at moderate cost, payable by subscription or by attendance. The Quebec Floating Bath was among the first of these establishments, and was opened for use in July, 1849,⁹⁴ during the hours from six in the morning to six in the evening Monday through Saturday, and from six to nine in the morning and one to four in the afternoon on Sunday. This enterprising concern was apparently of short duration, for a Letter to the Editor of the Morning Chronicle, on July 18, 1851, spoke of the failure of the original attempt as being due to the "miserable nature of the thing called a floating bath," rather than to a lack of popular support. The correspondent requested that "some speculative gentleman" might journey to Montreal to purchase a Swimming Bath which was to be auctioned there. This particular construction was described as consisting of two vessels, each seventy-five feet long, and eight feet wide.

Montreal was the leading provider of regular swimming facilities,

⁹⁴Morning Chronicle, July 27, 1849.

and a group with the rather pretentious title of the "Montreal Swimming Club" began operations in 1850, offering subscriptions to fathers and sons for four dollars a season.⁹⁵ Quebec made another attempt in 1858 to encourage swimming when the proprietors of the Quebec Baths, Messrs Gosselin and Larue, opened a swimming bath measuring sixty feet by thirty feet, in which swimming lessons were to be offered.⁹⁶ This venture was again short-lived for, in 1863, Letters to the Editor of the Morning Chronicle were drawing attention to Montreal's Swimming Baths, saying that Quebec had need of such a construction, and once again pointing out that the practice of swimming was "sadly neglected" in that city.⁹⁷

During the sixties, an increasing interest in swimming was apparent. The Montreal Gazette informed its readers of the "hundreds" who had found "healthy and refreshing" exercise throughout the warm summer in Mr Kilgallen's floating bath.⁹⁸ To keep pace with the growing requirements of the city, Mr Kilgallen built a much larger swimming bath, one hundred and fifty feet by forty-four feet, for the summer of 1864. St John's opened the Prince's Baths, which contained facilities for deep water swimming, and which offered special times on Tuesdays and

⁹⁵Montreal Gazette, April 12, 1850. This was reduced to two dollars in the 1851 season, after it had become obvious that four dollars was an inflated amount to pay for something which could be obtained at no cost whatsoever, at any point along the river bank.

⁹⁶Morning Chronicle, Quebec, January 23, 1858.

⁹⁷Ibid., August 1, 1863; August 3, 1863.

⁹⁸Montreal Gazette, August 17, 1863.

Fridays, from ten o'clock in the mornings to four in the afternoons for ladies only.⁹⁹ An Ottawa Citizen correspondent wrote, "They who merely bathe, without being able to swim, lose half the pleasure, and more than half the benefit which arises from frequent ablutions."¹⁰⁰ The Toronto Swimming Bath, opened in July, 1858, continued its successful operations into the period.

One of the problems facing users of public swimming baths was the lack of suitable swimming attire. Letters to the newspapers drew attention to the "social indecency" incurred by nude male bathers seen from the various esplanades. The Globe's correspondents were particularly vociferous on the matter:

Within the past few days swimming baths have been erected at the foot of York St., but instead of a benefit they are likely to prove a decided nuisance. The fence which surrounds the baths is only about ten feet high, so that the passengers on every train that arrives and departs from the Union Depot are regaled with a spectacle of nude men and boys sporting in the water. This state of things should not be allowed to continue a single day. The proprietors of the baths should be compelled to erect a fence, so that the baths will be hid from public view. It is stated that steps are about to be taken to indict the place as a nuisance.¹⁰¹

These letters apparently achieved some purpose in Toronto, for, on June 18, 1864, the indoor City Baths were opened.¹⁰² The three storied building was situated on Adelaide Street near the intersection of Yonge Street, and contained two indoor heated "swimming" pools which were five

⁹⁹Newfoundlander, August 5, 1861.

¹⁰⁰Ottawa Citizen, August 18, 1863.

¹⁰¹Globe, Toronto, August 8, 1862.

¹⁰²Ibid., June 17, 1864.

PLATE X



THE BATHS & GYMNASIUM,
 ADELAIDE STREET, NEAR YONGE.

THIS IS NOW ONE OF THE MOST COMPLETE ESTABLISHMENTS OF THE
 KIND IN AMERICA.

THE BATHS ARE OPEN DAILY.

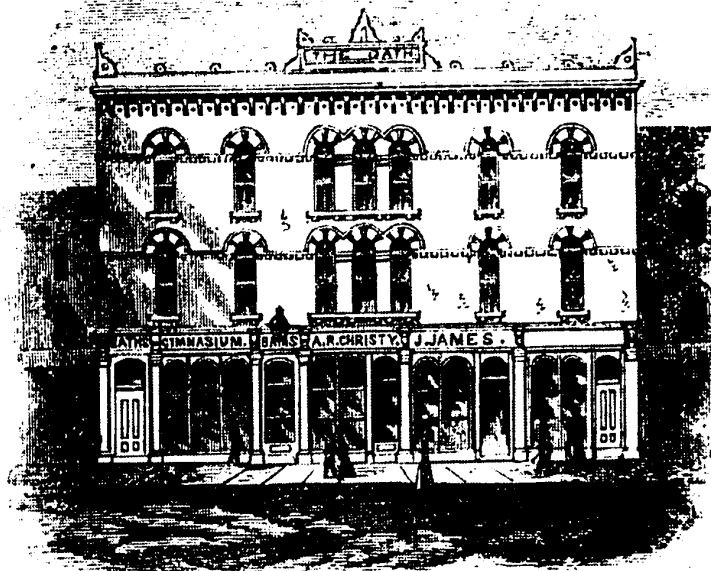
FOR THE TREATMENT OF
 Rheumatic Affections, Skin Diseases, &c.

The "Winter Bath" will be completed by the beginning of April next.

For further particulars, apply personally or by letter to
J. N. AGNEW, M.D.,
 Proprietor.

Toronto Baths, 1865
City of Toronto Business
Directory, 1865

PLATE X



THE BATHS & GYMNASIUM,

ADELAIDE STREET, NEAR YONGE.

THIS IS NOW ONE OF THE MOST COMPLETE ESTABLISHMENTS OF THE
KIND IN AMERICA.

THE BATHS ARE OPEN DAILY.

VAPOR AND MEDICATED BATHS;

For the Cure of Rheumatic Affections, Skin Diseases, &c.

The "Turkish Bath" will be completed by the beginning of April next.

Patients from a distance, apply personally or by letter to

J. N. AGNEW, M.D.,
Proprietor.

Toronto Baths, 1865

City of Toronto Business
Directory, 1865

feet in depth, one measuring twenty feet by forty feet for the use of gentlemen, the other, eighteen feet by twenty-seven feet, for ladies. A useful addition situated on the uppermost floor, was a gymnasium for calisthenics and small apparatus exercises. Despite this rather sumptuous establishment, however, ladies on their Sunday evening strolls continued to be embarrassed by the sight of naked boys and men bathing from the various wharves along the waterfront.¹⁰³

Any competitive element in swimming was a rare occurrence at the time. The activity was regarded mainly as utilitarian, rather than as play. The element was not totally absent, for, in 1867, a swimming match for twenty dollars took place in Montreal,¹⁰⁴ Mr Keller, aged nineteen, swam three-quarters of a mile in Halifax Harbour, drawing after him a boat twelve feet long containing six men,¹⁰⁵ and in Hamilton, swimming competitions, listed without details, were amongst the activities at the annual Hamilton Sewing Machine Factory's Beach Pic-nic.¹⁰⁶

Conclusion

The lakes and waterways of British North America provided an ideal environment for the nurturing of aquatic activities. With roads often rough and uncomfortable for travel, water transport was the natural substitute wherever feasible. Yachting was popular early among the garrison officers and the social elite, but the boredom of watching long yacht races led to a change in emphasis from yachting to rowing at regattas. Rowing events provided quick and varied races and were more

¹⁰³Ibid., June 26, 1865.

¹⁰⁴Montreal Gazette, July 4, 1867.

¹⁰⁵Novascotian, July 29, 1867.

¹⁰⁶Hamilton Times, July 29, 1867.

suiting to spectator sport, which, indeed, the regatta for the most part was. The importance attached to the regatta as a necessary diversion in the lives of early Canadians was evident in the usual practice of granting a holiday on regatta day by civic authorities. Both the skilled fisherman and the unskilled amateur could find their levels of competition on such gala occasions. By 1867, sailing and rowing had increased in popularity, so that boat-building was a growing occupation. Swimming had reached the stage where it was not merely bathing, but was being enjoyed as recreation by many. Its growth may be seen as a natural offshoot of the increased participation in aquatics generally. Its popular adoption, however, was hindered by the lack of a suitable swimming costume, and the need for the extended provision of enclosed swimming facilities.

CHAPTER V

EQUESTRIAN ACTIVITIES

The horse was as essential to the early settlers as is the internal combustion engine to today's society. On the farms which surrounded the urban centres, the horse was used to prepare the land, to provide transport, and, when the occasion arose, to race. The English gentleman brought with him his inherent love of equestrian activities, only to find that the French Canadian was equally interested, and both benefited from the organization which was provided by the garrison personnel. Foxes were plentiful, and the terrain well suited to the fox hunt. As snow covered the ground, the calèche became a carriage, and the horse once again took its place in the harness, as visiting and country driving became fashionable diversions. Meanwhile, for the racing enthusiast, the season provided an added attraction in sleigh races.

Fox Hunting

Prior to the rise of more general sporting activities in the forties, fox hunting received quite good press coverage, considering the space devoted to sport by local scribes. At a time in Canada's history when the horse was still a major means of conveyance, it is not surprising that horse sports should predominate. Fox hunting was an exclusive sport, restricted to upper class society as it had been in England, or to those affluent enough to be able to contribute towards the upkeep of a pack of hounds. The sport was introduced quite early

into British North America, for the Upper Canada Gazette, February 14, 1801, reported that William Jarvis held a fox hunt on the ice of the bay at York. The event had been advertised previously, hence a number of gentlemen on horseback as well as a further group of both sexes, in carriages and sleighs, followed the hounds over ice and snow.

When the Montreal Hunt was formed in the late twenties, the sport took on a more organized form. Proctor¹ has stated that William Forsyth brought a pack of English Fox-hounds from Trois Rivières to Montreal in 1826, their kennels being located opposite Logan's farm. The best area for foxes was to the south-east, so that the majority of hunts were in the regions of Lapraire and Chambly, which, being in close proximity to garrison centres, enabled officers to follow the sport. It is further stated by Proctor that the Montreal Hunt was established in 1826,² but the Montreal Gazette, May 1, 1828, in announcing a fox hunt to be held on May 3, claimed that this was the first such event in Montreal, and, on May 8, in reporting on a hunt of the previous day, the edition stated that this was the city's second such outing. Hunts were reported to have been organized by the Canada Sporting Club in 1829,³ whereas, for the 1830 season, the name was changed to the Montreal Fox Hunt and Jockey Club.⁴ This new title was evidently of

¹Frank Proctor, Fox Hunting in Canada and Some Men Who Made It, (Toronto: Macmillan Coy of Canada Ltd, 1929), p. 288.

²Ibid.

³Montreal Gazette, March 23, 1829; April 23, 1829. This newspaper, on November 12, 1860, in reviewing the history of fox hunting, stated that the Montreal Hunt was formed in 1829.

⁴Ibid., December 20, 1830.

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short duration, for a Letter to the Editor in 1832 complained of the club's being referred to as the "Fox Hunting Club," instead of by its correct title, the "Montreal Hunt."⁵ Although early official records of the club have not survived, it apparently had a continuous existence with the exception of the period from 1847 to 1850 when, due to financial difficulties, the pack was sold to Mr Hubert and some sporting acquaintances in Cobourg.⁶ Proctor wrote that the hounds were retrieved in 1851, when Mr Hubert returned to England, but the club was operating in 1850 for it was reported that a hunt took place on November 5 of that year, twenty riders attending the chase, while a number of spectators, a proportion of them ladies, followed on horseback, in carriages, and on foot.⁷ This new group of enthusiasts elected, as Master, Lieutenant Charles Lutzens of the 20th Regiment, who later achieved renown for his animal paintings.⁸

Although the hunting of foxes was the main interest of the club, they were not averse to rousing other game if the chase of the fox proved of short duration. During the 1828 season, eighty-two foxes, five deer, and three bears⁹ provided sport for these riding enthusiasts,

⁵Ibid., April 23, 1832. It is interesting to note the British attitude of this correspondent. He claimed that "Fox Hunting Club" sounded to sporting ears as "new Colonial," and that there was "no nationality about it." This non-Canadian attitude was quite common throughout the period in letters to the press, though the sport itself was to develop Canadian overtones.

⁶Proctor, op. cit., p. 289.

⁷Montreal Gazette, November 6, 1850.

⁸Proctor, loc. cit.

⁹Montreal Gazette, November 12, 1829.

who claimed that "a death after a good chase crowns the sport, but the chase is the main object."¹⁰ Snow seemed to provide no obstacle for some members, for at the chase on March 19, 1829, which lasted six hours, when the fox headed across open fields those equipped with snowshoes found they had the advantage over the horsemen.¹¹ Keeness among club members was such that, in the following month two hunts were organized on the one day, for which the pack was divided into two sections.¹² Later it became more usual to organize a single hunt per day, with two, and occasionally three, hunts taking place each week. An extract from the Journal of the Montreal Fox Hunt and Jockey Club, concerning the outing on December 4, 1830, gave some indication of the nature of these early hunts:

December 4, Saturday.—Rather good scenting day. Hounds met at Sultan's Head. Good field. Drew Easlip's cover, found a fox and ran him away finely for a few minutes, when another fox divided the hounds. Brought them all on the right scent again, and picked it away for a couple of miles, closed up and ran him up slowly through cold ploughed land for about three miles, got a view and ran him for two miles close at his brush, and were just getting into him, as he earthed. Eight horses came in at the earth, at the tail of the hounds—having had a hard chase over stiff fences, broad ditches, creeks, etcetera, and all in elegant style.¹³

The dress of the gallant "pursuers of Reynard" was obviously not in the best British tradition, for an old gentleman wrote to the press, stating indignantly:

. . . Would you believe it, Mr Editor, that these would-be Fox-hunters were equipped in dirty dingy trowsers, and Wellington boots. . . . The dingy gentlemen in Wellingtons, and their

¹⁰Ibid., October 14, 1830.

¹¹Ibid., March 23, 1829.

¹²Ibid., April 23, 1829.

¹³Ibid., December 20, 1830.

nags, took their leaps in very fair style, but who ever saw good leaping without a clean top?¹⁴

A particularly exhilarating hunt was held on Saturday, September 24, 1836, the reporting of which was a delight in itself:

A small cover near at hand was next drawn, and in about three minutes Morris sang out "tally-ho" and gave a scream which it would be rather difficult to set to music. Off went the pack and in went the spurs to the flanks of the noble steeds, eager for the run. . .¹⁵

Whether the stimulating hunt itself, or the exciting tone of the newspaper was the cause, a large group of riders gathered for the following Saturday's hunt. At this time, the Master of the Hunt was John Forsyth, son of the founder, and a "thorough sportsman and a hard rider," who had assumed the leadership in 1834, to carry the Horn for three seasons.¹⁶ During the Mastership of Captain T. J. Stockley, from 1839 to 1842, regular Hunt Steeplechases were inaugurated, the first being held at Flaherty's farm, St Michael Road, Montreal, on October 15, 1840.¹⁷ Cups to the value of seven hundred and fifty dollars were among the trophies awarded for such events.¹⁸

During the forties, fox hunting clubs were in evidence in Upper Canada. Proctor¹⁹ has stated that, at the Toronto Races in 1844, the conditions for entry in the Ladies Sweepstakes were that owners and riders were to be members of the Toronto Hunt. This was the first

¹⁴Ibid., October 18, 1831.

¹⁵Ibid., September 27, 1836.

¹⁶Proctor, op. cit., p. 288.

¹⁷Montreal Gazette, October 17, 1840.

¹⁸Proctor, loc. cit.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 26.

definite mention of such a group, though a steeplechase had been held the previous year under the direction of the Turf Club, with which the Toronto Hunt appeared to have been associated.²⁰ In 1843, the Cobourg Fox Hunting Club's formation was noted in the press, with the statement that "this truly national sport, starved out in Lower Canada, [was] not likely to set in the West."²¹ This allusion to Lower Canada apparently marked the beginning of the financial troubles of the Montreal Hunt, which culminated in the sale of their pack to Cobourg four years later. During the fifties and sixties, the activities of the clubs depended largely upon the interest shown by the officers of the various regiments. With the removal of many of these regiments during the Crimean War, the sport suffered a serious setback, so much so in Toronto that, in 1863, it was necessary to form a new Hunt Club, the old one having lapsed.²² This re-organization met with little success, for in 1865, the Toronto Hunt Club was established again, with the 13th Hussars

²⁰Ibid., p. 25. It is interesting to note that George Barber, a Master of Upper Canada College, and claimant to the honour of having introduced cricket to Toronto some eleven or twelve years previously, is listed among the stewards for this steeplechase.

²¹Montreal Gazette, September 15, 1843.

²²Globe, Toronto, May 26, 1863. This was undoubtedly helped by the opening of the Toronto Riding Academy, in a building near the corner of York and Wellington Streets, in 1862. (Ibid., December 19, 1862.). Most of the major centres had riding schools. The Talavera Riding School, situated on St Monique Street, Montreal, was operating in the 1830s, under the direction of Mr Pearce, late of the 14th Regiment (Montreal Gazette, September 10, 1833), while Alloway's Gymnasium was a riding academy before changing to a gymnasium in 1860. In Quebec, there was a school attached to the Chateau St Louis during the forties, but it was burnt in 1846, after serving for some time as a theatre. (Charles Roger, Quebec: As It Was and As It Is (Quebec: Printed for the proprietor, 1867), p. 81).

providing most of the members.²³

With Hunt Club members chasing their quarry over fences and across farm lands, it was rather surprising that complaints from farmers were not more numerous. That some complaints were warranted is apparent from one incident in Montreal which "spoiled" a fox hunt that the Governor-General, Lord Monck, attended in 1862.²⁴ The club members in their eagerness to overtake the fox, tore down a habitant's fence, despite his efforts to dissuade them from riding through his field. The habitant put an end to the affair by taking up his rifle, and, "not comprehending the respect due to Reynard," shot the fox through the head, thereby "greatly offending the whole party" with his most un-sportsmanlike behaviour. By 1866, the Montreal Hunt was attracting sixty members per chase, with the number of ladies increasing steadily. Gentlemen from Boston sometimes made special trips to Montreal with their horses,²⁵ just for the pleasure of joining a club which was claimed by its members to be "the only regularly organized pack, according to the true acceptance of the term, on this side of the Atlantic."²⁶

In 1867, John Crawford was elected Master of the Hunt, a position he held for five more years. Mr Crawford had long been a member of the club, and lived to become a legendary figure in hunting circles, for he

²³Globe, Toronto, June 6, 1881.

²⁴Montreal Gazette, October 12, 1862.

²⁵Ibid., October 1, 1866.

²⁶Ibid., October 23, 1866.

continued to ride to hounds until two years before his death in 1903, at the age of ninety.²⁷

Horse Racing

Horse racing was perhaps the most common outdoor amusement during the early days of the nineteenth century. Gale²⁸ has stated that it was recorded as a popular sport in Quebec as long ago as 1767, while in Nova Scotia, by 1773 the races at Windsor were well advertised.²⁹ The handicap system used at these early Windsor races is interesting, for it was applied according to the size of the horse rather than its age, as it was later. Horses standing fifteen hands high carried one hundred and fifty-four pounds, whereas smaller horses carried seven pounds per inch. The system of having to win the best of three heats to be declared winner of an event was also in vogue then, and remained in force throughout most of the period. Horses certainly earned their victories, for the heats were sometimes over a distance of three miles, with only twenty minutes rest allowed before runners were called for the next heat.

Information on the formation of early Turf Clubs is rather vague. Gale claimed that the Quebec Turf Club was organized as early as 1789,³⁰ though the existence of such an organized body before 1818 is doubtful. Certainly, races were advertised in the Quebec Gazette on September 24,

²⁷Proctor, op. cit., p. 289.

²⁸Gale, op. cit., p. 264.

²⁹Nova Scotia Gazette, March 23, 1773.

³⁰Gale, loc. cit.

1789, for the following day, and were held intermittently over the next thirty years, but no Quebec Club was mentioned by the press until August 11, 1818, when the Quebec Mercury announced the formation of the Quebec Turf Club, with the Duke of Richmond as Patron. Horse racing was so popular by this date that, during the races which followed on August 25, 26, and 27, the town of Quebec was almost deserted.³¹ Meanwhile, race meetings were reported from Montreal, Kingston, and St John, New Brunswick, the principal event at the Montreal Races on August 7, 1811, being the Montreal Jockey Club Silver Cup.³² Organized race meetings must have been still quite new to Montreal at this time, for the same paper stated that "they were attended each day by a numerous and brilliant concourse of spectators, who testified the greatest pleasure and satisfaction at this novel species of public amusements."

In the following decade, the Niagara Turf Club received press coverage,³³ but the club evidently became defunct, for a notice of a meeting to form a Turf Club in Niagara appeared in the Gleaner, on July 4, 1835. It is of further interest to note that, just prior to the formation of the new Turf Club, an announcement referring to the Niagara Races appeared in the Montreal press which carried the specific state-

³¹Quebec Mercury, September 1, 1818.

³²Montreal Gazette, August 12, 1811.

³³Niagara Gleaner, June 5, 1824. Races had been reported in the Upper Canada Gazette, June 27, 1797, while Janet Carnochan quotes a letter from "Amicus," which advocated these particular races, and also the formation of the Niagara Turf Club at the same time. (Janet Carnochan, History of Niagara (Toronto: William Briggs, 1914), p. 256.)

ment that "no Black shall be permitted to ride on any pretext whatsoever."³⁴ This reflected not merely racial prejudice, but the fact that horse racing was a gentlemen's sport, a great majority of its followers being the officers of the garrisons. This did not mean that they had a monopoly on the sport, but rather their participation encouraged its growth, for it was reported that, when the officers of the 68th Regiment prepared a race course on the grounds of the York Garrison, they admitted any individuals who wished either to ride for their own amusement, or to train their horses.³⁵ By 1830, the sport was so popular that five thousand spectators gathered at the Quebec Races in that year, while in Montreal in 1829, despite heavy rain;

Thousands were to be seen trudging along on foot and in every species of vehicle to the great scene, careless of the pelting of the pitiless storm, which about half past 12 o' clock, and during intervals for the next hour, was completely deluging the crowds that were on the tiptoe of expectation.³⁶

In the Maritime provinces, the sport was no less popular during this period. Although press reports on race meetings can be traced back into the eighteenth century, the first meeting conducted under the auspices of the Halifax Turf Club occurred in 1825.³⁷ Wherever

³⁴ Montreal Gazette, June 6, 1835.

³⁵ Roxborough, op. cit., p. 21. This author gives 1829 as the date for this garrison course, whereas Firth cites the Canadian Freeman October 9, 1828, as referring to a three-day race programme held on this course. (Edith Firth, The Town of York, 1815-1834 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), p. 321.)

³⁶ Montreal Gazette, September 24, 1829.

³⁷ Novascotian, July 13, 1825.

"gentlemen farmers" or garrison officers were established, race meetings were soon a major attraction. Yet, for the thousands of spectators who attended these meetings, few either really knew or cared about horses, the gatherings being mere social occasions, valued for the pleasure and excitement they provided. The scene presented at the Halifax Races of 1833 was illustrative of this:

The western side of the citadel was covered with gay groups—the exercising grounds with equipages of every size and fashion—while some seventy tents ranged along the base of Camp Hill, dispersed the elements of mirth and hilarity, and, in many cases, it is to be feared, of brutal excess.³⁸

Heavy drinking and gambling were sidelights of race meetings at this time, wherever they were held. Ineffectual legislation was passed prohibiting the presence of liquor at race courses in Halifax,³⁹ while elsewhere, soldiers and police were frequently in attendance to quell disturbances. Press reports mentioned the extensive wagering of money on the outcome of various races, while Talbot related an interesting account of the betting of goods in lieu of cash:

The fate of a cow, a yoke of oxen, or a pair of horses, is often determined by the colour of a card; and an hour's gambling has deprived many a Canadian farmer of the hard-earned fruits of twenty years' industry.

I once went to a horse-race, that I might witness the speed of their sorry chevaux, as they cantered over a quarter of a mile course. Four horses started for a bet of 10,000 feet of boards. The riders were clumsy looking fellows, bootless and coatless. Before they started, every one seemed anxious to bet upon some one or other of the horses. Wagers were offered in every part of the field, and I was soon assailed by a host of fellows, requesting me to take their offers. The first who attracted my notice, said, that he would bet me a barrel of

³⁸Ibid., September 18, 1833.

³⁹Ibid., September 7, 1825.

salt pork that Split-the-wind would win the day. When I refused to accept this, another offered to bet me 3,000 cedar shingles that Washington would distance "every D—d scrape of them." A third person tempted me with a wager of 50 lbs of pork sausages, against a cheese of similar weight, that Prince Edward would be distanced. A fourth, who appeared to be a shoe-maker, offered to stake a raw ox-hide, against half its weight in tanned leather, that Columbus would be either first or second. Five or six others, who seemed to be partners in a pair of blacksmith's bellows, expressed their willingness to wager them against a barrel of West Indian molasses, or twenty dollars in cash.⁴⁰

The author estimated that at least ten thousand dollars' worth of property was lost and won, without a single sou being in the possession of any one present.⁴¹

The friendly sporting rivalry that existed between Montreal and Quebec later in the century was quite intense by the 1830s, when the relative merits of horses were concerned. This was well exemplified in the challenge races which occurred between the stables of Mr Kauntz of Quebec, owner of such great horses as Sir Walter, Lady Heron, and Roxana, and Mr Gibb of Montreal, owner of Filho, and Timoleon.⁴² Meanwhile, the Trois Rivières course was fast becoming the "Newmarket of British America,"⁴³ partly due to the fact that it was "a favourite spot for deciding all questions of rivalry between the two cities, without giving occasion to any of those unpleasant feelings which sometimes are attendant when they take place in Montreal or Quebec."⁴⁴ River

⁴⁰E. A. Talbot, Five Years' Residence in the Canadas (London: Longman, Hurst, et al., 1824), p. 58.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 59.

⁴²Montreal Gazette, September 23, 1830; June 30, 1831; July 2, 1831; August 20, 1831.

⁴³Ibid., October 11, 1830.

⁴⁴Ibid., June 24, 1834.

steamers always were very active during the Trois Rivières Races, carrying thousands of passengers from each of the rival cities. They were particularly busy on July 28, 1836, when, as a result of petitions from Trois Rivières and Montreal,⁴⁵ the first King's Plate was run in the former town. King William had granted this fifty-guinea award which was to be contested annually by horses bred in Lower Canada that had never won Match, Plate, or Sweepstakes Races. This "Royal favour" was felt by the inhabitants to be an indication of the sovereign's interest in the colonies as a whole, and great excitement heralded the news. The historic race was won by Brunette, owned by Mr. A. Hart, after running last in the first heat, and then winning the next two.⁴⁶ Upon Victoria's accession to the throne in the following year, the race became the Queen's Plate and was won by Shellelagh, although the award was withheld after a protest until the place of breeding of the horse could be proved.⁴⁷ Lord Durham, as part of his efforts to establish a reputation for generosity following his appointment in 1838,⁴⁸ presented a Governor-General's Cup, valued at one hundred guineas, as the trophy for the main event in the Montreal Races of that year.⁴⁹

Meanwhile, in Toronto, as a result of the interest aroused by the military races on the garrison common, formal race meetings were

⁴⁵Ibid., June 14, 1836.

⁴⁶Ibid., July 30, 1836.

⁴⁷Ibid., August 12, 1837.

⁴⁸J. M. Careless, Canada, A Story of Challenge (Toronto: Macmillan Coy of Canada Ltd, 1963), p. 193.

⁴⁹Montreal Gazette, August 21, 1838.

inaugurated with the formation of the Upper Canada Turf Club in 1837.⁵⁰ A meeting, which lasted three days, took place at Runnymede in September, on "Mr Scarlett's Simcoe Chase Course," in the Humber Valley.⁵¹ In 1838, on the same track, heats were conducted for the City Plate (fifty guineas), the Ladies' Plate (£40), the Innkeepers' Race (£50), and the Tally-Ho Hurdle Sweepstakes (£5 from each entry).⁵² The formation of the Kingston Turf Club occurred in 1839,⁵³ while other race meetings were reported from Huntingdon, Malden, Williamstown, and La-prairie. In the Hamilton district, races were claimed to have been run in 1837, but these were mostly trotting events, and horses ran such distances as from Hamilton to Brantford and back.⁵⁴

The decade of the forties saw the introduction of cross-country steeplechases. Hurdle races had made occasional appearances on programmes during the thirties, as a means of adding variety to the general races. However, this type of event did not have the popular appeal of the fast gallops, and it had been confined mainly to the interest of garrison officers. The Montreal Gazette, September 23, 1837, reported the introduction of a hurdle race into the programme on the second day of the Quebec Races, stating that the event "was by no means successful." The Montreal Grand Steeplechase, claimed to be the first steeplechase in British America, occurred on October 15, 1840, at

⁵⁰Guillet, Toronto, p. 437.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Roxborough, op. cit., p. 21.

⁵³Kingston Chronicle, July 20, 1839.

⁵⁴Miller, op. cit., p. 49.

Flaherty's Farm on St Michel's Road.⁵⁵ A circular course of three miles over twenty fences and ditches was selected and marked out, and Colonel Whyte of the 7th Hussars led the nine entrants from start to finish, bringing in his horse, Heretic, twenty lengths ahead. The press comment read, "An excellent and gratifying a specimen of the noble field sports of England."⁵⁶ Colonel Whyte, on Heretic, also came in first in the Montreal Steeplechase in 1841, but was disqualified for missing a marker during the race.⁵⁷ Of the seven entries for that year, six were from the 7th Hussars and one from the King's Dragoon Guards, showing the domination of the sport in this province by the military personnel. The event was awarded to King Cole, a jumper of some repute during the early forties. This great horse won the two mile Hurdle Race at the Montreal Races on August 19, 1842, carrying one hundred and fifty-one pounds, which was fourteen pounds more than the nearest-weighted competitor, and twenty-one pounds above the next.⁵⁸ As the decade progressed, steeplechases gained in popularity and more gentlemen riders took up the sport. A Toronto Steeplechase with three events took place on October 3, 1843, in which the riders were described as being "mostly young gentlemen, native born Canadians, ex-pupils of

⁵⁵ Montreal Gazette, October 17, 1840. It should be noted however, that the Novascotian, May 16, 1839, reported a steeplechase for horses owned by officers of the garrison and gentlemen of the town, and ridden by gentlemen. Although there were twelve nominations, only two riders appeared for the event.

⁵⁶ Montreal Gazette, October 17, 1840.

⁵⁷ Ibid., May 19, 1841.

⁵⁸ Ibid., August 23, 1842.

Upper Canada College, and members of the Toronto Cricket Club."⁵⁹

This programme proved so successful that arrangements began immediately for a Grand Provincial Steeplechase, to be held in 1844. The steeplechase had grown so popular by 1848, that an estimated ten thousand people attended a seven-entry race at Cobourg during the Provincial Exhibition in August of that year.⁶⁰

In Toronto, the forties witnessed the opening of two new race tracks. Mr Boulton's St Leger Course was situated in the area bounded by Bloor Street, Baldwin Street, McCaul Street, and Spadina Avenue.⁶¹ The first Toronto Races to be held there took place on July 7, 1841, the main event being the City Plate for one hundred and ten sovereigns, won by the champion horse of the period, Peter Pindar.⁶² This horse was sold soon afterwards, and, under his new name, Toronto, won the District Plate at Cobourg for £25, and the Turf Club Stakes at Belleville for £50, and ran second in the Town Plate at Niagara for £30.⁶³ The Union Course opened in 1842 below the Don Bridge, where, to the amusement of many, the City Plate was won by Fleetwood, owned by Mr Boulton, proprietor of the "opposition" race course.⁶⁴

With the Queen's Plate restricted to horses bred in Lower Canada, Toronto made a request, in 1843, to have this privilege extended to

⁵⁹Ibid., October 10, 1843. ⁶⁰Guillet, Cobourg, p. 28.

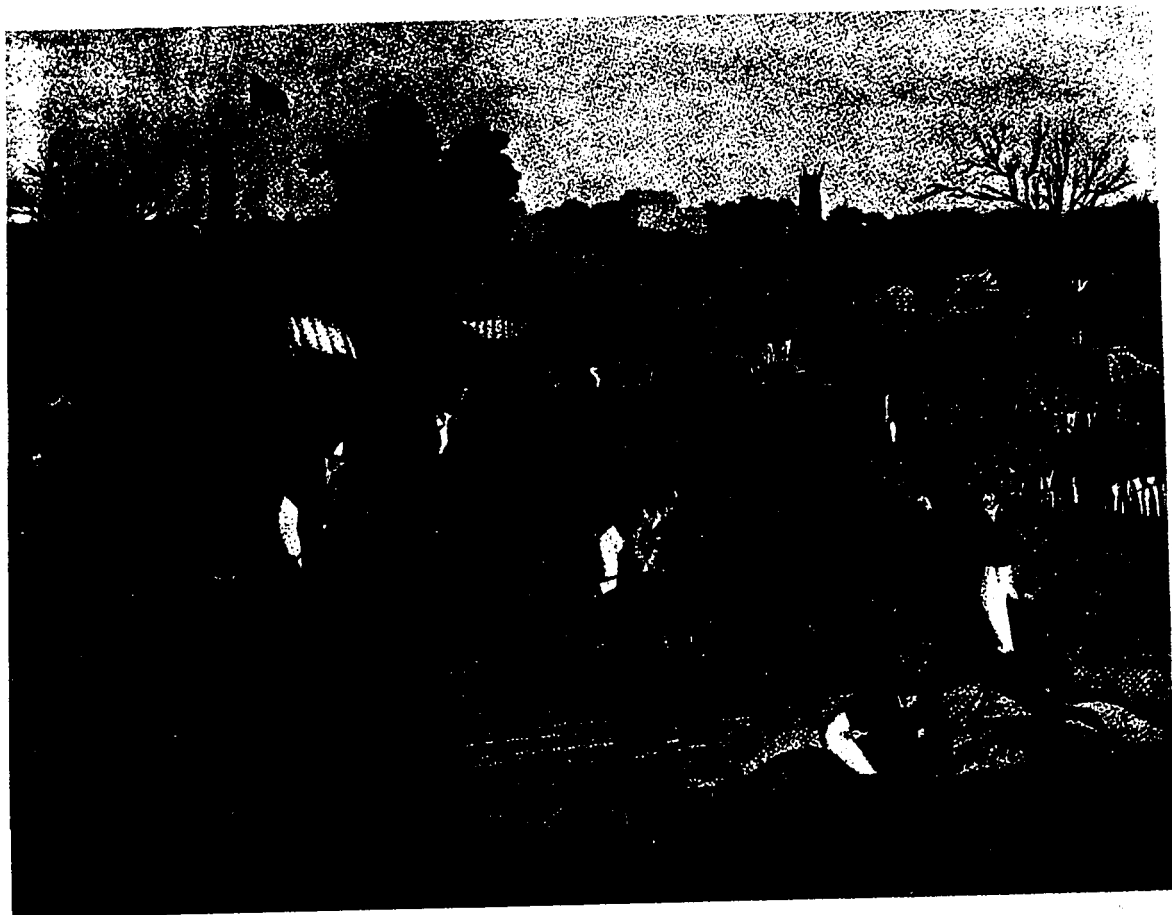
⁶¹Roxborough, op. cit., p. 21.

⁶²Globe, Toronto, July 12, 1841.

⁶³Montreal Gazette, October 29, 1841.

⁶⁴Ibid., June 14, 1842.

PLATE XI



Grand Military Steeplechase, London, May 9, 1843

PLATE XI



Grand Military Steeplechase, London, May 9, 1843

Upper Canada,⁶⁵ but it was not until 1859 that this mark of Royal patronage was granted.⁶⁶ Halifax had staged the running of a Queen's Plate for fifty guineas in 1841,⁶⁷ and, in the same year, during the first races of the Newcastle Turf Club at Cobourg, a Queen's Plate for £25 was programmed, but neither centre established this event in its racing calendar permanently.⁶⁸

As the forties progressed, Toronto increasingly became more important within the racing fraternity. The St Leger Course Races announced for May, 1844, contained forty-one starters, the largest field to that date on the Canadian Turf.⁶⁹ In 1846, Toronto's Don Course was the venue for what may be termed an international race. Mr George Parish, formerly of Ogdensburg, but later resident of Vienna where he obtained favour at the Court of the Austrian Emperor, brought to Canada several of his thoroughbreds. He offered to match his horse, Americus, against any horse in Canada for one thousand dollars, the challenge being accepted by Mr C. Romaine.⁷⁰ This gentleman had previously established himself as a gambler for high stakes when, in 1842, he backed his horse, The Queen, for one thousand dollars against James Cotton's Jack on the Green, in a forty mile trot.⁷¹ Mr Romaine had

⁶⁵Ibid., May 1, 1843.

⁶⁶Novascotian, September 12, 1859.

⁶⁷Ibid., July 29, 1841.

⁶⁸E. King Dodds, Canadian Turf Recollections (Toronto: Published by author, 1909), p. 131. See also Montreal Gazette, June 29, 1841.

⁶⁹Montreal Gazette, May 23, 1844.

⁷⁰Dodds, op. cit., p. 112.

⁷¹Roxborough, op. cit., p. 134.

driven his own horse and had lead nearly all the way but, unfortunately, had been beaten at the post in the excellent time of three hours and eight minutes, a time all the more remarkable considering that the track had been fetlock deep in mud. The horse Mr Romaine chose to match against Americus was Gosport, a horse he had recently purchased from Mr Gates.⁷² To the joy of five thousand spectators, the Canadian challenger won two closely contested heats and emerged the victor.⁷³ By the end of the forties in Upper Canada, race tracks were in evidence at Peterborough, Aurora, London, Guelph, Whitby, Barrie, Niagara, Hamilton, Ottawa, Kingston, Chatham, Cobourg, and Toronto.

Elements of rowdyism which had always existed on the fringe of the racing scene seemed to increase during the forties, to the extent that turf clubs found it necessary to take preventive measures. A growing public hostility towards the sport and its attendant evils in Quebec was depicted in the Canadian Colonist, September 7, 1841:

The races terminated here Friday; the sport we learn was very poor, but on the other hand, there was the average number of casualties both in men and in horses; and the broken heads and blackened eyes at the police-office, gave abundant employment to the magistrates, varied by charges of swindling, gambling, and pocket-picking. It is calculated that more than two thousand working men were kept idle during the two days of the races, and the pecuniary loss to the community consequent upon this must be heavy. The state of society in Canada does not seem to us to warrant horse racing, which is a luxury only suited to older and more wealthy countries than ours. The

⁷²Dodds, loc. cit. In 1844, Gosport had won a six hundred dollar challenge race against St Lawrence on the Union Course. The owners of St Lawrence had imported famous American jockey, Gill Patrick, who had ridden Boston in all his great races in the U.S. (Montreal Gazette, June 26, 1844.)

⁷³Roxborough, op. cit., p. 22.

sport was introduced many years since by the military, who in general have not much occupation; it is but little encouraged by the better class among the civilians, and we are not without the hope of seeing it abandoned altogether, as the good sense of the officers of the distinguished core in garrison must convince them that the practice is not suited to a country where support for the whole year is to be earned in the few fleeting months of summer and autumn.⁷⁴

A similar vein was to be found in the Halifax press, where the emphasis was on the lack of practical application of the sport:

Novascotians generally, we think, take little or no interest in the Turf, and were it not for the Military, and the New Brunswickers, and one or two Citizens, "sporting characters," our Turf would be a dead letter in sporting annals. . . . Horse racing is bad from a moral point of view. It promotes gambling, drunkenness, and extravagance. There is nothing noble or manly in the sport—and a breed of race horses for general purposes, if introduced into the country, would prove a plague, as a race horse on a farm would be about as useful as a fifth wheel to a coach. Trotting horses are wanted, and a trotting course would be worthy the attention of sportsmen. A breed of good travelling horses are [sic] more desirable and would be eminently more useful, than a breed of horses rivalling in swiftness anything that ever appeared at Derby or Ascot.⁷⁵

The situation in Halifax racing circles deteriorated further, and the same paper began to attack the Montreal racegoers for their indulgence in such a "demoralizing sport,"⁷⁶ until finally, during the late forties, horse racing was removed totally from the Halifax sporting scene.

Quebec faced the problem by shifting the site of the races from the historic Plains of Abraham to Ancient Lorette, in 1847,⁷⁷ hoping

⁷⁴Buckingham, *op. cit.*, p. 248. ⁷⁵*Novascotian*, August 10, 1842.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, August 28, 1843. It should be noted that this attitude may not have been universal throughout the Maritimes, for this same paper, September 29, 1845, stated that horse racing was "picking up at Cumberland and Westmoreland as it dies in Halifax." Races from Charlottetown, St John's, and St John, New Brunswick, were also noted.

⁷⁷*Montreal Gazette*, September 1, 1847.

that the extra distance involved would dissuade the rowdy element of the lower classes from attending. The measure must have been reasonably successful, for, in the Morning Chronicle on August 14, 1856, and again on August 25, 1859, the advantages of a course at Ancient Lorette over one on the Plains of Abraham were pointed out in reference to keeping away certain classes of the labouring population, thus avoiding disturbances. Prominent Quebec racing personalities of the forties included Mr G. H. Parke and Mr Tenbroek. During the Quebec Races of 1840, the former owned the horse which won the Queen's Plate and three other races on the same programme.⁷⁸ Mr Tenbroek's stable included several champions, amongst which were Sally Ward, and Sunbeam, winner of the Merchant's Plate and the Turf Club Purse at the new Ancient Lorette Course in 1847.⁷⁹ In 1848, Sally Ward took the Caledonian Cup of £100, his Monsieur Bertrand won the five-entry Sweepstakes race of two hundred dollars each at the Caledonia Springs Races. A few days later, in Montreal, Monsieur Bertrand won the Turf Club Purse of £75, as well as the £5 Sweepstakes, Sally Ward won the Montreal Cup, Sunbeam won the Garrison Plate of £25, and Nancy Rhodes, the City Purse of £50, a record of which any stable might be proud.

In Toronto, two further race tracks commenced operations during the next decade, the Gates' Course near the corner of Danford and Broadview, and, in 1857, the Carlton Course. It was at this course,

⁷⁸Gale, op. cit., p. 264. Unfortunately, the name of this horse is not recorded.

⁷⁹Montreal Gazette, September 1, 1847.

situated at Keele and Dundas Streets, that Don Juan won the Queen's Plate in 1860.⁸⁰ The site of the Quebec Races fluctuated between the Plains of Abraham and Ancient Lorette, with police and soldiers required to maintain order whenever the former was the venue.⁸¹ With extended race meetings a feature of the fifties, novelty races sometimes appeared as an addition to the programme. For example, the Quebec Garrison races in 1852 featured a Calèche Race with half-mile heats;⁸² the Scurry Stakes at the Trois Rivières Races in 1853 was open to untrained horses which had been used as hacks and had never won money in a race;⁸³ and at the St' Hyacinthe Course, in 1855, Mr Kerwan successfully wagered £50 that his mare, Helen, could walk, trot, and gallop three miles at each pace, all within one hour.⁸⁴

An attempt was made by the garrison in Halifax, in 1850, to reactivate the racing scene there, yet, although a meeting held in October was successful, the city was to wait until 1857 before the Halifax Races were revived, and even then, against City Council opposition.⁸⁵ The prevailing attitude that inspired this opposition was shown in a Letter to the Editor of the Novascotian on October 3, 1855, which

⁸⁰ Roxborough, op. cit., p. 21; also Guillet, Toronto, p. 437.

