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ATHLETICISM IN SELECTED CANADIAN PRIVATE SCHOOLS FOR BOYS TO 1918

by

DAVID WILLIAM BROWN

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

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ABSTRACT

The study focused on private schooling in Victorian and Edwardian Canada. More specifically, it investigated the educational function of organised physical activity within a selected sample of ten private schools.

Athleticism in the private schools of the Dominion represented an ideology which at the practical level comprised considerable and often compulsory involvement in organised outdoor physical pursuits, notably the team games of cricket, rugby, Canadian football and ice hockey, and the activities of snowshoeing, tobogganning, skating, canoeing and camping. By partaking in such healthy exercise, it was thoroughly believed that an individual developed behavioural qualities which would have both physical and moral benefits in later life. A sense of duty to self and group, which could include a team, the school and ultimately the nation, along with the attributes of fair play, honesty, truth and the ability to co-operate, command and obey were effectively transmitted through participation.

Organised games were used by school authorities as a convenient means of social control, and were a potent agent of socialisation. The values and attitudes which the proponents of athleticism professed that sport could impart corresponded with contemporary educational thought. The training of young Canadian citizens was achieved as much through the medium of games as it was through the values espoused in school text books. Products of the private school system were healthy, morally and physically, in mind and body.

In this educational setting, games contributed, at least in the public eye, toward the fostering of Christian principles. Students could learn moral lessons from participation in cricket, football and ice hockey. However, this Christianising influence, at times, masked the harsh realities, not only of games, but also of the schools themselves. Life was often stoic and indeed in instances unChristian. The environment created a rugged physical individualism among the boys that reflected elements of Darwinian thought as much as the muscular Christian sentiments offered for public consumption.

Athleticism was consolidated at the schools through a number of forces. These forces were both internal and external. They included speeches by visiting dignitaries, the financial contributions made by wealthy parents and Old Boys of the school, philosophical arguments of Headmasters and staff, and most importantly the action and rhetoric of the boys of the schools.

The study revealed that the adoption of organised [illegible] was not as uniform, in terms of dates, as previous scholars had indicated. [illegible] manifestation of the ideology at a working level the same in each school. The justifications for games put forward by Headmasters varied. Local conditions and circumstances, personal experience and emerging sources of inspiration, from both Britain and Canada, forced differences in lines of thought. This, on occasion, gave athleticism a distinct Canadian character despite conventional values underlying its subscription.

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pleasure of working with him.

Finally, I would like to dedicate this dissertation to Moira Cooper who was entirely responsible for my coming to Canada in the first place.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

One of the most researched topics in the study of the history of sport and physical education has been that of the English public schools. The organised games phenomenon and its accompanying ideals, which evolved at these institutions, permeated the spheres of British sport in the latter decades of the nineteenth-century: it was also linked with political, religious and economic spheres of life. The ideal of the British public school was dispersed wherever public school men went to settle, to govern, to preach, to teach, to trade or to manufacture.[1] With regard to research investigating the form and function of organised games within the Victorian and Edwardian British public schools, J.A. Mangan's publication, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School*, has utilised new evidence and analysis and has thus viewed the ideology of athleticism and its many manifestations in a new light.[2] It has also provided a firm basis from which to extend research dealing with the public schools beyond the geographical boundaries of Great Britain.

A study, similar in scope and depth of interpretation, of the significance of organised games in the Canadian private school system of education, especially of those schools formed on the British model, has not yet been undertaken. In view of the importance attached to the contribution of the British public school, and of the lack of a complete examination of the Canadian private schools, it is the purpose of this study to investigate the form and function of organised sport and games, and the attitudes towards them, in selected private schools of Canada up to the end of the First World War.

Over the past two decades, a number of books have been published with reference to a movement which has been aptly described by one author as the 'English Public School Phenomenon.' The rise of these institutions of secondary schooling during the

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[1]With regard to Canada, this point has been excellently covered by Patrick Dunae in *Gentlemen Emigrants: From the British Public School to the Canadian Frontier.* Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1981.

[2]J.A. Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School. The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideal.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

nineteenth-century has been well-documented by authors such as Ogilvie, Newsome, Mack, Wilkinson, Bamford, Honey and Gathorne-Hardy, to name but a few.[3] Each author has interpreted the nature and function of these schools in society, paying particular attention to the social, political, economic, educational and religious climate of the period. The rise of these schools into bastions of power through which the middle and upper classes could maintain their status in British society closely parallels the rise of British Imperialism. In fact, the marked parallel between the mechanisms of the public schools, and their values and ideals, and those of the British Government at this time are not accidental. Wilkinson points out that "the imperialists of the nineties mentioned England and their school days in the same breath; certainly, many of them saw the public school as the generator of imperial enthusiasm."[4] By the end of the nineteenth-century, following a period of firmly consolidated class rule, the public schools had become the nation's leadership elite,[5] not only in political and military circles, but also among the professional echelons of society. As the Empire expanded, these men attained leading administrative positions overseas:[6] the English public school man governed the Empire 'almost unconsciously.'[7] The Victorian educational ethic spread to many parts of the globe, and its diffusion assured the presence of other associated 'props' of Empire-building:

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[3]V. Ogilvie, *The English Public School*. London: B.T. Batsford, 1957; D. Newsome, *Godliness and Good Learning*. London: John Murray, 1961; E.C. Mack, *Public Schools and British Opinion Since 1860*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1971 (1941); R. Wilkinson, *The Prefects: British Leadership and the Public School Tradition*. London: Oxford University Press, 1964; T.W. Bamford, *The Rise of the Public Schools*. London: Nelson, 1967; J.R.de S. Honey, *Tom Brown's Universe. The Development of the Victorian Public School*. London: Hillington Books Ltd., 1977; and J. Gathorne-Hardy, *The Public School Phenomenon*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1979.

[4]Wilkinson, *ibid.*, p. 100.

[5]Ogilvie, *ibid.*, pp. 188-189.

[6]For a pertinent example of this see J.A. Mangan, "The Education of an Elite Administration: The Sudan Political Service and the British Public School System," *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 15:4, 1982, pp. 671-699. This paper utilises quantitative analysis to strongly support the argument that there was a link between public school education, and in particular the sporting achievements of the boys at these institutions, and employment in the colonial service.

[7]P. Johnson, Johnson, "Education of an Establishment," in G. MacDonald Frazer (ed.) *The World of the Public School*. London: Weidenfield and Nicholson, 1977, p. 24.