⁸¹ See Morning Chronicle, Quebec, July 6, 1853; August 14, 1856; August 25, 1859; Montreal Gazette, July 12, 1855.

⁸² Morning Chronicle, Quebec, September 30, 1852.

⁸³ Montreal Gazette, August 20, 1853.

⁸⁴ Ibid., September 7, 1855. The distance was completed in fifty-nine minutes and one second.

⁸⁵ Novascotian, June 15, 1857; June 22, 1857.

protested against the proposed horse races during the Fair and the Cattle Show at Windsor on October 10:

When anything in itself immoral and disrespectful, is attempted to be passed off upon the public, it has long been a public practice, to endeavour to connect it with something of a more honourable nature.

The writer went on to say that horse racing was an almost "universally acknowledged, and as universally condemned species of gambling" with such adjunctive vices as "jostling, lying, cheating, swearing, drunkenness, Sabbath breaking and possibly manslaughter."⁸⁶ The Charlotte-town Races had continued over the years, and, although the race meeting held there on September 26 and 27 in 1850 was reported as the first big meeting,⁸⁷ no official turf club was in operation until 1857, when a group met to form regulations for a Jockey Club.⁸⁸

In the more recently populated areas of British North America in the west, horse racing was in evidence at this time. MacRae⁸⁹ reported that, at Fort Edmonton in 1855, this sport provided one of the chief amusements during the summer months, and that a "very fine race ground of two miles or more in length" adjoined the cultivated fields. By 1859, Victoria had established its own Queen's Plate worth two hundred dollars, and at the races held to celebrate the Queen's Birthday that year, two thousand people attended the course at Beacon

⁸⁶ Ibid., October 3, 1855.

⁸⁷ Examiner, Charlottetown, October 1, 1850.

⁸⁸ Ibid., October 1, 1857; October 4, 1858.

⁸⁹ MacRae, op. cit., p. 199.

Hill.⁹⁰

Although steeplechase events were reported in Quebec during the forties, the one held in 1852 was regarded as the first of the Quebec Annual Steeplechases.⁹¹ Both Quebec and Montreal established annual steeplechases during the 1850s and the following decade. Those of the latter, which, by 1863, consisted of a two-day programme,⁹² were directed by the Montreal Hunt Club.

With the influx of new garrison troops to the provinces during the period of the American Civil War, horse racing underwent a major revival. A new Quebec course was prepared on St Charles Road, two miles from town, the military authorities settling the old complaints concerning the Plains of Abraham by forbidding horse racing there when they renewed their lease.⁹³ The new course was said to have had a high fence around it to keep out undesirables. Most race courses before this time were not enclosed, so that people sometimes encroached upon the track itself. During the running of the Turf Club Purse in Montreal on August 20, 1838, one person was killed and another injured by a horse which became frightened by the shouting of people near it on the track.⁹⁴ At

⁹⁰Daily Colonist, Victoria, May 25, 1859. Another Queen's Plate was run on October 28 of the same year. (Ibid., October 28, 1859.)

⁹¹Montreal Gazette, November 10, 1852.

⁹²Ibid., October 26, 1863; November 2, 1863.

⁹³Morning Chronicle, Quebec, August 11, 1862. This was undoubtedly due to the frequent conflicts between soldiers and lower class civilians at meetings held on this site. See ibid., August 25, 1859.

⁹⁴Montreal Gazette, August 21, 1838.

the Quebec Races of 1851, the rider of the horse Sutledge broke his leg when his horse fell while trying to avoid a spectator standing close to the second hurdle.⁹⁵ There were several references to such interference to horses, including their being struck by bystanders as they passed, scattered throughout newspaper reports of early race meetings. Human interference was not the only obstacle, however, for dogs were such a nuisance that, at most race meetings, it was advertised that any such animal found on the course would be destroyed.⁹⁶ One advantage of the open courses to some riders was that they permitted a quick escape for jockeys accused of illegal riding:

There was a species of Hunt when the fourth race was over, after one of the Jockeys, who was accused of foul play. He was chased over Camp Hill by the rest of the riders, with some five hundred pedestrians at their heels.⁹⁷

The new Quebec course seemed to do little towards eliminating the old problems associated with racing for, according to an eye-witness,⁹⁸ people of the lower class who could not afford the entrance fee simply perched themselves on top of the fence and so obtained an elevated, if not entirely comfortable, view of the proceedings. Drunkenness was assured to all who partook of the "villainous New York brandy and new whiskey,"⁹⁹ while gambling was not restricted to the horse

⁹⁵Morning Chronicle, Quebec, September 6, 1851.

⁹⁶Ibid., August 21, 1851. See also Novascotian, September 25, 1828, for early problems with dogs.

⁹⁷Novascotian, September 1, 1845.

⁹⁸S. P. Day, English America (London: T. Coutley Newby, 1864), p. 276.

⁹⁹Ibid., p. 274.

racing, for a roulette table operated adjacent to the "grand-stand."¹⁰⁰

This contemporary critic continued:

The whole arrangement had a "Rowdy" look about it, and impressed me far from favourably. After the races terminated a scene of indescribable confusion followed in front of the entrance gate. This was occasioned by the difficulty of getting vehicles to move, the road being partially blocked up by dirty-looking groups of people, besides a collection of calèches, the drivers meanwhile heaping imprecations upon each other in their favourite patois, more expressive than elegant. I had quite enough of a Quebec race-course the first day, so I did not repeat my visit. . .¹⁰¹

Not all race meetings were conducted on prepared race tracks, however, those in smaller towns usually taking place in the main street. The Cacouna Races were always a spectator's delight, and the course ran "from Pelletier's Hotel along the road to O'Neill's, from there up to the church, round the square to the north of the church, and back to O'Neill's, the centre door of which was the winning post."¹⁰²

The horses were ridden without saddles, and the main event, in 1862, boasted ten entries:

The horses all got away well together and all reached the first corner en masse, where occurred a great scene. The corner, being a right angle, is of course difficult for even one horse to turn at full gallop, but the difficulty is greatly increased when ten horses, all huddled together, attempt to turn it at the same moment. One horse, quite oblivious of the fact that the corner had to be turned, shot straight ahead, a second having neglected to reduce his speed on nearing the corner, and being hard pressed by those immediately behind, took a flying, or rather a smashing leap as he carried a part of the fence with him, into a potato field; a third, feeling probably that his forte did not lay [sic] in steeplechasing, brought up at the fence with such effect that

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 275.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 276.

¹⁰² Morning Chronicle, Quebec, August 11, 1862.

his jockey, a second later, had his head as deep in the earth as the "murphies" and his heels performing a pirouette in the air; a fourth, seeing his horse disposed to put him through a similar course of gymnastics, threw his arms around the animal's neck and held on with his heels, and while all this was going on, which took but a moment in reality, the other six scrambled round the corner and continued on their way.¹⁰³

The 1863 races in Cacouna were just as entertaining, for an ox and cart wandered across the road in front of the galloping horses, causing the leading horse to project its rider over its head onto the ox which then dashed off with its victim down the street, much to the immense delight of the crowd.¹⁰⁴

Toronto's long awaited Queen's Plate was first run on June 27, 1860, on the Carlton Course, the winning horse being Don Juan.¹⁰⁵ For the next three years, Toronto remained the venue for the Queen's Plate, wins in each year being recorded by Wild Irishman, Palmero, and Touchstone. Commencing in 1864, the awarding of the race was decided by the Governor-General upon request, and, up to 1867, Guelph (where Brunette was the winning horse), London (Lady Norfolk), Hamilton (Beacon), and St Catharines (Wild Rose), were the respective recipients in Upper Canada. Of the running of the 1866 Queen's Plate in Hamilton, Charles Maddison had this to say:

There was action long before starter William Hendrie sent off the first heat for the seventh running of the Queen's Plate on May 24, 1866, Queen Victoria's birthday, on a track which is now Gage Park here in Hamilton. The streets of

¹⁰³Ibid.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., August 8, 1863.

¹⁰⁵Globe, Toronto, June 28, 1860. The Lower Canada Queen's Plate continued to be awarded during the sixties, with Montreal, Trois Rivières, Quebec, and St Hyacinthe the main recipients.

Hamilton had been decked with bunting for the occasion, and some of the fans, emboldened by holiday spirits, started jostling over the track across from the judge's stand. A steward, or what we now call an outrider, ran his mount among the combatants to quell what could have been a minor riot. In the running, a horse named Beacon, owned by Robert McKeller of Hamilton, won the race.¹⁰⁶ This same horse had won in 1865 but had been disqualified.

Horse racing in Hamilton had been placed on a relatively permanent footing in 1864, with the procuring of land for the Hamilton Riding and Driving Park. The association controlling this venture had its first annual meeting in September, 1865, under the presidency of Charles Magill, Esq.¹⁰⁷ Trotting events were gaining in popularity during the sixties, and one such event for five hundred dollars was conducted at the Hamilton Driving Park in 1866.¹⁰⁸

The sport had attracted a minor following for the past three decades, one of the earliest recorded events taking place on the St Pierre Course, Montreal, in 1830, for a purse of fifty dollars.¹⁰⁹ Match races and races against time were the usual events, but, in 1844, a successful trotting programme was arranged on the St Pierre Course, consisting of three races. Winners of trotting races were usually decided from the best of five heats, as opposed to three heats in the gallop events, and both harness and saddle races were conducted. Races in harness usually meant that some form of high-wheeled sulky or calèche

¹⁰⁶ Cited in Miller, op. cit., p. 49.

¹⁰⁷ Hamilton Times, September 2, 1865.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., August 27, 1866.

¹⁰⁹ Montreal Gazette, September 23, 1830.

was used, for the light racing gig was not known until the nineties. Queen, owned by Mr Jodway, and formerly known as Drummond Mare, was reputedly one of the fastest trotters in Canada, having achieved this reputation after winning the main event for one hundred dollars at the Stanstead and Orleans Trotting Club Races in 1861.¹¹⁰ The Quebec Trotting Club was formed in June, 1864,¹¹¹ and trotting races were held in July, August, and September of that year. In 1867, the largest purse for a trotting event in Canada up to that time was offered at St Catharines. The match for one thousand six hundred dollars was contested by James Cairns' Bay Gelding and Simon James' Grey Mare, the former winning the second, third, and fourth heats, and then being sold to a New York buyer for two thousand dollars. Approximately three thousand spectators witnessed the match, "a large number of whom obtained admittance in anything but a legal and honourable manner."¹¹²

In Victoria, match gallop races were frequent occurrences during the sixties, with one thousand dollars the usual amount at stake. For one such race in January, 1861, when Mr Fuller's Butcher Boy was matched against Mr J. Rice's Jim, the rider of the former horse wore a revolver in his belt, either to increase his weight to the correct standard, or else to discourage his opponent from foul tactics.¹¹³ At a match race in 1864, ten thousand dollars was reported to have changed hands.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰Ibid., July 20, 1861.

¹¹¹Morning Chronicle, Quebec, June 27, 1864.

¹¹²St Catharines Evening Journal, July 20, 1867.

¹¹³Daily Colonist, Victoria, January 4, 1861.

¹¹⁴Vancouver Times, Victoria, November 21, 1864.

The Victorian Jockey Club was formed at a meeting on the evening of March 18, 1861, at which a sum of four hundred dollars was subscribed towards improving the course at Beacon Hill.¹¹⁵ The new association's first race meeting, at which two thousand spectators were in attendance, was held in May of the following year, the programme including the annual Queen's Plate for two hundred dollars.¹¹⁶

During the same year, but on the other side of the continent in Halifax, horse races were again permitted on the Common. With a large body of police present in 1864 to prevent the sale of liquor, the spectators purchased "cigars from itinerant venders and drank lemonade and ginger beer at seven cents a glass, at the many extemporized hotels, with great gusto."¹¹⁷ Horse racing in the Maritimes, as in most regions of British North America in the sixties, was once again a major sport.

Ploughing Matches

The sporting spirit which pervaded the rural communities was reflected in the ploughing matches which were organized in many farming districts. Scarborough and Halifax were early leaders in this sphere, a match being contested in the former district possibly as early as 1830, at the farm of Robert Stobo on Kingston Road.¹¹⁸ In 1838, Walter

¹¹⁵Ibid., March 19, 1861.

¹¹⁶Ibid., May 20, 1862; May 24 and 25, 1862.

¹¹⁷Novascotian, June 20, 1864.

¹¹⁸Boyle, op. cit., p. 76. Boyle's information came from an old inhabitant of the town, Mr A. M. Secor. Another account related by Boyle dated this first match at Stobo's farm in 1833.

Crone won first prize in the boys' division, although his ploughing was thought to have been the best on the field.¹¹⁹ Matches were held irregularly in the district until 1844, when the Scarborough Agricultural Society was formed. It then became possible to organize these social matches in a regular manner, the first match under the auspices of the society being held at Arch Muir's farm, Kingston Road, on April 26, 1844, with eight competitors entered.¹²⁰ At the 1845 match, two classes were contested, one for Canadians and one for Old Countrymen, the rate of ploughing to be one acre in ten hours. Special competitions were sometimes held for farmers' sons, and in April, 1846, a class for those under seventeen years was included. The highlight of the forties was a twenty-a-side match against Whitby for a £100 purse.¹²¹ Whitby and Darlington were fierce rivals in those days, and Whitby had issued its challenge in the hope that Darlington would accept. Scarborough took up the challenge instead, and successfully won the day. One of the conditions of the match had been that the winner was bound to accept a challenge from any other township in the province if it were made within one year.¹²² This led to an unsuccessful challenge from Vaughan the following spring, the number of men and the stakes remaining the same. The Earl of Elgin was in attendance at this contest, the first and only

¹¹⁹Roxborough, op. cit., p. 24. Boyle suggested this contest may have occurred a little earlier, and listed J. Patton, Abraham Torrance, and John Lawrie as other prize winners. (Boyle, loc. cit.)

¹²⁰Boyle, ibid.

¹²¹Globe, Toronto, April 25, 1849.

¹²²Boyle, op. cit., p. 79.

Governor-General to witness such a match.¹²³

Agricultural Societies in Nova Scotia also sponsored ploughing matches. By 1842, the Halifax and the Pictou Agricultural Societies had been formed, and reports of matches began to appear in the press.¹²⁴ One of the important outcomes of these annual contests was a noted improvement in both ploughing techniques and in plough construction. The Novascotian, October 28, 1844, reported, "We were informed by competent judges that the ploughing on the Peninsula and in Dartmouth has greatly improved since the institution of these annual exhibitions of skill in speeding the Plough." Scarborough ploughmen attributed much of their success to the mechanical skill of James Ley, "whose shop, for weeks before an important match took place, was thronged with ploughmen from near and far, while the glow of the forge and the merry ring of the anvil could be seen and heard far into the night."¹²⁵

Spectators were welcome at these ploughing competitions, and, for a small fee, could partake of the liquid refreshment available at several booths set up on the field. Treasurers' accounts listed by Boyle¹²⁶ show amounts spent exclusively on beer, but their consumption figures do not include the kegs which were provided by benevolent farmers wishing to ensure the success of the day. Hotel-keepers sometimes set up their own booths, maintaining that their licences conferred on them the right to sell liquor anywhere within the municipality. Popular support, if not legality, was on their side.

¹²³Ibid., p. 80.

¹²⁴Novascotian, May 26, 1842; November 10, 1842.

¹²⁵Boyle, op. cit., p. 84.

¹²⁶Ibid., p. 78.

Annual ploughing matches spread slowly but surely during the fifties and sixties, with the York Township Agricultural Society and Ploughing Club in operation by 1852. In 1853, annual ploughing matches were instituted under the direction of the Beverly Agricultural Society, and continued for twenty-three years in that district.¹²⁷ The first match was held on the farm owned by William Shannon, with John McFullen winning the men's prize, and William Watson, winning the boys' event. Prizes in this district's competitions were usually awarded in three classes; men, youths aged fifteen to eighteen, and boys under fifteen. New contests were also reported from Bristol (where there was no liquor allowor), Hamilton, Blenheim, and London, while in October, 1863, the Counties of Carleton and Russell underwent an eight-a-side contest with a new plough as first prize.¹²⁸ In 1864, a Provincial Ploughing Match was held at Ancaster, in which fifty-three rivals applied their skill.¹²⁹ Yet this was not the largest gathering of ploughmen, for, in the fall of 1865, eighty-three contestants entered a match in London.¹³⁰ A Hamilton group even went so far as to organize themselves along the lines of a regular sporting club, calling themselves the Pioneer Ploughing Club, and electing Joseph Bates, Esq., as President.¹³¹

¹²⁷John A. Cornell, Pioneers of Beverly (Dundas: The Dundas True Banner Printing and Publishing House, 1889), p. 169.

¹²⁸Ottawa Citizen, October 30, 1863.

¹²⁹Globe, Toronto, September 30, 1864.

¹³⁰Boyle, op. cit., p. 85.

¹³¹Hamilton Times, January 22, 1863.

Although ploughing matches were the usual feature of agricultural contests, occasionally reaping contests were substituted. Such an event took place on the farms of Messrs W. Cooper and James Anderson, near Kippen Post Office, Huron County, on Wednesday, August 17, 1864.¹³² Six hundred spectators arrived to watch the contestants each cut one acre within one hour and fifteen minutes, all competitors having finished, however, within forty minutes. Although no direct mention of commercial enterprise was attached to the gathering, the fact that six new varieties of mechanical reapers were placed at the disposal of the farmers, and that the focus of attention was on the winning machine rather than on the contestant, was highly suggestive.

Sleighting and Carrioling

About the close of October, all the ships have departed for Europe. Business is then at an end, and pleasure becomes the general object. The common amusement of the morning is what they call carrioling, or driving a chaise. . . . Carrioling differs from what is called sleighing in Upper Canada in this, that in the former one horse is used, in the latter two. The velocity with which these carriages move is surprising, and the exercise which they afford is, I am convinced, highly conducive to health.¹³³

The practice of carrioling or sleighing may be considered as the forerunner of today's Sunday afternoon drive. Apart from the fact that sleighing was necessary as a means of winter travelling, its use purely for enjoyment also made it a means of recreation. For those who did not have vehicles of their own, rental units were available at reasonable

¹³²Globe, Toronto, August 29, 1864.

¹³³Thomas O'Leary, Canadian Letters, 1792, 1793. (Reprinted, Montreal: C. A. Marchand, 1912), p. 9.

PLATE XII



The Ice Cone, Montmorency Falls

R. C. Todd, 1830

PLATE XII



The Ice Cone, Montmorency Falls

R. C. Todd, 1830

cost. If a summer calèche was owned, the simplest method of converting it into a carriage was to remove the wheels, and attach runners which curled up in the front in much the same manner as did the skate blade. Carriages, like today's automobile, came in many shapes and sizes, so that the name was applied to all winter vehicles from a market cart up to a state coach.¹³⁴

The main discomfort of the sport, provided that the occupants were suitably dressed for the weather, arose from the condition of the roads. The floor of the vehicle was so close to the surface of the road, usually from nine to twelve inches, that loose snow was pushed forward in heaps which subsequently formed bumps called "cahots."

Tolfrey wrote of these discomforts:

. . . Of all the afflictions under Heaven, the driving over these dislocating unevennesses is beyond compare the greatest; the undulation motion caused by these frozen national nuisances can be compared to nothing but a badly steered ship in the Bay of Biscay against a headwind, with the additional misery of being mercilessly bumped and shaken, to the excruciating pitch of losing every tooth in your head.¹³⁵

Yet there were many who looked forward to the fun of driving under such conditions. Sleighing parties were common, especially after fresh falls of snow. The Honourable Hugh Gray,¹³⁶ in his letters, described "Pic-Nic feasts" during winter with groups who would rendezvous a few miles

¹³⁴ Hugh Gray, Letters from Canada Written During a Residence There in the Years 1806, 1807, 1808 (London: Longman, Hurst, et al., 1809), p. 247.

¹³⁵ Frederick Tolfrey, The Sportsman in Canada (London: T. C. Newby, 1845), I, 262.

¹³⁶ Gray, op. cit., p. 271.

beyond the town, after enjoying first some carrioling. It was not uncommon for carriages to be overturned by cahots, and their contents, "ladies, gentlemen, soup, poultry, or roast beef tumbled into the snow to the no small amusement of the rest of the party."¹³⁷

Tolfrey¹³⁸ found that driving on the frozen rivers provided the most comfortable and pleasant conditions. Several other writers, however, pointed out the danger of falling through air holes in the ice. The usual practice, if one were to meet with this misfortune, was to pass a rope around the horse's neck and draw it tight enough so as to partially choke the struggling animal. In this way the horse was quietened, thereby floating to the surface so that it might be pulled out. Gray¹³⁹ stated that horses which often travelled on Lake Champlain became so accustomed to being strangled that they thought nothing of it at all. Howison¹⁴⁰ was a little more sceptical, and advised that considerable judgement was required lest drivers "literally hang the animal they expected to save from drowning." Mrs Simcoe¹⁴¹ wrote that, when Governor Simcoe was driven to Detroit, he carried "choke ropes" and had occasion to use them. Day¹⁴² claimed that these "inconveniences" not infrequently took place several times in one day.

¹³⁷Ibid.

¹³⁸Tolfrey, loc. cit.

¹³⁹Gray, op. cit., p. 277.

¹⁴⁰John Howison, Sketches of Upper Canada (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1821), p. 212.

¹⁴¹J. Ross Robertson (ed.), The Diary of Mrs John Graves Simcoe, 1792-1796, (Toronto: Ontario Publishing Co., 1934), p. 269.

¹⁴²Day, op. cit., II, 240.

Driving clubs, usually called Tandem Clubs, naturally evolved from random organized outings. Tolfrey¹⁴³ stated that such a club was formed in Quebec in 1818, whereas Gale¹⁴⁴ would date the Quebec Tandem Club around 1830. The first drive of the Toronto Tandem Club took place on December 24, 1839.¹⁴⁵ Montreal, Halifax, and Niagara all formed driving clubs at this time. Like those of Quebec and Toronto, these Tandem Clubs catered for the social elite of the towns, a large proportion of their membership being composed of military officers. The Toronto, or Military Tandem Club as it was often called, was forced to disband in 1841 when several of the regiments returned to England.

There were no particular rules binding each club, except that its members should meet as often as the sleighing conditions and military duties permitted, and that, after each excursion, the members should dine together in the evening. A new President and Vice-President were named at each gathering, and, after the dinner, it was the duty of the latter to recount in verse the adventures of the club members during the previous drive. Many of the poems contained stanzas alluding to minor accidents, such as overturnings or broken shafts, while one immortalized an encounter with a group of fun-seeking boys who bombarded the sleighs with snowballs.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³Tolfrey, op. cit., II, 214. ¹⁴⁴Gale, op. cit., p. 270.

¹⁴⁵John R. Robertson, Landmarks of Toronto (Toronto: J. R. Robertson. 1894-1914), II, 1040.

¹⁴⁶Proceedings of the Toronto Tandem Club 1839, 1840, 1841 (Toronto: H. and W. Rowsell, printers, 1841), p. 29.



Halifax Tandem Club assembling in front of Dalhousie College, 1838
William Eager



A.K.

The Carriole and Miss Muffin

The Niagara Sleigh Club, formed by officers of the 43rd Regiment at Niagara Falls, officers of the King's Dragoon Guards, and gentlemen of Niagara,¹⁴⁷ held its initial meeting at Drummondville on December 20, 1838. Only the minute books for the years 1839 and 1840 have survived, however, so it is not known how long the club continued in existence.¹⁴⁸ The new Vice-President, appointed at each outing, automatically became President for the next. This group adopted club colours, a blue rosette and a red neckcloth, which members were required to wear at each sleigh ride.

During the sixties, sleighing gained in popularity, due probably to the increased number of military regiments in British North America during the Civil War in the United States. Moreover, the influence of the Governor-General's indulgence in this pastime should not be overlooked.¹⁴⁹ Though the members of tandem clubs represented only a select segment of British North American society, the dashing spectacle of their gaily coloured sleighs, each with dozens of tiny bells attached to the reins, set an example for all to follow. Day, writing in the early sixties, stated that sleighing was the chief and favourite winter diversion, offering

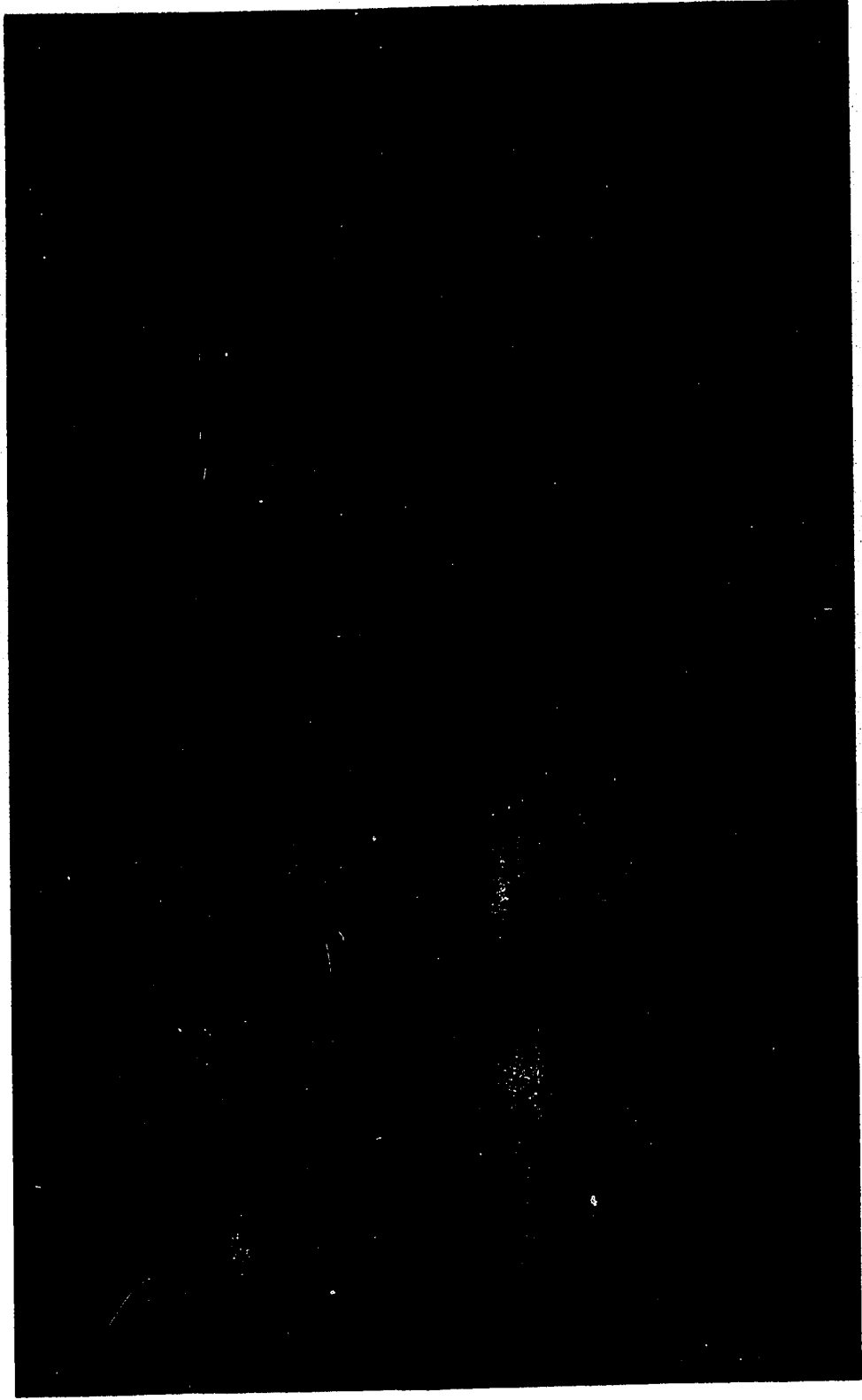
. . . a relief from the closely pent up residences of the Canadians in which, owing to the oppressive atmosphere

¹⁴⁷Carnochan, op. cit., p. 257.

¹⁴⁸Ibid.

¹⁴⁹Morning Chronicle, Quebec, December 5, 1861. ". . . To His Excellency's [Lord Monck's] presence is doubtless due to a great extent, the impulse which has thus been given to one of our principal winter amusements."

PLATE XIV



Scene on Toronto Bay, 1853

J. T. Downman

PLATE XIV



Scene on Toronto Bay, 1853

J. T. Downman

engendered by heated stoves and double windows, it is difficult to respire with comfort.¹⁵⁰

To use the words of George Beers,¹⁵¹ there was "a great delight in sleighing," and it was felt throughout the land.

Trotting on the Ice

The passion for horse racing was universal throughout the country, and was not abated by the ice and snow of winter. Alfred Townsend of Sillery, Lower Canada, described such a winter race in a letter to his wife on January 20, 1865:

Well, the race is on the river—on the ice that is. Put up rows of fir trees (Mostly what they call spruce here), to make the race track, and away they go.

There's the English officer, with his blood horse, and there's the French Canadian with his shaggy black horse, hardly bigger than a pony, really. And the officer yells "hi!" and the Frenchy yells "Avant!" And away they go, running like the very devil. And it isn't always the blood horse that wins either. The little black chap, you see, is maybe more¹⁵² used to racing on the ice. The Canadians do it all the time.

With an interest in horse racing so prevalent in most communities, it was only natural that trotting races on ice would find their enthusiastic followers. The one mile event was most usual, the winner being required to win the best of five heats. The sport evidently had early popularity, for at the races on the St Pierre River, in 1835, one thousand winter carriages lined the track, and the Montreal Gazette remarked that "it was gratifying to see so many Canadian farmers engaged

¹⁵⁰Day, op. cit., II, 239.

¹⁵¹Beers, "Canada in Winter," p. 167.

¹⁵²Cited in Creighton, op. cit., p. 62.

in the sports of the day."¹⁵³ Most races originated from a challenge, although, as in summer horse racing, an occasional race against time was reported. For example, in the Montreal Gazette, January 28, 1834, it was announced that a horse was backed to trot nine miles in half an hour on the ice below Handyside's distillery, the resultant loss of the £25 wager being blamed upon poor training and bad driving.

If no direct challenge were made, a general challenge might appear in the press, searching for a suitable opponent. Mr Eloi Pagneau adopted this procedure when placing a notice in the Toronto Herald:

CHALLENGE.—I will trot my brown pony, Lady Colborne, 5 years old, and $13\frac{1}{2}$ hands high, one mile and repeat, under the saddle or in harness, for the sum of £25, £50, or £100, against any horse, mare, gelding, now in British North America.¹⁵⁴

A few days later, his challenge was duly accepted:

I accept his challenge, and will trot my Lady Morgan against his Lady Colborne, for £100, in the harness; to come off (weather permitting) on the ice in the vicinity of Montreal, any time in the month of January next, by giving one week's notice; and will allow him twelve pounds, ten shillings to defray his expenses, to be paid when the preliminaries are settled.¹⁵⁵

Although Mr Pagneau's particular challenge mentioned either saddle or harness, the usual winter contests were in harness with a cumbersome sleigh attached, the above choice of harness by Lady Morgan's owner indicating this established norm. Further evidence confirming this practice appeared in relation to proposed races at Kingston in March, 1843,

¹⁵³Montreal Gazette, February 12, 1835.

¹⁵⁴Cited in Montreal Gazette, December 7, 1841.

¹⁵⁵Ibid., December 9, 1841.

which were subsequently postponed to the following June, due to the mild weather conditions. The winter races had been advertised in harness, but the postponement brought a change to saddle races.¹⁵⁶ The press report following the event stated that such races were more amusing on ice, for, during the summer, they did not have the appeal of other horse racing events.¹⁵⁷

Pacing events were being conducted at this early time, but they either were not of regular occurrence, or else were not often differentiated from trotting events by unsophisticated reporters. That they were possibly more popular than would appear from press reports may be surmised from the trotting races on the ice at Montreal in February, 1845. Three races were listed to be run, the first two, which were trotting events attracting five and eight entries respectively, whereas the third event, for pacers, attracted eleven entries.¹⁵⁸

The period of the 1850s was not a very productive one for ice trotting, interest waning with the withdrawal of many of the garrison troops to the Crimean War. Dick Turpin dominated the sport in Montreal early in the decade, his race against Telegraph on the ice opposite the Pavilion Hotel being referred to as "the best contested race ever trotted in Canada," even though it was only a fifty dollar match.¹⁵⁹ By

¹⁵⁶ Kingston Chronicle and Gazette, June 10, 1843.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., June 17, 1841.

¹⁵⁸ Montreal Gazette, February 8, 1845. Perhaps another factor to consider here was that most of the pacing entries were country horses, the winner being Faddie, owned by a habitant.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., March 5, 1851.

1854, ice trotting at Toronto was sufficiently popular for races there to be extended over three days, although no more than two events were decided each day.¹⁶⁰ For these races, a one mile straightaway track had been cleared of snow, from the Gas Works to Tinnings Wharf,¹⁶¹ quite an arduous undertaking in those days, and an unattractive feature of the sport which probably deterred otherwise enthusiastic drivers from holding races more frequently. No regular ice trotting meetings were reported from the Maritime regions at this time, although occasional challenge matches, particularly from St John, New Brunswick,¹⁶² received some press space.

Towards the middle of the following decade, some extension of ice trotting races in Upper Canada was reported. The Rideau Canal was utilized in winter, a match being announced to take place opposite Champagne's Hotel in January, 1863, between Mr Evan's Pride of Canada, and Mr Wilmet's Bytown Speed, with a large crowd in attendance.¹⁶³ During March, 1864, the Pembroke Trotting Club announced its first winter trotting matches on the Ottawa River in front of the town, the programme extending over three days.¹⁶⁴ In Hamilton, the 1863 races held on the Bay in March attracted some three thousand spectators,¹⁶⁵ while a cancellation

¹⁶⁰ Globe, Toronto, February 16, 1854. Seven hundred spectators were noted.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Novascotian, March 1, 1854.

¹⁶³ Ottawa Citizen, January 24, 1863.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., March 29, 1864.

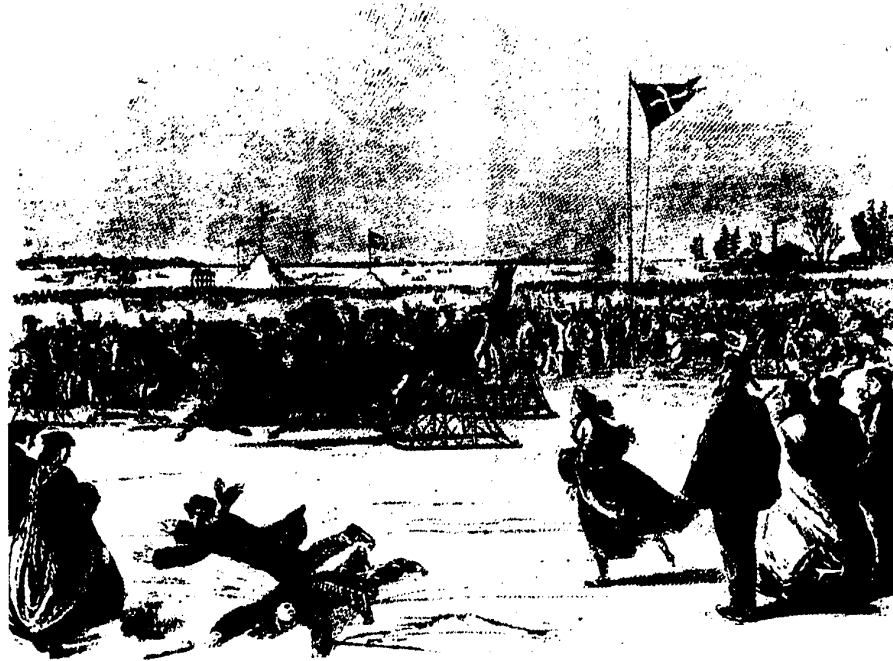
¹⁶⁵ Hamilton Times, February 23, 1863.



Sleigh Race, Burlington Bay, 1863



Sleigh Race Across the Ice
Cornelius Krieghoff, 1861



Sleigh Race, Burlington Bay, 1863



Sleigh Race Across the Ice
Cornelius Krieghoff, 1861

of a match in 1864 provided, at least, some delightful reporting:

The trotting match which was to have come off yesterday, didn't—Reason why—Mr Anderson was there on hand with his fast-going steed, but his opponent wasn't, so it was not thought worth while for one horse to go it alone. We understand that the large sum of four dollars in Canadian funds was forfeited for non-appearance.¹⁶⁶

In Toronto, one of the rare press reports containing details of ice trotting matches established the fact that the sport was not without its degree of danger. During a match for a one hundred and fifty dollar purse in February, 1865, Tomboy's foot was caught by the stay of one of the runners of the sleigh. Such a mishap to a horse in full stride could have only one result, and he fell, causing the sleigh to be overturned and the projected driver to execute "a clean somersault onto the ice."¹⁶⁷ In this year, races held in Quebec listed a mere thirteen entries all told, spread over several races,¹⁶⁸ and, in 1867, when the races were held at Lake St Augustin, the number of entries showed no increase.¹⁶⁹

By 1867, then, although ice trotting followers were to be found in several centres whenever sufficient enthusiasm could be aroused to clear a track, the sport could hardly be described as thriving. Small purses, infrequent race meetings, and reliance upon challenge matches, were all indicative of a sport struggling to maintain its existence.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., March 5, 1864.

¹⁶⁷ Globe, Toronto, February 20, 1865.

¹⁶⁸ Morning Chronicle, Quebec, January 19, 1865.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., January 15, 1867. John Healey's horse Glasgow won the main race, winning thirty dollars.

Conclusion

The horse, then, had a large part to play in the sporting interests of pre-Confederation Canadians. Fox hunting, horse racing, ploughing and sleighing all depended upon the provision of trained horses, with ploughing being the only activity in which garrison personnel did not dominate most of the club organization. Steeplechases were the natural outcome of fox hunts, while, in winter, ice trotting was but one step advanced from carrioling.

But equestrian activities were more than the means of determining which horse was the fastest, or most decorative, or best at ploughing a straight furrow; they provided the opportunities for people to mix socially, and so relieve the tedium of existence. In this way, horse races and regattas occupied similar places in their contributions to British North American society.

CHAPTER VI

FIELD SPORTS

For the outdoorsman, Canada has always provided good fishing and hunting. Particularly was this true in the early days of the nineteenth century, when the rivers, lakes, and forests abounded in wild life. The gun was an essential part of pioneer existence, for the farmer depended on his skill with the weapon to ensure constant supplies of fresh meat for his family. It was a natural thing for him to want to test his skill and prowess in the company of others. As urbanization increased, and man had to travel further to find game, target shooting began to take the place of hunting, for food gathering had become commercialized, and was no longer an individual responsibility.

Fishing

The first thing that is evident when reading of fishing exploits in early Canada, is the abundance of fish and the apparent ease with which they could be caught. Guillet has noted some reminiscences of pioneers in the early 1800s. One settler stated that a forked pole could procure salmon in any of the creeks which flowed into Lake Ontario.¹ Another recalled that an old man had speared seventy salmon in one afternoon.² If the men were too busy to allow time for fishing, this chore was often relegated to boys, and it was recorded that the fish were so

¹ Reminiscences of Roger Bates, Coventry Papers, Public Archives of Canada, cited in Guillet, Early Life in Upper Canada, p. 268.

² Reminiscences of Catherine C. White, cited in ibid.

plentiful that the boys sometimes waded in and threw them out with their hands.³

The most popular method of fishing was spearing by jack-light. This was regarded as great sport during the late autumn, when the salmon made their way up the rivers and creeks to spawn. The spearing was done either from the land or from canoes, though the latter proved more fun. Very still nights, with calm water, were regarded as necessary conditions, and Strickland has provided an interesting description of the method:

An iron grate—or jack, as it is called by the Canadians—is made in the shape of a small cradle, composed of iron bars, 3 or 4 inches apart. This cradle is made to swing in a frame, so that it may be always on the level, or the swell would cause the pine-knots to fall out. Fat-pine and light wood are used to burn in the jack, which give a very brilliant light for several yards around the bow of the canoe. The fish can be easily seen at the depth of from four to five feet. One person sits in the stern and steers with a paddle, propelling the canoe at the same time. The bowman either kneels or stands up with the spear poised ready for striking. An expert hand will scarcely miss a stroke. I have known two fishermen in this manner kill upwards of 200 salmon in one night.⁴

Guillet⁵ quotes an early resident of York as saying that he had seen as many as a hundred canoes equipped with jack-lights, gliding about the Bay of Toronto.

Fly-fishing was in vogue throughout the nineteenth century, and

³Letter of Dr William Herriman to the Cobourg World, November 26 1920, cited in ibid.

⁴Samuel Strickland, Twenty-Seven Years in Canada West (London: Richard Bentley, 1853), p. 75.

⁵E. Guillet, Pioneer Life in the County of York (Toronto: Ontario Publishing Coy, 1946), p. 16.

the Montreal Gazette, October 17 , 1808, gave a vivid portrayal of a man engrossed in landing his catch. Mr T. W. Magrath of Erindale, son of Reverend James Magrath, the first Anglican clergyman in Peel county, writing in 1832 to Reverend Thomas Radcliffe in Dublin, described fishing in the Credit and neighbouring streams, and stated that the Canadian trout would accept any sort of fly.⁶ He also boasted of having caught nine to ten dozen salmon within a few hours using this method, but said he would rather spear this variety. Tolfrey⁷ found that the most successful fly right across Canada in 1816, contained a "body of the reddish fur of a bear, two fibres of hare's whiskers for a tail, a red hackle on the shoulder, and fieldfare wings." He was quite aghast when a little boy sat down near him, equipped with "some strips of white rag wrapped round a large unwieldy hook," with a piece of scarlet cloth for a tail, all adeptly tied by his ten year old sister. The boy then proceeded to catch a sixteen pound salmon!

The Canadian salmon was noted for its fighting spirit, and Mr Tolfrey on arrival in Quebec, received a few words of advice on the type of rod to use for its capture. He was informed that his "pretty" London rod with its four joins, brass sockets and ferules, would "snap like a reed, with a lively salmon at the end, in Jacques Cartier River."⁸ The Godbout River was claimed by Adamson⁹ to be one of the best rivers in

⁶T. Radcliff, Authentic Letters from Upper Canada (Toronto: Macmillan Coy of Canada Ltd, 1953), p. 174.

⁷Tolfrey, op. cit., I, 117. ⁸Ibid., I, 45.

⁹In Sir James Alexander (ed.), Salmon Fishing in Canada (London: Longman, et al., 1860), p. 218.

the world for the angler, while Comeau¹⁰ wrote of regular fishing parties being held there during the sixties, one of the members of which was Allan Gilmour, a sporting personality from Ottawa.