> Refusing to broaden the base of the dominion by Conquistador-like assimilation, the British overseas were heavily dependent on their own imported inventions for keeping up morale. The club, the Anglican churches, railway refreshment rooms, mock Tudor taverns, masonic lodges, the golf course, the race course, all these played their part.[8]

In its most obvious form, the Victorian public school was manifest in the private schools which were established on overseas soil. Replicas of the Victorian institution and its associated values and ideals, and especially its attendant sporting traditions, were transplanted in countries such as Australia, Canada, India, New Zealand and South Africa where Britain maintained a strong political, social and economic influence. Some research dealing with the form and function of the British public school model in its overseas environment has been conducted, and comparison to the original counterpart has been made.[9] Indeed, with the revival in the interest in the 'public school phenomenon,' there has been an increase in the number of studies dealing with the phenomenon abroad.[10] One author in particular has become intrigued with the diffusion of this model and its associated values and ideals; Mangan's works cover a variety of public school topics: the link between the schools and sport and the overseas 'civil service,' the influence of Headmasters, the diffusion of the ethic in India, and, with specific regard to the association between sport and games in the public schools, the ideology of athleticism.[11]

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[8]R. Hyam, *Britain's Imperial Century, 1815-1914. A Study of Empire and Expansion*. London: B.T. Batsford, 1976, p. 150.

[9]See for example J.S. Malikail, "The Public School System in India," *Canadian and International Education*, 4:1, June, 1975, pp. 69-88.

[10]For example see, J.A. Mangan, "Gentlemen Galore - Imperial Education for Tropical Africa: Lugard the Ideologist," *Immigrants and Minorities*, 1:2, July, 1982; J.A. Mangan, "Eton in India: the Imperial Diffusion of a Victorian Educational Ethic," *History of Education*, 7:2, 1978, pp. 105-118; R.C. Wilcox, "Games and Good Learning: the Contribution of the English Public Schools to Canadian Amateur Sport," A Paper Presented at the Eighth Annual Convention of the North American Society for Sport History, Banff, Alberta, Canada, May, 1980; and T. Chandler, "Some Historical Influences of the Enlish Public Schools on the Development of Sport and the 'Games-Playing' Tradition in Canadian Private Schools - A Comparative Perspective," *Comparative Physical Education and Sport*, 5:3, 1980, pp. 20-27.

[11]Mangan, *ibid.*, and "Almond of Loretto: Scottish Educational Visionary and Reformer," *Scottish Educational Review*, 11:2, November, 1979, pp. 97-106.

The organised games phenomenon, and its alleged character building qualities, has been mentioned and discussed by most authors of public school literature, both fact and fiction. Thomas Hughes' *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, first published in 1857, is the first notable example in fiction,[12] and Peter McIntosh's pioneering work in 1968 marked the initial search into the area by a sport historian.[13] Since McIntosh, several writers have looked at the public schools' obsession with games,[14] and research dealing with the cult of athleticism has been thoroughly re-evaluated in Mangan's *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School*. Clearly then, there has been and is an interest in the public school system, the games ethic and imperialism. Research in this subject area with regard to the private school system in Canada is a logical extension of past research and will allow for an in-depth cross-cultural comparison between [redacted] school systems of the two countries.

It is only within the past seven years that major works on the private school system in Canada have been completed.[15] Podmore's study in 1976 took a sociological approach to investigate the evolution of private schooling *per se* in Canada and made only minor reference to the adoption of the traditions and values of the English public schools. Gossage's work was completed the following year and was a collated historical description of the major private schools in Canada, and of the evolution of the private school system.[16] This book was in fact a successor to Stephen's *Private Schools in Canada*, published in 1938, which surveyed the schools affiliated with the Canadian Headmasters Association of that time.[17] Stephen's work represents the first attempt to gather, within a single volume, information about the member schools of

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[12]T. Hughes, *Tom Brown's Schooldays*. London: Macmillan, 1974 (1857). For an overview of examples of the public school in English Literature, see J.R. Reed's *Old School Ties: the Public Schools in British Literature*. Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1964.

[13]P.C. McIntosh, *Physical Education in England Since 1800*. London: G.Bell, 1968.

[14]See for example D.W. Smith, *Stretching Their Bodies: The History of Physical Education*. London: David and Charles, 1974.

[15]C.J. Podmore, Private Schooling in English Canada, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, McMaster University, 1976; and C. Gossage, *A Question of Privilege. Canada's Independent Schools*. Toronto: Peter Martin, 1977.

[16]Podmore had been in contact with Gossage prior to the completion of this study. His approach thus avoided replication of the latter's work.

[17]A.G. Stephen, *Private Schools in Canada*. Canada: Clarke, Irwin, 1938.

the Association which had previously been scattered in calendars, prospectuses, leaflets, school histories and similar publications.[18] Stephen examined briefly the histories of sixteen schools, and under particular sub-headings such as Grounds and Buildings, Curriculum, Fees, etc., looked at the different aspects of school life. His work in turn was succeeded by McMaster's thesis which dealt with the founding of some private schools and looked in greater detail at the structural organisation of contemporary institutions.[19]

The most interpretive work on the influence of the English public school is Purdy's "The English Public School Tradition in Nineteenth-Century Ontario."[20] Purdy compared the political, social and economic climates of Britain and Canada and contended that the socio-economic milieu of nineteenth-century Ontario transformed the transplanted public school of England into a somewhat different institution.[21] His case is well-argued, but the obvious limitation of the work is that it is only an essay in a compilation of works that deal solely with nineteenth-century Ontario. In addition, little mention is made of the curriculum and of its function within the school system or of the role played by Headmasters in the development of a desired perception of the school and of its place in Canadian society.[22] Purdy himself pointed out in the conclusion that further research was needed to support his main contention with regard to the role of the private school in the twentieth-century. Consequently, in a more recent study, Barman has argued that the private schools established in British Columbia in the early 1900s replicated the English public school model and helped to maintain a

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[18] *Ibid.*, Preface.

[19] T.A. McMaster, A Study of Private Schools in Canada, Unpublished M.Ed. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1940. The main body of the subject matter of this thesis was based on replies to a questionnaire which looked at factors such as admission of pupils, qualifications of teachers, teacher work load, curriculum aims, religious instruction and services, etc.. Only one page (p .135) was given over to the athletic curriculum and the form and function of organised games and sport was not discussed.

[20] J.D. Purdy, "The English Public School Tradition in Nineteenth-Century Ontario," in F.M. Fergueson, H.A. Stevenson and J.D. Wilson *Aspects of Nineteenth-Century Ontario*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974, pp. 237-252.

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 248-249.

[22] He does point out that due to the strong emphasis on and importance of business in the Toronto area, there was a movement to put commercial-type courses on the curriculum of the private schools, *ibid.*, pp. 243-244.

sense of British identity among the province's British settlers.[23] Barman's findings indicate that simple generalisations about the nature of private schooling in the Dominion cannot be made. Indeed, further research on a national basis is necessary to confirm the validity of Purdy's original statement regarding the transformation of Canadian private schools in the nineteenth-century. The lack of comprehensive interpretive work on private schooling in Canada is obvious.

Similar to the study of private schooling *per se* in Canada, the study of the public schools of England and of the Canadian private schools with respect to sport and physical education in the Dominion is a subject which has received haphazard attention over the past fifteen years.[24] Chapters in Ph.D. dissertations have been written in an attempt to partially describe and interpret these influences, and one M.A. thesis has been devoted to one aspect of the issue.[25] Lindsay included a chapter in his dissertation on the development of sport in schools and colleges prior to Confederation, and in another section the same author investigated the influence of military officers, and their attendant English public school values and sporting traditions, on the growth of sport in British North America.[26] The sporting interests of the British public school Old Boys on the Canadian frontier are mentioned throughout Dunae's recent book although no one chapter completely focused on the emergence of organised

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[23] J. Barman, "Growing up British in British Columbia: The Vernon Preparatory School 1914-1946," Chapter 5 in J.D. Wilson and D.C. Jones (eds.) *Schooling and Society in Twentieth-Century British Columbia*. Calgary, Alberta: Detselig Enterprizes Limited, 1980.

[24] It is acknowledged that military drill was utilised as a means of physical and moral training in both the private and public school systems. This aspect of private school education is worthy of further research. However, this study will limit itself to the investigation of the ideological dimensions of athleticism.

[25] See P.L. Lindsay, A History of Sport in Canada, 1807-1867, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1969; A.E. Cox, A History of Sport in Canada, 1868-1900, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1969; K. Jones, A History of Sport in Canada, 1900-1920, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1970; and G.G. Watson, Sport and Games in Ontario Private Schools, 1830-1930, Unpublished M.A. Thesis, The University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1970.

[26] Lindsay, *ibid.*, particularly Chapter 8, "Sport in Schools and Colleges," and Chapter 11, "influence of the Military Garrison."

activities.[27] Cox, in a chapter on the influence of schools and universities on the development of sport in Canada between 1868 and 1900, cited the private schools as 'nurseries' of new games. The limited space and dimensions of his study meant that a full history of the role played by all the schools could not be described.[28] He did however isolate and identify the institutions as 'bastions of traditional English sport.' Jones' dissertation chronologically followed that of Cox and noted the influence of certain educational institutions on the general development of sports played in Canada between 1900 and 1920. Little specific mention is made of the role of the private schools.[29]

Watson's thesis was concerned with sport and games in selected private schools of Ontario between 1830 and 1930. This pioneering effort provides a good chronological outline on the development of sport and games at four of the province's more renowned institutions. The weakness of Watson's study is that it is based primarily on sources from secondary works, and thus lacks any true interpretive quality.[30] Also, as with Purdy's work, Watson's thesis limits itself to studying schools in one province. In fact, the first of Watson's recommendations at the conclusion of the study is that a continuation of his research should be carried out beyond Ontario, embracing the private schools of the west coast of Canada.[31] This opinion was also voiced by Osborne who remarked on the lack of information concerning the influence of the private schools on sport and physical education in British Columbia.[32] In addition, research on private schools in the Maritime Provinces and in the Prairie Provinces has not been forthcoming.

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[27]Dunae, *op.cit., inter alia.*
[28]Cox, *op.cit.*, Chapter 8, "The influence of Schools and Universities."
[29]Jones, *op.cit.*, Chapter 8, "School and University Sport."
[30]These sources were K. Beattie, *Ridley - The Story of a School.* 2 Volumes. St.Catharines, Ontario: Published by Ridley College, 1963; G. Dickson and G. Mercer Adam *A History of Upper Canada College, 1829-1892.* Toronto: Rowsell and Hutchinson, 1893; A.H. Humble, *The School on the Hill - Trinity College School, 1865-1965.* Port Hope: Published by Trinity College School, 1965: and *Prospectus,* St.Andrew's College, Aurora, Ontario, Canada, 1969-1970.
[31]Watson, *op.cit.*, p. 203.
[32]R.F. Osborne, "Origins of Physical Education in British Columbia," Unpublished Paper, Undated, p. 20.

The paucity of information pertaining to the form and function of organised games and sport within the Canadian private schools, and the wealth of information on the same topic with regard to the British public schools does in fact provide a basis upon which research questions can be formed. For example, a more in-depth study regarding the cult of athleticism within the private schools of the Dominion constitutes a major portion of this study. The main question here is, did organised games and sport in the Canadian system take on the dimensions of the movement that manifested itself in the British schools in the 1880s and the 1890s? If so, why? If not, why not? Second, was muscular Christianity and the ideology of athleticism in the Canadian private schools expressed in the same manner as it was in the original mother institutions in Britain? If these sentiments differed, what were the reasons for this difference? Third, was there a perceived association between participation in sport and the elite nature of the education which the boys at these schools received? Fourth, were games used to express and inculcate sentiments of Canadian nationalism, especially after Confederation in 1867? Other claims which have previously been made also require investigation and validation. For example, the much-generalised claim that British masters of sport and games perpetuated the games-playing tradition has never been fully substantiated. A thorough historical examination into the backgrounds of the masters at the schools of this study will provide evidence to support or refute this contention. What roles did the Headmasters of the Canadian schools take in promoting or criticising the value of sport and games? This question and topic, unlike research in Britain, has been poorly addressed. Has Canada any counterparts to the great British public school Headmasters such as Almond, Arnold, Cotton and Thring? Do any of them in fact deserve their own place in history, or will comparison with the British educational leaders be inevitable?[33]

Before setting out to answer such basic research questions, out of which future questions will arise, it is necessary to outline and resolve some of the definitional and

[33]Comparison is in fact inevitable, mainly because of the numerous works previously carried out on British Headmasters by a variety of scholars. However, research on Headmasters in the Canadian schools deserves attention and an attempt to view these men in the light of their own accomplishments will be made.

methodological problems that are crucial to an understanding of the study.[34] First, what exactly is a private school in the Canadian context? Second, which private schools are to be studied? Third, what approach is to be used to study these schools? Fourth, how relevant is the term 'ideology' in reference to the terms 'athleticism' and 'muscular Christianity?'