Though salmon was the most popular fish, trout, pike, bass, pickerel, and maskinonge were also caught. The Toronto Globe, June 21, 1848, reported that two Woodstock gentlemen had recently returned from a fishing trip on the River Saugeeay, in the Owen Sound Tract, where they had caught one thousand and twenty-three trout. Nova Scotia residents enjoyed lake trout fishing, and were advised that October was the best month of the year for that sport because the flies and mosquitoes were then less troublesome.¹¹ Alexander¹² was of the opinion that salmon fishing on Prince Edward Island with rod and fly was very poor, but that trout fishing was excellent, the best place being near the entrance to Charlottetown harbour, at Lobster Point, three miles from town. Strickland¹³ claimed that the best bait for trout and maskinonge was a type of Russian Spoon made from a piece of brass or copper, about the size and shape of the bowl of a tablespoon, with a large hook soldered upon the narrow end. This was to be trolled behind a canoe at a distance of eighty to one hundred feet, and about three feet below the surface.

¹⁰N. A. Comeau, Life and Sport on the North Shore of the Lower St Lawrence (Quebec: Daily Telegraph Printing House, 1909), pp380-384.

¹¹Novascotian, October 28, 1844.

¹²Alexander, op. cit., p. 334.

¹³Strickland, op. cit., p. 270.

With unlimited fishing seasons in operation, it was not surprising that conditions deteriorated. As early as 1806 an effort was made to conserve salmon, when an act was passed forbidding the netting of these fish in the creeks of the Home and Newcastle districts.¹⁴ Several districts petitioned the Government for legislation to preserve fish in their particular areas.¹⁵ No general legislation was passed in the provinces until March 29, 1845, when "an Act to repeal and reduce into one Act the several laws now in force for the Preservation of Salmon in that part of this Province formerly Upper Canada" was passed.¹⁶ Lower Canada waited until May 30, 1855, for general legislation, and this Act specifically mentioned that fishing by artificial light was illegal.¹⁷ Adamson¹⁸ stated that persistent spearing of salmon had been found to have decreased the numbers in the usual streams, not only through slaughter, but because the fish vacated these streams driven by a "fear and horror for the smell and taste of blood." The first Act concerning fishing in both Upper and Lower Canada together was passed

¹⁴Guillet, Early Life in Upper Canada, p. 267.

¹⁵For example, "An Act for the better preservation of certain species of Fish in the Rivers and Waters of the Counties of Stanstead, Sherbrooke, Shefford, Missisquoi, Drummond, Essex and Kent." Statutes of Canada, 1843, 7 Vict., c. 12. This Act made it illegal to catch maskinonge or salmon and trout between August 1 and December 1, by any other method than single hook.

¹⁶Statutes of Canada, 1845, 8 Vict., c. 47. This forbade the taking of salmon by any method from September 10 to March 1.

¹⁷Ibid., 1855, 18 Vict., c. 114. The taking of salmon, maskinonge and trout was illegal from October 1 to February 1.

¹⁸In Alexander, op. cit., p. 172.

on June 10, 1857, and was called simply, the Fishery Act.¹⁹ Once again, spearing by artificial light received special mention. Other Acts were passed in 1859²⁰ and 1865²¹ which determined the fishing season for each of the varieties, and the latter, known as the Fisheries Act, set the minimum legal weight for salmon at three pounds.

Ice-fishing was practised, particularly around Quebec. A Quebec correspondent to the Montreal Gazette on December 18, 1841, mentioned the St Charles—St Lawrence area as being popular. The plan of erecting a small shack over a narrow trench cut through the ice was well known, and some were built upon runners so that they could be moved about from one location to another. Women were not averse to joining their menfolk within the shelter of these cabannes.

Fishing clubs were rare, but Day²² mentioned an exclusive group of eight gentlemen who formed themselves into "The Prince of Wales Fishing Club" under the presidency of Walter Macfarlan, during the early sixties. For residents in the vicinity of Hamilton, Luke Thompson, a boat builder, advertised a rental service for fishing parties which included fishing tackle, as well as first class boats.²³ His services must have been in constant demand, for pike four feet long and weighing sixteen pounds were frequently taken from Burlington Bay.²⁴

¹⁹Statutes of Canada, 1857, 20 Vict., c. 21.

²⁰Ibid., 1859, 22 Vict., c. 62.

²¹Ibid., 1865, 29 Vict., c. 11.

²²Day, op. cit., I, 172.

²³Hamilton Times, July 24, 1866.

²⁴Ibid., August 24, 1866.

Hunting

The many books written by early visitors to Canada, in which reference is made to the excellent hunting, provide ample evidence that this activity was undertaken for sport as well as for necessary food gathering. Dr Dunlop,²⁵ in his Statistical Sketches of Upper Canada, written in 1832 for the benefit of immigrants, was quite verbose on the subject of the rare hunting and fishing to be had in Canada. Although planned shooting expeditions were relatively few, almost every man who went into the woods took his gun with him in order to be prepared should any game appear.²⁶ Strachan,²⁷ describing his visit to Upper Canada in 1819, wrote that, because game laws were unknown, one might shoot every one of the numerous deer that one encountered without fear of reprisal. He further stated that pheasants, ducks, teal, and woodcock were abundant, whereas partridges were scarce. Pigeons were said to have been of great variety, and appeared in the spring and the fall in such interminable flocks as to darken the sky.²⁸ Dunlop remarked on such a phenomenon which occurred at York:

. . . For three or four days, the town resounded with one continuous roll or firing, as if a skirmish were going on in the streets,—every gun, pistol, musket, blunderbuss and firearm of whatever description, was put in requisition. The

²⁵William Dunlop, Statistical Sketches of Upper Canada for the Use of Emigrants, 1832, in Tiger Dunlop's Upper Canada (Toronto: Mc Clelland and Stewart Ltd, New Canadian Library, 1967), pp. 85-96.

²⁶Ibid., p. 86.

²⁷James Strachan, A Visit to the Province of Upper Canada in 1819 (Aberdeen: Longman, Hurst, et al., 1820), p. 181.

²⁸Ibid.

constables and police magistrates were on the alert, and offenders, without number, were pulled up,—among whom were honourable members of the executive and legislative councils crown lawyers, respectable staid citizens, and, last of all, the sheriff of the county; till at last it was found that pigeons flying within easy shot were a temptation too strong for human virtue to withstand,—and so the contest was given up, and a sporting jubilee proclaimed to all and sundry.²⁹

Records of impressive hunting expeditions were often found in the literature, Strickland claiming that he once had seventeen deer hanging in his barn, "the produce of three days' sport."³⁰ The Montreal Gazette sometimes mentioned hunting excursions, one such report concerning a group of eleven military officers who had shot twenty-six moose between them in the month of March, 1840, which was "an unprecedented number." However, the efforts of George Marler far surpassed this, for, in the course of March, 1836, in less than two weeks, he shot seventeen deer and seven moose, with only a dog for assistance.³²

Not all citizens were enraptured by this slaughter of Canadian wild-life. Letters to the press at different periods attempted to point out the senselessness of killing beyond the limit of normal requirements. Remarking on the shooting of fifty-nine moose by twenty-three gentlemen of the Quebec garrison, the Novascotian stated:

This useless slaughter, although bearing the name of sport, and made a boast and an example, seems a wanton destruction of a fine animal, which is characteristic of British American woods, but which will soon, if the butchery continue, be almost as scarce as the Unicorn. Field sports, like other things, some-

²⁹Dunlop, loc. cit.

³⁰Strickland, op. cit., p. 78.

³¹Montreal Gazette, March 11, 1840.

³²Ibid., April 11, 1840.

times become an innane passion, as imperious to reason as a new "Mackintosh" to rainwater.³³

This extravagant destruction of wild life could not be allowed to continue indefinitely. The first legislation in Upper Canada to affect deer hunting was passed in 1821. It stipulated a fine of forty shillings for killing deer within a closed season from January 10 to July 1.³⁴ In 1839, closed seasons were established for wild turkey, prairie hen, grouse, partridge, pheasant, quail, and woodcock, from March 1 to September 1.³⁵ This bill did not restrict the Indian, but made it illegal to purchase venison from him during the closed season. Sunday shooting was also prohibited under the 1839 Act, law-breakers risking a fine of from £1 to £5. The Toronto Patriot, in discussing this bill, emphasized the aspects by which it would improve the sport, rather than preserve the game:

To protect, increase, and multiply the game—to give to all sportsmen, of every degree, a fair start—and to keep up old English feelings, by causing them to look forward to the first of September as a sort of jubilee, wherein (the harvest being then generally over) they might be at liberty to enjoy themselves in the pleasures of the chase.³⁶

From 1843 to 1853, following the Act of Union, statutes relating to game laws were common to both Upper and Lower Canada. In 1843, the closed season for deer was set from February 1 to August 1, that for

³³Novascotian, May 26, 1842.

³⁴Statutes of Upper Canada, 1791-1831, 2 George IV, c. 18.

³⁵Ibid., 1839, 2 Vict., c. 12.

³⁶Cited in Montreal Gazette, April 20, 1838.

wild turkey, prairie hen, grouse, partridge, quail, and pheasant, from February 1 to September 1, while the woodcock closed season was from February 1 to July 15.³⁷ Fines ranging from ten shillings to £10 were to operate for violations of this bill. Wild swan, goose, duck, teal, and snipe received protection in 1845, during a closed season from May 10 to August 15.³⁸ This year also saw the passing of an Act which prohibited all hunting on Sundays throughout the provinces of Canada.³⁹ Previous to this, only Upper Canada had been under such prohibition, and the new law was not received favourably in Lower Canada:

Admitting the propriety of a due observance of the Sabbath, I think the end proposed to be obviated by this clause scarcely bears sufficient weight with it to have necessitated the interference of our legislators, for nine-tenths of those who will fall under the ban of such a law, would be the habitans, who, from time immemorial have been accustomed to take a stroll into the fields with their gun, after having performed the duty of attending mass. . . . It savours rather of persecution to attempt to persuade these men that their favourite source of pastime must now be looked upon as a crime.⁴⁰

An Act to prohibit the use of strychnine or other poisons for the killing of wild animals gained assent in 1849,⁴¹ and in 1853, the woodcock protective season was increased by a month to August 15, with muskrat receiving protection from May 10 to November 1.⁴²

³⁷Statutes of Canada, 1843, 7 Vict., c. 12. This Act superseded the 2 Vict., c. 12, of 1839.

³⁸Ibid., 1845, 8 Vict., c. 46.

³⁹Ibid., 8 Vict., c. 44; the first Act which might be called a "Lord's Day Act."

⁴⁰Montreal Gazette, February 27, 1845.

⁴¹Statutes of Canada, 1849, 12 Vict., c. 60.

⁴²Ibid., 1853, 16 Vict., c. 171.

In 1857 and 1858, amendments to the laws applying only to Lower Canada were passed, with the destruction of the eggs of wild fowl being added to the prohibited list. The 1858 Act was known by its short title, the Lower Canada Game Act,⁴³ and it prohibited the killing of deer and such animals from March 1 to September 1;⁴⁴ woodcock and snipe from March 1 to August 1; grouse, partridge, and pheasant from March 1 to August 20; and wild duck, swan, teal, and goose from May 20 to August 20. Fines varied from two to forty dollars for each violation, and, once again, the Act did not apply to Indians.

Upper Canada received its distinctive game protection Act in 1860,⁴⁵ with deer protected from January 1 to September 1; wild turkey and grouse from February 1 to September 1; quail from February 1 to October 1; woodcock from March 1 to July 15; wild duck from April 1 to August 1; beaver, muskrat, mink, sable, otter, and fisher from May 1 to November 1. Fines were heavier in this province, with fifty dollars per violation being enforced. It is interesting to note that informants were encouraged by law, half the levied fine being paid as a reward to such a person.

The inhabitants of Sherbrooke seem to have been keen hunters, for it was reported in the press⁴⁶ that annual competitions were held in

⁴³Ibid., 1858, 21 Vict., c. 103.

⁴⁴Amended in 1860 to February 1. (Ibid., 1860, 23 Vict., c. 65.)

⁴⁵Ibid., 1860, 23 Vict., c. 55.

⁴⁶Montreal Gazette, December 7, 1841.

that district in the early forties. In early November, 1841, two teams each with thirty-nine members were chosen, and a two-day gun hunt arranged. The heads of all game had to be produced at the end of the two days, and a certain number of points allotted to each, according to its rarity. To add to the excitement, it was permissible to steal the bags of the opposing team. The total kill of the competition comprised eight hundred and three squirrels, two hundred and eighty-four woodpeckers, eighty-four partridge, fifty-four carrion birds, forty-two blue-jays, five hawks, two blackbirds, two owls, two bluebirds, two ducks, two woodcock, two foxes, two muskrats, and two hares.⁴⁷ Similar competitions had been held in 1839 and 1840, when teams of eleven and thirty-three, respectively, were chosen.

Clubs were organized in some communities for game hunting contests, and one such club, the Carleton Place Hunting Club, on learning that the Prince of Wales was a keen shot, planned to invite him on a deer hunt during his visit in 1860.⁴⁸ The Ottawa Shooting Club was organized in 1866, and followed a practice similar to that of Sherbrooke in allotting points for various game shot in competitions.⁴⁹ A group of public-minded citizens in Montreal formed the Fish and Game Protecting Society in 1863, with Mr H. McKay as President, and Alex Murray, a noted snowshoer of the city, as Secretary-Treasurer.⁵⁰ The society, over the next few years, felt it their duty to recommend revisions to

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸Ibid., June 9, 1860.

⁴⁹Ottawa Citizen, October 9, 1866.

⁵⁰Montreal Gazette, March 3, 1863.

the Game and Fisheries Act for Lower Canada. Though this group strongly endorsed the legislation which had forbidden shooting to desecrate the Sabbath, they felt there was no harm in enjoying a quiet Sunday's fishing.⁵¹

Juvenile hunting enthusiasts regarded their sport no less seriously than did their adult counterparts, and the season was always open for their favourite quarry, the raccoon. This animal created such a nuisance on farm lands, especially during the green corn season, that hunting teams of boy and dog were encouraged by the farmer to flush the raccoon from his fields. Should the raccoon flee into the nearby woods where he would be quickly treed by the boy's dog, the whole exciting hunt was climaxed with the hunter, turned axeman, felling both tree and raccoon.

Pigeon Shooting and Rifle Matches

Pigeon shooting contests were a form of hunting which became quite organized, reports of such competitions being spread over much of the nineteenth century. With pigeons reported in great profusion, these birds were a natural choice for rifle competitions, their size and reasonably slow flight providing the marksman with a sporting chance. Geikie⁵² noted that pigeon shooting matches were a feature of Christmas festivities in many country areas. Live pigeons were usually used, these being released from a trap, and whoever killed the most birds from

⁵¹Ibid., March 5, 1863.

⁵²Geike, op. cit., p. 139.



Slaughtering Wild Pigeons, 1835



Raccoon Hunting

Samuel Lover, 1833



Slaughtering Wild Pigeons, 1835



Raccoon Hunting

Samuel Lover, 1833

specified distances received the prize, which, in the competition Geike witnessed, was a turkey. Boyle⁵³ stated that, in the Scarborough district, the procedure was varied in some shooting matches by using a goose or turkey whose head was exposed through a hole in the top of a box. The first person to shoot off the bird's head received its body as the prize. Christmas and New Year festivities at Galt during the thirties featured shooting matches also, and Young wrote that:

On some occasions the birds were entirely exposed to the marksman, at a long range; at other times their bodies were placed behind a stump or log, or in such a way that only their necks and heads were exposed above the snow, and it required a skilful marksman with the rifle, to hit them. These matches excited the liveliest interest.⁵⁴

It was not long before marksmen were eager to try their skill against those from other neighborhoods. One of these early matches was arranged between Scarborough and Toronto in 1835, the challenge originating from the former town. A £10 side bet was wagered, and, with three marksmen per team firing at five pigeons each, Toronto emerged victorious with a score of eleven kills to Scarborough's seven.⁵⁵ Mr Northcote was Toronto's champion shot around 1840, and at the Toronto pigeon shoot on October 11, 1841, in three matches, he registered kills of four out of four, five out of six, and four out of six, to win the tournament.⁵⁶ The sport apparently had little spectator appeal for it is recorded that, at this match, the attendance was poor. One of the rare reports of these

⁵³Boyle, op. cit., p. 258.

⁵⁴Young, op. cit., p. 67. In this instance it would appear that dead birds were used.

⁵⁵Montreal Gazette, August 18, 1835.

⁵⁶Ibid., October 20, 1841.

contests in Nova Scotia concerned the first pigeon match ever held in King's County, on Thursday, December 14, 1847.⁵⁷

The sport's lack of wide-spread appeal was evident from the scarcity of press reports on the subject throughout the provinces, and it was not until the Volunteer Rifle Companies emerged in the sixties that much attention was given to it by editors. In 1863, what were described as "new" contests were held in the Montreal district, but the sport apparently failed to impress the reporter who felt that "the shooting was not much to be recommended."⁵⁸ Two noteworthy Toronto cricketers, Messrs Helliwell and Heward, were among the members of the Toronto and Yorkville teams which met at Church's Tavern near Yorkville in January, 1865. The other members of the four-man Toronto team were Stuart, Killaly, and Weston, while Camies, Bakewell, and Thom made up the remainder of the Yorkville team.⁵⁹ Toronto won the ensuing close match by only one bird. In July of the same year, Church's Tavern again was the venue for a twenty dollar contest between Thomas Rushworth and Fred Warren who each shot at ten pigeons, Rushworth winning with a score of eight to his opponent's four.⁶⁰ In the course of 1866, several pigeon shooting matches were reported from Toronto, Guelph, Brockton and Whitby. The usual target per shooter was ten birds, whereas the side

⁵⁷Novascotian, December 27, 1847. Two teams of five a side fired at three birds per shooter.

⁵⁸Montreal Gazette, March 17, 1863. Live birds were used in the "first of these new sporting matches yesterday."

⁵⁹Globe, Toronto, January 3, 1865.

⁶⁰Ibid., July 26, 1865.

bets varied, the largest wager, three hundred dollars, being made in a match between Toronto and Whitby.⁶¹

By the fifties, target shooting was being practised in Montreal, and, to the evident disgust of one press correspondent, was carried on illegally as a Sabbath diversion.⁶² A group of enthusiasts formed themselves into the Montreal Gun Club during this period, and in March, 1854, it was reported that Mr W. T. Barron had won the Prize Medal of the club.⁶³ But the real impetus to target shooting occurred with the formation of Volunteer groups. It had been proposed in 1854, that Volunteer battalions be organized similar to those which were operating in the United States.⁶⁴ In 1855, a communication was sent to the Adjutant-General of Militia from interested parties in Quebec, offering to enroll a corps of Volunteers for services in Canada.⁶⁵ These moves were the outcome of the feeling of insecurity which pervaded the country when many of the garrison troops were withdrawn for service in the Crimean War. Little was done, however, until a national threat was thought to be posed by the possibility of civil war within the United States. The new Volunteer movement actually began in England in 1859⁶⁶

⁶¹Ibid., January 31, 1866.

⁶²Montreal Gazette, July 24, 1852.

⁶³Ibid., March 27, 1854. It should be noted, however, that a city rifle corps was holding competitions in 1825, though information is not available as to the type of competition. (Ibid., December 7, 1825.)

⁶⁴Ottawa Citizen, January 17, 1860.

⁶⁵Morning Chronicle, Quebec, January 20, 1855.

⁶⁶Ottawa Citizen, August 2, 1861.

after the significance of the rather poor performance by the British professional army in the Crimea was realized, and in the face of a possible threat presented by France's militant attitude in Europe at the time. Mercantile and industrial classes backed the movement strongly, so that Volunteer regiments were formed almost over-night. In the following year, the growing interest in the rifle, shown by the inhabitants of the mother country, was noted in the Ottawa press, which suggested that a rifle match might be arranged between the active militia of England and Canada.⁶⁷ No action was taken in that year, but in 1861, an officer of the Toronto Militia conferred with those members of the Quebec Legislature who held commissions in the militia, as to the best means of organizing a "Rifle Association" in Canada to compete for medals, and also to create a fund for the purpose of assisting the travel of Canadian marksmen to England, where they might shoot for the Queen's Prize in 1862.⁶⁸ Although in this year an invitation was extended to Canadians to compete for the prize on Wimbledon Common,⁶⁹ no such team left Canada until 1871, when the Ontario Rifle Association accepted the invitation.⁷⁰

The Maritime provinces were among the first to be swept by the "Volunteering Mania," with rifle companies being formed in most towns. One of the earliest prizes to be awarded in Halifax was the Scottish

⁶⁷Ibid., August 4, 1860.

⁶⁸Montreal Gazette, March 23, 1861.

⁶⁹Morning Chronicle, Quebec, April 2, 1861.

⁷⁰Globe, Toronto, July 21, 1871.

Volunteer Rifle Company Gold Medal, won by Sergeant Gray in 1860, shooting over a distance of three hundred yards. The shooting was not very accurate in these early matches, for Sergeant Gray's winning total was six points, out of a possible fifteen.⁷¹ The target for such matches measured six to seven feet in height and three to three and a half feet in width, with a bull's-eye and inner-circle measuring eight inches, and twenty-four inches in diameter, respectively. Three points were scored for each bull's-eye, while an inner counted two points, and a hit outside this counted for one point.⁷² Targets, at distances up to three hundred yards, were usually fired at from the standing position, whereas the kneeling position was used for distances beyond this.

By 1864, the accuracy of the competitors had improved to such an extent that the Novascotian could state, "Volunteers who, at the time the movement was inaugurated, considered they did well if they struck the target at all at five hundred yards, are now not satisfied with less than bull's-eyes or centres."⁷³ Provincial and inter-provincial competitions were held annually, prizes being donated by the National Rifle Association of England, and prominent men of the towns. At the inter-provincial tournament held for Volunteers in Sussex Vale near Windsor, New Brunswick, on October 3, 1861, the Earl of Mulgrave, Lieutenant-Governor of that province, donated a cup which was won, together with the National Rifle Association Medal, by C. R. Kinnear of the Chebucto Greys,

⁷¹Novascotian, September 24, 1860.

⁷²Montreal Gazette, November 6, 1861.

⁷³Novascotian, September 19, 1864.

Halifax.⁷⁴ Mr Cogswell, who had donated the Belt awarded for the Sculling Championship of Halifax, provided a cup as one of the prizes at the Annual Provincial Rifle Association competitions. At one of these competitions held in Bedford, near Halifax, in 1866, four hundred competitors took part, and the programme was spread over five days.⁷⁵ On this occasion, the Cogswell Cup was won by Captain Fraser who, during previous competitions at Wolfville and at Pictou, had amazed many by scoring four bull's-eyes in succession.⁷⁶ Not all citizens shared in the passion for rifle matches, however, and a correspondent to the Examiner vented his feelings concerning a competition held in Charlottetown:

While we have these good wishes for the Island Volunteers, we are very far from thinking that either the public money, or either their own money and their own time, are judiciously employed in this shooting business. It must be a serious drawback to many of the young men engaged in it, whose private means do not enable them to live a life of idleness or leisure; and whose avocations must be neglected, to the injury of themselves as well as to that of others, to say nothing of the expense many of them incur in coming to and staying about Charlottetown. . . . It is our right to object to the waste of the public money, which, for a week to come, will be blazed away in ammunition, in attempts to hit the Bull's-eye on a painted board.

This letter may have reflected the general attitude towards the Volunteer movement on Prince Edward Island, for, in the following year, the Examiner stated that the Volunteer force was practically extinct on the

⁷⁴Ibid., October 7, 1861. Volunteers from Upper and Lower Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island were invited, twenty from each province.

⁷⁵Ibid., September 3, 1866.

⁷⁶Ibid., August 27, 1866.

⁷⁷The Examiner, Charlottetown, August 12, 1862.

Island.⁷⁸

The Volunteers were very active in Montreal in 1861,⁷⁹ when it was reported that ten full companies of them, involving six hundred men, comprised the Prince of Wales Regiment of the Victoria Rifles. Students of McGill College formed their own company, as did several business houses, amongst which was Redpath's Factory. Workers from mills and canals provided another four hundred men, while the French Canadians also formed a regiment, demonstrating that far more than a patriotic attachment to England was impelling the movement.

Tournaments in this city were on an even grander scale than those in the Maritimes, one held in September, 1863, containing twenty events, and lasting for ten days. Ensign Towner of Grenville distinguished himself at this tournament by scoring five bull's-eyes in succession from four hundred yards.⁸⁰ It was noted in the Montreal Gazette that "the most profound silence was preserved by the spectators, to avoid disturbing the riflemen."⁸¹ As an outcome of the Volunteer movement in Quebec, the Quebec Rifle Club was formed in 1862, with James Dean, Jr, who was also active in the curling club, as Secretary.⁸²

⁷⁸ Ibid., September 21, 1863.

⁷⁹ Montreal Gazette, December 17, 1861.

⁸⁰ Ibid., September 25, 1863. The target at this distance contained a bull's-eye two feet in diameter, and an inner four feet square, on a target measuring eight feet by six feet.

⁸¹ Ibid., September 23, 1863.

⁸² Morning Chronicle, Quebec, June 19, 1862.

Charles Tilstone was elected Secretary in 1864, the year which saw him win the Gold Challenge Medal of the club on September 29.⁸³ By this time, the enthusiasm for the Volunteer movement was beginning to wane somewhat, and rifle matches were enjoyed more for the challenge to skill they presented, rather than as an adjunct to militia training. This changing attitude was demonstrated at a match in Montreal in which some Quebec Volunteers took part. Two of the Montreal competitors were disqualified for not appearing in uniform, while the Quebecers avoided the problem by borrowing a military overcoat and passing it from one to another as each shot in turn.⁸⁴

In Upper Canada, the rush to volunteer was as great as it had been elsewhere, and in the wake of the movement came the Rifle Associations. These were not merely for Volunteers, even though such men comprised the large majority of members. A Letter to the Editor of the Ottawa Citizen, in 1861, pointed out that a Rifle Association was simply a club, a purely civic organization, with which the Volunteer force had become affiliated so that the men might enjoy rifle competitions and so improve their accuracy.⁸⁵ By 1863, Upper Canada District Rifle Associations had been formed in Ottawa, Brockville, Kingston, York, Peel, Simcoe, Hamilton, Niagara, London, and Toronto.⁸⁶ The University of Toronto formed its own Volunteer Rifle Company in 1861,⁸⁷ and, over

⁸³Ibid., November 1, 1862.

⁸⁴Ibid., September 27, 1864.

⁸⁵Ottawa Citizen, September 24, 1861.

⁸⁶Globe, Toronto, August 4, 1863.

⁸⁷Ibid., June 3, 1861.

the next few years, contested ten-a-side annual matches against the Civil Service Rifles of Quebec, the University always emerging victorious. Brockville was the setting for a Grand Rifle Match in 1863, with two hundred competitors from "Ottawa, Montreal and other places along the line of the Grand Trunk Railroad" taking part in a twenty-event programme.⁸⁸ As groups of riflemen and their friends moved about the country to attend rifle matches, the Grand Trunk received good business, and encouraged this trend by running special trains and offering return trips for single fare to Volunteers, and twenty-five per cent reductions for others. The railroad was not the only company to offer lower rates to sportsmen, as the Canadian Royal Mail line of steamers reduced fares to half price for passengers travelling to a match at Prescott in 1865.⁸⁹

Even though the Toronto Rifle Association had been formed in 1863,⁹⁰ a group of rifle enthusiasts sought the freedom of a private club, and formed the Toronto Rifle Club in the following year.⁹¹ Captain W. McMaster was the President of this club, while the Vice-President was John Heward, Esq., one of Toronto's noted cricketers. At the foundation meeting of the club, the hope was expressed that other rifle clubs would soon be formed throughout the country to offer friendly competition.⁹² As was the case in most sporting clubs during their early

⁸⁸ Montreal Gazette, July 18, 1863.

⁸⁹ Ibid., July 1, 1865.

⁹⁰ Globe, Toronto, May 28, 1863.

⁹¹ Ibid., March 7, 1864.

⁹² Ibid. This club adopted as their club rifle, the Marston military rifle, produced by Mr W. P. Marston, gunsmith, of Toronto.

existence, novel combinations of teams were selected to provide members with a variety of competition. One of these matches saw six smokers opposed to six non-smokers, the latter winning the day by only one point.⁹³ Few of these independent rifle clubs were reported during the sixties, most areas being content with their Rifle Associations. One such club that was in existence, however, was formed at Sault Ste Marie in 1862, one year before the Toronto Club was formed. It was called the "Joe Wilson Rifle Club," taking its name from the President of the group.⁹⁴ Hamilton had established the Victoria Rifle Club by 1865, and one of their competitions for that year, the Coal Oil Rifle Match for which there were sixteen prizes, listed some unusual trophies ranging from a barrel of beer or a few pounds of tobacco, to a subscription to the Spectator newspaper.⁹⁵ In 1867, this club was proficient enough to defeat the strong Toronto Club by eighteen points in a ten-a-side match over three hundred, five hundred, and seven hundred yard distances, at the Don Range in Toronto.⁹⁶

The presence of Volunteer groups in Victoria signified that the movement was spread right across British North America. That their zest for rifle matches was of no less magnitude than that of their eastern counterparts was shown in 1865, when a team from the Victoria Rifle

⁹³Ibid., November 24, 1864. By 1867, the Toronto Rifle Club numbered seventy-five members. (Ibid., April 10, 1867.)

⁹⁴Ibid., January 22, 1862.

⁹⁵Hamilton Times, August 21, 1865.

⁹⁶Ibid., July 30, 1867.

Corps travelled by the steamer, Enterprise, to New Westminster, to test their skill against the local body there.⁹⁷

No matter what major newspaper is read, one cannot but remark on the number of rifle matches which occurred in the period from 1862 to 1865. These matches served to break the monotony of "drill" in preparation for an invasion which might never come. This they did in such a pleasant yet efficient manner that, by the time of the Fenian raids when the Canadian Volunteers were called into active service, they had learned, within the sporting environment, that a rifle was not merely for drilling, but for shooting.

Conclusion

As pioneers became settlers and townships were established, the profusion of wild life was subsequently diminished. To curtail man's selfish desire to destroy this heritage in the guise of sport, legislation was enacted throughout the period. Although informants were encouraged within the wording of the Acts themselves, this legislation was largely ineffectual because of the immense territory involved. Lower⁹⁸ has stated that the "extinction of pigeon and salmon proved beyond the powers of the first generation of pioneers, but their successors in due course accomplished it," and that the last salmon, once plentiful in the lakes and streams of Upper Canada, were caught just after Confederation.

With the organization which accompanied the Volunteer movement,

⁹⁷Daily Colonist, Victoria, July 3, 1865.

⁹⁸Lower, op. cit., p. 167.

came rifle ranges, target shooting, rifle clubs, and Provincial Rifle Associations. Whereas hunting was largely an individual sport in keeping with rural pioneer life, the advent of target shooting and rifle clubs reflected both the increasing urbanization, and the gregarious tendencies within the changing society.

CHAPTER VII

INDOOR ACTIVITIES

An indoor space set aside primarily for games was a luxury the British North American society could ill afford in the early days of the nineteenth century. Consequently, the few areas that did exist, as, for example, billiard rooms, were run by commercial interests, such as taverns, which sometimes provided this facility for their clientele. Gymnastics was gaining in popularity in European countries at this time, but its following in British North America awaited the example of the German Turner Societies in the fifties, and its introduction into schools. Nevertheless, with Canada's extremes of climate, and the growing amount of leisure time available to residents, a need for indoor facilities was becoming increasingly apparent.

Billiards

Billiards had attained such notoriety as a public-house amusement by the end of the eighteenth century, that an ordinance was passed in Montreal in 1797 which levied a fine of forty shillings from proprietors who permitted people to play on Sundays.¹ By 1801, the increased number of billiard tables and the resultant gambling led to a Lower Canada Act which required from operators of public billiard rooms, a licence fee of £50, plus an additional £12/10/- per table.² The game had reached

¹ Montreal Gazette, May 1, 1797.

² Statutes of Lower Canada, 1801, 41 George III, c. 13.

Toronto by 1803, for Roxborough³ quoted a resident of that town as having played his first game of billiards in that year. The conditions which plagued the sport in Lower Canada were soon to appear in Upper Canada, for, in 1810, licence fees of £40 were required by law in that province also.⁴ Little is known of the game's development during the first half of the nineteenth century, though there were sufficient advertisements concerning billiard-tables to permit the assumption that the game continued. Horsey⁵ wrote that billiards was comparatively unknown in Kingston in the late thirties, there being only one table, located at Scantlebury's Saloon, in the city. During the forties, the game found greater favour there, Mr L'Hoyst operating several tables in the Wilson block.⁶

Billiards' early, unsavoury association with gambling, plus the expense of importing tables, were factors which inhibited its wider and more popular acceptance. The Colonial Advocate, February 12, 1829, in reporting Toronto's recent acquisition of two billiard-tables, had acknowledged the skill of the game, but had warned youths that it could be the "vehicle of desperate and ruinous gambling." Over the years, this danger remained such a matter of public concern that a re-statement of

³Roxborough, op. cit., p. 93. Roxborough also states that, in Montreal, the first table owned and operated by public licence was registered in the name of Samuel White, in 1802 (following the Act of 1801).

⁴Statutes of Upper Canada, 1810, 50 George III, c. 6.

⁵Edwin E. Horsey, Kingston a Century Ago (Kingston: Kingston Historical Society, 1938), p. 11.

⁶Ibid.

the 1801 Act was passed for Lower Canada in 1861, requiring any person keeping a billiard table to give two securities to the sum of two hundred dollars that no apprentice, school-boy, or servant would be permitted to play, nor any person to play for money.⁷

The competition which held the main interest for billiard followers in Upper Canada was the Annual Provincial Tournament. The first was conducted in the Music Hall of the Toronto Mechanic's Institute, on November 21, 1864, with entries received from Messrs Brown (Toronto), Cronn (Peterborough), Miller (Clifton), Jakes (Cobourg), Chesborough (Toronto), Phillips (Oshawa), and May (Toronto),⁸ which gave some indication of the spread of the game in that province. Mr Jakes was Upper Canada's first holder of the Championship Cue. In 1865, the tournament was open to all Canadians, and the victor, Cyrille Dion from Montreal, was proclaimed Champion of Canada.⁹ In 1866, the tournament reverted to a provincial championship. the Championship Cue being won this year by Mr Chesborough.¹⁰ The right to the title, Champion of Canada, was now decided by challenge, and the reigning champion, Cyrille Dion, further enhanced his reputation when he won a Grand Billiard Tournament in New York for the Championship of Champions.¹¹ Dion was not challenged very often for the Canadian championship, as his ability was

⁷Consolidated Statutes of Lower Canada, 1861, 24 Vict., c. 8.

⁸Globe, Toronto, November 22, 1864.

⁹Montreal Gazette, July 19, 1865.

¹⁰Globe, Toronto, August 28, 1866.

¹¹Montreal Gazette, September 19, 1866.

well respected. One well advertised challenge was that attempted by Mr Cronn of Quebec, on June 14, 1867, in which the challenger lost the one thousand dollar purse with a score of 896 to Dion's 1,500.¹²

Cyrille Dion, however, was not the best player in his family. His young brother, Joseph, was able to give him 600 points in 1,500, and still defeat him easily.¹³ But Joseph Dion was a challenge player who preferred applying his skill to matches offering "\$1,000 in gold." It is to his credit that he did not enter a Canadian Championship tournament, thus allowing Cyrille possession of the Canadian title. He found his own title of American Champion sufficient, even though he was most certainly the best player in Canada also. In 1861, Joseph had leased the Billiard Rooms at St Lawrence Hall in Montreal, and was able to devote a great deal of his time towards perfecting his skill. He was present during the Provincial Tournament in Toronto in 1864, but only to give an exhibition. In 1865, on July 19, his simple challenge, "I will be very happy to meet any first class player, in a contest at the American game [four ball], for \$1,000 a side, in gold," was accepted by Melvin Foster of New York.¹⁴ After the defeat of the American, "the cheers could be heard from one end of St. James Street to the other."¹⁵ In August, 1865, young Dion offered a challenge to any player in England, France, and America, to play for "\$2,500 in gold." John Roberts, the

¹²Morning Chronicle, Quebec, June 15, 1867.

¹³Montreal Gazette, June 11, 1867. The following summary of Joseph Dion's career is also precised from this issue.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Ibid., July 20, 1865.

English champion, was the only one to reply, but Dion's price was too high. Attributing the lack of challengers to a reluctance for defeat, Dion's friends claimed for him the Championships of England and France.¹⁶ On May 23, 1866, he defeated John Deery of New York, the Champion of America, and so assumed that title:

Notwithstanding that the Hall, at New York, was packed with bullies and sharpers, bound to defeat by fraud and force, the attempt to carry away the champion's laurels from New York; in spite of shouts and threats, attempted personal violence and cowardly interruption, our Canadian champion played on steadily and patiently without a tremor of the nerves or a quiver of the lip.¹⁷

John McDevitt, also of New York, and regarded as the best exponent of the American four-ball game, then challenged Dion for the Championship of All America, to be played in Montreal in October, 1866. This was the eleventh match for the championship, and once again Dion was successful, much to the delight of the Montreal citizens, from whom "cheer after cheer rang through the streets."¹⁸ But McDevitt was undaunted, and re-challenged for the twelfth championship contest on June 10, 1867. With an outstanding unbroken run of 616, Dion easily defended his title, winning with a score of 1,500 to 816. The press report of this magnificent achievement reflected the pride and excitement of all Montreal:

To all appearances, he could play for a week, scoring all the time. McDevitt's face grows pale, and seems almost featureless under the light. His umpire is up frequently, but Joe defines the position smilingly, and works on untiringly. Three hundred. Four hundred: the cheers and stamping

¹⁶Ibid., June 11, 1867.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Ibid., October 6, 1866.

are so uproarious that all fear the walls will be shaken apart. . . . When the scorer announces five hundred, people go mad in all directions. It does seem as if Dion would run out on the hand. Friends urge him to take a rest, and a drink, but his hand is in, and there is the indomitable set mouth, with an occasional wicked smile, which means business. At five hundred and sixty, McDevitt begins to look for his hat and coat, and all is over but the shouting. Dion reaches six hundred amid a tumult of applause, and in a few seconds, six hundred and sixteen. . . . Cyrille Dion, who looked blank enough half an hour ago, is radiant, and one man bursts through the crowds to hug our champion.¹⁹

McDevitt, however, was a dogged competitor, and although beaten twice by Dion in a Chicago tournament in July, he again challenged for the championship in December, 1867, this time successfully.²⁰

It seems pertinent that the Provincial Government legislation of 1861 prohibiting the playing of billiards for money was disregarded once the Dion brothers brought fame to Montreal. The City Council, moreover, profited in the consequent rise in popularity of the game by imposing a tax of one hundred dollars on the first billiard-table operated in a boarding-house, tavern, or place of amusement, with a fifty dollar tax on the second, and a twenty-five dollar tax on the third.²¹ Another milestone for the game was the opening of Riley and May's Billiard Factory in York Street, Toronto. Previously, tables had been imported from the United States, but the new tables were of such quality that the Ontario Billiard Congress ruled, in 1867, that all future championship matches were to be played on Riley and May tables.²²

A novel billiards contest in Goderich, reported in the Semi-

¹⁹Ibid., June 11, 1867. ²⁰Ibid., December 12, 1867.

²¹Roxborough, op. cit., p. 93.

²²Montreal Gazette, December 31, 1867.

Weekly Signal, January 15, 1867, attested to the game's popularity in that region. Twelve players divided themselves into two groups, six a side, and arranged for each pair of contestants to play for three hundred points before passing on to the next pair. After six games, the winning margin was found to be only eighty-two points. That year, the first table was introduced to Winnipeg, at Mr Emmerling's Hotel. Its popularity was such that the profits induced the proprietor to add a second table the following spring, his intention being part of an idealized attempt "to introduce the institutions of higher civilization into that oasis."²³

Bowling

Bowling, like billiards, was played in Montreal before 1800, as evidenced by the town ordinance of 1797 which placed a fine of forty shillings on public houses which permitted play in "ball alleys" on Sundays.²⁴ Also, as with billiards, bowling's early unsavoury association with gambling restricted its popular spread, and resulted in the press consequently ignoring the game in general. During the fifties and sixties, bowling shared in the over-all rise in sporting participation, and "Canada House" at the Caledonia Springs resort advertised "perfectly level" ball alleys amongst its attractions.²⁵ Roxborough²⁶ has

²³ Lucas, op. cit., p. 161.

²⁴ Montreal Gazette, May 1, 1797.

²⁵ Ibid., August 9, 1850.

²⁶ Roxborough, op. cit., p. 94.

quoted from the Toronto Daily Patriot of 1852, which announced the opening of four new bowling alleys on Front Street in that city, a measure of the game's growing popularity at that time.

No clubs or bowling associations were operating during pre-Confederation years, so challenge ten-pin matches were the usual form of competition, sometimes with substantial amounts of money dependent on the outcome. One such match occurred between Mr Andrews of New York and Alex Pernod of Montreal, for a purse of five hundred dollars.²⁷ The Empire Bowling Hall on Craig Street, Montreal, was the venue, and, to the delight of the Montreal citizens, Pernod won by sixty-five points over two games, giving Montreal further reason to be proud of its athletes.

Gymnastics

In the years before 1850, there were few gymnasiums or even exponents of athletic exercise in British North America, and people desiring summer physical activity usually resorted to walking. The stroll during the long pleasant summer evenings became part of the urban daily routine. Recognizing the commonality of this indulgence, several officers of the Halifax garrison formed themselves into a Pedestrian Club in 1809, with new members welcome, so that groups might enjoy the benefits of regular walking exercise.²⁸ But such groups were rare, for society at that time was not yet ready for organized recreation. In 1824, some gentlemen in Montreal who did not mind leaving their beds at

²⁷Montreal Gazette, June 12, 1867.

²⁸Nova Scotia Royal Gazette, May 23, 1809.

an early hour, formed the Early Club for the purpose of enjoying walks before breakfast, on the contention that "early rising has always been considered as conducive to health; a walk before breakfast gives to the mind a stimulus which prepares it well for the duties of business throughout the day."²⁹ This club met with a reasonable amount of success and was in operation for several years, reports of its activities extending beyond the summer season and into the months of December and January.

By the forties, most newspapers were encouraging their readers to enjoy the benefits of walking, "not merely stepping from shop to shop, or from neighbour to neighbour, but stretching out into the country, to the freshest fields and highest ridges, and quiet lanes."³⁰

The establishment of gymnasiums for the provision of indoor facilities was restricted to Montreal and Quebec prior to 1850. The Montreal Gazette, December 18, 1828, reported that the first meeting of the Gymnasium Society was to be held at the Albion Hotel on December 22, and thereafter, on each Monday and Thursday evening during the season, commencing at seven o'clock. "Amateurs," "Professors of Gymnastic Sports," or "Maitre d'Armes," desirous of becoming members of the club, were requested to leave their names at the Hotel in order to be proposed for admission.

In 1835, Mr Samuel O'Rourke, a noted boxer, operated an

²⁹ Montreal Gazette, December 29, 1824.

³⁰ Morning Chronicle, Quebec, September 21, 1847.

"establishment for athletic exercises" in Montreal, where an "attendance of hundreds" was reported in his rooms during the evenings.³¹

With an increasing interest in gymnastic exercise within European countries during the forties, it was natural that the movement should find some response in Canada. In 1843, a group operating a self-styled "Olympic Gymnasium" appeared in Montreal³² with obvious connections with the Montreal Olympic Athletic Club, whose members starred at track and field meetings. To ensure satisfactory publicity for its activities, the club offered honorary memberships to the Editors of the Montreal Gazette. The initial success of the Montreal Gymnasium did not extend beyond a few years however, and, in 1848, its equipment was sold to a new establishment in Quebec.³³ This Quebec Gymnasium, formed by public subscription in 1848 at the instigation of the Quebec Cricket Club,³⁴ was opened in January 1849 under the direction of Mr E. Baumann, who had previously had experience as manager of such an institution in Switzerland.³⁵ The Halifax press also reported the opening of this gymnasium, as a subtle plea for the initiation of such activities in that city.³⁶ Further unsuccessful recommendations by the press for a gymnasium in Halifax followed in 1852,³⁷ and again in 1857.³⁸

³¹Montreal Gazette, September 5, 1835.

³²Ibid., November 1, 1843.

³³Morning Chronicle, Quebec, October 27, 1848.

³⁴Ibid., October 25, 1848. ³⁵Ibid., January 17, 1849.

³⁶Novascotian, January 22, 1849.

³⁷Ibid., February 2, 1852. ³⁸Ibid., July 27, 1857.

In Toronto, a private institution, referred to as the Mrs Charles Hill Academy, was in operation by 1850, and although the teaching of dancing was its main concern, calisthenics were offered as well.³⁹ Towards the end of the decade, Captain Goodwin of the Royal Horse Artillery, with the encouragement of several of his old pupils from the Toronto Normal School where he had given part-time instruction, rented a hall on Church Street which he equipped as a gymnasium.⁴⁰ After a few months, his pupils were able to form themselves into a club, with president, secretary, and treasurer, while Captain Goodwin joined as a member although he was sixty-four years of age. This venerable old soldier had emigrated to Canada in 1850, after having been awarded the highest prize for sword and gymnastic exercise in every country he had visited, France, Spain, Italy, England, and Ireland.⁴¹ He opened an instructional school in Quebec upon arrival, and Lady Elgin had employed him to teach her children calisthenics, deportment, and riding. Captain Goodwin's services were so appreciated that Lord Elgin urged Dr Ryerson, Chief Superintendent for Upper Canada, to engage him to teach gymnastics and fencing within the education system. During the next twenty years in Toronto he taught in Normal Schools, at Upper Canada College, and at Bishop Strachan's Ladies School, Mrs Neville's

³⁹Globe, Toronto, January 19, 1850. Mrs Hill had opened a similar academy at No. 101 Notre Dame, Cnr of St Gabriel St, in Montreal, in 1844. (Montreal Gazette, February 22, 1844.)

⁴⁰Globe, Toronto, May 7, 1859. Captain Goodwin had been discharged in 1818, though he still retained his title.

⁴¹Nicholas S. Davin, The Irishman in Canada (Toronto: Maclear and Co., 1877), p. 621.

Ladies School, and Mrs Nixon's Ladies School, as well as in many private homes.⁴² Within six months of his organizing the Gymnastic Club of Toronto, sixty members had paid their five dollar subscriptions.

Meanwhile, Hamilton had added a gymnasium to its public institutions in 1857,⁴³ and in Berlin (now Kitchener), a group of German migrants had organized a Turnverein in 1859.⁴⁴ There, Turners and friends met weekly or more often if possible, at their Turnplatz where they had erected horizontal and parallel bars, climbing ropes and swinging rings, in the best Jahn tradition. It is interesting to note that one of the members of this group, Robert Logan, began publishing a newspaper in 1859, called The Sporting Chronicle, the first of its kind in Canada, but his venture was short lived.⁴⁵ A Turner Association was active in Toronto by 1861, and, with forty members, it was reported as being in "flourishing condition."⁴⁶ As was usual with Turner groups, they set up their apparatus in the open air, near the corner of King and Yonge Streets, and gave several public displays. Unfortunately, at one of their exhibitions in 1863, at which one thousand five hundred spectators were in attendance, two intoxicated individuals loudly proclaimed "they could fight any German on the ground," and then proceeded to prove it. The melée became more general, to the extent that any person wearing a white coat, the uniform of the Society, was knocked down without the slightest provocation. The riot continued for an hour, after which

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Globe, Toronto, March 13, 1857.

⁴⁴Uttley, op. cit., p. 107.

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Globe, Toronto, September 14, 1861.

police finally arrived to quell the disturbance.⁴⁷

When the Toronto Baths were opened in 1864, a gymnasium was featured on the top floor, "well fitted up for all kinds of athletic exercises," and which also offered fencing instruction."⁴⁸ The Hamilton Gymnasium Society had been formed in 1861, and, in the following year, had a membership numbering one hundred and seventy-eight,⁴⁹ but, after some problems in management towards the middle of the decade, it was re-organized in 1867.⁵⁰ Ottawa utilized its skating rink for a gymnasium in 1866 under the direction of Mr Shattuck, from Quebec, who was reported to have trained gymnasts for eighteen years, and was an excellent gymnast himself.⁵¹

Montreal was the centre of gymnastic interest in the sixties, with the Montreal Gymnastic Club, under the presidency of Mr R. H. Stephens, leading the way. This club had been formed in 1860⁵² and listed several well known personalities of Montreal among its executive committee, including Mr N. Hughes, of lacrosse fame, as Vice-President, and Mr F. Barnjum, later associated with McGill College, as Secretary. In 1862, the Governors of McGill College, apparently convinced of the value of gymnastic exercise, provided, with the help of the Montreal Gymnastic Club, a new gymnasium for college students, to which members

⁴⁷Ibid., July 28, 1863.

⁴⁸Ibid., June 17, 1864.

⁴⁹Hamilton Times, September 29, 1862.

⁵⁰Ibid., January 16, 1867.

⁵¹Ottawa Citizen, August 28, 1866.

⁵²Montreal Gazette, March 12, 1860.

of the club were admitted for a nominal fee.⁵³ The College had advanced funds for the building, with the agreement that the Gymnastic Club would pay eight per cent of the construction cost, plus £80 per annum for the next five years.⁵⁴ The gymnasium was officially opened on January 21, 1862, and within three days, the Gymnastic Club claimed a membership totalling two hundred.⁵⁵ In the following month, it was reported that the club had acquired the services of Mr W. Dale, recently a teacher of gymnastics to several universities in the United States.⁵⁶ Over the years, with increasing use being made of the building by the College, it began to lose its appeal for the Gymnastic Club, so that, on April 13, 1867, preliminary steps were taken for the erection of a public gymnasium. This new structure was to be the home of the Montreal Gymnastic Club, and it would also contain billiard rooms and bowling alleys.⁵⁷

Meanwhile, privately run institutions were in operation in Montreal. Chief among these was Alloway's Royal Gymnasium, which had been converted from a riding school in 1860.⁵⁸ Mr Alloway advertised that his newly-renovated gymnasium was well supplied with boxing gloves, dumb-bells, clubs, single sticks, foils, pulleys, a peg rope, and "every other apparatus appertaining to Gymnastics."⁵⁹ In the same year, Mr C.

⁵³Ibid., January 15, 1862.

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵Ibid., January 24, 1862.

⁵⁶Ibid., February 18, 1862.

⁵⁷Ibid., April 17, 1867.

⁵⁸Ibid., November 2, 1860; see also March 12, 1860.

⁵⁹Ibid., November 2, 1860. Subscription to Alloway's Gymnasium was at the rate of four dollars per annum.

R. Dearnally opened a fencing and calisthenics school, with the introduction that "his certificates from the Governor-General [Sir Edmund Head] and Lieutenant-Colonel Irvine are satisfactory."⁶⁰

Dr Windship, a strength advocate from the United States, visited Montreal in 1860 to give two lecture demonstrations of his theories on "Physical Culture."⁶¹ He strongly emphasized the need for each school to have its own gymnasium wherein the children could indulge in daily exercise, and may have had some influence in McGill College's decision to construct a gymnasium. Windship recommended the use of dumb-bells to increase strength, advocating twenty to thirty minutes exercise each day. At the conclusion of his lecture each night, he gave an exhibition of his strength, which included a lift of one thousand pounds, and the raising of a barrel of flour from the floor to his shoulders. His usual challenge was for any person from the audience to emulate his feats, and, to his great surprise, on the second night an Irish gardener, James Monogue, successfully accepted the challenge.⁶²

Before taking up his position as director of the gymnasium in Ottawa, Mr Shattuck had been of great assistance to gymnasts in Quebec where he had opened a class at Ross's building on St John Street, in October, 1864.⁶³ Unfortunately, his services were only available for two years before he moved to Ottawa. By 1867, the Quebec Gymnastic Club

⁶⁰Ibid., October 16, 1860.

⁶¹Ibid., November 10, 1860; November 12, 1860.

⁶²Ibid., November 12, 1860.

⁶³Morning Chronicle, Quebec, October 11, 1864.

was giving public displays under the leadership of Mr Schroeder, who was then regarded as the "best amateur gymnast in Quebec."⁶⁴

A gymnasium was constructed in Victoria by the Dashaway Association in the late fifties, as an addition to their new reading room.⁶⁵ This building became so popular with gymnasts that a second gymnasium, independent of the first one, was constructed in 1860, and the Excelsior Gymnastic Club formed.⁶⁶ By September, the club was able to list seventy members, who each paid a joining fee of two dollars and fifty cents, plus a monthly subscription of one dollar, making it the most expensive gymnasium in British North America. As well as the Excelsior Club, there existed the Victoria Turnverein. Mr Charles Dechant was the revered teacher within this group, and it was reported that, on April 30, 1866, the members of the Society presented him with a gold watch and chain, valued at two hundred dollars, in appreciation of his services.⁶⁷

Around 1860, a gymnasium was finally opened in Halifax on Barrack Street, under the direction of Mr Prime. When this gentleman moved to Quebec in 1862, where he continued his work of teaching gymnastics, the gymnasium's new director, Alfred Elson, reopened it in November with fifty subscribers.⁶⁸ One month later, the St John Gymnasium opened

⁶⁴Ibid., January 29, 1867.

⁶⁵Daily Colonist, Victoria, February 4, 1860.

⁶⁶Ibid.

⁶⁷Ibid., May 1, 1866.

⁶⁸Novascotian, October 20, 1862; November 24, 1862. See also Morning Chronicle, Quebec, July 18, 1867, for reference to Mr Prime.

on the corner of Queen and Regent Streets, St John.⁶⁹ In Fredericton, a Gymnasium Association was formed under the leadership of Mr Wheeler, and gave several exhibitions for the purpose of raising sufficient funds to erect their own building. Although the exhibitions were well patronized, and it was reported that the club was about to proceed with the project,⁷⁰ no construction took place, and in September, 1865, a building in Northumberland Street was rented and fitted with apparatus.⁷¹

It would seem therefore, that by Confederation Year, a need had been felt in most major Canadian cities for gymnasiums, wherein people could partake of exercise without necessarily indulging in athletic games.

Handball

References to the old Irish game of handball were only of sufficient number to warrant the statement that the game was played in British North America, but was not, apparently, wide spread. No details of method of play were evident in reports concerning matches, though Menke has stated that, until 1900, the handball court had four walls each twenty-two feet high, with a playing surface of forty-six feet by twenty-two feet, and only the hard handball was used.⁷² Two matches only were reported in the press, both occurring in the 1860s, one in St John, New Brunswick, and the other in Victoria. The former

⁶⁹New Brunswick Reporter, Fredericton, August 7, 1863.

⁷⁰Ibid., March 4, 1864.

⁷¹Ibid., September 29, 1865.

⁷²F. Menke, The Encyclopedia of Sports (New York: A. S. Barnes and Coy, 1963), p. 477.

was advertised in June, 1863, as a challenge match for forty dollars between two military personnel and two civilians, all un-named. Although it had been the civilians who had issued the original challenge, they were defeated quite easily by the soldiers.⁷³ The match in Victoria took place in January, 1865, at Buckley's Ball Court between two "Caribooites" and two Victorians for a wager of one hundred dollars.⁷⁴ The fact that a regular ball court was in existence there must indicate that the game had its followers in that city, though no reports of their activities were recorded.

Racquets

This game was played mainly by military officers, and had its largest following in Quebec and Montreal. Reference to an early game of "Fives," to which racquets is undoubtedly related, appeared in the diary of Captain William Owen, R.N., for June 3, 1767.⁷⁵ He and three fellow officers met in a game following dinner, and Captain Owen related that he received a violent blow in his left eye from his partner's racquet, while they were both running for the one ball. Fives was usually a hand-ball game, played against one or more walls depending on the location, but racquets were sometimes employed. The racquet court built in Montreal in 1836, on the corner of Craig and St Peter Streets, is regarded as the first definite construction of its kind in America,⁷⁶

⁷³Novascotian, June 22, 1863.

⁷⁴Daily Colonist, Victoria, January 31, 1865.

⁷⁵Cited in Quinpool, op. cit., p. 200.

⁷⁶"Racquets," Encyclopedia Britannica (1961 ed.), XVIII, 872.

though Tolfrey,⁷⁷ writing of the period just prior to 1820 in Quebec, stated that he had used a racquet court to gain exercise during the winter months. Racquet courts were very popular in Kingston in the late thirties, Horsey⁷⁸ stating that many of the leading hotels provided them for their clients.

Montreal saw the first organization of the game, in the form of the Montreal Racquet Club, in 1840.⁷⁹ Mr E. H. Lamontagne was the outstanding player of the period, and helped spread the game to the United States when he moved to New York in 1852.⁸⁰ The court in Quebec during the early fifties was situated on Palace Street, and among the best players there were Messrs E. Phillips, Alex MacAdams, James Motz, W. Fullam, Forbes Geddes, and James Kerr.⁸¹ This court was the scene of an unfortunate accident in 1857, when Captain Earle of the 17th Regiment lost an eye when struck by a ball from James Motz, Esq.⁸²

By the early sixties, new courts were in use in Quebec, Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, and London, with Hamilton claiming that the other courts were "barns" compared to theirs.⁸³ When, in 1861, Mr Lamontagne and Mr Devoix played a four-game series for one thousand dollars,

⁷⁷Tolfrey, op. cit., II, 217. ⁷⁸Horsey, op. cit., p. 11.

⁷⁹Montreal Gazette, January 21, 1933. Cited in Howell, op. cit., p. 41.

⁸⁰Howell, ibid. Encyclopedia Britannica gives this shortly before 1850. ("Racquets," loc. cit.)

⁸¹Gale, op. cit., p. 261.

⁸²Morning Chronicle, Quebec, March 4, 1857.

⁸³Hamilton Times, September 9, 1863. The Hamilton court was completed in January, 1861.

Hamilton was selected as the venue for the first game, the other three being played in Quebec and New York.⁸⁴ Toronto's new court, built in York Street in 1863⁸⁵ to replace the old one destroyed by fire in 1861, was of quite large proportions. Its seventy-five feet length and sixty-five feet width would dwarf the usual sixty feet by thirty feet court of today. Quebec's new court also suffered a fiery end when it was consumed by flames on February 17, 1865. Mrs Monck,⁸⁶ sister-in-law of Lord Monck, the Governor-General of Canada, attested to the good usage given the Quebec court by the military before its loss.

Conclusion

By the end of 1867, indoor sport, though increasing in popularity due to the construction of public gymnasiums in most cities, still was not a major diversion. Building costs and expensive equipment, as well as the public house stigma attached to billiards and bowling, were factors inhibiting its growth. The introduction of gymnastics into some schools, and the displays given by various gymnastic groups, however, had done much to increase participation in this sport. The gymnasiums or Gymnastic Associations often did not restrict their activities to indoor gymnastics, and served to encourage further sport within the community as a whole. The Gymnastic Association formed in Ottawa in 1861 was an example of this spread of influence, for the committee hoped to encourage boating, swimming, and cricket in the summer, skating, sleighing, and snowshoeing in the winter, as well as all other practicable

⁸⁴Ibid., September 6, 1861.

⁸⁵Globe, Toronto, May 26, 1863.

⁸⁶Monck, op. cit., passim.

out of door amusements and exercises.⁸⁷

Another factor which assuredly attributed to the slowness of the growth of indoor sport was the lack of participation by the upper class members of society. There was neither tradition nor grandeur attached to these activities, hence they held little appeal for the social elite. Neither were garrison officers greatly interested in constructing costly indoor recreation facilities, for their stay in Canada was merely a tour of duty, and they might be called upon to leave at short notice. The exclusive sport of racquets found adherents among the officers, but the game, because of its method of play, could cater for very few participants.

Indoor sport, by Confederation Year, was popular amidst relatively small groups of enthusiasts, such groups constituting a minority in the general sporting environment.

⁸⁷Ottawa Citizen, March 15, 1861.

CHAPTER VIII

INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION

Cricket

Cricket holds the distinction of being the first sport in Canada to establish itself in international competition, as well as being the only sport to attract visitors from two foreign countries prior to 1867.

It has been stated previously¹ that matches with United States teams began in 1840, when, as a result of a hoax, the St George Club from New York arrived in Toronto anticipating an arranged match with the Toronto Club for five hundred dollars. The arrival of this visiting team could not have been totally unexpected for it was advertised in the New York Spirit of the Times, August 22, 1840, which reached Toronto on August 27, that the match had been arranged, and that the New York players would arrive in the city around September 1.² No such arrangements having been authorized by the Toronto Club, they naturally assumed that the article was in error, and consequently ignored it. When the eighteen gentlemen from New York did, in fact, arrive, the embarrassment was soon overcome with a hastily arranged match for £50, which the visiting team had little difficulty in winning.³ This game served to establish friendly relations between the two clubs, aided

¹Supra, p. 93.

²Cited in Hall and McCulloch, op. cit., p. 13.

³Ibid.

undoubtedly by the excellent dinner which followed the match, so that challenges were subsequently issued by the St George Club each season. When the removal of the seat of Government to Kingston divided the strength of the Toronto Club, it was not considered practical to accept these challenges until 1843.⁴

Despite the fact that the 1843 acceptance was made in "praiseworthy zeal in the cause of cricket," rather than in expectation of victory, the Toronto team emerged victorious in New York, with four wickets in hand.⁵ The match arranged for July, 1844, in Toronto, ended in dispute without one ball being delivered. Despite the fact that Toronto had previously used players other than Toronto Club members, they objected to the inclusion of three Philadelphia Club players in the New York team.⁶ The managing committee of the Toronto Club stood firm in their objection, though many of the players were not in agreement, and the New York cricketers left Toronto without playing the match.⁷ Nevertheless, another match was soon arranged for late September in New York, and once again the Toronto team was successful. In the report of this match it was stated that, not only was the game played for a side bet of one thousand dollars, but that a sum of not less than fifty thousand dollars in private bets was dependent upon the outcome.⁸

⁴Kingston Chronicle and Gazette, August 23, 1843.

⁵Montreal Gazette, September 20, 1843. The Canadian team comprised Messrs Girdleston, Wilson, Winkworth, Sharp, Barwick, Barber, Maddock, Barron, Philpotts, and Robinson, of Toronto, plus Birch of Montreal. (Ibid.)

⁶Ibid., July 29, 1844.

⁷Ibid., August 3, 1844.

⁸Ibid., October 1, 1844.

The New York challenge in 1845 was accepted, this time by the Montreal Club, two matches being played in July and August. The first match was played in Montreal, Canada being represented by Birch, Wilgress, Connolly, Pocklington, Shipway, Liddell, Winkworth, Hornby, Sharp, Harrington, and Harene, the first six being members of the Montreal Club.⁹ Hornby was an officer in the Quebec garrison, and had previously earned distinction in England, by representing All-England against Kent and scoring eighty-nine runs.¹⁰ His feat of scoring the most runs in both of the 1845 matches came as no surprise. Canada once again emerged the victor in the July game, this time by the margin of sixty-one runs.¹¹ Perhaps the most interesting aspect of this match, for its spectators, was the way in which the betting odds changed as the game progressed. Canada batted first and scored eighty runs, Birch contributing twenty-seven of this total. The United States team (St George Club) then went to the wicket, and with their score standing at six wickets for seventy-four runs, the betting began to favour the visitors by five to four, but the next four wickets fell for only five runs, returning the odds to even.¹² On the second day's play, Birch was bowled out without scoring, causing the odds to favour the Americans by seven to four. Hornby, however, contributed thirty-five runs to a Canadian second innings total of one hundred and thirty-five, moving the betting decidedly against the visitors, at two to one. A wise New York gentleman who had backed Canada to win for seven hundred dollars, went home a much richer

⁹Ibid., July 31, 1845.

¹⁰Ibid., August 1, 1845.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid., July 31, 1845.

man.¹³ For the return match in New York four weeks later, the Canadian team remained basically the same, retaining the services of Winkworth and Sharp from Toronto, while Harrington and Harene were replaced by Heavysides and Burnaby of the Quebec garrison.¹⁴ Canada achieved its fourth straight victory by two wickets.¹⁵

The 1846 match, played in New York, ended in another dispute which severely strained cricketing ties between the two countries for several years. An excellent description of the incident appeared in the New York Mercury:

Samuel Dudson, of Philadelphia, was put on to bowl at Groom's end. He bowled a ball at Helliwell, which, in cricketer's phraseology, beat him, so he hit up high in the air back towards the bowler. Mr Helliwell, seeing the ball would be caught, ran with the point of his bat, purposely, against the catcher, and in doing so, he hurt the catcher, but did not prevent the catch being made.

To run against him he went two feet out of his way, and he admitted that he ran against him purposely, under the mistaken notion that the laws of the game allowed him to do so. But the umpire of the Canadians said that had he prevented the catch, he should have given Mr Helliwell out. Dudson fell with pain, and lay on the ground for a moment, but presently started up and ran at Helliwell, who was returning to the tent. Some of the St George players ran between them and seized Dudson, but he, having the ball in his hand, flung it at Helliwell. The ball struck the ground and bounced on the fleshy part of his thigh, not at all hurting him. . . . The Canadians refused to proceed with the match and the opponents claimed the game.¹⁶

Although challenges were forwarded by the St George Club in the interim

¹³Ibid., August 1, 1845.

¹⁴Ibid., September 3, 1845.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Cited in Hall and McCulloch, op. cit., p. 273.

period, none was accepted by a Canadian team until 1853.

The resumption of competition in this year brought two innovations. Firstly, the teams on each side were more representative than they had been in the past. The United States team was selected from the clubs of St George, New York, New England, Philadelphia, and Newark, whereas the Canadian team contained players from the Montreal garrison, Montreal, Toronto, and Cobourg.¹⁷ Secondly, it was the first time that no prize money was dependent upon the outcome of the match.¹⁸ Two thousand spectators saw Canada suffer its first defeat, by thirty-four runs.¹⁹ Bradley top scored in both innings for Canada, while Pickering's fielding earned him the distinction of being called, "the best cover point in the world."²⁰

Canada regained its lost laurels in 1854, winning by ten runs in a low scoring match at Toronto,²¹ while in 1855 no match was played, due to the absence of several players with regiments in the Crimea.²² For the resumption of matches in 1859 on the Hoboken Grounds, the United States was represented by the "cream of the country," easily upsetting

¹⁷Montreal Gazette, August 3, 1853. Canada was represented by Captain Galway and Mr Keane of the Royal Artillery in Montreal, Messrs Farmer, Philpotts, Heward, Parsons, Napier, Stanley, and Bradbury of Toronto (though Bradbury and Napier hailed from Montreal originally), Denne of Montreal, and Pickering of Cobourg. (Ibid., August 30, 1853.)

¹⁸Ibid., September 2, 1853.

¹⁹Ibid., August 30, 1853. This discounts the 1840 match, held before serious competition began, and the disputed match of 1846, claimed as a win by the Americans.

²⁰Ibid., September 2, 1853. ²¹Ibid., July 27, 1854.

²²Globe, Toronto, September 16, 1856.

the well-represented Canadian team in front of six thousand spectators by nine wickets.²³ Playing for Canada on this occasion was the familiar group of Dexter, Heward, Philpotts, Parsons, and Pickering of Toronto, with Captain Lansada of the 9th Regiment, Draper of Kingston, Boulther of Newmarket, Hardinge of Prescott, Jones of Brockville, and Gale of Belleville.²⁴ In 1857, Canada's last victory over the United States was achieved in Toronto, for, in 1858, a dispute began between Montreal and Toronto over the selection of representative teams. This dispute resulted in Montreal's playing its own matches against the St George Club of New York, while "Canadian" teams were selected from Upper Canada only.²⁵ Mr Pickering, now resident in Montreal, was a central figure in this dispute, and that city's challenges to the St George Club originated with him, as an objection to the Canadian team's being referred to as "All Canada."²⁶ Montreal lost its first match, in 1858, against the St George Club, although the team was reinforced by several officers of the 17th Regiment which had recently returned from active duty.²⁷ They were more fortunate in Montreal in 1859, winning by five wickets.²⁸

The official Canadian team for 1859 consisted of Heward, Dykes,

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Montreal Gazette, September 15, 1856.

²⁵ For example, see Morning Chronicle, Quebec, September 21, 1858; Globe, Toronto, August 3, 1859.

²⁶ Morning Chronicle, Quebec, September 21, 1858.

²⁷ Globe, Toronto, October 9, 1858.

²⁸ Hall and McCulloch, op. cit., p. 52.

Rykert, Patterson, Standley, Read, Parsons, Phillips, Jones, Sharp, and Rogerson.²⁹ Four thousand people attended the match in Toronto, causing some problems for the managing committee:

The public is requested to keep on the outside of the boundary; to keep away from the line of the wickets, so that the batsman's sight of the ball may not be interfered with; not to go on the playing ground between innings; and to keep aloof from the scorers.³⁰

An innovation for this match was the use of a scoreboard so that the public might be informed of the progress of the game. This scoreboard apparently consisted of three rows of figures, the top row showing the total score, the next, the number of wickets fallen, and the bottom row, the number of runs scored by the last batsman out.³¹ Individual progressive scores were evidently considered unimportant in those days, for the emphasis was placed upon team effort. Nevertheless, the introduction of these statistics to the public view also led to more individual comment in reports than had been the case on past matches. The readers of the Globe were informed that the fast bowling of Crossley upset the Canadians, for he captured seven wickets in their first innings, besides hitting Patterson on the head with three successive balls, and then Heward on the ear.³² The lack of boundary scoring at this time meant that batters had to run for their scores. Consequently, it was reported that Higham made the best hit of the first day's play, sending

²⁹Globe, Toronto, August 3, 1859.

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Ibid.

³²Ibid., August 4, 1859.

the ball over a high fence into the adjoining field, where it was followed "in good style" by Rykert who, through his excellent fielding, prevented Higham from running more than four.³³ In the second innings, Wilby duplicated this long hit, and managed to make five runs.³⁴ An incident occurred during Wilby's turn at bat which could have altered the outcome of the match. Believing himself to be out, leg before wicket, by a ball from Parsons, Wilby left his crease before the umpire gave him not out. In the meantime, Phillips had stumped him for being out of his crease, for which he was then declared out. Wilby was rather indignant about this turn of events, arguing so vehemently, that the Canadians finally agreed to allow him to continue. He celebrated his good fortune by proceeding to add a further twenty runs to his score, which could have affected the final decision, for the Canadians "seemed to lose heart," and lost the match by four wickets.³⁵ Another interesting, though hardly surprising, feature of the match was the fact that most of the United States players were of English parentage. In this regard, a reported statement from an American spectator that the Stars and Stripes would have been out of place beside the Union Jack on this occasion, was rather appropriate.³⁶

The year 1859 was a momentous one for Canadian sport. For the first time, a group from another continent visited Canada for purposes of sporting competition. The occasion was the tour of Canada and the United States by the English Cricket Team, captained by George Parr.

³³Ibid., August 5, 1859.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Ibid., August 4, 1859.

Correspondence concerning such a tour had begun in 1856, between Mr W. Pickering of Montreal and Fred Lillywhite of London, but, as the English players were professionals, and the cricketing finances of the Canadians not particularly extensive, no agreement was reached for several years.³⁷ As it was, the terms asked were double what the players actually received. The tour finally became possible through the generosity of Mr Wilder of New York who offered security, on behalf of Mr Pickering, for the twelve English players to receive £50 each, plus expenses. Mr Wilder provided Mr Pickering with a further £500 with which to make the preliminary arrangements, this amount to cover the expenses for two matches in the United States, while Hamilton contributed £250 for a match to be played in that city. Mr Pickering undertook the organizing of the whole tour, and, with £750 credit, conducted the visitors throughout their travels on this continent, paying all the necessary expenses. When the Englishmen had departed from Quebec at the end of the tour, Mr Pickering had found it necessary to utilize a further £100 of his own funds, a sum which he eventually had reimbursed.

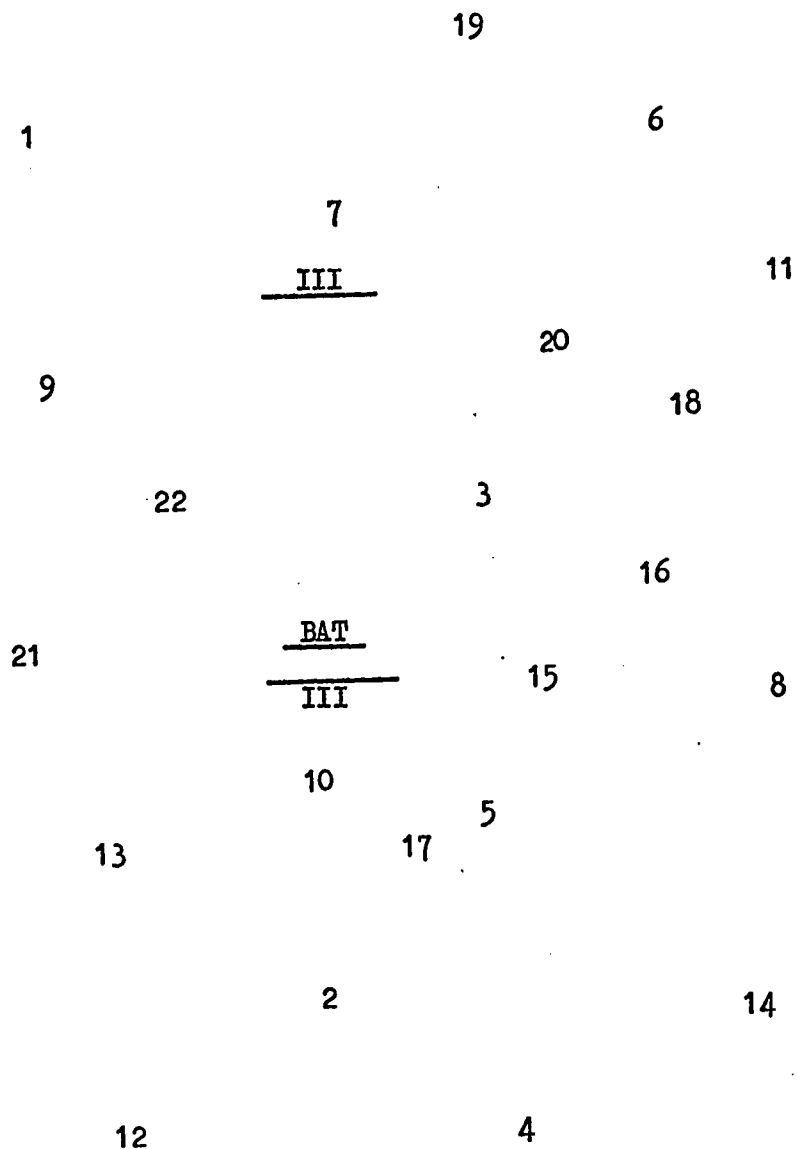
The tour began with a three-day match in Montreal on September 24, 26, and 27, 1859. The vast superiority of the English players had been acknowledged well in advance, and in all matches against them, twenty-two players were permitted the opposition, rather than the usual eleven, all of them fielding at the one time,³⁸ and taking their turn

³⁷ Fred Lillywhite, The English Cricketers' Trip to Canada and the United States (London: F. Lillywhite; Kent and Coy, 1860), pp 1-2. All the information concerning the arrangements for the tour are from this source.

³⁸ A list of Canadian players and their fielding positions appears infra, p. 294. (From Montreal Weekly Gazette, October 1, 1859.)

Canadian Players and their Fielding Positions--First Match against

England, September, 1859



- | | | |
|------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| 1 G. Swain | 8 Ravenhill | 15 S. Morgan |
| 2 Lt Surman | 9 Capt. Earle | 16 W. Swetterham |
| 3 Lt Symons | 10 W. Pickering | 17 J. Smith |
| 4 Lt Bonner | 11 Capt. King | 18 W. Napier |
| 5 F. Fisher | 12 J. Daly | 19 W. Ellis |
| 6 F. Fourdrinier | 13 W. Smith | 20 B. Prior |
| 7 S. Hardinge | 14 G. Bacon | 21 C. Tilstone |
| | | 22 J. Kerr |

to bat. Lillywhite later wrote that it was impossible to describe the excitement that prevailed in Montreal during the match.³⁹ Reporters were present from all parts of the country, all urgently requesting information to telegraph back to their newspapers.⁴⁰ To Lillywhite's surprise, little betting took place.⁴¹ The Canadian players were no match for Jackson, reputedly the fastest bowler in England,⁴² while Parr's slow spinning deliveries "made sad work" of the batsmen's efforts.⁴³ To the Canadian totals of eighty-five and sixty-three, the Englishmen replied with one hundred and seventeen and two for thirty-two, thus winning the match by eight wickets.⁴⁴ At the conclusion of the match, a supplementary game was played "for the benefit of the English players," with six Englishmen and five Canadians on each side.⁴⁵ The visitors then proceeded to New York, where an estimated twenty-five thousand spectators watched them demolish the twenty-two United States players by an even greater margin.⁴⁶

The next game was scheduled for Hamilton, where, upon arrival, the welcome was such that it was with "great difficulty" that the English players could emerge from their railway carriage and leave the station.⁴⁷ On the occasion of this match, Canada was represented by

³⁹Lillywhite, op. cit., p. 18.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 19.

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²Montreal Weekly Gazette, October 1, 1859.

⁴³Lillywhite, op. cit., p. 19.

⁴⁴Montreal Weekly Gazette, loc. cit.

⁴⁵Lillywhite, op. cit., p. 24.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 32.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 46.

PLATE XVII

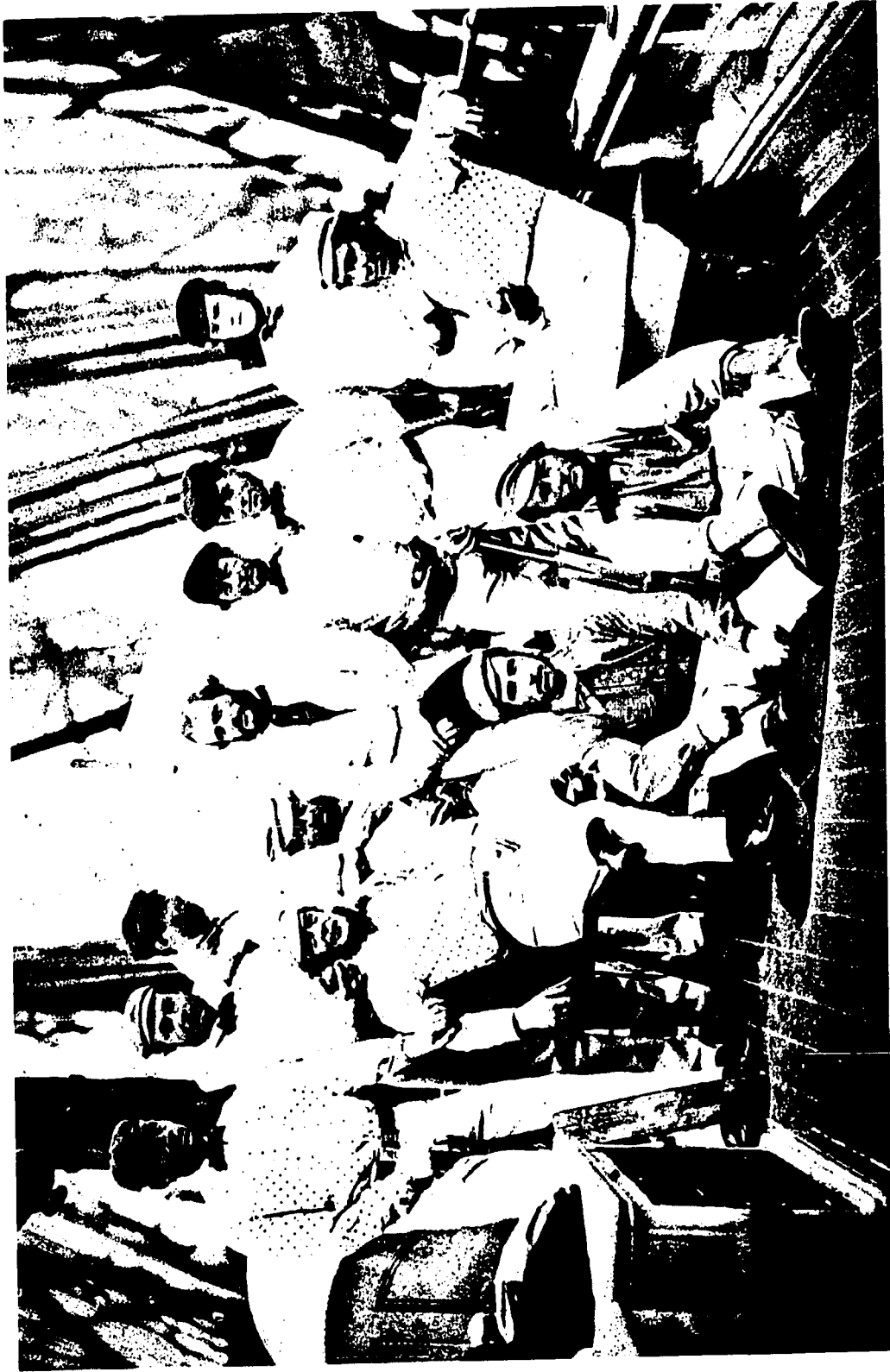


ENGLAND'S TWELVE CHAMPION CRICKETERS EN ROUTE FOR AMERICA, 1859

Note the Spotted Shirts

Left to Right. CARPENTER, CAFFYN, LOCKYER, WIDEN, STEPHENSON, G. PARR, GRUNDY, CAESAR, HAYWARD, JACKSON.
Seated on the Deck. DIVER, JOHN LILLYWHITE.

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Seated on the Deck. DIVER, JOHN LILLYWHITE.

Messrs Pickering and Smith (Montreal), Parsons, Heward, and Reid (Toronto), H. Totter, and W. Totter (Brantford), Jones (Brockville), Starling and Despard (Belleville), Worswick (Kingston), Bayley and Harris (London), T. Phillips, H. Phillips, and Rykert (St Catharines), Gillesby, Rogerson, and Sharp (Hamilton), Stokes and Bosteed (Great Western Railway Club), and J. Hamilton (Grantham).⁴⁸ This widely representative team fared no better than their countrymen in the previous match, losing by ten wickets before an estimated crowd of five thousand.⁴⁹ The Globe's comment on the outcome was rather cynical—"The Eleven, of course, beat the Twenty-two at Hamilton, and could have beaten them worse if they had tried."⁵⁰

It would appear as if the Englishmen did "try" during the next game played at Rochester, New York, where they defeated a combined Canada-United States team by an innings and sixty-eight runs,⁵¹ this being the final match of the tour. This fine English team, which "had been selected to sustain the reputation of Old England in this, her national sport," and which had "comprised the best professional cricketers of the day,"⁵² had shown they were far too proficient for the colonials to whom sport, as yet, was only a game. Nevertheless, the tour had paved the way for future teams to undertake the long voyages from England and Australia, in the name of sport.⁵³

⁴⁸Globe, Toronto, October 15, 1859.

⁴⁹Ibid., October 20, 1859

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹Lillywhite, op. cit., p. 50.

⁵²Ibid., p. 21.

⁵³See Howell, op. cit., pp. 85-86.

Canada's matches against the United States continued in 1860, and players from Lower Canada were once again included in team selections.⁵⁴ This healing of differences between Montreal and Toronto was undoubtedly due to the convivial good-fellowship which had been enjoyed during the English tour. The match was played in the New York Club's grounds, but St George cricketers did not take part. The inclusion of seven professional players in this United States team⁵⁵ was an indication of the trend taken by the sport in that country. Nevertheless, the Canadians were not out-classed, losing the match by only four wickets.⁵⁶ During the period of the Civil War, no representative matches were played, though in September, 1862, a team comprising military officers of Canada journeyed to New York, where they lost to a United States team by five wickets.⁵⁷ Meanwhile, the Peninsular Club of Detroit had visited the Toronto Club in July, 1861, to play the forerunner of several such matches during the sixties. A one-innings game was arranged, which the Toronto Club won by ten runs. As there was still some time remaining before the train departed for Hamilton, where the Peninsular Club was next scheduled to play, the two teams continued to enjoy a friendly game until six o'clock.⁵⁸ No further matches were

⁵⁴The Canadian team was chosen from Hardinge, Daly, J. Smith, Hester, or Fourdrinier (Lower Canada); T. Phillips, H. Phillips, and Rykert (St Catharines); Sharp (Hamilton), Patterson, Parsons, and Farmer (Toronto); and Chapman (Montreal) who was selected but was unable to play. (Montreal Gazette, August 4, 1860.)

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶Ibid., August 11, 1860.

⁵⁷Hall and McCulloch, op. cit., p. 66; Globe, Toronto, September 15, 1862.

⁵⁸Globe, Toronto, July 17, 1861.

arranged until 1865, when, in July, the Detroit players again visited Toronto. On this occasion, a two-day match was organized, the Toronto team emerging victorious by one hundred and eleven runs, with Brumel scoring sixty-three.⁵⁹ The Toronto team returned the visit on August 18 and 19, once again successfully.⁶⁰ Towards the end of August, the matches between the United States and Canada were resumed, with the former winning a close game by one wicket, even though they played with one man short throughout.⁶¹

With the Fenian disturbances upsetting relations between the two countries for the next few years, no further matches were played, although isolated games still occurred between individual clubs. The Toronto and Detroit clubs again met in competition in June, 1866,⁶² while the Boston Cricket Club made a short tour of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia in August, playing matches in Fredericton and Halifax, where their opponents proved too strong for the Americans.⁶³

Curling

Although curling had been introduced into the United States by 1820,⁶⁴ no reported matches involving teams from that country and Canada

⁵⁹Ibid., July 20, 1865. ⁶⁰Hall and McCulloch, op. cit., p. 70.

⁶¹Montreal Gazette, September 2, 1865.

⁶²Hall and McCulloch, loc. cit. It is further stated that no matches occurred between Canada and the United States from 1866 to 1879. (Ibid., p. 265.)

⁶³New Brunswick Reporter, August 3, 1866; August 10, 1866; August 17, 1866.