It is difficult to provide a rigid definition for the term 'private school' in this study because, as Gossage points out, it is a term which embraces a variety of concepts.[35] The definition adopted is an amalgamation of those given by Gossage and Podmore in the belief that it comprises the various qualities which truly reflect the characteristics of the schools to be studied. The term private school will refer to an educational institution at the preparatory or secondary level that mainly operates outside the public sphere and that is suppported and controlled by an individual or by a corporate organisation.[36]

Mangan remarked, after defining the term 'public school', that one of the problems of selecting schools for investigation revolved around the fact that they were 'diverse in origin, history and type.'[37] The case is perhaps even more pronounced with the Canadian private schools, as they do not fall easily into the six categories outlined for the British public schools.[38] Nor do they fit into the simplistic temporal epochs utilised by Gossage. These three distinct periods were divided as education by denomination (1788-1850), the march of intellect (1850-1900), and the rise of the private venture school (1900-1950).[39] Based on geographic

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[34]I am indebted here to the outline on methodology given in Mangan's *Athleticism*, pp. 4-9.

[35]Gossage, *op.cit.*, p. 1.

[36]*Ibid.*, and Podmore, *op.cit., p. 38.*

[37]Mangan, *op.cit.*, p. 2.

[38]The six groups outlined were identified as Great Public Schools, Denominational Schools, Proprietary Schools, Elevated Grammar Schools, Woodard Schools and Private Venture Schools.

[39]Gossage for example places St.John's-Ravenscourt School in Winnipeg in the denominational era, not regarding the amalgamation date in 1950 as being the foundation date. Lower Canada College however is not given the same honour. Officially founded in name in 1909, it is placed in the private venture school era. The school was originally founded in 1861 under a different name but is not included in the second era of schools. Rothesay and Lakefield are as much private venture schools, and are acknowledged as such, and yet these schools, mainly because of their foundation dates are found in the second period. Also, it was not

regional variations and other factors outlined in Table 1, ten schools were investigated for the purposes of this study.[40] It is almost impossible to form distinct groupings for the schools because of the diversity of distinguishing characteristics that each school possesses, characteristics which were subject to change as the schools' histories unfolded after their foundation. Nevertheless, an attempt has been made, not solely on foundation dates, to determine the most pertinent and discernible features of the schools in question before placing them into groups.

The private schools of Canada evolved throughout the nineteenth-century in an atmosphere of religious and political conflict, traditional association, local adaptation and dissatisfaction, and, in some cases, out of economic expedience. Early schools of a private nature in the late eighteenth-century had been the only schools available to the colony's wealthier settlers. The practical hardships of everyday life were more of a concern to the mass of the population than educational services.[41] Institututions established in this pattern were thus open to criticism for their elitist nature. In 1788, King's Collegiate Academy was founded in Windsor, Nova Scotia. It was the first boarding school for boys in the British Empire overseas. Inspired by Loyalist sentiments from New York, the school was affiliated with the Anglican Church.[42] Denominational schools emerged and were consolidated throughout the

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[39](cont'd) stated that both Shawnigan Lake School and Lakefield were originally founded as preparatory schools. These incongruencies only serve to highlight problems of periodisation and the problems in setting up a classification system for the Canadian private schools. Initially, when this study was proposed, Gossage's periodisation classification was used as a means of selecting the schools. During the collection of data process, it was recognised that a more thorough procedure for selection should have been developed. A particular set of criteria or characteristics have been subsequently outlined and reveal, despite this *post hoc* re-evaluation, that the schools of this study embrace the variety of features outlined.

[40]Eleven schools were originally chosen. However, Bishop's College School in Lennoxville, Quebec, did not respond to inquiries made by the author. The availability of and reading of the school's official history, J. Graham Patriquin's *Bishop's College School. From Little Forkes to Moulton Hill.* 2 Volumes. Sherbrooke, Quebec: Progressive Publications, 1978, suggests that its withdrawal from the study's sample will not seriously affect findings.

[41]C.E. Phillips, *The Development of Education in Canada.* Toronto: W.J. Gage, 1957, p.106.

[42]R.V. Harris, *A History of King's Collegiate School, Windsor, Nova Scotia, 1738-1938.* Middleton, Nova Scotia: Private Publication, 1938.

Table 1: Schools of the study: location and type.

King's Collegiate School	Windsor, Nova Scotia	1788	(R)	(FS)	(A)	(C)
Red River Academy/St.John's College School	Winnipeg, Manitoba	1820/1866	(U)	(FS)	(A)	(C)
Upper Canada College	Toronto, Ontario	1829	(U)	(FS)		(SGS)
St.John's School/Lower Canada College	Montreal, Quebec	1861/1909	(U)	(FS)	(A)	(PV)
Trinity College School	Port Hope, Ontario	1865	(R)	(FS)	(A)	(D)
Rothesay Collegiate School	Rothesay, New Brunswick	1877	(R)	(FS)	(A)	(PV,D)
Lakefield Preparatory School	Lakefield, Ontario	1879	(R)	(FS)		(PV)
Bishop Ridley College	St.Catharines, Ontario	1889	(R)	(FS)	(LA)	(C)
University School	Victoria, British Columbia	1906	(U)	(FS)		(PV)
Shawnigan Lake Preparatory School	Shawnigan Lake, Vancouver Island, British Columbia	1915	(R)	(FS)		(PV,D)

KEY:
- (R) Rural School
- (U) Urban School
- (FS) Feeder School with a preferred higher institution during early years of operation
- (A) Anglican Based School
- (HA) High Anglican School
- (LA) Low Anglican School
- (C) Church Sponsored School
- (PV) Private Venture School
- (SGS) Superior Grammar School
- (D) School formed out of dissatisfaction with the public schools.

nineteenth-century and provided an alternate education to that of other church-established private schools: St.John's College School, Winnipeg (1866),[43] St.John's School in Montreal (1861), and Bishop Ridley College (1889) can be considered schools of this type.[44]

King's Collegiate School and St.John's, Winnipeg, can also be considered as direct feeder schools for higher institutions of learning; they provided many students for King's College and St.John's College respectively. Upper Canada College (1829) was originally founded for the purpose of temporarily providing higher learning facilities to the whole of Upper Canada. It soon became obvious that the school was a bastion of British upper-class traditions, representative of a ruling oligarchic minority of wealthy members of society known as the 'Family Compact.' In type, the school is unique. Although non-denominational and serviced financially until the end of the century by Crown Land endowments, the College prospered through Anglican patronage and British association, and was constantly a focal point of controversy with regard to its status as an elite institution supported by public funds.[45] Upper Canada College can be regarded as the Canadian version of Britain's 'Elevated Grammar School,' operating at first on public, and later on private endowments. It was, in fact, often described as a 'Superior Grammar School' and it will be considered as such for the purpose of this study.