⁶⁴Menke, op. cit., p. 316.

were evident before the early 1860s. In January, 1861, a match was reported at West Troy, North Vermont, which the Canadian team had little difficulty in winning.⁶⁵ The match was referred to as being a Canada versus United States game, with Canada represented by Dr Hamilton, and Messrs Beatie, Betts, and George Gillespie.⁶⁶ In 1864, the Toronto and the Buffalo Caledonian Clubs met in Buffalo to play a three-rink match which Toronto won. This match served as a forerunner to the International Bonspiel held in Buffalo in the following year, when the Canadians once again emerged victorious.⁶⁷

The 1865 bonspiel at Buffalo was a grand affair. It was held in early January, with twenty-three rinks from Canada and from the United States taking part.⁶⁸ The participating clubs from Canada were Burlington (which sent three rinks), Toronto (three rinks), West Flamborough, Dundas, Ontario, Chatham, Simcoe, Kingston, Flamborough, Paris, Ayr, London, Port Hope, Waverley (Cobourg), Thames (London, two rinks), Scarborough, Galt, and Fergus.⁶⁹ The Dundas rink achieved the largest winning margin of the tournament, defeating Albany (No. 1) by a score of forty-five to fifteen. The final score, after five hours play, favoured the Canadians by six hundred and fifty-eight to four hundred

⁶⁵Montreal Gazette, January 12, 1861.

⁶⁶Ibid.

⁶⁷Globe, Toronto, February 20, 1864.

⁶⁸Ibid., January 7, 1865. Twenty-six rinks journeyed to Buffalo from Canada, a draw being necessary to decide which three teams would miss play.

⁶⁹Ibid. For discussion of "Toronto Red Jackets," see supra, pp. 37-38.

and seventy-eight, with fourteen rinks won compared to the United States' seven, two games having been drawn.⁷⁰ The scene on the ice at Black Rock, Buffalo, was vividly described in the Globe report of the tournament:

About four o'clock the ice presented a fine appearance with the thousands upon it, the flags flying, skaters dashing hither and thither, while all was jollity and life, the cheers of the spectators and curlers blending together over some lucky shot, while such expressions as "Hurrah for Buffalo!", "New York for ever!", "Oh, man!", "You for a player!", "Canada, that wins!" were very frequent, and the gusto with which they were given indicated good lungs at least, if not enjoyment.

One of the outcomes of this international bonspiel was the presentation of the Thomson-Scoville Medal. This gold medal was donated by James Thomson of Toronto and J. Scoville of Buffalo, for annual play between the Buffalo Caledonian Club, and the Toronto Club,⁷² in evident appreciation of the efforts of these two clubs in organizing the bonspiel. Originally, play for the medal was to be by singles "knockout" competition, with each player throwing three pairs of stones and doing his own sweeping.⁷³ However, when the first match for the medal was played in January, 1866, team play was in evidence, Toronto winning by forty-five points in three rinks.⁷⁴

Chatham was the venue for another international match played in 1866, on February 9. Two rinks from Michigan (Detroit and Pontiac) journeyed to Chatham where they were defeated by rinks from the Chatham

⁷⁰Ibid.

⁷¹Ibid.

⁷²Ibid., February 4, 1865.

⁷³Ibid.

⁷⁴Ibid., January 16 and 17, 1866.

Club, the total score being forty-nine to forty.⁷⁵ Although the match for the Thomson-Scoville Medal was scheduled for Buffalo in 1867, play once again was held in Toronto,⁷⁶ due, no doubt, to Fenian activity in the vicinity of Buffalo.

Lacrosse

In July, 1867, independent arrangements were made for two separate groups of Indians to travel to England, where they were to demonstrate the game of lacrosse. The "official" team, under the sanction of the Montreal Lacrosse Club, comprised eighteen St Regis Indians under the direction of Mr Gordon, whereas the privately organized group consisted of sixteen Caughnawaga Indians, accompanied by Captain W. B. Johnson.⁷⁷ These latter departed from Montreal on July 12,⁷⁸ while Mr Gordon's party was to follow five days later,⁷⁹ arrangements having been made, in a response to a letter from New York requesting a demonstration of the game, for the St Regis Indians to play matches in that city and in Boston prior to their departure for overseas.⁸⁰ Unfortunately, the further exploits of the St Regis Indian team's supposed tour were not

⁷⁵Ibid., February 10, 1866.

⁷⁶Ibid., January 12, 1867.

⁷⁷Montreal Gazette, July 13, 1867.

⁷⁸Ibid.

⁷⁹Ibid., July 17, 1867.

⁸⁰Cited in Ibid., July 11, 1867. The letter added: "The sporting papers and daily press will endorse it, and when I tell you we can raise a crowd of 4,000 to 5,000 for a base ball match, you can understand that we could do as much for your national game."

reported,⁸¹ brief attention being given only to the Caughnawaga group.

Extracts from English press reports concerning this latter party were published in the Montreal Gazette on August 16 and 17, while Weyand and Roberts⁸² have stated that exhibition games were played in Great Britain and France, before large groups of interested spectators. The team made noted appearances at the Crystal Palace in London during the German Gymnastic Society's annual festival on August 10, and also at the World's Fair in Paris.⁸³ As a direct result of the tour, the English Lacrosse Association was formed on February 12, 1868.⁸⁴

The Six Nations Indians were to play a part in the spread of lacrosse to the United States. Publicity from their match against Toronto, in September,⁸⁵ resulted in their being invited by John L. Flagg, President of the Van Renssalaer Park Driving Association of Troy, New York, to stage a demonstration game during a baseball tournament

⁸¹The press and all secondary sources are silent on this matter, even though this team was being sponsored by the Montreal Club at a time when lacrosse publicity was intense. The New York Times, July 16, anticipated their arrival within a few days, but this was written before the stated departure date from Montreal. Reports of the Caughnawaga Indians were received from London by the Montreal press, and their return noted in the Montreal Gazette, October 15, but nothing on the St Regis team appeared, although this paper had stated on July 17, that their movements in America and England would be reported. On the basis of this, it is doubtful if the team ever left Montreal.

⁸²Weyand and Roberts, op. cit., p. 23.

⁸³Ibid. No mention of this, however, was made in the London Times, August 12, report of the festival at the Crystal Palace.

⁸⁴Weyand and Roberts, loc. cit.

⁸⁵Globe, Toronto, September 26, 1867.

there in November.⁸⁶ It was reported that an estimated ten thousand people watched this game, applauding the players at every opportunity.⁸⁷ The enthusiasm aroused by this exhibition quickly led to the formation of a team by Brooklyn baseball players for the purpose of playing a match against the Indians, which, needless to say, the visitors won.⁸⁸

Rowing

Owing to the difficulty involved in transporting boats over long distances, international rowing matches were slow to capture the enthusiasm of oarsmen. American boats had participated in Quebec regattas as early as 1831,⁸⁹ but it was oarsmen from St John, New Brunswick, who pioneered Canadian entry into United States waters. In July, 1855, a St John Boat Club crew, comprising J. Morrison, E. Walsh, J. Lambert, and E. McAuley, journeyed to Boston with their boat, Neptune, to race against the White Hall Club boat, Putman, which had won honours at the recent July 4 celebrations there.⁹⁰ To the surprise of many, the St John crew won the six hundred dollar wager in a six mile race, covering the distance in forty-seven minutes and thirty-five seconds.⁹¹ Accepting a two thousand dollar challenge from the crew of the Maid of Erin in Boston a few months later in September, the St John Boat Club members won an easy twelve-mile victory when the American crew withdrew

⁸⁶Weyand and Roberts, op. cit., p. 24.

⁸⁷Montreal Gazette, November 14, 1867.

⁸⁹Ibid., September 3, 1831.

⁹⁰Novascotian, July 23, 1855.

⁸⁸Ibid.

⁹¹Ibid.

after the ninth mile, the St John crew having led all the way.⁹²

The year 1856 saw a St John crew once again in Boston with their boat, Neptune, to defeat New York before forty thousand spectators, by a minute and five seconds over a six mile course.⁹³ The New York boat was described as being forty-two feet long, two feet four inches wide, and weighing one hundred and fifty pounds, whereas the Neptune was four feet shorter, but weighed four hundred pounds.⁹⁴ This weight difference between the two craft was undoubtedly the main reason for considerable amounts of money changing hands at the outcome. St John on this occasion was represented by Edward Welch [sic], John Lambert, John Morris, and Dennis Morris, who covered the distance in forty-two minutes.⁹⁵

By this time, the fame won by the St John victories had brought with it another form of recognition. Harvard University, believing the skill of the St John oarsmen to rest mainly upon their boat's construction, engaged a St John builder to construct a white-pine eight-oared racing shell with iron outriggers. The Harvard rowers should have been quite satisfied with their purchase, for they easily defeated Yale in the subsequent race between the two universities.⁹⁶

⁹²Globe, Toronto, September 17, 1855. See also New Brunswick Reporter, August 10, 1855; September 14, 1855.

⁹³The best coverage of this race appeared in the Niagara Mail, October 1, 1856.

⁹⁴Ibid.

⁹⁵Ibid.

⁹⁶Roxborough, op. cit., p. 65.

Toronto entered international competition in 1858, when the recently formed Shakespeare Rowing Club accepted a challenge from the Metropolitan Boat Club of Chicago, for the Championship of the Lakes.⁹⁷ The race took place at Detroit on October 15, the Toronto boat being rowed by W. Dillon, M. Teedy, T. Tinning, and J. Tinning, with young Richard Tinning, aged eleven, as coxswain.⁹⁸ The Shakespeare Club had little difficulty in winning the one thousand dollar stakes and the championship, for the Chicago boat had steering problems. The Americans carried no coxswain, steering their boat by means of a device attached forward of the third oarsman, which had to be worked by the feet of the bow oarsman.⁹⁹ This latter crewsman had difficulty co-ordinating his dual role, and when the stroke had the misfortune to miss a sweep, falling over backwards and losing his oar in the process, the boat nearly collided with an accompanying vessel, so that all the oars on that side had to be shipped to avoid their being broken off.¹⁰⁰ The Champions of the Lakes arrived home to a torch light procession, as they carried their boat shoulder high through the cheering crowd.¹⁰¹

Following the cessation of the Civil War, the city of St John, in 1866, once again entered the Fourth of July Regatta in Boston. This time, three boats were sent, and their superiority was such, that, as

⁹⁷Globe, Toronto, September 8, 1858.

⁹⁸Sarnia Observer, October 21, 1858. The coxswain was reported to have kept the boat free of water by the use of a sponge. (Ibid.)

⁹⁹Globe, Toronto, October 18, 1858.

¹⁰⁰Ibid.

¹⁰¹Niagara Mail, October 20, 1858.

they approached the finish, they were all ahead of their American rivals. The opportunity to make a clean sweep of the placings was lost, however, when George C. Wiggins, running third behind Thetus and Neptune, sheared away just before the line.¹⁰² The winning boat was rowed by George Nice, George Price, Edward McAuley, and Edward Woodworth, who, in their race preparation, were said to have rowed eighteen miles a day, "a degree of training which almost bordered on excess."¹⁰³

The year 1867 was a memorable one for St John, for in July of that year, the "Paris Crew" stroked its way to fame at the World Amateur Rowing Championships, held on the Seine River in Paris, France. Two four-oared boats were sent, one an outrigger, and the other of simple gig construction.¹⁰⁴ The crews who rowed these two boats to victory were Robert Fulton, George Price, Sam Hutton, and Elija Ross,¹⁰⁵ from the Western Boat Club, St John. Preparations had begun earlier, in February, when an organizing committee was appointed to oversee arrangements for the trip, particularly the raising of its anticipated cost of six thousand dollars.¹⁰⁶ At a meeting of this committee in April, it was announced that the Provincial Government had indicated its interest and willingness to aid the project, promising two thousand dollars towards

¹⁰²St John Daily News, July 9, 1866.

¹⁰³Novascotian, July 16, 1866. Thetus was thirty-eight feet long, two feet six inches wide, seven and a half inches deep, and weighed one hundred and fifty pounds. (Ibid.)

¹⁰⁴Ibid., March 11, 1867.

¹⁰⁵Morning Chronicle, Quebec, August 14, 1867. Coverage of this is to be found in most newspapers of the time.

¹⁰⁶New Brunswick Reporter, April 26, 1867.

the total, while Sheriff Harding, a primary instigator of the plan, was elected to accompany the crew.¹⁰⁷ Entries for the outrigger race, besides that from St John, had been received from Oxford (represented by three crews, that of Mr Wood's, the Old Radleians, and Worcester College), Durham University, London Rowing Club, Leander Boat Club (London), and the Boulogne Rowing Club. For the Old Fashioned Fours Race, the other entrants were Boulogne Rowing Club, Paris Rowing Club, and Dolphin Rowing Club (Brighton).¹⁰⁸ Concerning the St John crew, a correspondent had this to say:

Among the strange-looking people whom this regatta has brought together, not the least strange were a certain crew of four sturdy New Brunswickers, who, having beaten everything on their own waters, had brought two home-made boats some thousands of miles to show the rest of the world how to row. With their flesh coloured jerseys, dark cloth trowsers, leather braces, and bright pink caps, they were in striking contrast to their neat competitors. Their style of rowing is by no means in accordance with received ideas. It consists of a short, quick stroke, pulled almost entirely with the arms, hitting the water fairly at the beginning, with a jerk at the end, and a regular marked hang upon the chest. They row without a coxswain, bow steering, partly by an ingenious contrivance with his feet, partly with his oar. Their time is perfect, and their course is straight as a die.¹⁰⁹

The first event was the In-rigged Fours, for a prize of two thousand francs, the Canadians having no difficulty in winning. In fact, George Price even found time to wave to the crowd while calmly rowing

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Novascotian, July 22, 1867. Note, however, that the Paris correspondent to the Manchester Guardian stated that starters in the outrigger race were Paris, London, St John, Boulogne, Hamburg, and University College, Oxford. (See Morning Chronicle, Quebec, August 14, 1867.)

¹⁰⁹ Cited in Morning Chronicle, Quebec, August 14, 1867.

with one hand, as the boat passed the Grandstand.¹¹⁰ In the Out-rigged Fours race for one thousand francs, the St John crew drew the sheltered side of the river and led all the way, to win by the comfortable margin of two lengths from London, with Oxford a further three lengths behind.¹¹¹ Of the St John boat, a London Telegraph observer wrote,

[It] is a curious old-fashioned outrigger, and looks like a Chinese puzzle painted green, it is, ^{so} wonderfully made, and so curiously put together.¹¹²

News of the victories which had sped by telegraph across the Atlantic Cable, permitted preparations for a gigantic welcome for the crew when they reached home in August:

Patriotic citizens, and visiting ships whose masters and crews rejoiced with us in the triumph of our oarsmen in Paris, yesterday flung their banners to the breeze, as the hour approached for the arrival of the New York. Towards four o'clock the whole population as if moved by one impulse, gathered at Reed's Point and vicinity. Sporting characters, sober citizens, irrepressible arabs, genteel ladies, solemn looking clergymen and the inevitable woman with the baby were all there, mixed up in one motley crowd, with express wagons, coaches, slovens, and hand carts. Two batteries of artillery were planted near the wharf, and one in Carleton, which, as the boat reached her ground thundered forth their noisy salutes, and these were followed by the ringing cheers of the multitude, and the music of the City Band. A four-in-hand driven by Mr C. A. Robertson, was ready for the reception of the oarsmen, who were soon ashore and in their racing costumes, and with oars aloft, accompanied by Sheriff Harding, entered the carriage.—The Band in another carriage, discoursing sweet music, preceded them, and other carriages brought up the rear filled with gentlemen who had taken an active part in getting up the race, whilst an eager excited crowd proceeded, flanked, and followed the cortage. The people everywhere were earnest, hearty and enthusiastic. . . . At night, bonfires blazed in Carleton, several places in the city were illuminated, at No. 2 Engine House, a large fire balloon was sent up, and various other

¹¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹¹Ibid.

¹¹²Ibid.

modes of rejoicing were resorted to. . . . Altogether, the reception given the men was a very warm one, and came straight from the hearts of the people.¹¹³

It was the greatest demonstration witnessed in St John for a long time.¹¹⁴

Before the triumph of this St John crew, henceforth referred to as the Paris Crew, a private match had been arranged by the Morris brothers of St John and the Ward brothers of New York.¹¹⁵ When news of this St John-New York challenge subsequently reached the press in mid-August, it was assumed that the Paris Crew was involved, and the race thereupon was hailed as the "Championship of the World."¹¹⁶ Thirty thousand people turned out to watch the race at Springfield, where the attitude of the St John crew (Thomas McCauley, John Morris, John McCaffrey, and Dennis McCaffrey) towards a challenge match which had grown out of all proportion, was reflected in their race performance:

The Wards immediately took the lead and the St John men apparently made no effort to contest it, but followed leisurely after them down the course. At the end of the first mile, the Wards were 800 feet ahead and at the turn 1,200 feet.¹¹⁷

The losing margin was one minute and forty-eight seconds,¹¹⁸ after which

¹¹³ Ibid., August 13, 1867.

¹¹⁴ Novascotian, August 12, 1867.

¹¹⁵ New Brunswick Reporter, September 20, 1867.

¹¹⁶ Ottawa Times, August 19, 1867. The Montreal Daily News stated, "As we have also the Champion of Billiards of America [Joseph Dion], and the cue with us, I trust care will be taken that the St John's [sic] crew will understand that they are not rowing for the honour of St John's [sic] alone, but for British America, including the Red River Settlements (if not Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island)." Cited in New Brunswick Reporter, August 23, 1867.

¹¹⁷ New Brunswick Reporter, September 20, 1867.

¹¹⁸ Ottawa Times, September 12, 1867.

the New Brunswick newspapers were quick to announce vehemently that the crew from St John was not the Paris Crew.¹¹⁹

Conclusion

By the end of 1867, seven sports had produced participants of sufficient calibre to win in international competition. These were not restricted entirely to the "major" sports, for it was reported in August, 1855, that Canadian ploughmen had won second prize after England in the ploughing competitions at the Paris World's Fair, where every nation in Europe was represented.¹²⁰ In the words of the reporter, there was "something exhilarating in the idea of our young Province beating all the continent of Europe on the soil of France at speeding the plough."¹²¹

In rowing, curling, billiards,¹²² and lacrosse, Canada had produced the best players on the continent, while in rowing and lacrosse, Canadians were champions of the world. Baseball teams¹²³ had won honours in the 1867 Detroit tournament, while in cricket, Canada had won her share of victories against the United States, but was no match for the English professionals. The unifying force of sport had been clearly shown when all of Canada basked in the glory achieved by the New Brunswick crew in Paris. Sport had given to Confederation a deeper significance.

¹¹⁹New Brunswick Reporter, September 20, 1867.

¹²⁰Niagara Mail, August 8, 1855.

¹²¹Ibid.

¹²²The exploits of the Dion brothers appear supra, p. 266 ff.

¹²³Supra, p. 84.

CHAPTER IX

SPORT IN CONFEDERATION YEAR

The year 1867 marked the beginning of a new era in Canadian sport. Civil war in the United States had terminated for a sufficient length of time to allow the country to relax, and turn to things Canadian. The Fenian border activities of 1866 had quietened somewhat, although Lower Canada underwent a disturbance in the spring of 1867. The Volunteering urge which had altered the leisure time activities of approximately fifty thousand male Canadians, was abating. The sporting environment, created by the presence of eighteen thousand British troops, needed the further participation of civilians. The success of the Early Closing Movement in most cities was permitting evening, and in some cases, Saturday afternoon recreational pursuits. The major cities had grown to the point where the numbers who were engaged in sedentary occupations intensified the need for leisure time activities of a physically recreative nature. In short, the Victorian era had blossomed to the point where an increased interest in sporting participation was inevitable.

Skating was particularly popular in January, 1867, with most rinks organizing Fancy Dress Carnivals. For a carnival in Montreal, the indoor Victoria Rink was gaily decorated with flowers, the gas lighting showing spectators the colourful parade of about one hundred and thirty women and two hundred men, all dressed in costumes as exotic as the limits of their imaginations would allow. Turks, Greeks, Scottish chieftains, knights in armour, gypsies, story-book characters,

hunters, and flower-girls were depicted, as well as such heroes as Julius Caesar, Hamlet, Robinson Crusoe, Don Quixote, and even Atlas, complete with the world on his shoulders.¹ For the Annual Ball of the Quebec Skating Club, held on January 18, four hundred tickets were sold, the band of the Royal Artillery providing the music for the evening.² Scottish pipers were in attendance with their bagpipes for the opening of the Thistle Rink at the Ottawa Railway Station on January 12.³ In Sarnia, Mr Hitchcock attracted skaters to the Victoria Skating Rink by advertising that it was safer to skate there than on the ice of the Bay.⁴ An area on the bay at Hamilton was cleared by the 16th Regiment for their own skating pleasure, while, on February 1, the 13th Regimental Band played suitable airs at the Ontario Rink which was "crowded by eager beholders, and the skaters carried on until the small hours were at hand."⁵

January had seen the Hamilton curlers quite active. The Ontario Club Gold Medal was won by George Hamilton,⁶ and visiting teams were in the city from London, West Flamborough, Galt, Ancaster, and Ayr. The Ottawa Curling Club decided that Allan Gilmour would make an able President once again,⁷ while in Quebec, the Falkenburg Cup was won by

¹Roxborough, op. cit., p. 2.

²Morning Chronicle, Quebec, January 19, 1867.

³Ottawa Citizen, January 12, 1867.

⁴Sarnia Observer, January 18, 1867.

⁵Roxborough, op. cit., p. 3. ⁶Hamilton Times, January 10, 1867.

⁷Ottawa Citizen, January 15, 1867.

William Barbour for the second time.⁸ Barbour was also skilful enough to win a silver snuff box on February 1, which had been presented to the club by James Dean, Esq. On the following day, Barbour almost captured another trophy when he was second to J. Thomson in a contest, the prize for which was a photographic album.⁹ In Toronto, the Swan Street skating pond was the site of the annual match between Toronto and Buffalo for the Thomson-Scoville Medal.

The popularity of snowshoeing increased in 1867, with Becket¹⁰ stating that the membership of the Montreal Snow Shoe Club, after suffering several years of decline, had climbed to sixty-nine. On Wednesday evening, January 9, a tramp over the mountains took place, while on the following Saturday, Lachine was the Club's objective.¹¹

Ice trotting drew its supporters to Lake St Augustine, where a four event programme was contested by twelve entrants. A report of this appeared in the Quebec Morning Chronicle, on January 15, listing John Healey's horse, Glasgow, as winner of the main race for thirty dollars. The Toronto garrison formed their Sleighing Club during this week, and as many as twenty-five carriages turned out in grand array for their drives during the remainder of the winter. Rifle competitions were not neglected, and on Toronto's Don Rifle Range, the shooters found it necessary to stand in knee-deep snow as they fired at targets up to five hundred yards away. In Hamilton, the Victoria Rifle Club preferred

⁸ Morning Chronicle, Quebec, January 7, 1867.

⁹ Ibid., February 4, 1867.

¹⁰ Becket, op. cit., p. 129.

¹¹ Montreal Gazette, January 11, 1867.

Turkey Shoots during the winter, three hundred yards seeming a respectable distance for their Enfield Rifles.

Gymnastics had acquired an admiring audience, and included in the report concerning the Quebec Gymnastic Club's display on January 28, was a comment rather pertinent to the time:

Judging from the display of pluck, activity and muscle last night, we think the next lot of raiders stand a very poor chance, for plenty showed themselves capable of knocking a medium-sized Fenian into a cocked hat in rather less than no time.¹²

In February, while Miss Carrie Moore, the "Skatorial Queen," was drawing admiration for her displays in Toronto and Ottawa,¹³ and the "Barbarians" were defeating the Canadians in their annual curling match in Quebec,¹⁴ the cricket season had begun in Victoria, where a group of gold-seeking immigrants from Sydney, Australia, joined together to play a match for one hundred dollars against a Victorian side.¹⁵ During the same week, the Montreal Driving Club was formed under the presidency of Andrew Allan, and by the end of February, thirty sleighs were turning out for drives.¹⁶ February saw Quebec skating rinks very active, with ice carnivals held at the rinks, Imperial, Grand Allée, Union, Stadacona, Routiers, Victoria, and National, the last claiming several thousand

¹²Morning Chronicle, Quebec, January 29, 1867.

¹³Ottawa Citizen, February 20, 1867.

¹⁴Morning Chronicle, Quebec, February 12, 1867. An interesting reversal, for, in the early days of curling, the "barbarians" were non-Scotsmen.

¹⁵Daily Colonist, Victoria, February 15, 1867.

¹⁶Montreal Gazette, February 22, 1867; see also March 6, 1867.

attendants at a masquerade ball held on February 28.¹⁷ A skating tournament was Kingston's chief attraction for the month, the programme containing ten races and one "artistic skating" competition:

- 1 Gent's Long Race: 75 ¢ entrance fee, with five entrants, over 10 laps, won by William Smithers.
- 2 Ladies and Gent's Union Race: mixed pairs, for two laps, six entrants, won by Mr M. McGoirl and Miss Morrison.¹⁸
- 3 Gent's Race: two laps backwards, four entrants.
- 4 Gent's Race: one lap, over six 20 inch hurdles. This event was cancelled, there being only one entrant.
- 5 Young Ladies' Race,—12 years and under: one lap, four entrants, won by Miss McCartney.
- 6 Garrison Race: two laps, three entrants, won by Private Austin.
- 7 Tethered Race: one lap, with legs joined by 20 inch rope, four entrants.
- 8 Boys' Race,—12 years and under: two laps, thirteen entrants.
- 9 Garrison Race: one lap backwards, three entrants, won by Private Austin.
- 10 Scrub Race: three laps, twelve entrants, won by Mr McGoirl.¹⁹

In the final event, Gentlemen's Artistic Skating, the five dollar prize was won by Joseph Meagher, a professional who was renowned throughout the cities in the United States for his skilful performances. This was the first of his infrequent displays in his native town.²⁰

¹⁷Morning Chronicle, Quebec, March 1, 1867.

¹⁸The size of the rink, and the subsequent distance for each lap was not given.

¹⁹Daily News, Kingston, February 20, 1867.

²⁰Ibid.

March was another noteworthy month for skating, as it witnessed the first inter-club competition. This was the result of Hamilton indignation, aroused by Mr F. C. Perkins' win at the Provincial Skating Championship held in Hamilton on February 28. Cries of "Professional!" which were aimed at Mr Perkins because of his previous wins in competitions at Toronto, led to the arrangement of an eight-a-side "fancy" skating contest on Toronto's Victoria Rink. Hamilton's honour should have been satisfied, for they were successful in this close contest. The rivalry between the two clubs was reflected in press reports of these competitions in the respective towns. The Hamilton Times, on March 1, had listed the competition held the previous evening as the Provincial Championship, whereas the Toronto Globe, on that day, preferred the title "Champion of Canada" for their hero, a subtle distinction. The positions were reversed, however, for the inter-club competition held in Toronto and won by Hamilton, the Globe giving a very terse report of the results, while the Times felt it necessary to supply their readers with elaborate detail, reflecting civic pride in the skaters' victory.

Snowshoeing, besides skating, was enjoying a successful month, with races being conducted by the Montreal, Aurora, Garrison, and Grand Trunk Snow Shoe Clubs in Montreal, and in Quebec by the Military and Grand Trunk Clubs, those of the latter reportedly being the most successful afternoon's sport throughout the whole winter. To aid in the comfort of the club's women spectators, the Grand Trunk Railway in Quebec had thoughtfully shunted a line of cars alongside the race track, to serve as an impromptu grandstand. Races were run over half-mile and

mile distances, with special events, for soldiers, boys, and club members, while the number of entries varied from four in the "open" mile race, won by Mr Harder (who also won the club members' race), to twenty-two in the half-mile soldiers' race, won by Sergeant Dempsey.²¹ If readers of Maritime newspapers had been gifted with foresight, they would have paid more attention to a small announcement which appeared in several papers, briefly stating that two St John boats had entered for the World Rowing Championships in Paris, France.²² Meanwhile, on the other side of the continent, the Olympic Base Ball Club members were obtaining some Saturday afternoon practice on Beacon Hill, in Victoria.²³ They should have followed the example set by the cricketers in starting practice the previous month, for they lost most of their matches against these "early birds" during the season.

April was always a quiet month for sport in Canada. It was the month of change, being too warm for skating, snowshoeing, and curling, and yet the ground was usually not suitable for the commencement of summer sports. The Ottawa skaters managed to arrange one last masquerade carnival, but already the city's Victoria Lacrosse Club was preparing for its first game of the season on April 19.²⁵ The cricketers in Goderich were off to an early start also, playing their first match against the team from the gunboat, Prince Alfred,²⁶ while the fleet in

²¹Morning Chronicle, Quebec, March 4, 1867.

²²Novascotian, March 11, 1867.

²³Daily Colonist, Victoria, March 23, 1867.

²⁴Ottawa Citizen, April 3, 1867. ²⁵Ibid., April 20, 1867.

²⁶Semi-Weekly Signal, Goderich, April 24, 1867.

Esquimault Harbour were represented by a team which challenged the Victoria Eleven.²⁷ The Toronto Rifle Club's seventy-five members enjoyed their first shoot without cold fingers, and the Hunt Club held its first chase on April 22.²⁸ The New Brunswick Reporter was pleased to note that the qualifications of the St John oarsmen had been accepted as satisfactory, "the assurance that they only follow boat-racing for pastime, being all that is required."²⁹ In view of the money prizes won by this crew in previous years, their acceptance as "bona fide amateurs" must have been due to a benevolent attitude towards colonials on the part of the British officials. Besides, who expected them to win!

In May, the sporting scene was beginning to show signs of life again. The Anglo-American Base Ball Club of Victoria was organized,³⁰ to compete against the Olympic Ball Club, and preparations began for the regatta to be held in the city on the Queen's Birthday, May 24.³¹ The 13th Hussars conducted their annual steeplechase at the Newmarket Course on Gates' farm, which attracted five thousand spectators. The Kingston Cricket Club was reorganized with W. G. Draper as President,³² but, for most cricket clubs, the Queen's Birthday weekend was the earliest date

²⁷Daily Colonist, Victoria, April 23, 1867.

²⁸Roxborough, op. cit., p. 4.

²⁹New Brunswick Reporter, April 19, 1867.

³⁰Daily Colonist, Victoria, May 1, 1867.

³¹Ibid., May 27, 1867.

³²Daily News, Kingston, May 29, 1867.

for commencement of play.

In anticipation of Joseph Dion's billiards match with McDevitt for the Championship of America, and Cyrille Dion's match with Cronn of Quebec for the Championship of Canada, both of which were to take place in June, the Montreal Gazette began to give the Dion brothers some attention. They were reported journeying to Lachine, to give an exhibition at the opening of a new billiards room. In the ensuing one thousand points game, Cyrille was permitted the usual four hundred points advantage, Joseph winning, nevertheless.³³

Lacrosse was prominent at the Queen's Birthday celebrations in Ottawa, a team from Montreal visiting that city for a match against the Ottawa Club, before four thousand spectators.³⁴ Canoe races and athletic games completed the holiday sports programme. The Toronto Rowing Club opened its season on May 24 also, a sudden rain squall sending the on-lookers scurrying to preserve the appearance of their "Sunday dress."³⁵ By June, sporting enthusiasts had begun to realize that summer had arrived. The Montreal Gazette set the tone by introducing a "Sporting Intelligence" section to its pages. The title had made fleeting appearances in many newspapers before 1867, but this was the first time that it had become a regular feature of a newspaper column, encompassing several sporting activities under the one heading. Lacrosse was its main concern, though horse racing (mainly English), cricket, and billiards found a place. The column further stressed the prominence it gave

³³Montreal Gazette, May 23, 1867.

³⁴Ottawa Citizen, May 31, 1867.

³⁵Roxborough, loc. cit.

to lacrosse by placing news of this sport under the heading, The National Game, from June 26 onwards.

By mid-month, the Dion brothers were claiming practically all available space in the column. They had opened their own billiard rooms on June 6, which contained twelve tables imported from New York at considerable cost.³⁶ It was evident that Joseph's policy of always playing for "\$1,000 in gold," had brought dividends. Cyrille's victory over Cronn for the Canadian championship brought him a one thousand dollar prize also.³⁷ The detailed reporting of Joseph's win over McDevitt in Montreal on June 10, was indicative not only of increasing interest in sport, but of a growing nationalistic pride which could bring country-wide acclaim almost overnight to sporting personalities.

Cricket was the most frequently reported sport throughout the country during June, most other sports continuing to exist in "pockets." Baseball was centered in Hamilton, though Dundas, Guelph, Woodstock, East Flamborough, and Ingersoll provided teams for competition, with Oshawa entering the sport on June 12.³⁸ A long journey to Victoria or Halifax would have been necessary before other teams could be found for competition in this activity.

The Queen's Plate took race-goers to St Catharines on June 19, where Wild Rose entered the record books for its victory in that event. In Hamilton, the Burlington Boat Club was reportedly "thriving," and advance announcements were made of sailing and rowing regattas to be held

³⁶Montreal Gazette, June 7, 1867.

³⁷Ibid., June 15, 1867.

³⁸Oshawa Vindicator, June 12, 1867.

in July.³⁹ Track and field competitions were reported from Toronto and Ottawa, with Thomas Russell and George Forsyth winning most of the events in the latter city.⁴⁰

The interesting thing concerning sport at this time was the fact that most of it occurred on Saturday afternoons. This had not been a noticeable feature of previous decades, and it was most easily discernible from cricket matches, for these were reported more frequently than other activities. The Hamilton Club played matches on June 15 (against Upper Canada College), June 22 (London Garrison), and June 29 (Galt), all of which were Saturdays. The Kingston Cricket Club met for practice at half past three on Saturday afternoons. In Montreal, the Civilians defeated the Garrison on Saturday, June 15. The Goderich Club visited Clinton, Watford played Wyoming, and the Thistle Club of Halifax played the Royal Artillery team, all on June 22. As yet, no legislation had appeared in relation to Saturday afternoons, nevertheless, the trend towards weekend sport was in its early stages, and continued throughout this summer.

The first day of July was Confederation Day. After "the Day had come and the deed was done,"⁴¹ people could find no better way to celebrate than through attendance or participation in sporting events. In Montreal, the lacrosse match attracted five thousand spectators, and was

³⁹Hamilton Times, June 24, 1867.

⁴⁰Ottawa Citizen, June 21, 1867: June 28, 1867.

⁴¹Creighton, op. cit., p. 169.

described as "the great feature of Dominion Day."⁴² In Ottawa, the Dominion capital, festivities⁴³ began with a lacrosse match between the Huron and the Union Clubs at seven in the morning, followed by athletic games on Major's Hill and a cricket match between the new Maple Leaf Club and the Ottawa Club. The Ottawa Cadet Corps combined with pupils of Reverend T. D. Phillip's school for a picnic lunch, followed by athletic games which lasted until seven in the evening. Athletics were also featured at the Queen Fire Company's Pic-nic, where George Forsyth won the two hundred yards dash, the three hundred yards hurdle race, the running leap, the running high leap, and the running hop, step and leap, after having won, at the morning's activities on Major's Hill, the running leap and the hundred yards dash, being second in the standing leap. J. Porteus accompanied Forsyth to the afternoon games, where he was successful in winning the one hundred yard, quarter-mile, half-mile, and one mile races. As the Ottawa Rowing Club was now in operation, boat races and canoe races on the river completed the programme for the day.

Montreal Gazette reports on Dominion Day listed athletic activities from Hemmingford, Prescott, Trois Rivières, Belleville, Sherbrooke, St Jean, Clarenceville, L'Original, Peterborough, Coteau Landing, and Coaticook, while reports of twenty cricket matches were received and published by this paper a few days later.⁴⁴ Athletic events at Kingston on

⁴²Montreal Gazette, July 3, 1867.

⁴³Ottawa Citizen, July 5, 1867.

⁴⁴Montreal Gazette, July 3, 1867; July 5, 1867; July 9, 1867.

the holiday, centered round the Firemen's Procession and Athletic Sports, with wheelbarrow races, sack races, and greasy pole contests following the usual sprint events.⁴⁵ In Hamilton, rifle matches and horse racing were features of the day.⁴⁶ Oshawa was the scene for athletic games, seven thousand people witnessing competitions between troops from Whitby, Oshawa, Greenwood, Columbus, and Brooklin.⁴⁷ In the Maritimes, aquatics and cricket predominated, whereas, in the Quebec press, sport was conspicuous by its absence.

Sports reporting for the remainder of July offered no anti-climax following the excitement of Dominion Day. Cricket was still the most widely played game, but lacrosse and baseball were developing rapidly. Nine lacrosse clubs were reported in Montreal, and the expansion of the game to Quebec, Toronto, and Kingston was noted. Inter-club baseball made its appearance in Halifax when a game was played between the Halifax Club and the Independant [sic] Club on July 27. The former club won this match, but the latter was to win the next two matches in September, due to the superior pitching of Mr Keeling.⁴⁸ The news of the month, of course, was the St John crew's win in Paris, which was received just after the Caughnawaga Indians' departure for overseas. The completion of the Atlantic Cable in 1866 had made it possible for Canada to be informed of the great victory within four days of the race, a major

⁴⁵Daily News, Kingston, July 2, 1867.

⁴⁶Globe, Toronto, July 2, 1867; July 3, 1867.

⁴⁷Oshawa Vindicator, July 3, 1867.

⁴⁸Novascotian, October 7, 1867.

technical advance for those days. Towards the end of the month, Toronto suffered another sporting defeat at the hands of Hamilton, this time in rifle shooting. At the Don Range, the Victoria Rifle Club out-shot the Toronto Rifle Club by eighteen points in a ten-a-side match, over three hundred, five hundred, and seven hundred yard distances.⁴⁹ This time, however, the Toronto Globe gave the Hamilton team full credit for their victory.⁵⁰ Several rifle matches had been conducted in Toronto throughout July. The Grand Trunk Railway Company had used the Don Range on July 10,⁵¹ followed, on Saturday, July 22, by the Toronto Rifle Club.⁵² Mr B. Curtis was Toronto Club Champion at this time, and won this latter competition over distances of three hundred, four hundred, and five hundred yards. One week later, the Toronto-Hamilton match was held.⁵³ Trotting, cricket, and lacrosse provided added July entertainment for Toronto residents.

On August 6, the Paris Crew arrived home to a tremendous welcome. The town of St John was gaily decorated, and the festivities lasted far into the night. Further information concerning the amateur status of the crew appeared in reports of their activities at this time. An extract from Bell's Life, London, noted with regret that the crew had not raced against the English professionals, as "they had purposely refrained

⁴⁹Hamilton Times, July 30, 1867.

⁵⁰Globe, Toronto, July 30, 1867.

⁵¹Ibid., July 12, 1867.

⁵²Ibid., July 23, 1867.

⁵³Ibid., July 30, 1867.

from entering for that race, deeming themselves bona fide amateurs."⁵⁴ But it was reported in the St John Journal a few days later that "the oarsmen, besides being allowed \$2 a day during their trip, and having their expenses paid, have also shared in the prize money" which amounted to six hundred dollars.⁵⁵ Professionalism, then, was a matter of "declaration" rather than earnings. The Halifax and the Lachine regattas completed the aquatic activities for the month.

Lacrosse dominated sports reporting to the almost exclusion of cricket during August.⁵⁶ The game continued to grow in Montreal, Quebec, and Toronto, while new centres opened in Paris, Hamilton, and Gananoque. The Quebec Lacrosse Club announced a membership of seventy-five towards the end of the month, representing a fifty per cent increase over July's total.⁵⁷ The Lachine Regatta was the Saturday attraction on August 3, at which Mr Walkem won the the two mile single sculls race, while Edrol, rowed by Ellis, Davidson, Robertson, and Otter, with Lindsay as coxswain, was placed second to Scarlet Runner in the four-oared event.⁵⁸ On the same day, Halifax residents witnessed the Prince of Wales Challenge Cup race of the Royal Halifax Yacht Club, but only two yachts, Wave, raced

⁵⁴Cited in New Brunswick Reporter, August 2, 1867.

⁵⁵Morning Chronicle, Quebec, August 8, 1867.

⁵⁶There was to have been an East-West cricket match in Toronto, but at a meeting in Hamilton, the Toronto representative had agreed to London as the venue. Toronto Club officials did not agree, and withdrew their support from the proposed match, and it was not played. (Globe, Toronto, August 16, 1867.)

⁵⁷Morning Chronicle, Quebec, August 28, 1867; July 27, 1867.

⁵⁸Montreal Gazette, August 5, 1867.

by D. H. Pitts, and Whisper, raced by E. Mosely, competed.⁵⁹ The highlight of this regatta, for the many thousands of spectators, occurred as George Brown crossed the finish line in the single sculls race, thus winning the Cogswell Belt for the fourth time in succession.⁶⁰

The main event of the month in Toronto was the Rowing Club's regatta, held on the following Saturday, August 10. This was the third annual regatta conducted by the club, and many thousands purchased tickets to follow the races aboard steamboats on the bay, while thousands more lined the shore. Thomas Tinning won the Championship of the Bay once again, and, in the four-oared event, Edrol won revenge over Scarlet Runner by being awarded first place after an upheld protest concerning misplaced turning buoys.⁶¹ Races for the small yachts of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club were organized on two occasions, with Messrs Miller, Clarkson, and Gamble playing prominent parts.⁶² These sailing events were conducted separately, at weekly intervals, to ensure spectator interest on each occasion. Two swimmers in Quebec, H. Ware and W. Patton, were acclaimed when they swam the one and a quarter miles across the St Lawrence to Levis, though their reported time of eight minutes verged on the miraculous!⁶³

A foot race between two professionals in Hamilton, on Saturday,

⁵⁹Novascotian, August 5, 1867.

⁶⁰Ibid.

⁶¹Globe, Toronto, August 12, 1867. The important thing concerning this regatta for Torontonians, was the fact that the Montreal four-oared entry was beaten into third place.

⁶²Ibid., August 19, 1867; August 30, 1867.

⁶³Ibid., August 2, 1867.

August 17, provided an example of the chicanery attached to such competitions. A one hundred and fifty yard match had been advertised between Charles Kenney and W. Johnson for \$100-a-side; Kenney was allowed seven yards, and won by five feet. When it was discovered that no stakes had been dependent upon the outcome, many of the betting public who had lost money were rather upset, some vehemently proclaiming the contest to have been "a sell," with stakes advertised merely to "rope in" gullible betters.⁶⁴ Since no proof could be produced to substantiate these claims, Kenney and Johnson departed with their "earnings."

As football was usually a fall activity, the challenge by the crew of Her Majesty's Gunboat Hercules, to a Kingston team in mid-August was one of the earliest of the season.⁶⁵ International baseball was played in this month, when three Canadian teams, the Maple Leafs of Hamilton, the Young Canadians of Woodstock, and the Victorias of Ingersoll, entered the tournament in Detroit on August 15. The prizes won by the Maple Leafs and the Victorias were ample evidence of Canadian baseball talent at this time.⁶⁶ The unfortunate, untimely death of their star player, Mr Harris, was blamed for the defeat of the Young Canadians at this tournament.

With preparations being made for the first convention at Kingston, lacrosse supplied most of the sporting news in September. Twenty-seven clubs from the provinces of Ontario and Quebec attended this historic

⁶⁴Hamilton Times, August 19, 1867.

⁶⁵Daily News, Kingston, August 16, 1867.