A third grouping were the schools formed out of dissatisfaction with the public school system. Such schools could also have denominational affiliations. Trinity College School (1865), Rothesay Collegiate School (1877) and Shawnigan Lake School (1915) all fall into this category. Shawnigan, especially, exemplifies the problem of distinctively labelling the institutions, for it was also a Private Venture School, financed and owned by an individual, usually the Headmaster. St.John's, Montreal was of a Private Venture nature also, for in 1909 it became Lower Canada College and was for a long time under the control of Charles Fosbery,

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[43]This in its earliest form was the Red River Academy, sponsored by the Hudson's Bay Company. It was re-opened under its new title by Archbishop Machray in 1866 after a period of decline.

[44]Ridley was founded as an alternative to existing Established Anglican Church schools.

[45]See Dickson and Mercer Adam, *op.cit.*.

its Headmaster.

Lakefield College School (1879) was initially founded out of expedience. Opening a school was an attractive and better financial alternative to farming for its first Headmaster, Sparham Sheldrake. Lakefield, therefore, falls into the Private Venture grouping, as does University School in Victoria, British Columbia (1906), which was jointly owned and administered by a triad of Headmasters.

Each of the institutions then, differs in the combination of characteristics or factors which give it a unique identity: its geographical location, its denominational bias, its mode of control, and its preparatory function. As previously stated, the groupings are not totally rigid and schools appearing in one category are not necessarily completely excluded from other categories. The schools selected comprise examples of each category outlined. The founding dates of the first and last schools differ by one hundred and twenty-seven years and as a group they are located across the breadth of Canada in six different provinces (see Figure 1).[46] An in-depth study of all the main private schools in the country would be a costly and time consuming project. The selected sample of schools in this study will provide a representative picture of the nature of athleticism in Canadian private schools up to 1918. This year marks the completion of the First World War and is a delineation date which will enable an assessment of the ex-private schoolboy's contribution to the Canadian war effort to be made. It will also allow investigation of literary analogies made between the games fields and the battlefields of war.

One other methodological problem confronted was that of varying quantity and quality of historical sources on each school. This ranged from articles in newspapers to reprinted pamphlets, and from magazines and well-documented school histories to uncollated material in school journals. From the wide range of source material an attempt at conducting a systematic

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[46]Schools identified by Gossage were used as a basis for selection. There was no mention of institutions established in Alberta or Saskatchewan prior to 1918. In fact, there were private schools in these provinces during the period of study. However, these schools ceased to function and thus, they were not considered by Gossage in her appraisal of the existing system.

FIGURE 1: LOCATIONS OF THE SCHOOLS OF THE STUDY.

and revealing analysis of athleticism can be made. The school magazines in particular represent a new area of information and will provide a basis from which interpretations can be generated.[47]

How are the groups of people within these schools to be studied? Generalisations across the private school system have been made, and such was the case with the British public schools, especially with regard to the phenomenon of athleticism. Mangan's study revealed clearly that variations of interpretation of the ideology existed within each of the six schools. What approach will be utilised in order to ensure, as historian David Fischer points out, that each school, and more specifically the students and staff of each school, is considered in its own right and is understood in its own terms?[48] The approach used is one suggested by distinguished historian Asa Briggs. It blends together local, comparative, quantitative, new social, analytical, and intellectual and cultural history procedures, each of which is inter-related and should be considered if a truer perspective of the situation under analysis is to be attained.[49]

The local approach takes into account the study of institutions and personalities, and of structures and procedures, exploring the economic, social, religious and political framework, to understand why initiatives and activities in education vary as much as they do.[50] A direct progression from this is the comparative method which investigates the commonalities and

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[47]Previous scholars have relied upon the published school histories which include Harris, *op.cit.*; Dickson and Mercer Adam, *op.cit.*; F. Arnoldi, *An Epoch in Canadian History - An Appreciation, U.C.C., 1829-1904*. Upper Canada College Old Boys Association, Toronto: The Monetary Times Printing Company, 1904; R.B. Howard, *Upper Canada College, 1829-1879. Colborne's Legacy*. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1979; A. Caverill, A History of St.John's School and Lower Canada College, Unpublished M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1961; D.S. Penton, *Non Nobis Solum. The History of Lower Canada College and its Predecessor St.John's School*. Montreal: The Corporation of Lower Canada College, 1972; Humble, *op.cit.*; A. Harris, (ed.) *The First 100 Years. Lakefield College School*. Toronto: Pagurian Press, 1979; Beattie, *op.cit.*; and T. Cronyn, *Ninety, Not Out*. Ridley College: Private Publication, 1980.

[48]D.H. Fischer, *Historian's Fallacies. Toward a Logic of Historical Thought*. New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1970, p. 216.

[49]A. Briggs, "The Study of the History of Education," *History of Education*, 1:1, 1972, pp. 5-22.

[50]*Ibid.*, p. 10.

differences between institutions or groups of individuals.[51] Studies employing quantitative analysis can yield fruitful answers to research questions provided that researchers ask relevant questions and correctly analyse the results using pertinent statistical tools. The use of quantitative methods implies that greater care in overall methodology is present, but as Briggs points out, there are "dangers in a commitment to quantitative studies at a low level of argument..."[52] The new social history approach looks at what is 'going on' in the school, taking into account the complex systems of personal and social interactions, while investigating the complex relationships between the values of the students and the teachers.[53] It also directs attention to people who have previously been neglected, people who have never figured in older history books.[54]

The fifth approach, which Briggs terms the analytical, is a perspective utilised when investigating the subject and process of policy-making within educational spheres, and involves less concentration on identifying landmarks by placing more emphasis on the interaction of individuals and groups, ideas and interests, and pressures and restraints.[55] The last approach, the intellectual and cultural, interprets educational practices as reflections of 'great thinkers' or of chains of ideas; ideological, economic and social forces can be studied and an attempt to gauge their impact on educational programmes can be made.[56] By approaching the analysis of athleticism in the Canadian private schools in this manner, fresh and revealing insights into this hitherto under-explored topic will be gained and many of the generalisations previously made about the nature of sport and games in these institutions can be re-evaluated.

David Fischer defined a human group as having five properties:

> ...a finite membership of particular individuals; a regular structure of interaction,

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[51] *Ibid.*, p. 6.
[52] *Ibid.*.
[53] A. Prentice and S. Houston *Family, School and Society in Nineteenth-Century Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975, Preface.
[54] Briggs, *op.cit.*, p. 7.
[55] *Ibid.*, p. 17.
[56] *Ibid.*.

> a normative pattern of behavior to which its members conform in action, a set of functions which it performs for its constituents or for other groups, and a sequence of development through time.[57]

In this study, an ideological group will be investigated in these conceptual terms. The ideology is athleticism, the group is made up of educationalists, students, and others who were disposed to accept the values which the ideology embraced in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is difficult to find a precise definition for the term 'ideology' with reference to athleticism in the private schools, but it would appear to refer to "one or more value orientations that are self-conciously held by a group of people...an explicit view of ends, means, and conditions (values, norms, beliefs, and knowledge) professed as such by the group...and is codified by the people who profess it as evidenced by their symbolic representation of it."[58] It is important to realise that the values held by individuals and groups in the schools were often only meaningful to them in terms of their own experiences and beliefs. As the ideology grew, and justifications for its existence were reasoned by those who extolled its virtues and values, it was depicted in a variety of manifestations at each school. Elements of athleticism at Upper Canada College would have appeared out of place at Lakefield, and convention at Rothesay would have seemed extraordinary at Trinity College School.

One problem which has never been fully resolved is the difference between athleticism and muscular Christianity. Few writers have even broached the distinction. Rather, the two terms have been used synonymously. The credit for the appearance and promotion of the term muscular Christianity rests with the Victorian novelists, Thomas Hughes and Charles Kingsley, although its exact origins remain unclear. The literary roots of muscular Christianity have been traced back to the works of writers prior to the publication of Kingsley's *Westward Ho!* and Hughes's *Tom Brown's Schooldays.*[59] Indeed, it has been well-argued that the ideal was linked

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[57]Fischer, *op.cit.*, p.216.
[58]R.F. Berkhofer, *A Behavioral Approach to Historical Analysis*. New York: The Free Press. 1969, p. 137.
[59]For a discussion on the origins of muscular Christianity in children's literature, see

to the concept of medieval chivalry.[60] In the words of Thomas Hughes himself, muscular Christianity was defined as a chivalrous and Christian belief which held "that a man's body is given to him to be trained and brought into subjection, and then used for the protection of the weak, the advancement of all righteous causes, and the subduing of the earth which God had given to the children of men...."[61] In essence, a muscular Christian was viewed as a person who dedicated his mind, will and body to the service of the Lord. The ideal certainly was not a novel one. The appeal of muscular Christianity however, lay in the way it was presented to the reading public.[62] A man could prove himself by displaying his chivalric prowess through physical activities. Muscular Christianity provided a convenient justification for the promotion of games.

Athleticism is the term associated closely with the games-playing phenomenon of the British public schools. In this setting it has been assigned various definitions.[63] It has been suggested that the term represents an ideology which at a practical level involves the practice of, liking of, and devotion to healthy outdoor athletic exercises, particularly team games, such as cricket and football, to a considerable and compulsive degree. Through participation in such exercise, desirable and valuable instrumental and expressive goals such as physical and moral courage, loyalty, the ability to co-operate, command and obey are effectively inculcated into an individual.[64] In this context, it was not uncommon to find that proponents of athleticism were also nominated as muscular Christians, depending mainly on their specific advocacy of the benefits of games. Those who proposed only moral effects, rather than a religious influence, can be, and indeed must only be, considered as promoters of the athleticism ideal. The

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[59](cont'd) G. Redmond, "The First Tom Brown's Schooldays: Origins and Evolution of 'Muscular Christianity' in Children's Literature, 1762-1857," *Quest*, 30, Summer, 1978, pp. 4-28.

[60]M. Girouard, *The Return to Camelot. Chivalry and the English Gentleman.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981, pp. 130-144.

[61]T. Hughes, *Tom Brown at Oxford.* London: Macmillan, 1880, p. 99.

[62]Girouard, *op.cit.*, p. 143.

[63]See Mangan, *Athleticism*, pp. 6-9.

[64]J.A. Mangan, "Athleticism: A Case Study of the Evolution of an Educational Ethic," in B. Simon and I. Bradley *The Victorian Public School.* Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1975, p. 147.

muscular Christian description must be reserved for and applied to those members of the church, or to those people with strong religious concerns, who were physically active and extolled the Christianising virtues of participating in healthy outdoor activities. It will be wise to keep these definitions and distinctions in mind as athleticism within the Canadian private school system is investigated in order that subtle changes in its guise can be recognised.

In Canada, athleticism and muscular Christianity existed side by side, at least in ideological terms, with the latter providing a rationale for the athleticism movement to grow and consolidate itself as organised games and sport were adopted.[65] Past researchers have usually interpreted the function of games in the private school environment using these two ideological concepts. More recently however, one author has suggested that involvement in games, and indeed school life itself, reflected elements of Social Darwinism as much as the muscular Christian sentiments offered for public consumption.[66] This interpretation should be considered. In fact, Social Darwinism, imperialism and nationalism were ideological 'bedfellows' in the Dominion's private schools and any attempt to understand in full the function of games, must be made with reference to these strands of contemporary intellectual thought.

In discussing the attractions of the private schools that were being founded in Canada between 1850 and 1900, Carolyn Gossage remarked that the promise of healthy outdoor activity was an important advantage as "an aspect of the Victorian belief in Muscular Christianity, which encouraged games and sports as instruments of character formation and morality."[67] It was not surprising she concluded, that athleticism, originally fostered in Britain's public schools as a means of discouraging undesirable pursuits such as poaching, became a central and

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[65]Organised sports and games refer to those activities which were formally constituted by clubs, athletic associations, or athletic committees, and to activities sponsored and arranged by individuals in order that participation and competition was promoted among members of the school or between the school and another outside organisation or institution. Throughout the study, the words sport, games and athletics will be used synonymously to describe these activities. This will prevent unnecessary repetition of one of the words.

[66]J.A. Mangan, "Social Darwinism, Sport and English Upper Class Education, *Stadion*, VI, Autumn 1982, pp. 92-115.

[67]Gossage, *op.cit.*, pp. 61-62.

indispensable part of the educational process. It has been shown that athleticism in Britain was more than just a means of discouraging undesirable pursuits and more than just a medium through which moral and Christian traits could be inculcated into an individual. The reality of the situation with regard to athleticism in the Canadian schools goes beyond the belief that games were merely mechanisms of social control and character formation. The ideology was indeed more intricate, and can only be completely understood in relation to the characters and motives of those who extolled it and came to personify it.