⁶⁶Hamilton Times, August 23, 1867.

convention, so it provided an ideal opportunity to discuss rule changes. As was to be expected, Montreal Club officials headed the executive list of the newly-formed National Lacrosse Association.⁶⁷ By the end of the month, thirty-five clubs were in existence throughout Canada incorporating one thousand three hundred and eighty players, and the numbers were increasing rapidly. One of the best publicized lacrosse matches of the month was played between the Toronto Lacrosse Club and the Six Nations Indian team. An estimated three thousand people watched the match, but with players such as Rayendagwen, Dekanadoksen, Adeyondoh, Dyadeson, Kavenhoded, Daquenniaaren, Sakoyenar, Kueraken, Ronontodye, Sahkoyadava, Kanajowanon, and Dayorensere comprising the Indian team, most of the cheering would have been directed towards the more simply named Toronto team of G. Massey, C. Allen, J. Henderson, H. Henderson, J. Massey, W. Otter, T. Campbell, F. Germain, C. Robinson, P. Campbell, G. Leslie, and W. Grand.⁶⁸

The last cricket match of the season was played by Upper Canada College on September 28, against the Toronto Club.⁶⁹ Though the College students had remained faithful to the game in the face of disappearing competition during the season, when this last match was played and won, the young sportsmen followed the trends, and adopted the newer games of lacrosse and baseball, without neglecting football. In Quebec, the Yacht

⁶⁷Montreal Gazette, September 27, 1867.

⁶⁸Globe, Toronto, September 26, 1867.

⁶⁹Ibid., September 30, 1867.

Club Regatta provided Saturday entertainment on September 14, while, a week later, the athletic sports of the 30th Regiment were the attraction. Trotting races were conducted on the 16th of the month, and Quebec Cavalry Races were announced for September 24, all sufficiently spaced to maintain their spectator appeal. Other horse races were reported from London and Bradford.

The Hamilton Regatta and the match for the Prince of Wales Challenge Cup of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club provided further outings for spectators early in September, while towards the end of the month, the Ottawa Rowing Regatta was the sporting highlight in the new capital. This was the Ottawa Club's first regatta, and a public holiday was proclaimed so that the populace might enjoy the event. The main feature of the programme was the two mile single sculls race for the Championship of Canada, reserved for Canadian entries only. The subsequent official placings were; first, Richard Tinning of Toronto, second, Lee of Hamilton, and third, Battle of Quebec. There was more to the race, however, than the results would indicate. The champion rower from the United States, Walter Brown of Portland, who was considered one of the best scullers in the world, had been invited to the regatta for a pre-arranged race against Battle, of Quebec. This latter gentleman withdrew from the race, presumably to contest the Canadian championship event, leaving Brown without a match. It became evident that the American was rather upset by this treatment for, during the championship race, he joined in after the event had started though he was not eligible to compete. First, he crowded Battle off the course, and then proceeded to do the same to Lee, splashing him with the backwash of his oars at the

same time. Young Richard Tinning, brother of the famous Thomas Tinning of Toronto, had little difficulty in winning his first major championship. In the words of the Ottawa Citizen, "Everything about this race was most unsatisfactory."⁷⁰

During October, lacrosse continued to be the game. By the end of the month, over sixty clubs had been formed in Canada, including three in distant Halifax. The Colleges and University of Toronto had formed teams, as had the 13th Hussars. The trend had not developed rapidly in Ottawa, however, for the game on Saturday, October 26, was reported as the first in that city since Dominion Day.⁷¹ A coming match against the St Regis Indians had prompted the local players into arranging this practice match.

Football was popular with the college students in Toronto, the Medical students of the University taking an early lead in competition. The Upper Canada College Base Ball team played a match against the Maple Leafs of Hamilton, although they had been practising for only two weeks. From this, it is evident that, to the boys, playing was more important than winning. Horse races from Hamilton and Whitby were the last reported for the season, while the Toronto Hunt Club unleashed the hounds for a chase on October 30.⁷²

The Quebec Athletic Club apparently had not enjoyed a successful summer, for the Editor of the Morning Chronicle, on October 12, noted the

⁷⁰Ottawa Citizen, October 4, 1867; also Ottawa Times, September 28, 1867.

⁷¹Ottawa Times, October 24, 1867.

⁷²Globe, Toronto, October 31, 1867.

imminent dissolution, and pleaded its case to the public. The Montreal Pedestrian Club was also having its difficulties, the Montreal Gazette expressing regret at the small number of entrants in the foot races conducted on Saturday, October 26. The times for the various events are of interest to the modern reader:

| | | | |
|---|--------------------|--------------|-------------------------------|
| 1 | 7 mile walk | A. Henderson | 1 hour 17 mins 49 secs |
| 2 | $\frac{1}{2}$ mile | J. Henderson | 2 mins 45 secs |
| 3 | 100 yds | W. Torrance | 10.75 secs |
| 4 | 2 miles | A. Davidson | 12 mins 42.5 secs |
| 5 | 1 mile | A. Davidson | 5 mins 56.5 secs |
| 6 | $\frac{1}{4}$ mile | Ralston | 1 min. 0.5 secs ⁷³ |

November, like April, was a quiet month in Canadian sport. The summer sports were coming to an end, whereas curlers and skaters could do little but look longingly at their equipment. Lacrosse was played for a few more weeks, and, on November 14, the number of lacrosse clubs was announced to have reached eighty, with two thousand members—quite a contrast to the half-dozen clubs in existence on June 1.⁷⁴ The Toronto Rifle Club continued its activities, unperturbed by the changing weather, while, on November 25, the Medical students of the University of Toronto claimed they had earned the right to be called the Champions of the Province at football.⁷⁵ Being undefeated throughout their several matches, the students probably had every right to the title. The Toronto Curling Club, under the presidency of John Shedden, decided that the roof of their rink at Clover Hill needed a few repairs, and reports of preparations

⁷³Montreal Gazette, October 28, 1867.

⁷⁴Ibid., November 14, 1867.

⁷⁵Globe, Toronto, November 25, 1867.

at the Royal, Perkins, and Victoria Skating Rinks were further indications that winter was fast approaching.

December was ushered in with a rush by many of the lacrosse clubs of Montreal to form snowshoe clubs. The cold weather in 1867 had come early, for skaters were reported on Toronto Bay on December 12.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, the Arts students of the University of Toronto found time for a final football game against the Law students a few days later.⁷⁷

Billiards returned to the sports column when Jakes, of Cobourg, won the Championship of Ontario.⁷⁸ His win was popularly received in Toronto, for he had won the first such tournament there in 1864. John McDevitt, the American billiards player, finally wrested the Championship Cue of America from Joseph Dion,⁷⁹ while brother Cyrille was upholding the family name by defeating Edward Daniels, the Champion of Massachusetts, in Boston, and winning five hundred dollars in the process.⁸⁰ As the year drew to a close, curlers looked to their stones in most cities. Ottawa announced plans for a covered curling rink, to be opened on January 1, 1868. The building was to measure one hundred and fifty-six feet by thirty-seven feet, and was to be converted in summer to archery rooms, a roller skating area, and bowling alleys, which was quite an advanced concept for the period.⁸¹

⁷⁶Ibid., December 12, 1867.

⁷⁷Ibid., December 16, 1867.

⁷⁸Ibid., December 20, 1867.

⁷⁹Montreal Gazette, December 12, 1867.

⁸⁰Ibid., December 21, 1867.

⁸¹Ottawa Times, December 14, 1867.

1867 had been a magnificent year for sport. New sports had developed within the Dominion, while an old sport had brought to Canada, world acclaim. The Paris Crew members were hailed, not as New Brunswickers, but as Canadians, and all Canada was proud of them. Cricket was still the most widely played sport, though lacrosse and baseball had encroached on its territory. The festivities of Dominion Day had shown that sporting activities played a large part in the lives of Canadians, a part which would continue to grow as the years progressed, and the society developed in its affluence.

CHAPTER X

SPORT IN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

In most countries today, the amount of adult participation in sport is directly dependent upon the interest and zeal shown by the education boards in promoting sport within the schools. In the years before Confederation, however, the schools tended to follow, rather than lead the sporting habits of society. This state of affairs existed mainly because sport in schools was only promoted when interested teachers, through their own initiative, encouraged students in the activities in which they themselves were engaged outside school hours. George A. Barber was an excellent example of one of these early sports-minded teachers, introducing cricket to Upper Canada College when it was inaugurated in 1830.¹ As early as 1822, a recommendation for play-afternoons on Wednesdays and Saturdays had been put forward for adoption by the common schools within the Niagara district,² but lack of suitable team games at this time must have been a deterrent in itself, apart from a general apathy towards such revolutionary ideas amongst educators. Although it had been suggested that a suitable punishment for "naughty boys" would be their exclusion from play with other children,³ thus indicating a recognition by educators of the appeal of play, there was little attempt

¹ Stated by Mr Barber in a Letter to the Editor, Globe, Toronto, July 8, 1868.

² Gourlay, op. cit., II, Appendix, p. cxix.

³ Ibid.

at this early stage to teach playtime activities.

The first official plea for physical education within the school system was made by the Reverend Egerton Ryerson, appointed Chief Superintendent for Upper Canada in 1846.⁴ In 1852, The Journal of Education for Upper Canada, edited by Ryerson, published a series of gymnastic exercises,⁵ in five parts, including calisthenics, horizontal bar, and pommelhorse activities, following a previous introduction which stated, "Voluntary exercise is to be encouraged by providing suitable games, by affording opportunities for gardening, and by excursions, and by bathing."⁶ This journal continued to advocate athletic exercise over the years, concerning itself not only with the schools, but with the community as a whole. An article published in 1855 drew attention to the "pallid appearance" of the population, blaming this upon a neglect of outdoor recreation.⁷ In 1860, a stronger article, under the title "A Social Necessity," emphasized the need for more play in the community:

More play is wanted. More recreation must be provided, unless the children and youth of our Canadian cities are to grow up with half the proper quantity of bone and muscle, and with but a fractional part of the elasticity of spirit which, of right, belongs to them. It is not enough that there

⁴Iveagh Munro, "The Early Years," in M. L. Van Vliet (ed.), Physical Education in Canada (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd, 1965), p. 2.

⁵Egerton Ryerson (ed.), "Physical Training in Schools: Gymnastic Exercises," Journal of Education for Upper Canada, V (1852), 65, 83, 100, 117, and 138.

⁶Ryerson (ed.), "Modern Systems of Education," Journal of Education for Upper Canada, IV (October, 1851), 147.

⁷Ryerson (ed.) "Gymnastic Exercises," Journal of Education for Upper Canada, VIII (November, 1855), 171.

is occasional relief from the school, the store, and the workshop. What is needed is a systematic recognition of the value of the play-ground and the importance of ample means of general recreation, as well as for the cultivation of the health and for the preservation of the morals of the community. . . . For boys not going to school—for youth released from desk or bench—for full-grown men tied down to sedentary pursuits, and longing for exercise—what have we in these glorious months of summer and autumn? Positively nothing.

A more specific reference to the school system was made in the following year by a correspondent to the Editor of The Spirit of Our Times, Montreal.⁹ In stressing the mens sana in corpore sano ideal, the writer pleaded for a system of exercises to be introduced into every school and college, and "made imperative as a daily duty." Sports were not to be neglected either:

Sports that would not interfere with the hours of study, should constitute an essential part of education in every school and college in Canada, sports that would "mould the characters as well as the forms of our youth," that would brighten and quicken the intellectual faculties, giving energy to every action of mind as well as of body; sports that would not be reluctantly indulged in,—as such as destructive to the parts employed; these should be as much a part of education as the teaching of the classics, or any branch of studies. . . . Our schools and colleges sadly neglect this important part of education, and it seems confined to Canada more than elsewhere. . . . Of all our schools and colleges in Canada we have very few that can boast of a gymnasium; the Jesuits' College of our own city have a very good one, but we know of no other.

Girls' schools were to be treated with equal concern, the writer seeing no reason why girls should not row a boat, play lacrosse, cricket, or racquets, or even take boxing lessons in case of an "uncivil" husband

⁸Ibid., XIII (May, 1860), 71.

⁹Cited in Montreal Gazette, May 1, 1861.

¹⁰Ibid.

later.

Captain Henry Goodwin was one of the earliest gymnastic instructors. He was employed by Dr Ryerson at the Toronto Normal School upon the recommendation of Lord Elgin, whose children he had instructed in calisthenics, deportment, and riding.¹¹ A veteran of the Battle of Waterloo, serving in the Royal Horse Artillery from which he was discharged in 1818, Goodwin emigrated to Canada in 1850.¹² After a brief period in Quebec, he was appointed to the Toronto Normal School as "Master of the Art of Gymnastics," a position he held from 1852 to 1877.¹³ His work was evidently held in high regard, for, in 1859, his assistance was engaged by several of his ex-pupils and gentlemen of the town, for the purpose of organizing a gymnasium in Toronto.¹⁴ Goodwin retained contact with the club after its inception by joining as a member even though, at that time, he was sixty-four years of age. In the following year, his work at the Normal School was praised in an article in the Journal of Education, entitled, "Healthy Games:"

As a mere stimulant to study—apart from the physical growth which is the certain tendency of manly sports—the Goodwin department of Dr Ryerson's establishment is invaluable; and we trust every boy in the school finds

¹¹N. Davin, op. cit., p. 621. There seems to be some discrepancy with regard to Goodwin's rank. The Globe, Toronto, May 7, 1859, calls him "Captain," Passmore calls him "Major," (in Van Vliet, op. cit., p. 52.), while Davin refers to him as "Colonel." (Davin, loc. cit.)

¹²Davin, ibid.

¹³Passmore, in Van Vliet, loc. cit.

¹⁴Globe, Toronto, May 7, 1859.

time to go to the cricket ground.¹⁵

The University of Toronto students were indebted to Mr James Loudon, the Dean of Residence, who was largely responsible for the erection of a shed a short distance from the College Dining Hall, in (circa) 1865, where exercise might be taken during inclement weather.¹⁶ Reed relates how the steward, Frank Somers, thought the building a suitable place to attach a pig-pen,¹⁷ but, nevertheless, it marked the beginning of staff interest in students' recreational facilities.

Colonel Angus Cameron played a central role in the fostering of gymnastics at Queen's University.¹⁸ His initial approach to the Trustees had been made in December, 1857, when he wrote stressing the advantages to be gained by encouraging student use of a gymnasium. Cameron's military background led him to favour exercises of a military nature, beginning with dumb-bells and club swinging, for he was "not aware that any useful purpose is served by throwing a heavy hammer or caber."¹⁹ The Trustees replied that they had no immediate plans for the inclusion of gymnastics in the programme. Cameron was not easily rebuffed, for he wrote again in the spring of 1860, to be followed in the autumn by a request from the Alma Mater Society to the Board, asking that a room be made available for use as a gymnasium. This request was granted, Cameron thereupon visiting the school for a few hours each week to encourage

¹⁵Ryerson, loc. cit.

¹⁶Reed, op. cit., p. 1.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸D. D. Calvin, Queen's University at Kingston, 1841-1941 (Kingston: Published by the University, 1941), p. 277.

¹⁹Ibid.

the few interested participants.²⁰

The students of McGill College had access to a gymnasium from 1862.²¹ The Montreal Gymnastic Club, of which Mr Barnjum was Secretary, was the instigator of this project, persuading the Governors of McGill College to advance most of the funds for the co-operatively financed building. The College students and the Montreal High School boys were able to use the facilities at a nominal fee, whereas the Gymnastic Club was to contribute eight per cent of the building cost, plus a sum of £80 each year, for five years.²² The gymnasium was erected on the university grounds adjoining Burnside Hall, and contained the means for keeping the building warm during the winter months.²³ According to the Gazette reporter, "Its frequentation is the best preservative against the dyspepsia which so largely prevails amongst our neighbours."²⁴ Mr Barnjum worked diligently with the gymnasts, arranging public displays for fund raising and publicity purposes. In December 1866, he organized a public display by the High School boys at Nordheimer's Hall, which the Montreal Gazette claimed was a novel experience for the boys, exercises being demonstrated with dumb-bells, bayonets, rings, parallel bars, horizontal bar, and trapeze.²⁵

It was with the purpose of encouraging activities of this kind that the Government, in 1865, had provided a grant of fifty dollars to

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Montreal Gazette, January 15, 1862.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid., January 24, 1862.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid., December 19, 1866.

every school which taught "drill and gymnastics."²⁶ It may be assumed that, at this time, the emphasis was on "drill" rather than gymnastics.

Cricket was the first team sport to receive attention in the schools. It has been previously stated that George Barber introduced this game to Upper Canada College in 1830. In 1836, the College Club was formed, and was proficient enough to defeat the strong Toronto Club on July 15 of that year,²⁷ due largely to the fact that teachers and past pupils were considered eligible for team selection. The University of Toronto (King's College) authorities leased the old Parliament Buildings on Front Street, and opened for students on June 8, 1843.²⁸ In mid-July, they played their first cricket match against Upper Canada College, thus displaying a certain eagerness to enter the realms of sport. As was to be expected, they were no match for the College Club, losing by an innings and twenty-two runs, with Philpott's individual score of fifty greatly assisting the victors.²⁹ Nathanael Burwash, in his History of Victoria College, noted the earliest instance of a game at that college in Cobourg, on September 12, 1844.³⁰ A half-holiday had been

²⁶ Munroe, in Van Vliet, loc. cit.

²⁷ G. G. S. Lindsey, "College Cricket," in G. Dickson and G. Mercer Adam, A History of Upper Canada College, 1829-1892 (Toronto: Rowsell and Hutchinson, 1893), p. 264. The College team for this match comprised White, L. Robinson, A. Philpotts, J. Kent, A. Keefer, G. Barber, J. B. Robinson, F. Barron, Dyett, Hale, and F. Keefer. (Ibid.)

²⁸ Reed, op. cit., p. 68.

²⁹ Montreal Gazette, July 25, 1843. Extracted from the Toronto Herald.

³⁰ Nathanael Burwash, The History of Victoria College (Toronto: The Victoria College Press, 1927), p. 126.

granted in honour of a visit in 1843 by the Governor-General, Sir Charles Metcalfe, and, following dinner, the students celebrated their good fortune with a game of cricket amongst themselves.

In Niagara, a cricket team was reported at Dr Lundy's Classical School in 1846, while the Niagara Grammar School team was formed in 1850.³¹ John Whitlaw, an assistant teacher, was one of the principal players for the Grammar School, though the formation of the team was undoubtedly due to the presence on staff of T. D. Phillips. This gentleman, who was the son of the school's Head Master, the Reverend H. N. Phillips, was later to be regarded as the best all-round player in the Dominion.³² Thomas Phillips was also the prime instigator in the formation of the University of Trinity College Cricket Club, on May 2, 1852.³³ The first President and Captain of the club was Reverend Edward Parry, who was Professor of Classics at the College. Parry was the team's outstanding bowler, until the Bishop, considering that a cricketing minister of the church was not in keeping with clerical dignity, forbade his playing.³⁴ John Helliwell, a prominent cricketer of King's College, was also affiliated with Trinity College, thus becoming eligible to play for either team.³⁵ The Toronto Cricket Club was Trinity's main opponent,

³¹Carnochan, op. cit., p. 258.

³²Ibid. Friendly matches were played with Stamford and Chippawa (ibid.), and St Catharines Grammar School. (Niagara Mail, June 19, 1861.)

³³Reed, op. cit., p. 264.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Ibid. He also played for Upper Canada College, and Toronto. As Reed says, "There were no eligibility rules in those days; the game was the thing and men played for the love of it." (Ibid.)

and, by 1858, the college had won six of their ten meetings.³⁶ In the early days of the club, matches against teams from the University of Toronto were forbidden by the Trinity College authorities, but this ban was later lifted.³⁷ Further competition was found in matches against Trinity College School Club (formed in 1866),³⁸ Upper Canada College, and military teams from the 17th and the 29th regiments, the Royal Artillery, and the 13th Hussars.³⁹ Reed has stated that the Toronto Club was not averse to borrowing Trinity players for important matches, notably J. and D. Bogert, Fred Bethune, and T. S. Kennedy.⁴⁰

Upper Canada College, under the leadership of George A. Barber, was the strongest cricket team in Canada. The development of the game within the College was largely due to three enthusiastic masters, F. W. Barron, John Kent, and Barber, who all "wielded the willow with great skill and at once made their favourite game the pastime of the pupils."⁴¹ Barber has been called "the father of cricket in Canada," though he was said to have been fond of all sports, and to have been "a veritable encyclopædia of sporting history."⁴² In 1847, annual matches which were reminiscent of the "Gentlemen versus Players" series in England had been inaugurated, when, observing all the traditional protocol, "eleven gentlemen of the College, past and present, defeated eleven gentlemen of

³⁶ Canadian Cricketer's Guide, op. cit., p. 87.

³⁷ Reed, op. cit., p. 265.

³⁸ Canadian Cricketer's Guide, op. cit., p. 101. The school was opened in 1865.

³⁹ Reed, loc. cit.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Lindsey, op. cit., p. 263.

⁴² Ibid.

the Province of Upper Canada."⁴³ The Herald, in its report of the match, had said, "We think it may justly be asserted that such another two-and-twenty could scarcely be brought together in Canada."⁴⁴ The College was without the services of John Heward and John Helliwell, both excellent players, the team for the match consisting of H. J. Ruttan of Cobourg, G. Sadlier and D. Crooks of Hamilton, Connolly of Montreal, F. W. Barron, A. Philpotts, G. A. Barber, B. Parsons, Muttleybury, J. B. Robinson and A. Patrick of Toronto.⁴⁵ The College defeated the Province for six successive years until, in 1853, they were themselves defeated by forty-seven runs, through the excellent fast bowling of Napier from Guelph.⁴⁶ The fact that the personnel of the College team had changed little over the years was noted in the press of 1859, when it was stated that, "The College eleven, it should be understood, are not the present students of that College, but grown men who have been students of that institution and now comprising some of the best players in Canada."⁴⁷ Perhaps Barber regarded this as a rebuke, for from then on, he selected for the team only young players from the ranks of present students, or recent graduates, to play under him. Yet, in 1860, the newly-constituted team defeated the Province by nine wickets.⁴⁸ In 1863, John Martland, Classics Master, and an Oxford graduate, was elected President of the club, and,

⁴³Ibid., p, 264.

⁴⁴Cited in ibid. It should be noted that, at this time, George Barber was also Editor of the Herald.

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 265.

⁴⁷Cited in ibid.

⁴⁸Ibid.

true to his English background, he pressed the idea of selecting only present students for College representation, a policy which prevailed from that time onwards.⁴⁹ In 1867, the College won all its matches, defeating Toronto (twice), Hamilton, the Royal Artillery, the 13th Hussars, Trinity College, and Trinity College School, its outstanding batsman for this year being J. B. Laing, who scored ninety-six against Trinity College, and fifty-two and thirty-four against the Province.⁵⁰

Throughout the period of his influence, Barber was concerned with more than merely providing a team for himself and his friends. His enthusiasm for cricket was such that the game thrived amongst the Upper Canada College students. Many teams were formed, a report stating that, on July 2, 1863, the annual match between the day boys and the boarders had taken place, while the fifth eleven played against a composite team from the fourth and sixth elevens.⁵¹ On the following day, the first eleven was to play against the University team, all constituting evidence of a lively cricketing interest throughout the College, which drew words of commendation from the Globe reporter.⁵² The impact of this healthy sporting atmosphere is realized when it is noted that many of the students retained their involvement with the game when their school-days were over. For example, the Niagara Mail, August 17, 1853, had printed the following notice:

Eleven gentlemen of Upper Canada College, now resident in the United Counties of Lincoln and Welland, will be happy to play at

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 266.

⁵⁰Montreal Gazette, July 9, 1867.

⁵¹Globe, Toronto, July 4, 1863.

⁵²Ibid.

St Catharines any time during the current month a friendly game of Cricket, with any other Eleven residing in the said Counties upon a week's notice being sent either to Mr W. C. Cosens, St Catharines or to Mr T. D. Phillips, Niagara.

Similar groups were noted in Kingston⁵³ and in Ottawa, a match being announced in the latter city between eleven gentlemen of Ottawa, all graduates of Upper Canada College, and the Ottawa Club, in 1866.⁵⁴

Cricket, however, was by no means confined to these Toronto schools. Victoria College,⁵⁵ the Grammar Schools of Niagara and St Catharines,⁵⁶ the Military School at Hamilton,⁵⁷ and Queen's University⁵⁸ all fielded teams in Upper Canada during the sixties. McGill College in Montreal possessed an excellent cricket field which was used quite frequently by city teams, although student activities there went unreported. The Montreal High School found the Young Montreal Club an easy challenge, defeating them by six wickets in 1865.⁵⁹ The Lennoxville Grammar School was active during the sixties also, playing reported matches against Bishop's College,⁶⁰ and the Sherbrooke Club.⁶¹ In the latter match, on

⁵³Kingston Chronicle and Gazette, June 28, 1843.

⁵⁴Ottawa Citizen, June 29, 1866.

⁵⁵Globe, Toronto, October 18, 1866. The Medical students at Victoria College lost to Barber's eleven by only one wicket. (Ibid.)

⁵⁶Niagara Mail, June 19, 1861.

⁵⁷Hamilton Times, June 8, 1865.

⁵⁸Daily News, Kingston, June 26, 1867.

⁵⁹Montreal Gazette, June 22, 1865.

⁶⁰Morning Chronicle, Quebec, June 16, 1863.

⁶¹Ibid., June 30, 1866.

June 25, 1866, the Sherbrooke Club had issued the challenge, offering to allow the school to have twenty-two players. Fortunately for the club, the school refused the offer, otherwise the club's losing margin of four runs would have been much greater.⁶² The school's victory was attributed to their superior fielding, a spectator remarking, "Those fellows were as quick as steel traps."⁶³

Further to the east, the late sixties found teams reported from the College at Windsor,⁶⁴ Nova Scotia, from Wolfville Academy (Saxon Club),⁶⁵ from the Prince of Wales College and St Dunstan's College⁶⁶ on Prince Edward Island, and from the University of New Brunswick in Fredericton.⁶⁷ The Wolfville Academy team showed they were the perfect hosts, if not cricketers, when, after dining with their conquerors from Acacia Villa, they escorted them the three miles to their homes.⁶⁸

Although cricket was the foremost sport in most educational institutions, other sports had their places also. A snowshoe club was in evidence at McGill University in 1859, Becket⁶⁹ stating that the Montreal Snow Shoe Club dined with them at Compain's Hotel after a tramp on

⁶²Montreal Gazette, June 30, 1866.

⁶³Morning Chronicle, Quebec, June 30, 1866.

⁶⁴Novascotian, October 1, 1860; October 6, 1862; New Brunswick Reporter, July 4, 1862.

⁶⁵Novascotian, December 3, 1860.

⁶⁶Examiner, Charlottetown, June 24, 1867.

⁶⁷New Brunswick Reporter, June 17, 1864.

⁶⁸Novascotian, December 3, 1860.

⁶⁹Becket, op. cit., p. 39.

January 8 of that year. Becket also recorded snowshoe races held by the university in 1861, the distances and their respective winners being, one mile (George Massey), one hundred yards (C. Peers Davidson), half-mile (Richard Tate), one hundred yards hurdles (John Ferguson), and two miles (Richard Tate).⁷⁰ A half-mile race with competitors clad in caps and gowns provided the concluding novelty event. According to this author, all competitors were, at the time, students, although a year or two later, most of their names figured prominently as members of the Montreal and Aurora Snow Shoe Clubs.⁷¹ A report that annual races were held by the Montreal High School Snow Shoe Club, was made in 1866.⁷² McGill University encouraged these races by presenting a Silver Medal, this being won in a quarter-mile race by G. W. Major, who also won the half-mile and two mile events.⁷³

Track and field, swimming, baseball, football, and lacrosse had their followers, though lacrosse did not enter the schools until 1867 when teams were formed at Upper Canada College, Toronto Model School, and the University of Toronto, making these the first educational institutions in the world to play the game. The first outside match was played by Upper Canada College on October 26, 1867, against Toronto, in which the College team was defeated by three goals to one in a game with nine players a side.⁷⁴ In the week previous to this, the College was reported to have played its first baseball game also, travelling to Hamilton

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 72.

⁷¹Ibid.

⁷²Montreal Gazette, March 12, 1866.

⁷³Ibid.

⁷⁴Weyand and Roberts, op. cit., p. 17.

where the team was beaten by the Maple Leafs in a high scoring game of forty-five to thirty-four.⁷⁵

The boys at Quebec High School were keenly interested in track and field activities, forming a "Racing Club" in 1863, and conducting a programme of events. Allan Gilmour was the athlete of the day, winning the one hundred and fifty yards sprint for the Championship Belt, as well as the race over the one mile distance.⁷⁶ One of the infrequent references to swimming and diving matches was made in the diary of Mrs Monck, on the occasion of her visit to Lennoxville College in 1864, though her diary entry contained no details of the competitions.⁷⁷

Of all the sports played in the various institutions, football provided the greatest delight for boys. Rules were few, games could last for several hours, and frequently did. Upper Canada College was one of the first schools to play an outside match, contesting a twenty-a-side game with the Model School in October, 1861.⁷⁸ A return match played the following Saturday with teams of ten, before four hundred spectators, was "brought to an abrupt termination by J. White of Upper Canada College, catching the ball, and the award was given in favour of the Model School boys."⁷⁹ In the following year, the Model School played a twenty-a-side match against the undergraduates of the University, defeating them after several hours by scoring the required two goals.⁸⁰ The most active year

⁷⁵Globe, Toronto, October 21, 1867.

⁷⁶Morning Chronicle, Quebec, October 6, 1863.

⁷⁷Monck, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

⁷⁸Globe, Toronto, October 7, 1861.

⁷⁹Ibid., October 15, 1861.

⁸⁰Ibid., October 21, 1862.

for football was 1867, with Toronto teams receiving all the publicity. Teams formed by the Law students of Osgoode Hall, the Medical and Arts students of the University of Toronto, the Cadets of the Military School, and the students of Trinity College, British America College, and the Normal School engaged in matches which usually lasted four hours, sometimes without one goal being scored.⁸¹ In view of this, it would appear that football excited far more competitive interest in the colleges than its more staid rival, cricket. There were reasons for this. Firstly, the cricket season began near examination time, a period of the year when nearly all sport languished. Secondly, there was little tradition in the schools which would perpetuate the game of cricket, neither was instruction provided in many institutions. Thirdly, football, at the time, required little skill, its lack of rigid rules adding to the fun, the student merely needing to know in what direction to propel the ball by kicking. Also, the player was actively engaged in the game for the length of its duration, a far more appealing situation than that of waiting for a turn at bat during the cool autumn months. Perhaps a final reason may be found in the words of James Merrick, a former Canadian representative on the International Olympic Committee:

As long as the tendency of man is to lapse into savagery so long will the student prefer to engage in the soul-stirring and back breaking game of football rather than in the dignified but less inspiring game of cricket.⁸²

⁸¹Ibid., October 5, 1867; October 12, 1867; October 31, 1867; November 18, 1867; November 25, 1867.

⁸²Cited in Roxborough, op. cit., p. 158.

CHAPTER XI

THE INFLUENCE OF THE MILITARY GARRISONS

While the parts played by individuals and institutions in the development of sport in Canada were major ones, there can be no doubting that the sporting example set by the British army garrisons gave impetus to that development. At a time when commissions in the army were bought, the officers would have been products of the English Public Schools system, and its attendant sporting traditions. Consequently, it is not surprising to find cricket the major sport in Canada, prior to Confederation. But it was not merely in the propagation of one particular sport that the military personnel had their influence. Not only did they provide funds for trophies and awards in many different sports, but they also provided the necessary organization and leadership.

Horse racing in the early decades of the nineteenth century depended almost entirely upon support from garrison officers. They provided most of the horses, the riders, the purses, the bets, and the turf club officials. In fact, the Quebec Turf Club began as the Quebec Garrison Racing Club, which was formed to organize a programme of events as a result of interest aroused by a private match between Mr Tolfrey and a garrison officer, who had raced their horses in a short gallop one morning on the Plains of Abraham.¹ Carnochan² further maintained that in all garrison towns, the sport of horse racing had enthusiastic supporters; her statement is supported by press reports of early race meetings at

¹Tolfrey, op. cit., II, 46.

²Carnochan, op. cit., p. 256.

Halifax, St John, Quebec, Montreal, Kingston, and Niagara. Hitsman³ has provided statistics which show that, in 1802, the Maritime regions contained the largest number of British soldiers, forty-three officers and one thousand one hundred and seventy-seven other ranks, in two artillery and two foot regiments. It was between these two latter regiments that an early cricket match on ice was reported.⁴ Lower Canada contained one thousand rank and file in two regiments, while, in Upper Canada, the 49th Regiment was spread throughout the province in scattered outposts.⁵ The greatest influx of soldiers occurred in 1813, and again, following the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars, in 1814. The war with the United States was the reason for this influx, and Hitsman⁶ has indicated that, by the end of August, 1814, thirty thousand British troops were in British North America, though most of these were withdrawn or disbanded shortly afterwards, so there was little time for them to indulge in, and influence, leisure activities.

In the twenties, the 68th Regiment was active in sport, providing the incentive for the formation of the Montreal Cricket Club in answer to challenges from officers,⁷ while a detachment in York prepared a race course on the garrison common, which they opened for public use.⁸

³J. M. Hitsman, Safeguarding Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), p. 66.

⁴Nova Scotia Royal Gazette, February 28, 1805.

⁵Hitsman, loc cit.

⁶Ibid., p. 229.

⁷Montreal Gazette, July 6, 1829.

⁸Firth, op. cit., p. 321.

It was the interest created by the activities at this race course that led to the formation of the Upper Canada Turf Club in 1837.⁹ A Kingston Cricket Club appeared in July, 1835, as a result of a challenge from the 24th Regiment,¹⁰ the club continuing to practise throughout the season, and losing to the artillery team in September by only six runs.¹¹

Tandem Clubs were popular during this decade, garrison officers providing most of the members. The Quebec Tandem Club mainly comprised officers of the 17th and 32nd Regiments, and Gale wrote that:

The drives were very popular and numerous attended, some of the finest and best groomed horses then owned in the city were in line and looking at their best, bedecked as they were with coloured plumes and costly harness, hitched usually to handsome two-seated high back to back sleighs.¹²

These handsome equipages were indicative of the privileged upper-class existence enjoyed by garrison officers. On the other hand, the lower ranks apparently had little with which to amuse themselves, for Hitsman¹³ has quoted figures which show that the number of courts martial for "habitual drunkenness" was twice that of any other offence.

Fox hunting¹⁴ and regattas had their garrison devotees at this time, the Novascotian reporting that a second Halifax Regatta for 1831 had been provided entirely at the expense and management of officers of the 52nd Regiment.¹⁵ When this regiment was replaced by the 77th soon

⁹Guillet, Toronto, p. 437.

¹⁰Kingston Chronicle, July 1, 1835.

¹¹Ibid., September 2, 1835.

¹²Gale, op. cit., p. 270.

¹³Hitsman, op. cit., p. 230.

¹⁴Captain W. Jones (Dragoons) and Captain T. Stockley (Royal Artillery), carried the horn for the Montreal Hunt in the late thirties. (Proctor, op. cit., p. 288.)

¹⁵Novascotian, August 10, 1831.

afterwards, the Editor of the Novascotian remarked, in understatement typical of the period, that they "had not been without an influence upon the society of Halifax."¹⁶

Fredericton was influenced by the 52nd Regiment during the during the early forties, their presence providing competition for the Fredericton Cricket Club.¹⁷ In the years 1845, 1846, and 1847, members of the Montreal Cricket Club were pleased to have this regiment garrisoned in their city before its return to England, and several closely contested matches resulted.¹⁸ Chambly and St Jean, on the Richelieu River, had been garrisoned during the frontier problems with the United States in the late thirties, the latter garrison constructing a race course and organizing a regatta in the summer of 1840.¹⁹ The entry of a St Jean Boat Club in the Montreal Regatta of 1844²⁰ was undoubtedly a result of this garrison's interest, while, in 1841, the Chambly garrison had been responsible for the following challenge to cricketers, which appeared in the Montreal Gazette:

The Garrison of Chambly wishing to patronize the noble game of cricket, have come to the determination of trying their skill with any eleven the gentlemen of Montreal can bring against them, whether civilians, officers or men. Hoping that this may meet the eyes of some sporting Cricketers, the eleven of Chambly send this as a challenge and will remain open for the answer until the middle of July. The answer to be addressed to the Cricket Club, Chambly.²¹

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Montreal Gazette, August 11, 1843.

¹⁸See ibid., July 14, 1845. Lt Harene scored forty-five in this match, and he and Mr Pocklington of the 52nd played for Canada in 1845. (Ibid., July 31, 1845.)

¹⁹Ibid., September 24, 1840.

²⁰Ibid., September 23, 1844.

²¹Ibid., June 23, 1841.

The Montreal team which answered the challenge contained only one civilian, the rest being composed of officers from the 32nd and 23rd Regiments, the 7th Hussars, and the Royal Engineers.²² Bands from the King's Dragoon Guards and the 56th Regiment provided musical interludes throughout the day.

A few months later, the 7th Hussars and the King's Dragoon Guards were responsible for the arranging of Canada's first steeplechase in Montreal.²³ How dependent equestrian sports were upon the participation and organizing abilities of the garrison officers at the time, may be clearly seen in an examination of the list of officials responsible for the running of the 1840 Spring Races at the Simcoe Chase Course, Toronto, under the presidency of Colonel Airey, of the 34th Regiment. Acting as Stewards were Major Magrath and Captain Markham (of the 32nd), Colonel Spark (93rd), Captain Campbell, Colonel Bullock, Captain Arthur and Captain Schonswar (7th Hussars), together with four civilians, one of whom was the Mayor of Toronto, Sir Allan MacNab.²⁴

During this same period, track and field activities were undergoing an expansion in popularity, with garrisons at Kingston²⁵ and London²⁶ sponsoring early programmes. This latter garrison consisted of troops from the Royal Regiment, the 14th Regiment, and the Royal Artillery.

²²Ibid., July 28, 1841.

²³Ibid., October 17, 1840; May 21, 1841.

²⁴Robertson, op. cit., II, 754.

²⁵Kingston Chronicle and Gazette, September 22, 1841.

²⁶Montreal Gazette, September 8, 1842.

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²⁵Kingston Chronicle and Gazette, September 22, 1841.

²⁶Montreal Gazette, September 8, 1842.

The programme of their meet, which was held on August 31, 1842, listed such activities as tilting at a ring, striking at a lemon on the ground with a lance while riding at full gallop, running and standing high leaps, long leaps, boxing, wrestling, throwing the fourteen pound weight, one hundred and three hundred yard dashes, a sack race, and a wheelbarrow race in which the contestants wore blindfolds.²⁷ Shortly after this, the Montreal Olympic Club was formed, which suggested strong garrison encouragement, for the 93rd Highland Regiment was stationed in that city, this unit containing the celebrated Sergeant McGillivray.²⁸

Because the great majority of regiments were composed of English soldiers, curling was not one of the sports to receive much attention from garrison officers. The 71st Regiment, however, was a Scottish unit, and while garrisoned at St Jean during the forties, it played host to the Montreal Curling Club,²⁹ which was itself largely composed of Scottish members, some, presumably, officers from the 93rd Highlanders. In the fifties, the 71st was moved to Quebec where they played matches against the Quebec and the Stadacona Clubs,³⁰ before being shipped to the Crimean War.

During the fifties, the general withdrawal of troops for the conflict with Russia caused a noticeable void in sports reporting. The regiments had continued to play their part in the various sports in the early

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Supra, p. 140 lists McGillivray's efforts in the 1844 Montreal Olympic Games.

²⁹Montreal Gazette, February 19, 1842; March 17, 1848.

³⁰Morning Chronicle, Quebec, March 3, 1854; March 10, 1854.

years of the decade, reports being made of their participation in cricket, horse racing, track and field, curling, sleighing, snowshoeing, and aquatics. La Belle Canadienne, owned by Captain McGee of the 19th Regiment, won the 1850 Queen's Plate at the Quebec Races.³¹ The Halifax garrison reactivated the Tandem Club and the Halifax Races, despite antagonistic pressure from temperance groups and church leagues.³² The Cameron Curling Club in Quebec listed, amongst its members, several officers of English extraction, including Colonel Maude, Captain Butt, and Captain Taylor, who were selected in the rink to play against the Montreal Curling Club in 1851.³³

This same year saw the introduction of the Garrison Snow Shoe Races in Montreal,³⁴ an event which was repeated in each of the next two years. As many as thirty competitors entered each race, providing much amusement for the spectators. Cricket competitions were listed between military teams and city clubs in Halifax, St John's, Sydney, Charlottetown, Montreal, Quebec, Sherbrooke, Bytown, London, and Kingston.

However, by the end of August, 1854, most of the troops had been withdrawn, leaving only the 26th Regiment at Quebec, the Royal Canadian Rifles and two companies of the Royal Artillery between Montreal and Kingston, one battalion of infantry at Halifax, with companies deployed at Fredericton and St John, while small detachments of Royal Artillery

³¹Ibid., July 10, 1850.

³²Novascotian, August 12, 1850; November 11, 1850.

³³Montreal Gazette, February 26, 1851.

³⁴Ibid., March 10, 1851.

at each post.³⁵ A noted drop in reported sporting competition was the evident result. Fortunately, the 76th Regiment, which had been active in sport in the Maritime regions, was the one chosen to remain there. Even the drummer boys of this regiment were cricketers, and provided competition for the Fredericton Boys' Club.³⁶ Among the Royal Artillery players remaining in Montreal was Captain Galway, who had been chosen to represent Canada against the United States in 1853. In a garrison match in 1856, he scored twenty-seven runs and took ten wickets, thus contributing greatly to the success of his team.³⁷ Galway was also a skilful curler with the Montreal Club, placing second in the club's Gold Medal competition in January, 1857, with eighteen points. The winner on this occasion was C. Simms who scored twenty-one, the highest then recorded in the history of the club, the previous record having stood at sixteen.³⁸ Galway's score as "runner-up" was an indication of his considerable talent.

At the end of hostilities in Europe, a few regiments were returned to Canada, but the British Government tried to avoid returning more by encouraging the formation of local Volunteer companies. However, it required the national threat posed by the Civil War in the United States to give impetus to this scheme. The 17th, the 39th, the 62nd, and the 63rd Regiments were amongst the returning troops, and all fielded cricket teams in subsequent summers. The 63rd Regiment, located in Halifax from

³⁵ Hitsman, op. cit., p. 155.

³⁶ Headquarters, Fredericton, September 10, 1856.

³⁷ Montreal Gazette, August 8, 1856.

³⁸ Ibid., January 17, 1857.

1857, was noted for its particularly strong team, easily defeating all opponents throughout the decade, including twenty-two of the regular Halifax garrison, as well as an All-Halifax team in 1858.³⁹ Even the Horse and Buggy Club of Fredericton formed a team to play against them.⁴⁰ Their presence in the Maritimes, at this time, prompted the press to provide much more sporting news than had been the case during the earlier years of the decade.

Following the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, just over eleven thousand British troops were rushed to British North America, bringing the total number of regular soldiers to 18,582.⁴¹ The greatest number of these troops, as always, was garrisoned in Montreal (4,118), followed by Quebec (1,875), London (1,292), Toronto (1,153), Kingston (1,081), and Hamilton (946), with a further 683 elsewhere, in small detachments.⁴² Although these numbers were not as great as in 1814, their impact was considerably greater, because a different Canada received them. The country had developed to a stage where a greater percentage of people were interested in pursuing recreational activities. The military institutions provided further sporting opportunities, besides adding their personnel to existing organizations. The Toronto Globe, August 5, 1861, in announcing a match between the Toronto Cricket Club and the newly

³⁹Novascotian, July 26, 1858; August 9, 1858.

⁴⁰Headquarters, Fredericton, September 21, 1859.