Chapter II

DIFFUSION IN THE DOMINION: THE MOVEMENT TOWARDS ORGANISED GAMES

Victorian Canada was an era of change. In a rapidly developing society all spheres of life were subject to marked transformations, and not all of these were for the better. Industrial and technical innovations revolutionised business life and improved transportation and communication in the latter half of the nineteenth-century. Ontario and Quebec experienced periods of prosperity as they developed into the nation's industrialised centres. The Maritimes, meanwhile, suffered in comparison, with the decline of their mining and shipbuilding industries. In the western and prairie regions of the country new settlements were established by a variety of adventurers and incoming emigrants who were anxious to better the quality of their lives in the vast territories of the Canadas. The passing of the British North America Act sought to unite the new nation and provide Canadians with a sense of independence from the Mother Country. The nation-building which followed Confederation in 1867 influenced economic, educational, social and political systems. This move toward nationhood imbued the many 'young Canadians' with a growing sense of awareness of their country and of themselves.

The industrial and technical growth and the development and expansion of the nation's frontiers, placed demands on Canada's educational system. In established centres such as Toronto, Montreal and Halifax, and in the expanding western cities such as Winnipeg and Vancouver, there was a demand for educated professionals to fulfill the needs of a nation in the midst of an 'age of the business barbecue.' Examinations for entrance into law and the civil service, and training in the foundations of commercial accounting became necessary and normal procedures for students wishing to advance in these middle and upper-class careers. Other changes also placed demands on the educational process. The threat of the American Civil War (1861-1865) and the beginning of the removal of Imperial troops from Canada's shores in 1871 demonstrated the necessity for Canada to establish and govern her own military forces. Admittance into the Military Service required special training. The Royal Military College at Kingston, Ontario, accepted students from across the length and breadth of the country on a

competitive examination system.[1] Private schooling in Canada in the latter decades of the nineteenth-century catered to the demands of the professional and military world. However, there were other factors which contributed towards the emergence of these institutions in this period. An attitude of dissatisfaction towards the developing public school system was evident among the promoters of private education. This, coupled with a desire to Christianise youth in an exclusive religious environment, provided an attractive alternative for those who supported this type of schooling.

Societal changes in nineteenth-century Canada were reflected in a fusion of influences. Diverse cultural traditions, local adaptations to the new environment, and the adoption of emerging ideas were predominant manifestations in varying degrees of harmony. The development of public education in Canada followed this trend. By 1871, the School Improvement Act firmly established the public school system in Ontario. It represented an interplay of disparate local, national and international influences.[2] It embodied the developing educational thoughts from Britain, the United States, France and Prussia and was conceived and implemented by Dr. Egerton Ryerson, Superintendent of Education in the province of Upper Canada, later Ontario, from 1846 to 1876. The system was 'an educational innovation...a unique adaptation,' which, in terms of mass schooling, had no equal or counterpart in the western world.[3] This model and its associated Ryersonian principles, with an emphasis on non-denominational Christian and moral education for citizenship, was diffused to the expanding west via educationalists such as Frederick W.G. Haultain and David J. Goggin.[4] Ryerson provided a well-considered and purposefully constructed blueprint for the autonomous provincial education authorities to copy. English-speaking systems across the

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[1]R.A. Preston, *Canada's R.M.C.. A History of the Royal Military College.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969.
[2]D. Dawson and E.B. Titley "The Origins of Schooling in Selected Readings of Canada: An Interpretation," in E.B. Titley and P.J. Miller (eds.) *Education in Canada. An Interpretation.* Calgary, Alberta: Detselig Enterprizes, 1982, pp. 5-24.
[3]*Ibid.*, p. 14.
[4]N. McDonald, "Canadian Nationalism and North-West Schools, 1884-1905," in A. Chaiton and N. Mc Donald (eds.) *Canadian Schools and Canadian Identity.* Toronto: Gage Educational Publishing Company, 1977, pp. 59-87.

country did borrow from this and imposed Ryersonian ideals. Canadians of New France however, employed an approach which was heavily dependent on the Roman Catholic clergy model of France, supplemented by more practical orientations influenced by frontier life. Classical and liberal foundations co-existed in a programme which also instilled useful skills and knowledge.

Denominational control of education was only one point of dissatisfaction with the public system for private school educators. The social background of students entering public institutions was a constant cause of concern for those parents who still clung to the ideal of social exclusivity. While the ideal of the public school promoters may have focused on producing a homogeneous group from a diverse population, the reality of the situation was quite different. Deviant and delinquent behaviour were problems which confronted these educators through to the 1920s.[5] Not unnaturally, the thought of having their children interact with the 'arabs' and 'urchins' of the streets from 'uncultured' backgrounds was not an acceptable one for some parents. Private schools again offered a suitable alternative. They effectively catered to the demands for social exclusiveness by keeping their pupils in a Christian atmosphere, free from contamination by the undesirable elements of the public school system.

An education based on sound Christian and moral tenets was in fact the idealistic cornerstone of Canada's public and private educational systems. Impetus for this moral reformation was British in origin. The contribution of Thomas Arnold of Rugby School, and the belief in the success of his Christianising precepts which symbolised the overseas view of the public schools of mid-Victorian Britain, were of particular and considerable importance to the emergence of private schooling in the Dominion. The degree to which Arnold actually influenced the transformation of Britain's public schools has been a topic of continued debate.[6] This controversy is not of major concern to this study. Of vital importance however, is

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[5]Prentice, A. and S. Houston *Family, School and Society in Nineteenth-Century Canada;* and N. Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth-Century Consensus.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976.

[6]See Bamford, *op.cit.;* and B.T.P. Mutimer, Arnold and Organised Games in the English Public Schools of the Nineteenth-Century, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1971.

the fact that Arnold was perceived to have restored moral, social, religious and humanising order on a system of education which prior to his contribution was at an ebb in terms of public opinion. Word of Arnold's achievements and specifically of his campaign to create the 'Christian Gentleman' spread quickly and literally, in geographic terms, far and wide. Stanley's biograpahy of Arnold and Thomas Hughes' fictional account of the Headmaster in *Tom Brown's Schooldays* did much to promote the image that the English public school had in the latter half of the nineteenth-century.