⁴¹C. P. Stacey, Canada and the British Army, 1846-1871 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), p. 122.

⁴²Hitsman, op. cit., p. 174. The Globe, Toronto, June 27, 1861, reported that the Royal Canadian Rifles were centered at Kingston, with companies stationed at St Catharines, Niagara, and Amherstburg.

arrived 30th Regiment, added, "It is a long time since Toronto has seen a military 'eleven' on its cricket ground." Most of the soldiers had arrived by the summer of 1862, when, for the first time, a Canadian Military cricket team was formed to play against the St George Club in New York, immediately after the Canada-United States match of that year.⁴³

In the East versus West match of 1863, seven of the East's team were military officers, namely, Captains Northey, Curtis, and Pemberton (60th Rifles), Captain Hogge (16th Regiment), Captain Phillips (Grenadier Guards), Captain Beresford (Scots Fusiliers), and Lieutenant Williams (Royal Artillery). For the West, the civilians from Hamilton, Peterborough, and Toronto were accompanied by Captains Tryon, Cecil, and Patton and Mr Foster of the P.C.O. Rifle Brigade, as well as Lieutenant Kenahan of the 63rd Regiment (then stationed in London).⁴⁴ That the soldiers were determined to play in all weathers was established by a match between the Scots Fusilier Guards and the Victoria Rifles (Volunteers), during which heavy rain fell continuously, causing the fielders to stand ankle deep in water.⁴⁵

Throughout the remainder of the decade, the number of reported cricket matches by military teams is overwhelming. In 1866, with the seat of government in Ottawa, it was thought advisable to re-establish

⁴³Globe, Toronto, September 17, 1862.

⁴⁴Montreal Gazette, July 22, 1863. The Gazette also remarked on the number of military officers, pointing out their absence since the Crimean War. In 1861, the West had been represented by a team containing only one officer, Lt Morewood (30th Regiment), and the East three, Captains Northey and Curtis, and Lt Elphinstone (60th Regiment).

⁴⁵Ibid., August 6, 1863.

the garrison which had been removed in 1853.⁴⁶ The Rifle Brigade was selected for the task, this unit containing the two officers, Foster and Brill. The former was a slow bowler and had played for the West in 1863, whereas Brill was a fast round arm bowler, both players being considered amongst the best in Canada.⁴⁷ In 1867, the Montreal Gazette listed seventeen matches which had been played by the garrison club alone during that summer.⁴⁸ Neither was the navy omitted from the sporting scene, for they were reported to have engaged in cricket matches in Victoria, Kingston, Montreal, Quebec, and Halifax, on most occasions taking their own equipment with them.

It is interesting to note the fond attachment which some towns held for regiments which had been quartered in their districts. For example, the 63rd Regiment was immensely popular wherever it was stationed, largely due to the public spirit shown by its officers, and its movements from Halifax to London, Hamilton, Montreal, and finally home to England, in 1865, were always reported in the Halifax press.

At this time, curling received more attention from the military than had been usual in the past, and, in 1863, a "Military versus the World" tournament was arranged in Montreal with twenty-four players a side, this tournament subsequently becoming an annual event. Sleighing, snowshoeing, skating, track and field, football, and rifle shooting all had their adherents amongst the rank and file, but the greatest interest

⁴⁶Stacey, op. cit., p. 287.

⁴⁷Hall and McCulloch, op. cit., p. 128.

⁴⁸Montreal Gazette, November 21, 1867.

centered principally upon equestrian activities. London, Hamilton, and St Catharines developed as racing centres, a comment printed in the Morning Chronicle in 1862 being pertinent in this regard:

The truly English sport of horse racing is reviving in Canada this year, especially in Toronto and the western part of the Province, where arrangements are proposed for a Canadian Derby.⁴⁹

Steeplechases and fox hunts underwent revivals wherever cavalry units were stationed, the 13th Hussars demonstrating this influence in Toronto where their steeplechase of 1867 attracted five thousand spectators to the Newmarket Course on Gates' farm.⁵⁰

In order to realize the amount of sporting participation by military personnel, particularly the officers, one has only to read Mrs Monck's diary,⁵¹ covering the period from June, 1864, to the date of the 17th Regiment's embarkation in May, 1865. The pages are literally filled with references to such sporting activities as racquets, cricket, yachting, horse racing, athletic games, skating, and tobogganing, all indulged in by the officers of her husband's regiment. In this context, the words of T. C. Patteson, a noted cricketer of the period, are most appropriate:

The soldiers arrived in this country in time for the '62 season, but the season of '72 found them all gone. During that decade an immense impetus was given to cricket, as well as to every other British sport that could be followed in this country.⁵²

⁴⁹Morning Chronicle, Quebec, August 11, 1862. Unfortunately, the attempts to organize a Derby at this time were unsuccessful.

⁵⁰Globe, Toronto, May 16, 1867. ⁵¹Monck, op. cit., passim.

⁵²Cited in Hall and McCulloch, op. cit., p. 259.

CHAPTER XII

WOMEN IN SPORT

The majority of pioneer women in British North America were far too busy to enjoy much leisure, but even when the opportunity presented itself, the conventions of the time prevented their participation in most of the outdoor recreative activities followed by men. The "bees" and the social calls which were customarily made provided women with opportunities for little more than gossip, for it was the men who played the active games.

Dancing was popular in both rural and urban localities, the country folk preferring round and square dances with music supplied by the "fiddle." These unsophisticated dances were common throughout the period, a gentlewoman from Dublin finding her initiation to the square dance in 1866,

. . . an exhilarating experience, to be lifted up into the air by the strong hands of a backwoodsman about one's waist and to observe that one's feet are flying in circles in the air. . . . Their movements are "called off" at what seems tremendous speed, and then there is the "Breakdown" which is¹ faster than ever. . . . I never thought I could endure such games.

The enthusiasm of townfolk for dancing was just as great. It was not unusual for gentlemen and their wives, officers and their ladies, to be in attendance at two balls in the one evening, where, to the music of a string or military band, they danced the minuet, the muzurka, and the quadrille. Such fondness for dancing found its critics, one of whom was

¹Cited in Creighton, *op. cit.*, p. 50. A letter from Isabella Moore to her sister Constance, December 26, 1866.

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Minuets of the Canadians

George Heriot, 1807



Circular Dance of the Canadians

George Heriot, 1807



Minuets of the Canadians

George Heriot, 1807



Circular Dance of the Canadians

George Heriot, 1807

Isabella Bird who wrote that the young ladies of Quebec had "no accomplishments except the ability to play modern dance music. Their time is spent in an endless bustle and round of amusement. There are balls nearly every night kept up to a late hour,"² after which the young ladies slept till almost noon. Dancing academies were in evidence in Halifax as early as 1752,³ and were to be found in all cities throughout the nineteenth century. Mrs Moodie claimed that she had never met a Canadian girl who could not dance, for "it seems born in them, and it is their favourite amusement."⁴ There was even a report of an Acadian Dancing Club in the Novascotian in 1858,⁵ but no further enlightenment was given concerning this club's activities.

Women participants in snowshoeing were restricted largely to Lower Canada, as were male snowshoers. Before the arrival of the English population in this province, the snowshoe was in use by the "women of New France" for attending to their daily errands in the winter months.⁶ Its presence, therefore, was well established, and the example set by the women of the French population led to its adoption by some of the immigrant female citizens of Lower Canada. Although the English ladies were not renowned for their love of physical exertion during the early years of the century, the evening stroll had been a part of their way of life.

²Cited in ibid., p. 146. ³Halifax Gazette, April 25, 1752.

⁴Susanna Moodie, Life in the Clearings (First published 1853; republished, Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada Ltd, 1959), p. 64.

⁵Novascotian, February 8, 1858.

⁶Isabel Foulché-Delbosc, "The Women of New France," Canadian Historical Review XXI (June, 1940), 133.

For those few who wished to continue in that vein during the winter, the carriage provided a substitute, but walking in deep snow on uncleared paths required snowshoes. Kohl⁷ complimented the ladies who bothered to accustom themselves to this "troublesome method of locomotion," stating that many of them became quite proficient, being as adept at crossing snow-covered hedges and ditches as were their counterparts in England in riding and hunting. Societal attitudes towards women who might don the snowshoe, however, were well reflected in a letter to the press from a gentleman of Quebec:

Small parties of ladies have lately taken to the exercise of snow-shoeing, and, accompanied with a protective male friend, may be seen occasionally striding (Oh! What a term!) along the plains or over the ice—in nice secluded localities, be it always understood. This same snow-shoe practice is in itself splendid exercise, but not, we do humbly opine, of a kind exactly fitted for ladies, even as matter of healthful amusement, nor, as yet, on the whole, affording the most advantageous display of the graces on their part. And their pretty ankles [sic] and delicate feet are so liable to twists and sprains from falls, and to be swollen from the rude pressure of the deer-skin tie, that we hold it scarcely to merit laudatory mention as a favourite exercise for the "gentle fair."⁸

It is most evident from this that physical exercise of a recreative nature was considered most improper. Haight⁹ wrote that the same attitude held sway during the thirties, even in the country districts. However, the concern for female frailty was not entirely universal, for, in a reference to the 1833 Skating Club formed at St John, New Brunswick, women were encouraged to join the club and even to play hurley.¹⁰

⁷J. G. Kohl, Travels in Canada (London: George Manwaring, 1861), p. 172.

⁸Montreal Gazette, March 12, 1842.

⁹Haight, op. cit., p. 35.

¹⁰Novascotian, December 26, 1833.

Generally speaking, the role of women in sport at this time was one of passive participation. They were always encouraged to be in attendance at horse races, regattas, cricket matches, and other such spectator sports, and very few reporters considered that they had given adequate coverage to a sporting event if their efforts lacked mention of the presence of the "fair sex." The reader receives the distinct impression that the whole success of an organized sports meeting depended upon the number of ladies who could be encouraged to decorate the scene with their gay ensembles. The opportunity that sport presented as a social occasion was the important thing to most people, women, therefore, having a definite role to play:

Very many of our lady friends, we doubt not, will be on the grounds, and, as in the knightly tournament of by-gone days, incite the friendly combatants to put forth still greater exertions to win their smiles and applause.¹¹

Carrioling was the favourite recreative activity amongst the fashionable elite during the winter, with many a young lady aspiring to be known as the most attractive "Miss Muffin" of the season.¹² Isabella Bird wrote in her journal that any young lady who was not a muffin during the winter was "totally despised,"¹³ reflecting the social importance attached to this activity. Hall is of the opinion that the garrison

¹¹Montreal Gazette, February 23, 1861, referring to the Montreal Snow Shoe Club Races.

¹²"A muffin is simply a lady who sits beside the male occupant of the sleigh, sola cum solo, and all the rest is leather and prunella." W. H. Russell, My Diary North and South (London, 1865), cited in Creighton, op. cit., p. 56.

¹³Creighton, op. cit., p. 146.

officers and men took great care in the purchase and decoration of their carriages, for without them the gentlemen could not look forward to a winter of "muffinage."¹⁴

For the more venturesome ladies, ice-boating offered an exhilarating experience, but once again, they were only passengers, and, bundled up in their furs, hid their excitement behind the occasional smile, deeming it improper to show their enthusiasm and real enjoyment of the sport. Charges of impropriety were difficult to avoid, as the ladies of Kingston had found in 1811, when they had indulged in the fashionable amusement of swinging. Several males decided that such a practice was indecent, and had expressed their distaste in a Letter to the Editor of the Kingston Gazette. The writer, apart from stressing the fact that women's clothing did not elegantly permit a lady to mount a swing in the presence of a gentleman, further objected to swinging because "an exercise which though allowably beneficial to the health when practised in a proper place, loses that merit when a delicate girl mounts a lofty and dangerous swing just after leaving a warm tea room."¹⁵ Once again, feminine frailty was emphasized. The ladies, however, were not convinced, and were determined not to be deprived of their new-found pleasures. Their answering letter stated that swinging would recommence in the summer of 1812, just as soon as the weather would permit it.¹⁶

¹⁴M. A. Hall, "A History of Women's Sport in Canada Prior to World War I" (Unpublished Master's thesis, The University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1968), p. 33.

¹⁵Kingston Gazette, April 28, 1812.

¹⁶Ibid., May 26, 1812.

Horse riding was one of the few activities in which women could indulge without fear of censure, probably because of the necessary role of the horse in the society of the early nineteenth century. In this regard, if the young lady lived in the country, she was fortunate for the horse was the only means of travel. Haight,¹⁷ reminiscing about the thirties, claimed that the country girls could ride just as well without the saddle. For those who lived in the larger towns, riding schools were the acceptable substitute for the gallop across open country. Isabella Moore described her new riding habit, black with becoming royal blue facings, in a letter to her sister in June, 1867, adding that she had made full use of the costume because she had ridden every day at Lawsonhurst, the estate of the upper class Lawson family of Hamilton.¹⁸

Riding was not the only pleasant recreation to be enjoyed at Lawsonhurst. Croquet parties were reportedly "the rage" in leisured society by the 1860s,¹⁹ a judgement endorsed by Miss Moore's account of games played on the two croquet grounds set up on the lawns of the estate:

Croquet parties are very fashionable here, and very pleasant too; such a sense of exhilaration in being out in the air, which is, so far, almost always sunny and fresh. Early in the afternoon the players meet on the lawns. Everyone plays. . . and sometimes as many as a dozen guests, with usually half of those officers. Sometimes partners are chosen, and play together, sometimes single players compete. Captain Baring and I played together yesterday, with quite amazing success.²⁰

The game had continued until seven o'clock, when "heavy tea" was served,

¹⁷Haight, op. cit., p. 65.

¹⁸Cited in Creighton, op. cit., p. 155.

¹⁹Hamilton Times, June 12, 1865.

²⁰Cited in Creighton, op. cit., p. 157.

then, with the arrival of several more officers, the evening ended in dancing.

Amongst the same class of society, fox hunting had held an early appeal for men and women, both sexes being present during the 1801 winter hunt in York, though it was 1850 before women were reported not merely as spectators, but as riding to hounds in the chase itself.²¹

Aquatic activities provided another means of recreation for ladies, their presence aboard yachts and small boats upon the many lakes and waterways being occasionally brought to the attention of newspaper readers. One such passenger who had the misfortune to fall overboard, found that her previously cumbersome gown proved responsible for saving her life:

A lady in St John, New Brunswick, was recently saved from drowning by the much abused crinoline. She fell overboard and instead of going plump to the bottom, her expansive skirts acted as a life preserver,²² and she floated down the stream sitting like a duck upon water.

Mrs Moodie was one of the few women who followed the example of the Indian squaw, and learned to paddle a canoe. Her husband rigged a keel and a sail on a cedar canoe, and they spent many leisurely hours upon the water. On fishing and shooting expeditions, she often handled the paddle while her husband attended to the catch. Her pride in being a useful companion on these trips was very evident in her words, "These fishing and shooting excursions were delightful. . . . I learned the use of the paddle and became quite proficient in the gentle craft."²³ Anna Jameson

²¹ Montreal Gazette, November 6, 1860.

²² Morning Chronicle, Quebec, September 20, 1858.

²³ Moodie, Roughing It in the Bush, p. 155.

was another who found enjoyment in canoeing, though she preferred the usual role of passive participant. She was quick to accept an offer to shoot the rapids of Sault Ste Marie with experienced Indian paddlers, afterwards exclaiming, "I had not even a momentary sensation of fear, but rather of giddy, breathless, delicious excitement."²⁴

The sixties saw a definite change in the attitude towards women's indulgence in sport. Whether this was due to a determination on the part of some to become more active, or whether it evolved with the changing society, is debatable, but certainly women were playing a greater role in societal affairs by then. The work of Mrs Bloomer in successfully championing a more suitable costume for ladies during the fifties may have drawn attention to the possibility of more active participation by women in sport. There were ladies in Quebec, however, skating in short dresses "with loose Moorish trousers gathered around the little ankle," who claimed that they had worn such a costume before anyone had heard of Mrs Bloomer.²⁵ Nevertheless, the publicity attached to Mrs Bloomer's crusade must have served the purpose of drawing attention to women's rights with regard to sport. The divided skirt was more suited to horse riding, and probably accounted for the reported participation by women in that sport from 1850 onwards. Certainly snowshoeing would have been much easier in such a costume, and the formation of the Ladies' Prince of Wales Snow Shoe Club was noted in 1861.²⁶ A marked change of

²⁴Jameson, op. cit., p. 355.

²⁵Novascotian, October 24, 1859.

²⁶Montreal Gazette, February 9, 1861. The reporter claimed that, "when seen, they were escalading the mountain at one of the most difficult ascents."

attitude was reflected in the suggestion that club members should participate in races.

Montreal ladies were pioneers in the formation of women's sports clubs, for the Montreal Ladies' Archery Club was formed in 1858. The club had its own practice ground on St Catherine Street, and held regular meetings and annual prize competitions. In 1859, first prize was a Golden Arrow, presented by Colonel Gordon, and won by Miss Taylor, with Miss Carter second.²⁷

One of the earliest sports in which women were accepted in competitive events was rowing. Aquatic activities occupied such a major place in the lives of Newfoundlanders, that it seems fitting to find women first entering the sport there. Their appearance in two of the gigs at the Quidi Vidi Regatta in 1856 was said to have been a new feature of regattas in St John's.²⁸ In 1865, a crew consisting of Mary Brace, Jennie King, Lizzie Hauton, Crissie Squires, Jessie Needham, and Ellen Walsh (stroke), with a male coxswain, Robert Heunebury, defeated a crew entered by the Artillery Battery stationed at St John's.²⁹ The interest of the Maritime press in women rowers was reflected in the fact that the Novascotian reported a Ladies' Boat Race held at Collingwood, Georgian Bay, although the news took several weeks to reach Halifax. Large crowds were said to have witnessed the event, one crew being dressed in white, and hatless, the other, in white as well, but wearing black

²⁷ Novascotian, October 24, 1859.

²⁸ Newfoundlander, August 18, 1856.

²⁹ Smallwood, op. cit., p. 162. The author states that this was the first ladies' race.

straw hats.³⁰

In St John's, Newfoundland, Prince's Salt Water Baths with its access to deep water swimming, was made available for the use of ladies on Tuesdays and Fridays from ten o'clock in the morning to four in the afternoon.³¹ Since women at the time were without suitable costume, however, they probably did not take advantage of this swimming area, as it was outside the baths itself. The Indoor Toronto Baths, opened in 1864, incorporated a "large" swimming pool for women, measuring twenty-four feet by eighteen feet,³² hence it was evidently expected that women would swim.

Though track and field activities had been found on sports programmes for several decades, women had shown no inclination to participate. In Hamilton, however, during the Great Western Firemen's Pic-nic of 1865, a ladies' race over two hundred yards was announced, which included eight hurdles, each eighteen inches high.³³ Fox hunting continued to attract women followers of the chase during the sixties, and at the September 30 outing of the Montreal Hunt in 1866, the women were complimented upon their "dashing riding" when they finished well up in the field.³⁴

Skating was the activity which claimed the greatest number of female participants during the sixties. Indeed, the many masquerade

³⁰ Novascotian, September 20, 1858.

³¹ Newfoundlander, August 5, 1861.

³² Globe, Toronto, June 17, 1864.

³³ Hamilton Times, August 7, 1865.

³⁴ Montreal Gazette, October 1, 1866.

carnivals would not have been possible without them. But even in skating, there were many who regarded women as dilettantes, interested not in the activity, but in the opportunity to display themselves to best advantage in a social setting surrounded by eligible gentlemen. Mr Russell called it "skating for husbands," or, at the least, in prospect of muffinage.³⁵

The writer of a delightful article which appeared in the Ottawa Times apparently shared this view. In describing the ritual of buckling ladies' skates, he poked gentle fun at the intentions of the skaters, male and female:

Arriving at their destination, the gentlemen were called upon to do the elegant for the ladies, and adjust their skates, which the gentlemen are not the least backward in doing, but on the contrary, seem to be rather pleased than otherwise. . . . An unmarried and charming young lady will receive from a gentleman friend an invitation in this wise: "Miss Jones, will you favour me with the exquisite gratification of adjusting your skates?" to which she replies, "Thank you, Mr Smith, your services are accepted." Next you come to a gentleman who addresses a lady thus: "Mrs Judas, can I enjoy the extreme felicity of preparing you for the day's sport by buckling your skates?" She replies, "Certainly, Mr Bear, I shall be indebted to you, as my husband has undoubtedly forgotten that I am here, as I see him over there buckling on Miss Bull's skates." The next article you observe is a two hundred pound woman, who came skating with her husband, but he got rather ashamed of her, and can be seen paying gentle attentions to one of the city belles; but at last he approaches, and then if you are near you may hear, "Morris, I have been waiting here half an hour for you to put on my skates, and there you have been with that horrible Miss Johnson, trying to make her think you are not married; you ought to be ashamed of yourself, you great bear; get down and put on my skates or I'll smack you in the mouth!". . . The next have been married about five years, and the lady speaks first: "John, put on my skates and take me on the pond." "You must think me a fool to take you on the pond when you do not even know how to strike out." "Well, I want you to teach me." "Why, you are crazy Jane, to talk to me about teaching you. I would not be bothered

³⁵Cited in Creighton, op. cit., p. 54.

hobbling around with you." "Well, then, get out, you great bore, I will get some other man." "That suits me exactly, Jane." And so it goes.³⁶

It was the fear of falling that kept most women away from skating, apart from the embarrassment such a fall would produce. Mrs Monck found that she could enjoy tobogganing after her prejudices had been overcome, but as for skating, "It is not worth while for me to learn," she wrote, "I fear I may break my arms and legs."³⁷ Many ladies consequently found that a chair mounted on runners was one safe way to enjoy the new "craze" without the embarrassment of the learning stage.

In competitive skating, the Sherbrooke ladies were held in high esteem, their champion, Jessie Bowen, winning the Lower Canada Championships of 1862 and 1863.³⁸ In Toronto, Allie Worp was rated highly at this time, for she won several prizes at the carnivals held in the Victoria Rink.³⁹ Even in skating, however, the attention centered on male performers, and when the two Victoria Rinks of Toronto and Hamilton entered into a contest in 1867, no women were included.⁴⁰

Exercise for women had its advocates amongst educators. In 1861, a press article on the topic claimed that "young ladies' seminaries were often a smooth word for prisons," and that girls, as well as boys, should

³⁶Ottawa Times, February 11, 1867. The writer described the Ottawa Rink as the scene of "love making on skates. . . ad libitum."

³⁷Monck, op. cit., p. 110. A lady in her social position also feared the indignity of appearing like Captain E., "working his arms like a windmill, and looking broken hearted." (Ibid., p. 112.)

³⁸Morning Chronicle, Quebec, March 18, 1863.

³⁹Globe, Toronto, March 2, 1863.

⁴⁰Hamilton Times, March 7, 1867.

have their gymnasiums and enter all the sports of the day.⁴¹ Mr Barnjum was another advocate, stating the case strongly in an address on "Physical Education" which he made to the Normal School, as a guest of the Teachers' Association in January, 1867.⁴²

Yet, as in most things, the agitators appeared well in advance of a general acceptance of the principle. Almost two decades were to pass before a noticeable change was to occur in the amount of female participation in recreative activities, and then, "velocipede mania" and tennis were largely responsible for bringing about the emancipation of women in sport.⁴³

⁴¹Montreal Gazette, May 1, 1867.

⁴²Ibid., January 12, 1867.

⁴³A. Hall, op. cit., p. 57.

CHAPTER XIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

From the formation of the oldest sporting club in 1807, to the year of Confederation in 1867, the pattern of sport in Canada was a reflection of the social, cultural, economic, and technological developments of the time.

Canadian sport is indebted to the Indian for the toboggan, the snowshoe, the lacrosse stick, and the canoe. The coureurs de bois and the voyageurs, through their close contact with the Indians, were the catalysts for the infusion of the activities resulting from the use of these pieces of equipment into the rural and urban societies. In the pioneer settlements, play was relatively unimportant in comparison to the serious work of survival—establishing buildings in which to live, and ensuring a sufficient supply of food to last through the long Canadian winter. Yet, to relieve this monotonous life, some social and recreative activities were necessary, and did occur. Recreative activities were simple, communal, and spontaneous, requiring little organization. The games and contests associated with "bees" were not prescribed, their nature depending on the inclination of the group, whereas dances were held wherever there was a suitable area and an accommodating fiddler. Such settlements, with their associated recreational pursuits, still existed throughout the Dominion in 1867.

Where pioneer settlement had become consolidated into rural communities, an advance in organized recreation was to be found. Horse races were the most popular and most wide-spread example of this, while

the games and athletic contests which often followed parades on special holidays, such as the Queen's Birthday, were another. When Agricultural Societies were formed in these communities, organized recreation advanced further as competitions were formally and regularly arranged in such activities as ploughing contests, and horse races. Rural regattas occurred, where the settler might ply his skill against that of the voyageur and the Indian, since, even to the farmer, the canoe remained the swiftest and most pleasant method of transport on the numerous lakes and waterways to be found in rural communities. Utilitarian roads existed to allow goods to reach markets, but these were extremely rough, and, in the summer, the canoe was favoured for individual travel. With the coming of winter, as snow covered these rural roads, the settlers delightedly took to sleighing and carrioling, the cold being only a minor inconvenience in comparison to the rough travel experienced in the summer months. Neither did the winter force communities to relinquish their favourite summer pastime, for ice trotting in either saddle or harness took place wherever there were wagers to be won. Since members of rural communities still had comparatively little time for relaxation during the summer months, with crops to be planted and harvested, provisions for livestock to be made, and food supplies for families sufficient for the remainder of the year to be ensured, their enjoyment of winter activities is understandable. Responsibilities were over, and it was a time to relax.

Winter was a time for fun in the cities also. Tobogganing came to be enjoyed by all ages, from the Beaver Hill boys of Montreal, who had their slides confiscated by police when they tobogganed on Sunday, to the

garrison soldiers at the Montmorency ice-cone who preferred twelve-at-a-time, the technique remaining unchanged from that day to this. Snowshoeing was confined largely to Lower Canada, mainly because the French Canadians had adopted the snowshoe for normal winter walking, whereas, most of the time, immigrants preferred to use the sleigh. The Montreal Snow Shoe Club was the first group to enjoy the recreative advantages of snowshoeing, for, though it was formed officially in 1843, the group had been meeting since 1840. In the early forties, Quebec is also thought to have organized a club, the earliest existing minutes of which date from 1845. Annual snowshoe races were conducted by the clubs, and they also became a feature of garrison winter-sport competitions.

The Montreal Olympic Club encouraged the playing of the Indian form of lacrosse by its members in the early forties, but there is evidence of eighteenth century participation in the game by French Canadians, as a means of establishing friendly rapport for trade relations with the Indians. The Montreal Lacrosse Club was formed in 1856, but the game did not become popular until 1867 when, under the crusading of George Beers, it underwent a phenomenal growth. By the end of 1867, eighty clubs were in existence throughout the Dominion, many of these converting to snowshoe clubs in the winter season.

With the closing of the St Lawrence River by ice during the long winter, this part of the year was referred to as a "merchants' holiday." These were the gentlemen, along with the inevitable garrison officers, who encouraged competitive sport as a means of passing the time. The availability of ice and snow permitted curling, shinty, ice sailing, skating, snowshoeing and tobogganing for all who wished to participate.

The ubiquitous Scot fostered curling, the game of his homeland, forming the Montreal Curling Club in 1807, the first such club on the American continent. Wooden and iron stones characterized the play within pioneer clubs, though local stone was shaped by some Toronto players. By the close of Confederation Year, curling clubs were in evidence in every major town in eastern Canada, while southern Ontario, with its concentration of Scottish settlers, had provided the greatest number of clubs for inter-town competition.

Investigators of the origins of hockey have suggested bandy and hurling as possible sources, but shinty, particularly in the Kingston area, was the most common game of this nature reported throughout the period. This undoubtedly has led to Kingston's being hailed as the birthplace of Canadian hockey, and the placing of the Hockey Hall of Fame in that city. Skating had been introduced to North America early in the seventeenth century but, although a skating club was reported in the vicinity of St John, New Brunswick, in 1833, the activity did not gain a large following until the advent of prepared ice surfaces and spring skates during the sixties. Covered ice rinks were a Canadian innovation, one being reported in Quebec in 1852. The Montreal Skating Club Rink was built in 1860, to be followed by the Victoria Rink in 1862, and Guilbault's Rink in 1863. Hamilton, Toronto, St John, and Halifax were the only other cities to afford covered rinks at this time.

Of the summer team sports which existed before Confederation, cricket was the oldest and most wide-spread. The garrison teams were always ready to play, and most of the city teams were formed in answer to challenges from the soldiers. Although there is evidence of cricket's

being played by military teams from the early 1800s on, civilian clubs were not reported until circa 1828, from Montreal and St John's. George Barber, through his work at Upper Canada College, was a cricketing pioneer of the Toronto district, his students encouraging the spread of the game throughout Upper Canada after they had graduated from the College. International competition with the United States was begun in 1840, while, in 1859, Parr and Lillywhite's English cricket team undertook a tour of Canada and the United States. By 1867, cricket was played in nearly all the settled districts of British North America, with details of matches being featured in all major newspapers.

Track and field activities, as well as curling and golf, were indebted to early Scottish influence. Irish Benevolent Societies and military garrisons conducted athletic games, but it was the Caledonian Societies that organized annual track and field carnivals in Montreal, Toronto, and Halifax, beginning in Montreal in 1856. The Toronto Athletic Games in 1839 provided the earliest record of an organized track and field meeting, though challenge matches amongst garrison personnel occurred from the first decade of the century. The Montreal Athletic Games began in 1843, coinciding with the formation of the Montreal Olympic Club, although neither of these was in existence by 1850.

Baseball, like lacrosse, received its impetus mainly in 1867, and whereas lacrosse was centered in Montreal, baseball thrived in the Hamilton area. In 1859, the game had emerged in Hamilton, Toronto, and Barton, with Woodstock following soon after. By 1867, Hamilton newspapers reported seventeen local clubs, several of which fielded more than one team, while clubs in Halifax and Victoria showed the spread of the game.

Canadian baseball players entered international competition in 1867 when three teams played in a tournament in Detroit, two of them winning prizes in their respective divisions. By the end of this year, baseball, together with lacrosse, had become a serious threat to the popularity enjoyed by cricket for so many years.

Football received its encouragement through the colleges, although military personnel from both the army and the navy were reported to have played the game. Kicking a ball must have been a schoolboy's delight well before matches were arranged between schools. The inclusion of football in the activities prohibited under the Lord's Day Act of 1845 strongly suggests its commonality at that time. However, no reports of such activities were evident in the press, since editors usually reported sport only in relation to competitions. Upper Canada College was one of the first schools to enter outside competition, in the early sixties, but it was the students of the University of Toronto who dominated play. The type of game was apparently a mixture of soccer and rugby rules, though, by 1866, the latter were beginning to predominate. Twenty-a-side was the most common size of teams, though this was flexible, as all match rules depended on agreement between opposing sides before the start of the game. Consequently, disputes formed a normal part of an afternoon's play.

The accessibility of water meant that aquatic activities were established early as a means of recreation and social intercourse. The Maritime provinces organized the earliest regattas, beginning in 1820 at Quidi Vidi Lake in Newfoundland, to be followed by Halifax in 1826, and Quebec in 1830. Upper Canada's first regatta was conducted at Barriefield in 1837. St John, New Brunswick, was the rowing centre for four-

oared events, its crews establishing their superiority over United States crews throughout the period, and climaxing in the win at the World Championships held in Paris in 1867. Halifax and Toronto produced the sculling champions of the period. George Brown of Halifax later became accepted as the best sculler in the world, though never actually winning such a title, whereas Thomas Tinning of Toronto defeated all opposition in Upper Canada during the 1850s and 1860s. The Lachine Rowing Club, established in 1863, is claimed to be the oldest continuing rowing club in Canada.

Halifax and Toronto also fostered sailing, the Halifax Yacht Club being formed in 1837, and obtaining royal patronage in 1861 after the Prince of Wales' visit to the provinces in the preceding year. This club is still in existence in 1969, as the Royal Nova Scotia Yacht Squadron. The Royal Canadian Yacht Club has also had a lengthy existence, being formed in 1850 as the Toronto Boat Club, changing its name, in 1852, to the Toronto Yacht Club, and then, in 1854, to the Royal Canadian Yacht Club. The oldest Canadian yachting trophies are the Prince of Wales Challenge Cups, donated in 1861 to each of the above clubs in commemoration of the Prince's visit. Canoe events were featured at most regattas, but were regarded as novelty events rather than as serious competition. Fishermen used the canoe to great advantage, but the thrill of running the rapids must have provided the craft with its greatest fun value.

Swimming apparently was not a popular activity during the years before Confederation, nor indeed was bathing. Floating bath houses were constructed on most rivers, lakes, and sea-shores adjacent to towns, but few catered for swimmers. Lack of a suitable costume was another factor

which inhibited the activity. The first indoor swimming pools were those at the Toronto Baths, built in 1864. Although these Toronto pools were small, they contained warm water, and were quite an innovation for the time.

The horse played such a large part in the lives of early settlers that its use in sporting activities was a matter of course. Organized horse racing was to be found in several centres in the nineteenth century, particularly in those where garrisons were stationed, such as Quebec, Montreal, Kingston, Niagara, and St John. Turf Clubs were the natural outcome of this organization. The first Queen's Plate was awarded to Lower Canada in 1836, being then called the King's Plate and being held in Trois Rivières. Upper Canada was to wait until 1860 for the honour to hold such a race, with Toronto as the venue. The first steeplechase in British North America took place in 1840 at Montreal, followed by one in Toronto in 1843. Organized horse racing was inaugurated in the west coast with the formation of the Victoria Jockey Club in 1861. Though drunkenness and brawling characterized many race meetings, they were very popular throughout the period, always attracting many thousands of spectators. Fox hunting was popular amongst the upper classes of society from early in the century also, though the Montreal Hunt dates from the late twenties. This was the only reported hunt club until the formation of the Toronto and the Cobourg Hunts in the early forties. The expense of keeping a pack of hounds was a prohibiting factor in the spread of the sport, ensuring that it remained only for the elite of society.

With the enthusiastic following that horse racing accumulated, the continuance of trotting races through the winter was natural. Summer

trotting races did not have the appeal of winter ones, being conducted under saddle, and therefore less exciting than the gallop events. On the other hand, winter events were often raced in harness with a sleigh attached, which greatly added to the spectator appeal of the events. French Canadians were enthusiastic followers of the sport, as indeed they were of all horse racing. Races usually originated through challenges, though irregular, organized race meetings were held during the 1860s.

Ploughing matches required the use of trained farm horses to speed the plough, and were encouraged by Agricultural Societies wherever they were formed. A Provincial match was arranged in Ancaster in 1864, and, in 1865, eighty-three farmers entered a ploughing contest in London, demonstrating the popularity of such competitions.

Sleighting was a necessary form of winter transport, but it was also a means of recreation. Sleighting parties were common, usually in connection with a visit or picnic to some friend's home. Clubs were formed by the elite of society in the major towns, the occasion of the drive offering a chance to display a well decorated sleigh. The garrison officers were the chief supporters of tandem clubs, which existed in Quebec, Toronto, Montreal, Halifax and Niagara during the 1830s.

Fishing by jack-light was a popular method employed by anglers, though fly fishing also had its exponents. Restrictive regulations, particularly for the preservation of salmon, were introduced as early as 1806, but were largely ineffectual, for, by 1867, salmon were rare in inland lakes and streams. Similar regulations were passed in 1821 and in subsequent years with regard to game hunting, these being more successful. Such regulations were necessary when hunting as sport became popular and

animals were being shot, not merely by rural settlers in need of food, but by sportsmen who wastefully slaughtered in order to boast of the magnitude of their kill.

Pigeon shooting contests were common throughout most of the nineteenth century, with inter-town matches being arranged as early as 1835, between Scarborough and Toronto. Target shooting first became organized with the formation of the Montreal Gun Club in 1854, but the real impetus to this sport occurred in the sixties with the emergence of the Volunteer movement. Within the Volunteer groups, rifle shooting was both a form of military training and a diversion, its wide-spread practice leading to the formation of Rifle Associations which conducted annual competitions open to Volunteers, garrison personnel, and civilians, from 1861 onwards. Rifle Clubs naturally evolved, initiating civilian inter-town matches once the threat imposed by the Civil War in the United States had been dispelled.

Due to the expense involved in constructing large indoor facilities for sport, the game of billiards was centered largely in the inns and taverns where interested hotel-keepers provided tables for their clients. The press gave scant attention to the game until the Dion brothers became famous during the 1860s. This lack of reporting was undoubtedly due to billiards' unsavoury reputation, its early association with gambling, and the fact that it was a public house amusement. The first of the annual Upper Canada championships was contested in Toronto in 1864, and won by Mr Jakes of Cobourg. Cyrille Dion was the winner in 1865 when the contest was briefly opened to residents of Lower Canada as well. His younger brother, Joseph, was the better player, winning the

Championship of America in 1866.

The increased affluence of the British North American society permitted the building of public gymnasiums, usually through public subscription, during the sixties. Small, privately run establishments had appeared in several cities prior to this, but the new interest may be seen as a result of immigration from European countries where gymnastics had been fostered. German Turner Associations with their attendant public displays did much to bring before the public notice the activities of the gymnasium. Montreal was the centre of gymnastic interest in the sixties, though other public gymnasiums were in operation in the cities of Halifax, St John, Fredericton, Victoria, Toronto, Quebec, Hamilton, and Ottawa. The Montreal Gymnastic Club was formed in 1860, and, in 1862, in co-operation with McGill University, a gymnasium was built on the University grounds.

Although racquet courts had been erected in Quebec (circa 1820), and Montreal (1836), the Montreal Racquet Club, formed in 1840, is considered to have been the first such club in North America. Mr E. Lamontagne was the outstanding player of the period, helping to spread the game to the United States where he subsequently became a professional. During the sixties, with military support, new courts were built in Quebec, Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, and London, though the game had only a minor following.

Sport in the educational institutions tended to follow rather than lead the interests in society. Cricket was a well established game before its adoption by Upper Canada College, but the students were responsible for carrying cricketing enthusiasm to other centres when they

graduated. Football may well have provided the exception, for although military personnel and the occasional civilian groups played, the students organized the greatest number of reported matches, the Medical students of the University of Toronto even claiming the Championship of Canada in 1867. Lacrosse, baseball, snowshoeing, shinty, track and field, swimming, and gymnastics found their followers in the schools, but never in sufficient strength to be able to take the lead within society in the organization of sport.

In contrast, there may be no doubting that the influence of the British army garrisons upon the development of sport in British North America was a major one. In most centres, the officers were the instigators of outdoor recreation, needing such diversion for the maintenance of good morale during what would have otherwise been a monotonous tour of duty, a long way from home. Time, wealth, interested personnel, and administrative experience enabled them to be the leaders in the sporting scene, thus ensuring the continuance of the traditional games which were linked with their British upbringing.

Cricket and equestrian sports were always high in their sporting preferences, though there were also military participants to be found in such activities as tobogganing, skating, snowshoeing, rifle shooting, aquatics, track and field events, football, and even the Canadian game of lacrosse. Horse racing was in vogue in all garrison towns, with most of the entries, officials, and prizes supplied by the officers. It may be said that the presence of these dashing officers was a strong factor in encouraging women to take a more active part in the sporting scene, particularly in regard to skating and sleighing. It is even possible that

the type of life which was exemplified by these men served as an added incentive to the Volunteer movement in the sixties, bolstering the feelings of patriotism which provided the chief motivation of these civilians-turned-soldiers. The schism which has existed since time immemorial between the man in uniform and the man in civilian clothes concerning their respective privileged places in society would appear to be illustrated at that time.

With increased competition a feature of the mid-sixties, an awareness of professionalism was emerging within the sporting scene. The term "amateur" had been used from the earliest rowing regattas, and it meant simply a person who did not usually row a boat, as, for example, did a fisherman. The fisherman was not regarded as a professional, but neither was he an amateur. The term "gentleman amateur" was similar to amateur, but obviously applied to a more select group of society. Thus, an amateur rower was one who had rowed no more than the average citizen might row, or, in other words, he was a novice. The non-amateur, such as the fisherman, was one who was especially skilled, or one who had participated beyond the normal.

When a St John crew won the Fourth of July Regatta in Boston in 1866, their training schedule of eighteen miles a day was regarded as excessive for amateurs, but no tags of professionalism were applied to them, although money prizes were involved. Indeed, money prizes were offered in nearly all sports, and if this is a criterion in distinguishing amateur from professional, then most athletes of the day were professionals. Yet to call a person who enters competitions on several occasions and wins a few dollars, a professional, is not realistic, and

sportsmen of the time realized this. In the state of organization that existed, it was far easier to award small money prizes than to arrange for the purchase of trophies from a local merchant. A letter to the Novascotian, on August 18, 1851, which claimed that "amateur" rowers would prefer medals to three times the amount of money won in races, must be viewed in the context of what constituted an amateur at that time. Gentlemen amateurs certainly did not need money prizes, and would have much preferred something tangible to display on their trophy shelf where it might be admired by friends who called on the inevitable social visit. With the few competitions that existed, an athlete could not have earned a living from the prizes offered in most sports.

To live professionally at a sport then, it would have been necessary for an athlete to offer challenges, with stakes to be matched by the accepting parties. Wagers were encouraged from the spectators in the hope of adding to the winnings. This was such a cumbersome and precarious way to earn a living that it found few adherents. The success of such a system would depend on adequate transportation and the availability of many competitors, the combination of which was lacking prior to 1867.

Billiards and rowing challenge matches provided the most substantial prizes, yet sportsmen who earned money in these matches were not excluded from competition for Championship awards. The Dion brothers were classic examples of this, as they even operated a billiard room, which meant that their livelihood was totally derived from the game of billiards. The Paris Crew had competed for challenge purses, yet they entered the regatta in Paris as "bona fide amateurs," on their assurance

that they raced only as a pastime. Their receipt of payments beyond expenses, and their sharing in the prize money following their win, apparently did not cause them to be named as professionals.

That professionalism was a definite part of sport in other countries was evident from the conditions stipulated for the Paris Regatta. Cricket also had its professionals, outside Canada, for the English touring team of 1859 was totally comprised of professionals. The United States team of 1860 was reported to have included seven professional players, whereas their Canadian opponents were all amateurs or "gentlemen who play only for amusement."¹

Walter Knox, the champion sprinter of Victoria, always ran for fifty or one hundred dollar challenges, yet he was regarded as an amateur. His status must have been bordering on the professional, however, as the Daily Colonist, on September 6, 1865, in reporting one of his races noted that he had defeated "another amateur," suggesting that the press considered his amateur status questionable. There was also some sign of professionalism in skating during the sixties. When Mr Perkins of Toronto won the Gold Medal of Canada for "fancy" skating at Hamilton in 1867, it was claimed that he should have been classed as a professional simply because he had won several medals previously. That is, he had competed too often. This did not prevent his winning another Provincial Medal in London two weeks later, though it may have led to the announcement of "no professionals" for the Championship Cup in Montreal held shortly after. At this time, the Meagher brothers were visiting their

¹Montreal Gazette, August 4, 1860.

home town of Kingston, having enjoyed successful careers as professional skaters in the United States, so it is possible that the Montreal ban was aimed at them also. The Kingston crowds were only too happy to see the brothers skating in local competitions, and John Meagher won the Artistic Skating competition there in February, for the small prize of five dollars.

The Montreal Championship Cup competition marked the first publicly announced restriction on entrants who were declared professionals. It would appear than, that by Confederation, although professionalism was a developing concept in Canadian sport, there were only two categories of contestants—amateurs, and others. The former were novice performers who practiced only for the occasion, while the latter included skilled performers, club members, and even professionals such as they were at that time.

The growth that occurred in sport during the fifties and sixties was an indirect result of the advances made in technology throughout these years. Of the technical innovations which appeared before 1867, the steam engine had the greatest impact on the sporting scene, and, indeed, on society as a whole. The steamboat, the railway engine, the steam-powered printing press, all made it possible for sport to be brought before the attention of the people.

Steamboats carried sporting teams and spectators on excursions which had previously been highly impractical. Further encouragement of these excursions was provided in the offering of return trips to matches for single fare, a practice later adopted by railway companies. Steamboats were hired to follow the boats competing in regattas, and were

particularly useful during yacht races where the course would sometimes take the yachts out of sight of spectators on the shore for a considerable time. It might also be noted that, although steamboats assisted the development of sport, the assistance was reciprocal as sporting competitions meant passengers for steamboats.

While steamboat travel was more convenient than stagecoach, it often meant the undertaking of a three-day excursion in order to play one match. When the Cobourg Cricket Club visited Bowmanville in 1846, they were advised to travel the day before the match even though the distance was only twenty-five miles. Such travel was not without its dangers, as boilers could, and did explode. The steamboat, therefore, was not the completely satisfactory solution to the transport difficulties of sportsmen seeking fresh teams to conquer. In general, the lack of suitable transport up to this time had meant that sport was played in individual communities, with little regular inter-town competition. Such community isolation inhibited both cultural and sporting development, until a further technological advance led to the construction of railroads.

The dramatic increase in inter-community competition in the 1860s was a result of this construction. To a mere fifty-four miles of track in existence in 1847, two thousand two hundred and thirty-four miles had been added by 1867, mostly in Upper Canada. The one-day excursion for match play had become reality for teams in close proximity to the railway line. It also became possible for more widely represented conventions, meetings, and bonspiels to be arranged, for provincial and Canadian associations to be formed, and for rules of play to be made more uniform. Unfortunately, the Maritime regions waited until the decade following

Confederation, and the far west, until the eighties, before further railway construction allowed these areas to join in competition with the sports centres of Quebec and Ontario.

Just as increased team and spectator travel brought more attention to sport, so also did an increased sports coverage in the press. The early wooden framed, hand-operated printing presses were very tedious to set up, consequently editors were reluctant to give details of sporting activities which would have required many hours of type setting. The annual horse races and regattas gained some attention because many people were in attendance, but team or individual activities, when they were reported, were accorded a few lines only. The importance of sport in the early period was seen in the opportunity it presented for bringing people together in a relaxed social atmosphere. This social scene often inspired eloquent prose from the reporter, the event which caused it sometimes being excluded entirely, or else being added in skeletal form at the conclusion of the piece.

Even in the 1860s, when faster steam presses were available, reporters could still be frustratingly terse or vague. The only sure method of having a sports event reported was to send the newspaper editor a complimentary ticket, or even a year's membership in the sporting club. Editors were quick to capitalize on this, failure to extend these "court-
esies" usually resulting in no reporting and no publicity.

With pencilled and verbal reports comprising the usual form of communication to editors, it was not surprising that the names of players and the results of events differed from one newspaper to another. Before the advent of the telegraph, in the late forties, news from one region was

copied from the various newspapers that circulated the country. This often meant a delay of weeks in the reporting of news from other towns. The telegraph caused a tremendous increase in the number of outside sporting events which could be reported within a far shorter time period. When the Ottawa Cricket Club had toured several centres, via the railway in 1865, the August 14 edition of the Ottawa Times proudly announced that telegraph arrangements had been made so that the results of each day's play would be printed in the following day's edition. This produced a greater awareness of the tour amongst the public than if the results had waited for publication until the team's return.

The completion of the Atlantic Cable in 1866 was followed by an increase in the reported English sporting news, particularly horse racing. This innovation found its greatest significance for the sporting world when it was used to transmit news of the Paris Crew's win in 1867. Canada could rejoice almost at the same time as could its competitors across the Atlantic Ocean in France. The impact was far greater than had the news been received via steamboat several weeks later.

Prior to the 1860s, sporting competition in urban communities was played almost entirely on week days. Consequently, employees were excluded from the select group who had such leisure time available, such as merchants, garrison officers, and the self-employed. In theory, skating, snowshoeing, cricket, football, and other similar activities were available for participation by the lower classes, who were impeded however, by a lack of both time and organizational experience. Also, those for whom Sunday provided the only leisure time were deterred from sporting activities on that day by religious groups and law, after the

passing of the Lord's Day Act in 1845. It was not until the Early Closing Movement became more wide-spread during the mid-sixties, that the working man's indulgence in sport became possible. In this context, the advent of lacrosse and baseball was timely, though even these sports tended to exclude members of the lower class, or "rowdies" as they were colloquially called, from organized teams. Where sport was dependent upon organization, it remained largely the prerogative of the affluent members of society.

Sport, then, by Confederation Year, was approaching a new era. Old activities were continuing in their importance, while new ones signified a country with a growing sporting interest. Urbanization, combined with advancing liberal ideas towards recreation amongst civic leaders, was bringing a realization of the need for diversionary physical activity. As these two forces gathered strength during the following decades, increased organization of sporting activities was the natural result. But of more importance was the fact that a Canadian identity was emerging in sport, made possible by greatly improved communication systems. An awareness of others brought an awareness of self, sport playing an integral part in the development of this awareness as Canada progressed towards nationhood in the years following Confederation.

EPILOGUE

As any study draws to a close, the author is in the best position to draw the attention of future writers to ways in which the area may be further researched. The present study should be viewed in relation to its place in a hierarchy of studies concerning the history of sport in Canada, which is developing at the University of Alberta. The first stage, of which this dissertation is an example, is designed to show the growth of the various sporting activities, while pointing out the influences which have been instrumental in bringing about that growth. The next level of studies is designed to investigate, in greater detail, these influences, such as technological change, urbanization, British colonialism, the rise of professionalism, etcetera. In this way, a comprehensive history of Canadian sport will be developed.

In relation to the time period prior to Confederation, it is suggested that further studies be conducted on a provincial or area basis. If this is done, greater attention to detail may be given, and each of the provincial archives thoroughly searched. Only by further delimitations in time span and regional consideration, can such a general topic be more fruitfully examined.

Once the Canadian sporting scene has been adequately researched, comparative studies investigating whether British influence has hindered or spurred the development of indigenous sports in other countries which were once early British colonies, such as Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and India, should be undertaken.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

THE LAWS OF LACROSSE*

FRAMED BY THE "MONTREAL LACROSSE CLUB," AND ADOPTED 1ST JULY, 1867,

DOMINION DAY

Note.— These laws constitute the only recognised rules of the game.

1. The Crosse may be of any size to suit the players, but the woven net-work must not be bagged.

2. The Ball shall be india rubber sponge, not less than eight, and not more than nine inches in circumference. In all matches it shall be furnished by the challenging party.

3. The Goals may be placed at any distance from each other and in any position agreed upon by the Captains of both sides. The Flag Poles of each goal shall be six feet above the ground, and seven feet apart. They shall be furnished by the challenging party.

4. The Players shall be designated as follows:—1st, Goalkeepers, who defend the goal. 2nd, Point, who is the first man out from the goal. 3rd, Cover Point, who is in front of Point. 4th, Centre, who faces in the centre of the field. 5th, Home, who is nearest the opponent's goal. The remaining players shall be termed Fielders.

5. There shall be two Umpires at each goal, one for each side, to be selected by the Captains. Unless otherwise agreed upon, they shall not be members of either of the Clubs engaged in the match. They must be thoroughly acquainted with the game. It shall be their duty before a match to see that all the regulations respecting the Crosse, Balls, Goals, etc., are strictly complied with; during the game they shall stand behind the Flags and shall have power to decide all disputes and suspend from playing any player infringing these laws. No Umpire shall either directly or indirectly be interested in any bet upon the result of the match. No person shall be permitted to speak to the Umpire when the ball is near or nearing their goal.

6. Captains may be appointed by each side previous to a match, whose duty shall be to toss up for choice of goal and superintend the

*Montreal Gazette, July 17, 1867.

play. They may not be players in the match.

7. No player may wear spiked soles.

8. The ball must not be caught, thrown, or picked up with the hand, save in the case of Rules IX and X, but a ball coming in the air may be blocked or patted away with the hand to protect the face or body, otherwise it must not be touched.

9. Goalkeeper while defending the goal may stop balls in any manner.

10. Should the ball lodge in any spot inaccessible to the "crosse" it may be taken out by the hand and immediately placed on the "crosse," but should an opponent be checking and cry "face" it must be faced for.

11. Should the ball be accidentally put through a goal by one of the players defending it—it is the game for the side attack[ing] that goal. Should a ball be put through a goal by one not actually a player it does not count for or against either side.

12. Players shall not hold each other nor grasp an opponent's "crosse," neither shall they deliberately trip or strike each other.

13. After each game the players shall change goals, unless otherwise agreed upon.

14. A match will be decided by winning three games out of five, unless otherwise specially agreed upon. The refusal of one side to proceed with a match deemed fair by the umpire shall be equivalent to a defeat.

15. Twelve players on a side shall constitute a full field, and they must have been regular members of the club they represent and no other, for 30 days prior to a match.

16. No change of players after a match has commenced except by reason of accident or injury during the match. When a match has been agreed upon and a side is deficient in the number of players, their opponents at their option may either limit their own numbers to equal them or select men to fill up the complement.

17. Any amendment, revision or alteration proposed to be made in any part of these Laws shall be made only by a Committee of the "MONTREAL LACROSSE CLUB," specially appointed, and a delegate from every other club in Canada. All clubs shall receive due notice of such [a] Committee meeting, and should they not be represented at the time appointed, the business will be proceeded with and the decisions become law without the concurrence of absentees.

APPENDIX B

A LETTER WRITTEN BY MR ALFRED TOWNSEND, TRAVELLING LUMBER
MERCHANT, TO HIS WIFE IN BIDEFORD, ENGLAND*Sillery, Canada East
20 January 1865

Dear Carrie:

If I were a younger man, I think I should never come back to Bideford to live my life out. These Canadian folk know how to enjoy themselves. My word. Never a dull moment, as they say. Not here, there isn't. I've just about made my deal with the shipper, and I'm leaving for New York in a fortnight or so, and I don't mind saying I'm a bit loathe to go. We've had a gay time here, and no mistake. And only a little bit of a place this is, when you come to compare. Eight miles out of Quebec we are, and only tracks, you might say, more or less tunnels, in the snow—sometimes eight feet deep, they are, between the house and the road, and then the eight miles. But do people sit at home warming themselves? They do not. Up and at it, night and day. I know what you're saying, "It's those Frenchies, there. We always knew they were a gay lot." Well, my girl, you're wrong this time. Not that they aren't gay, of course, but it's the English soldiers that mostly are to blame, in my opinion. And then there's the Governor General, living right here. Fine big house like Buckingham Palace, pretty well, it is. Called Spencer Wood, or some such name. Twice as long as a church, and with a verandah all along the whole front of the house. Posts all along, and arches in between. The house is white, and has a lot of cedar trees growing in front. Might be all right come summer time, but just now, it being all white, and the snow behind it being all white too, it's not so much, only for the size. And there's lots going on there, all the time. Soldiers tracking up there on snowshoes, to show themselves off, in their fur coats and hats, to the Governor, and strings of sleighs, all jingling with bells, and the ladies in them so covered up with furs and veils and cloaks till there might as well be a nest of ferrets in the cariole (that's what they call these little low sleighs) for all a man can see of a face.

The officers of the regiments play pretty high, with the customs of this country, if you ask me. They swank around with sleighs built to order just for themselves, and trimmed here and there with the colours of their regiment. And then, not content with that, they buy great big buffalo robes, or bearskins they might be, and have them trimmed around the edge with their colours. What are they going to do with the likes of

*Cited in Creighton, op. cit., pp. 61-64.

that kind of thing when they go home? Ten to one his regiment won't be here more than maybe a few months, the way it seems to be.

Col. Monck, he's the Gov. Gen's brother, he got one of these fancy sleighs, and he's off down to the rink, or off to the Cone, or calling on some nob every day, with a tandem pair. Don't they just lick through the roads, though!

There's no waiting here, for summertime, like Ascot, or the Derby, to start the racing. Canadians race their horses all the time, winter and summer, just as long as the roads are dry enough to set a pair of wheels on. In wintertime, it's sleighs. They tell me it's already eight years since the Queen gave a prize for the fastest horse in her remaining part of North America. The part that doesn't belong to us any more hasn't got any race started that long ago. You might be wondering how they race in the winter, when, as I've told you, they've got six to eight feet of snow in front of every house in Sillery, and in Quebec too, the city, I mean, and nobody does anything about it but shovel a little tunnel through. The city seems sunk down into the snow, I don't know what they COULD do about it, come to think of it. Well, the race is on the river—on the ice, that is. Put up rows of fir trees (mostly what they call spruce, here), to make the race track, and away they go.

There's the English officer with his blood horse, and there's the French Canadian with his shaggy black horse, hardly bigger than a pony, really. And the officer yells "Hi!", and the Frenchy yells "Avant!" And away they go, running like the very devil. And it isn't always the blood horse that wins either. The little black chap, you see, is maybe more used to racing on the ice. The Canadians do it all the time. The rivers are like roads to them, in the winter. "Ice-bridge," they call it, when the river freezes over. I heard about this ice-bridge, and like a fool, thought it would be a bridge built up in the air. I didn't admit that, to anybody though. And even with the "ice-bridge," things can be pretty exciting sometimes. I cut this piece out of the paper, a magazine, that I saw. I didn't suppose you would believe me, if I told you myself. And the man says it a lot better than I could.

Occasionally serious accidents occur while driving upon the snow over frozen rivers or lakes in sleighs or carioles. Pleasure parties suddenly become engulfed without the slightest premonitory warning of their danger, when every strenuous exertions become necessary in order to save their lives. Their first object is to make sure their footing upon strong ice, when they immediately seize hold of a noose attached to the sinking horse's neck, when they pull-pull-pull remorselessly with all their might until the poor animal is almost strangled. When his breathing becomes thus checked, he rises at once gently to the surface and is hauled onto the ice. As soon as the noose is relaxed respiration becomes restored; and in a few minutes the horse canters on the snow as nimbly as before. These processes of emersion and semi-strangulation not

infrequently take place several times during the one day.

I haven't seen that myself, yet, but there's no doubt but with all the cavorting that goes on on the little river here (St Charles)—and not so little either, but only to compare with the St Lawrence, is like a sea all by itself—a power of occurrences do take place.

.....

Funny thing I saw the other day. Up at Spencer Wood, maybe I told you, the Governor General's sister-in-law is staying just now. Her husband being the G.G.'s brother, Colonel Monck. Well, Mrs Monck, of course, has a little cariole made up just to suit her. Red as a hunting jacket. Slung low to the ground these things are. A real big dog could just about step over a cariole, would hardly need to leap. I was driving along behind her, the other day. Couldn't see her, of course, her being so smothered up in furs, as I said, but I recognized the fit out. And driving along ahead of her was a very smart turn-out, Colonel somebody or other, to judge from his looks, and a lady with him. (This was a real lady, not one of your muffins.) He was driving "tandem," one horse ahead of the other and very smart they looked. Well, here they were, jingling along like a bell ringers concert, and suddenly the front sleigh, with the colonel in it, tipped over sideways and tossed the col. and his lady into eight feet of soft snow. The horses and the shafts broke from the sleigh, and ran demented along the road. Well, this happens, nobody hurt, and Mrs Monck right behind sat up straight and sudden in her cariole like a hare out of hole. She laughed and laughed. Surprised me. She doesn't laugh very easily, I hear. Built something in the fashion of the Queen, a bit on the dumpy side. Mind of her own, too. Caught a glimpse of her at the Sergeant's Ball, the other night. No, I wasn't dancing, just looking on to see what I could see. She didn't dance much, fearful of tearing her lace flounces, somebody said. And where every other woman there had about seven pound of hair, false, that is, mounted up on their heads, the higher the better, the Honourable Mrs Monck had hers parted straight down the middle and brushed back like two blackbirds wings, with only a little knot of her own hair, about the size of a biggish snail coiled about at the back of her neck. Independent.

Hard to say what these folks do in the summer. A man would almost think they had to have snow and ice and frozen ears before they were enjoying themselves. There's these outside "rinks" for skating, with carpets spread out for the ladies who don't want to skate, and tea and coffee and cakes on little tables, and a band playing away like mad.

I'm too old to learn to skate, now, and I'm telling you what you'd know anyway, I wouldn't fancy myself on one of these flat little sleds that are all about. Tarboggins. But I've broomed a few iron stones along the ice. Too cold here for the granite. Cracks them. And I'd like to take a turn at what they call "ice-boating." What would you think of racing in a boat on a river in the winter time, ice right down

to the bottom, I should think. Not done with a proper boat, of course, but what else would you call a vessel with mast and sails, that can go like hell for leather, all down the river? The boat is a kind of floor, shaped in a triangle, set up on great iron skates. One of these skates at the stern is worked with a tiller; this makes a helm. "Wear" and "Tack" is precisely the same, they tell me, as with an ordinary sailing yacht. Maybe it's just tales, having me on, but they say that some have done five miles in five minutes, on one of these boats. Maybe I'll have a try, before I come home.

Yrs aye
ALF.

Five or six people lie down flat on the floor, on these boats.

APPENDIX C

EXTRACTS FROM MRS MONCK'S DIARY, 1864

THURSDAY, [January] 5.*—After lunch yesterday Dick and I went to the rink; he met me in town; we saw some most exquisite skating. Miss M. (the auctioneer's daughter) skating is just what Captain W. said of it—"the poetry of motion." I believe he borrowed this expression from Captain Parker, in speaking of a horse. She wore red petticoat and stockings, and had a brown dress and pretty fur cap, no cloak, and she looked like one of Leech's pictures; she has lovely fair golden hair. She flies through the rink, and does figures on skates, and bends on one side like a swallow, and she is so perfectly graceful all the time. The sunset was eastern and finished by throwing a pink hue over everything. After dinner we went to the 17th ball. I had two lovely camellias in the front of my dress, but I forgot about the frost, and when I looked at them during the ball they were both turned black! The ball was very pleasant, but I danced too much, and am so dreadfully tired. I was asked to dance eighteen times. Miss Archbald was there with no chaperone but a friend's brother, so as she came to me rather in a fuss, I offered to take charge of her, but I never saw her till I was leaving, and she came out of the room with me. There were "quite a number" of pretty girls. Colonel ——'s friend, Miss ——, was there, and he would not speak to her. Miss ——, also in love with him I think, asked him if she might keep the first valse for him, and he said "No." She said later, "Are we friends?" he answered "Yes, only I'm not going to dance with you." Madame D. at the ball began telling me how she was refused Absolution and the Holy Sacrament because she had fast dances at her house. Her daughter does not mind the priests here, only those in England. I missed Dick from the ball for an hour, and found that he and some elderly men were playing whist off in some room far away. Mr W. R. A. dances just as he plays cricket, with such force. He spends his days skating, and now skates beautifully; if you could see him trying over and over again to learn figures at the rink, and never giving up, although almost falling in the attempt. The funny sight at the rink was black Captain E. (25th) struggling between two other 25th officers, looking in agony, but still working on; he looked so helpless. It is not worth while for me to learn to skate, and I fear I may break my arms and legs. This morning the 25th marched up here on snow shoes; a very fine sight! The snow shoes are like enormous racquets, and are fastened on over yellow mocassins. Some of the men were left behind, and tumbled about sadly. They gave three cheers and one cheer more for the G.G.

*Monck, op. cit., p. 110.

SATURDAY, January 14.*— After dinner I dressed for the rink ball, by putting on over stockings and boots, many warm things under my seal-skin coat, and my fur cap instead of a wreath! Dick invited Captain Pem. to the ball; you know he had no right to do so, which amused me. When we arrived I was struck with the very pretty and novel sight; the rink was lit with gas, and decorated with flags and ornaments; there were tables with refreshments on the ice, and the 25th band was playing. It looked like a fair in a Dutch picture; most of the girls wore very short red petticoats, and grey or black dresses; some wore scarlet, and some white feathers in their fur caps, and most of the officers wore their mess uniforms. I sat at the end of the rink till F. B. skated up to me, and told me that there was a place meant for me on a sofa near the top of the rink: so up there I struggled. I found Mr Cartier there, and Mrs R. Mr C. looked too odd in fur coat and cap, with spectacles on his nose! I cried with laughing looking at the skaters; some did it too beautifully. To see Miss Maxham and a Miss Eppy Ross waltzing together was prettier than any ballet. Captain E. I spied in his mess uniform with the saddest face, teeth set, and arms like a wind-mill, struggling on alone, heeding no one, and looking as if nothing but death could stop him. All the time the others were dancing quadrilles, lancers, or vales, there he was steadily tearing around the rink alone, sometimes knocked against, but always righting himself and looking as awkward as possible. He looked like a person shuffling along with slippers, too large for him; do you know what I mean? Then there was Mr Wingfield with his head on one side arm in arm with another beginner, both shuffling along against time, and ending by a good tumble; they looked like two helpless tipsy men. Then Colonel Hassard came up near me, and I remarked that he did not bow; at last he shuffled up holding on by Mr Harding, R. E., saying "I daren't bow to you." Mr Sitwell skated about looking intensely composed. It was funny to see the gentlemen skating over with wine and water to the ladies. I never was more amused, and was very angry at leaving; we left so early—about 11. Miss Archibald skated through some quadrilles wonderfully, having only been 10 times on skates.

TUESDAY, [February] 21**—. . . . The scene is too wonderful, and you cannot imagine you are looking at reality when you see this wonderful sight. As we turned into the sort of amphitheatre or rocks and fir trees, in the middle of which are the grand Falls, we saw all the 25th in their red coats, & all the R. A. in dark blue overcoats grouped about on the ice, and on the Cone. There was a large collection of sleighs and harness in one spot, and a little further on were all the ladies of the party sitting at lunch on the frozen river at a table with forms all round it. The officers were in undress uniforms with fur caps, and were attending on the ladies. They were all very civil to us and gave us lunch. The Cone, as I told you before, is formed by the frozen spray

*Ibid., p. 115.

**Ibid., pp. 135-136.

from the Falls falling on a large rock out in the river. The big Cone is about 80 feet high. There is also a "Ladies' Cone," a much smaller one. You go down these cones on "Sleds," or little flat forms of wood on runners. We found a large party of people—the Roses, Madame Gautier, the Princes, etc. The R.A. had a large pic-nic also—after lunch the two parties amalgamated, and we had great fun. A fire was lighted on the ice I forgot to say, and we had hot soup. The sun was so hot that we did not feel chilled eating our food on the river! After lunch we walked off to look at the sliding down the Cone. How we laughed! About twelve soldiers all held on one behind the other and came down the Cone, not sitting on sleds, but just bumping or slipping down on nothing. The terrific tumbles they got astonished us, but they did not seem to mind; happily there were three doctors present! The men's heads got knocked about "pretty considerable." I saw one head bound up and bleeding. One of the 25th officers puzzled me much for a long time; his own coat had got wet through on the Cone, and he wore a coachman's livery coat with silver buttons. He is a new officer and I thought he was a servant, and wondered to see him walking with ladies. We went to see the beautiful ice-house cut in the Cone, and the ice curiosities there. There is an ice sofa and table, an ice-horse, a bird, a dog and two mummies, they are marvellously cut out of blocks of ice. . . . Mr Serecold got a bad hurt from a sled covered with soldiers flying up against him, and knocking him down on his head. He was much stunned but one of the Doctors was in attendance and said "It was nothing bad." Soon the band of the 25th struck up, and a quadrille was proposed. Old Mc flew to ask me to dance! The novelty of dancing on the river was not to be resisted, otherwise I should have preferred to look on at the men sliding. I got on very well, and no one fell. A ring of soldiers was made round the dancers; it looked altogether curious and novel. I looked suddenly at my brave partner, and was much amused at seeing his walking stick stuck down his back whilst he was dancing! I asked him if he knew it was there; he said he put it there to keep it out of his way! He implored me to go down the Cone with him! Of course I refused. Mrs M. upset my gravity by sailing through the snow and ice with a long dress and a bonnet and thin veil, looking as if she was walking in Rotten Row. The bugles soon sounded; and we set off sleigh wards.

APPENDIX D

A NEWSPAPER ARTICLE STRESSING THE NEED FOR RECREATION FACILITIES, 1860

A SOCIAL NECESSITY*

A crowded circus is not without a moral. The eager interest with which the ups and downs of a cricket match are watched, tells of more than a fondness for that manly game. And the attractiveness of the sports which are being somewhat hastily provided for the passing Fair, is laden with the same prosaic truth. More play is wanted. More recreation must be provided, unless the children and youth of our Canadian cities are to grow up with half the proper quantity of bone and muscle, and with but a fractional part of the elasticity of spirit which of right belongs to them. It is not enough that there is occasional relief from the school, the store, and the workshop. What is needed is a systematic recognition of the value of the playground and the importance of ample means of general recreation, as well for the cultivation of the health as for the preservation of the morals of the community.

Our public schools, we are aware, are not unmindful of the amusement of their pupils. They are provided with space, where girls may skip and boys play leap-frog without interference by churlish neighbours—with swings and gymnastic poles, to give strength of limb and activity of body to the race of school-folk. There amusement ends. Play goes no further. Caer Howell has a cricket-ground, managed upon approved exclusive principles. Here and there, an enterprising tavern-keeper furnishes quoits to customers who like them. A bowling-alley adds to the attractiveness of an occasional saloon. But for boys not going to school—for youth released from desk or bench—for full grown men tied down to sedentary pursuits, and longing for exercise—what have we in these glorious months of summer and autumn? Positively nothing. The sight of bat and ball and wicket on some vacant lot, 50 x 100, does not disprove the remark. As a rule, play is deemed too trifling a thing to think about. Recreation is left to chance, as though physical development, and inspiring, harmless frolic, were beneath the notice of the staid philosophers who take education and morals under their peculiar care. Let us not wonder that pent-up vitality, debarred free scope and healthy associations, expends itself in more questionable directions; or that our youth generally, deprived of invigorating exercise, turn out "a stunted, weak, degenerate race."

Nowhere, perhaps, is the value of education, as ordinarily understood, more appreciated. And even of sanitary improvement our civic

* Globe, Toronto, August 25, 1860.

rulers are not unmindful. Commodious school-houses attest the wise liberality of those who are charged with educational responsibilities. The amount expended in fencing and planting the open spaces which are reserved as breathing spots for the city when it shall be more densely populated, prove not less clearly the extent of effort to promote public health. One other thing is yet required—free spaces, where city clerks and artisans, where city children large and small, may indulge in harmless sport, and so gratify the natural instinct of an organization which, if ever it is to be developed, must have free and frequent exercise.

The larger question of indoor recreation for the multitude, if less reasonable, is not less urgent in its nature. Winter will reveal the craving, the obvious want; shall it also witness no other supply than that which lecturer or wandering songster or buffoon may choose to furnish? It is a question which those interested in social reform will do well to ponder. Shall nothing be done to place good and acceptable amusement within the reach of classes that need it most?

APPENDIX E

THE PARIS REGATTA*

THE VICTORY OF THE NEW BRUNSWICKERS

(Paris Correspondence Manchester Guardian)

Monday, the second day of the Paris Regatta, will be long remembered among rowing men, and should make either English oarsmen or English boatbuilders reconsider the first principles of their art. The races appointed were:—1. In-rigged fours, prize 2,000f. 2. The same for the second class, prize 600f. 3. In-rigged pairs, prize, 1,000f. 4. Outrigged fours prize 1,000. Among the strange-looking people whom this regatta has brought together, not the least strange were a certain crew of four sturdy New Brunswickers, who, having beaten everything on their own waters, had brought two home-made boats some thousands of miles to show the rest of the world how to row. With their flesh-coloured jerseys, dark cloth trowsers, leather braces, and bright pink caps, they were in striking contrast to their neat competitors. Their style of rowing is by no means in accordance with received ideas. It consists of a short, quick stroke, pulled almost entirely with the arms, hitting the water fairly at the beginning, with a jerk at the end, and a regular marked hang upon the chest. They row without a coxswain, bow steering, partly by an ingenious contrivance with his feet, partly with his oar. Their time is perfect, and their course as straight as a die.

For the first race, in the in-rigged four, about half a dozen boats started, the New Brunswickers having the outside station, among the rough water. In spite of this disadvantage at the start, they were the first to reach the lower buoys, heading Paris by a length and a quarter. Turning the buoys too wide, they let Paris come almost level, but soon shot away again. At the stand, stroke coolly waved his hat to the shouting crowd, rowing on with one hand, and after turning the starting point again, came back, winning easily. Both he and his crew were received with a perfect storm of well merited applause.

The second race was of inferior interest.

The third race—in-rigged pairs—was remarkable for the utter defeat of two distinguished Oxonians, who were not suited to their boat. Paris won.

So far fortune had not favoured the English. There remained but

*Morning Chronicle, Quebec, August 14, 1867.

one race, that of out-rigged fours, and this time there was to be no turning round the buoys, but the course was from the starting place to the bridge of Sureennes. Six boats started—Paris, London, New Brunswick, Boulogne, Hamburg, University College, Oxford. Oxford had the outside station, and was exposed to the full force of wind and waves; New Brunswick the shore side, and well under shelter. The order of the boats as they passed the stand was New Brunswick, London, Hamburg, Paris, Oxford about two lengths behind. Oxford came on passing Hamburg and Paris without difficulty, but failed to reach London, who in their turn were outstripped by New Brunswick. In this order the boats reached the bridge, New Brunswick finishing at 45 strokes a minute, and winning by more than two lengths. Three lengths separated the second and third. The remaining boats were much scattered.

Thus were two crack English crews, rowing quite fresh, in boats weighing about 60 pounds beaten by the tired New Brunswickers, in a boat weighing 200 pounds. The New Brunswickers are not amateurs of the usual kind, being men to all appearance of much the same stamp as our English water men. Their success is probably largely due to their splendid condition and enormous "grit," partly to the fact of their rowing without the dead weight of a coxswain, but also partly to the good quality of their boats, which, though much too heavy, are keel built, stand well up on the bows, and displace wonderfully little water. The following are the names of these heroes of the day: Stroke, G. Price; 3 E. Ross; 2 S. Hutton; bow, R. Fulton. Their average weight is 11 stone 5 pounds, but they look more.

Sala, in the London Telegraph, writing from Paris, July 10, says:—Yesterday, as I told you, the "Canadian four" beat French and English, and today were so elated that they wanted to row any "four" in Southampton for £500 or £1,000. Their boat is a curious old-fashioned outrigger, and looks like a Chinese puzzle painted green, it is so wonderfully made and so curiously put together. They pull with a will, though, these Canadian brothers of ours, and as for "chaff" the hind leg of a horse would be taken off in next to no time.

APPENDIX F

MONTREAL OLYMPIC GAMES*

UNDER THE PARTONAGE OF HIS EXCELLENCY

THE GOVERNOR GENERAL

FIRST DAY

The sports commenced yesterday at noon, and were attended by a large number of competitors, and a considerable assemblage of our citizens. The day was exceedingly favourable, and the arrangements admirable—reflecting great credit on the gentlemen who assumed the management of the games.

1. RIFLE SHOOTING

Six competitors entered their names—Bertram carrying off the prize.

2. STANDING HIGH VAULT

Four competitors appeared, and the vaulting was considered excellent. The prize was won by Mr Wm Boyd, Montreal Gazette office. The following are the names of the parties, and the height of their respective vaults:—

| | |
|--------------|--------------|
| +W. Boyd, | 6 ft 6 ins |
| +F. Duclos, | 6 ft 3 ins |
| +J. Cushing, | 6 ft 3 ins |
| - Meager, | 5 ft 10½ ins |

3. RUNNING HIGH LEAP

Eight competitors keenly contested this game, and the leaping was admirable, exciting intense interest among the spectators. The prize was won by +Mr Augustus Lamontagne, hotly pressed by Sergeant McGillivray of the 93rd Highlanders, and Private A. McPherson of the same Regiment. The winner cleared 5 ft ½ inch, and McGillivray 5 feet. This game was very protracted.

*Montreal Gazette, August 29, 1844.

4. THE STANDING LEAP

Was contested with great spirit by six gentlemen, who acquitted themselves very creditably; ⁺C. Burroughs, Esq., winning the prize after a hard struggle—height 4 ft 5 ins—Ross of the 93rd and Mr Boyd, cleared within half an inch of the winner.

5. THROWING LIGHT HAMMER—8 lbs

This prize was won cleverly by Mr Wm Shaw, of Chichester, England, from 8 competitors, most of whom acquitted themselves creditably. The distances thrown were:—

| | |
|----------------------|---------------|
| ⁺ Shaw, | 124½ feet |
| Sergt McGillivray, | 118 ft 10 ins |
| Prvt Peter McDonald, | |
| 93rd Regt, | 118 ft 9 ins |
| John McDonald, | 117 ft 9 ins |

6. THROWING HEAVY HAMMER— 15 lbs

This prize was won, after a severe struggle, by Sergeant Mc Gillivray, 93rd Regt, who threw the hammer 80 feet 6 inches, Mr Shaw coming up within 4 feet of the winner. Six competitors contested for this prize, and the throwing was very good throughout.

7. FOOT RACE—400 Yards

Nineteen persons started, several of them being Indians—the contest, however, terminating in favour of the white man. Mr C. Burroughs won the prize cleverly, followed by an Indian glorying in the mellifluous name of Onasateka, and the winner of the running leap, Mr Lamontagne.

8. GAME OF LA CROSSE

The race was followed by the Indian game of La Crosse much resembling the game in Scotland termed "shinty." A purse of \$10 was made up for the winners among the spectators, who appeared highly gratified by the agility displayed.

9. THROWING THE CRICKET BALL

F. Duchos won this prize, after a hard struggle, from 20 competitors—distance 96 yards.

10. WALKING MATCH—1 Mile

Next followed a walking match of one mile, which was not decided on account of alleged irregularity on the part of the two foremost competitors. The match will come off again today.

Great amusement was afforded by the two last matches, viz., Climbing the Pole and a Wheelbarrow Race. Private McPherson, of the 93rd, won the latter, and an Indian, named Jacques, the former, after the most eager contest we ever witnessed.

This closed the amusements of the day, to be resumed today at 12 o'clock, when excellent sport is anticipated. The greatest harmony prevailed throughout, and the gentlemen who directed the games manifested much commendable urbanity in their deportment and impartiality in their decisions.

The fine band of the 93rd Regiment enlivened the amusements, and contributed much to the enjoyment of the spectators; and it is due to this fine regiment to state, that in almost every game some one of their number put the skill and metal of the civilian competitors to a severe test.

N.B.—Those marked with a cross are Members of the Olympic Club.

APPENDIX G

THE CURLING BONSPIEL*

Good, reader, were you ever present at a Curling match?—If not, don't lose the opportunity offered today. There is a deal of fun in it. If the weather be fine the sport, which is indeed a fine, manly one, will be well worth two or three hours attention. A road has been made from the foot of St Gabriel Street down to the rinks, so that ladies may drive to the spot in their carriages. We learn that it is intended that strangers should be given preference in the game today, as they have been invited by the Montreal Club to take part, but we may expect to see some of our Montreal hands giving us a taste of their quality, the strength of their sinews and the dexterity of their play. And so the brooms will be flourished and the stones slid, amid many a merry shout and cheerful guffaw. Mr Doane, we understand, will try his hand at daguerretyping some of the groups, during the day. So fair ladies, get a good place, that your charms may grace and adorn the picture.

All keen curlers will be sure to be there. The rinks are opposite the Bonsecours Market; the play to commence at 10 A.M.

CURLING**

The Grand Bonspiel advertised by the Canadian Branch of the "Royal Caledonian Curling Club of Scotland" came off on the ice opposite the city on Wednesday last. The day being fine, and the ice all that could be wished, both in quality and quantity, at ten o'clock as many players as could be furnished with stones and besoms had arrived. After sides had been arranged, which was done by placing red against blue, seven rinks set to work, each determined to support its respective colour, and all meeting on equal terms, with good ice and no favour. It was not until the score was made up at four o'clock, the hour appointed to stop, that it could be told who were to be the victors.

Amongst the players we noticed the Merchant and the Mechanic, the Soldier and the Civilian, the Pastor and his Flock, all on an equal footing, for the game of curling levels all ranks, and makes "The chiel that soops and plays the best the king o' men for a' that."

A large concourse of lookers-on were present during the day, who appeared much interested in the game. We overheard some remarks which were very amusing to curlers, particularly the sayings of the ladies,

*Montreal Gazette, January 10, 1855.

**Ibid., January 12, 1855.

of whom we were more than delighted to see so many on the ice. Their bright inspiring glances, we doubt not, tended much to cheer the players with their approving smiles. It seemed to them the sooper department was well looked after and well done. We have no doubt they thought of their homes and their housemaids, who, if our experience is worth much, seldom show as much energy on the carpet as curlers do on the ice.

Altogether it was a gladdening sight to see so much good feeling amidst so much rivalry; everyone present appeared to have given care full discharge for the day. We observed Mr Duncan the artist amongst them "takin' notes" which may make their appearance yet. The following is the result of the score of their respective ranks:—[A list of players follows.] . . .

Majority in favour of the Blue, 11 shots.

After giving three cheers for the Red and the Blue,

"Each took up their several way,
Resolved to meet some other day."

APPENDIX H

A DESCRIPTION OF THE RUNNING OF TORONTO'S FIRST QUEEN'S PLATE

TORONTO SPRING RACES*

The Toronto Spring Races commenced yesterday, over the Carleton Race Course. The day was fine and there could not have been fewer than three thousand persons on the ground. C. S. Gzowski Esq., President of the Toronto Turf Club, acted as Judge; G. L. Denison Esq., as Starter, and John Boulton, Esq., as Clerk of the Course. The first race was for the

QUEEN'S PLATE, valued at 50 guineas, open to all horses in Upper Canada which never won public money—mile heats. The following horses were entered and started in the race:—

Mr Weller's c.g. Highflier, 4 years old.
 Mr White's b.g. Don Juan, 5 years old.
 Mr Byer's b.m. Lady Carleton, 4 years old.
 Mr Alexander's b.c. Tom Sayers, 3 years old.
 Mr Ewart's b. h. Bob Marshall, 4 years old.
 Dr Kerwin's g.c. Paris, 4 years old.
 Mr Henderson's c. g. Wild Irishman, 7 years old.
 Mr Palmer's c.m. Queen, 5 years old.

FIRST HEAT

In the first heat, when the word "go" was given, Paris suddenly bolted close to the stand, and threw his rider, (Nelson Littlefield,) but fortunately without hurting him. The others got well away, Don Juan and Bob Marshall leading, and the others well up, the riderless steed being fourth. At the three-quarters distance post, Bob Marshall took the lead and kept it well, winning, however, only by half a length, Don Juan being second, Wild Irishman third, and Queen fourth. The others were distanced. Time, 1 min. 58 sec.

SECOND HEAT

In the second heat an excellent start was effected. Don Juan—rode[sic] by N. Littlefield, who was thrown in the first heat—took the lead, followed closely by Bob Marshall, Wild Irishman being a good third.

*Globe, Toronto, June 28, 1860.

At the home turn, Wild Irishman came up close to Don Juan's flank, and an exciting race took place, the Don, however, winning the heat. Time, 2 min. 5 sec.

THIRD HEAT

In the third heat, Don Juan and Bob Marshall made all the running. Towards the close the race was a neck and neck one, but Mr White's Don Juan passed the post half a length ahead of its opponents, and was declared, amid much cheering, the winner of the first Queen's Plate. Time, 1 min. 58 sec.

APPENDIX I

AN ACT TO PREVENT THE PROFANATION OF
THE LORD'S DAY, COMMONLY CALLED SUNDAY, IN UPPER CANADA*

III. And be it enacted, That if any such Merchant, Tradesman, Artificer, Mechanic, Workman, Labourer, or other person whatsoever, shall, from and after the passing of this Act, sell, or publicly shew forth, or expose, or offer for sale, or shall purchase any wares, merchandizes, goods, chattels, or personal property, or any real estate whatsoever, on the Lord's Day, commonly called Sunday, as aforesaid, or shall do, or exercise any worldly labour, business, or work of their respective ordinary callings, (except as hereinbefore excepted,)—or if any person or persons shall tittle, or allow or permit tipping in any Inn, Tavern, Grocery, or House of Public Entertainment, or shall revel, or publicly exhibit himself or herself in a state of intoxication, or shall brawl, or use profane language in the public streets, or open air, thereby creating any disturbance or annoyance to Her Majesty's peaceable subjects on that day,—or shall play at skittles, ball, foot-ball, racket, or any other noisy game, or shall gamble with dice or otherwise, or shall run races on foot, or on horseback, or in carriages, or vehicles of any sort on that day,—or if any person or persons shall go out fishing, or hunting or shooting, or in quest of, or shall take, kill, or destroy any deer or other game, or any wild animal, bird, or wild fowl, or fish, except as next hereinafter mentioned, or shall use any dog, fishing rod, gun, rifle, or other machine, or shall set any net or trap for the above mentioned purposes on that day, except in defence of his, her or their property from any wolf, or other ravenous beast or bird of prey, or shall bathe in any exposed situation in any water within the limits of any incorporated City or Town, or within view of any place of Public Worship, or private residence, on the Lord's Day; such person or persons being convicted of any or either of the offences hereinbefore mentioned, before a Justice of the Peace, upon the oath or affirmation of one or more credible witness or witnesses, (which oath or affirmation the Justice is hereby authorized to administer,) or upon view had of the offence by the said Justice himself, shall pay a fine or penalty not exceeding ten pounds, nor less than five shillings, current money of this Province, for each offence, together with the costs and charges attending the proceedings and conviction.

*Statutes of Canada, 1845, 8 Vict., c. 45.

APPENDIX J

SOURCE OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- PLATE
- I. Guillet, Early Life in Upper Canada, p. 363.
- II. de Volpi, op. cit., Plate 23.
- III. Ibid., Plate 50.
- IV. Craig, op. cit., p. 28. Barbeau, op. cit.
- V. Spendlove, op. cit., Plates 74 and 75.
- VI. Weyand and Rol, op. cit., following p. 368.
- VII. Roxborough, One Hundred—Not Out, following p. 118.
- VIII. Hubbard, op. cit., Plate 29.
- IX. de Volpi, op. cit., Plate 24.
- X. Guillet, Pioneer Inns and Taverns, I, 163.
- XI. Proctor, op. cit., p. 10.
- XII. Hubbard, op. cit., Plate 21.
- XIII. Raddall, op. cit., p. 252. Spendlove, op. cit., Plate 73.
- XIV. Spendlove, op. cit., Plate 87. de Volpi, op. cit., Plate 25.
- XV. Guillet, Early Life in Upper Canada, p. 296. Howell, op. cit., p. 36.
- XVI. Guillet, Pioneer Inns and Taverns, II, 142. Howell, op. cit., p. 36.
- XVII. Eric Parker, The History of Cricket (London: Seelby Service and Co. Ltd, n.d.), p. 136.
- XVIII. Spendlove, op. cit., Plates 43 and 44.