There was a further image which the British public schools projected. Organised games were closely associated with a public school education, and indeed to Arnoldian reform. Many researchers have demonstrated that Arnold's contribution to the organised games phenomenon has been dramatically overstated.[7] It has been more firmly established that the responsibility for the promotion of games for personal satisfaction, as a mechanism of social control, as an antidote to vandalism and as a medium of moral education, lies with C.J. Vaughan of Harrow, G.E.L. Cotton of Marlborough, Edward Thring of Uppingham and H.H. Almond of Loretto.[8] Irrespective of this reappraisal, the connection between organised games and the English public schools *per se* is cited as one that found favour in the Dominion in the second half of the nineteenth-century. The philosophy of 'fair play' and the public school sporting tradition in the muscular Christian mould of Hughes' Tom Brown have been focal points of analysis for scholars attempting to explain the genesis of organised games in Canada's private institutions, which according to one author were not exempt from these influences by the 1860s.[9]

Unfortunately, these interpretations are not adequate in their analysis. Systems of organised games did not evolve and were not adopted merely by traditional association. And, the evolution of these systems was not always evident immediately that schools had been

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[7]See for example, Mangan, *Athleticism*, pp. 16-17.
[8]*Ibid.*, p. 18; and McIntosh, *Physical Education in England Since 1800*, p. 34.
[9]B.J. Molloy, Games - England's Great Gift to the World, Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Victoria, British Columbia, April, 1969. Also look at Watson, Sport and Games in Ontario Private Schools; Wilcox, "Games and Good Learning;" and Chandler, "The 'Games-Paying' Tradition."

established, as past research has often implied. The assimilation of games into the private schools of the Dominion occurred at different times in each school. It is necessary to look at the movement towards organised games in the schools of this study to recognise variations in adoption, and to revise previous fallacious claims.

The exact date of emergence and general acceptance of athleticism in each of the ten schools of this survey varies markedly. The fact that the foundation dates of the first and last schools in the study differ by some one hundred and twenty-seven years makes this occurrence expected. Although these dates are significant as important factors in any attempt to demarcate the manifestation of athleticism, it is vital to recognise that other events within the schools influenced the attitude towards the role and status of games. The formation of a sport club or of an athletic association; a distinct difference in the promotion and advancement of games due to the arrival of a new master; such circumstances served to transform the nature of sport and games. In short, in all the schools, the degree to which games were organised, and the means by which they were centralised, was affected by the temporal and situational conditions impinging upon them. Furthermore, distinctions existed within each school in reference to the term 'organised.' This diversity of systematisation will be demonstrated clearly in the detailed investigation into the nature of games at the ten schools in the following three chapters. The purpose of this particular chapter is to trace the origins of organised sport and games at each of the institutions of this study.

Prior to 1865 at King's Collegiate School, great attention was paid to the morals of the students. Every precaution was taken to guard against the infection of unsound principle and example.[10] Most of the day, the pupils were heavily occupied in academic study. Leisure opportunities were few. The time between eight and nine in the morning, and noon and two in the afternoon of each weekday was given over to eating and relaxation, and the afternoon of

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[10]T.B. Aikens, *A Brief Account of the Origin, Endowment and Progress of the University of King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia:* Halifax, Nova Scotia: Macnab and Shaffer, 1865, p. 69.

every Saturday was allowed to the students for exercise and recreation.[11] The date from which these rules originated is difficult to calculate.[12] However, it appears that from 1854, under the Headmastership of David W. Pickett, a graduate of King's College University, every encouragement was given to outdoor sports. When the opportunity presented itself, the services of a local drill master from Halifax were obtained.[13] A facility furnished with suitable apparatus for gymnastic exercise was available for the boys, along with 'ample grounds' over which they were allowed to roam but not leave without the permission of the Principal. Evidence suggesting that such a rule was broken is perhaps best displayed by the fact that such a rule existed.[14] The penalty for transgression ranged from confinement to corporal punishment. From 1854 to 1876 the Collegiate School survived precariously. Despite the early enthusiasm of Pickett, financial problems demanded the attention of the four Headmasters of the period more than the recreational pursuits of the students. It was only after 1876 that the fortunes of athleticism at King's took a turn for the better in terms of organisation, facilities and direction. The appointment in that year of the Reverend Charles E. Willets gave impetus and leadership to an ideal which previously had been given only limited emphasis.

Upper Canada College's central location in Toronto, and the more complete documentary citations concerning unorganised and organised activities at the school, provide a welcome contrast to the rurally-situated King's. As early as 1830 activities were evident in several different forms. They were sanctioned by the masters within and beyond the confines of the school grounds.[15] They were often master-supervised, organised and attended. At times they were arranged by the boys themselves. Finally, there were competitive matches, participated in by both staff and students alike.

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[11] *Ibid.*, p. 70.
[12] Some records pertaining to the history of the school have been lost in the fires of 1871 and 1921.
[13] Harris, *A History of King's Collegiate School*, p. 39.
[14] Rules for the school can be found in Aikens, *op.cit.*, Appendix, pp. 69-73.
[15] Much of the discussion here refers to boarders at the school. There was friction between this group and the day boys as will be seen in later chapters.

For a number of winters one of the [redacted] staff members, the Reverend Charles Dade, a graduate of Caius College, Cambridge, took the boys on tramps over the ice which covered parts of Toronto Bay.[16] Dade's departure in 1838 may have signalled an end to these trips. Another activity was banned officially some five years earlier. Skating on the ice had been permitted by the school staff until 1833 when half a dozen boarders set fire to the marsh at the east end of the Bay. This resulted in the arrival of the local fire brigade, and for a time, the curtailment of this 'innocent activity.'[17] The playground, partly a marsh, was a scene of considerable animation, and a "great battleground for boyish pugnacity."[18] Cricket, hockey, prisoner's base and shinny were commonly played there in the 1840s and 1850s,[19] while it was recalled by one Old Boy that swimming down at the wharves between Simcoe and York Streets was also a popular summer activity in the latter period.[20] The pupils, or more precisely the boarders, were definitely not given substantial liberty to roam over the outer confines of the school grounds, unlike their counterparts in Britain.[21] And the fact that the school playground was utilised frequently by the students, suggests that outdoor activities and not just the classroom were the concern of the staff. This suggestion gains much credibility when it is realised that masters at the school formed the Upper Canada College Cricket Club as early as 1836, and competed for it with regularity until 1873.[22]

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[16]A.H. Young, (ed.) *The Roll of Pupils of Upper Canada College, Toronto, January 1830 to June 1916.* Kingston: Hanson, Crozier and Edgar, 1917, specifically the note on Dade on p 48 by the former Principal, the Reverend Henry Scadding, in the section headed "Alphabetical List of Principals and Masters."

[17]"Old Times in Boarding House," *The College Times,* X:4, Christmas 1891, pp. 44-45.

[18]Maynard, Reverend Newland Elphanstone "Early Recollections of an Old Upper Canada College Boy," *The College Times,* Christmas, 1899. pp. 1-3. Maynard was at the school in the 1840s and his father, the Reverend George Maynard was the mathematics master at the school from 1836 to 1856.

[19]*Ibid.,* and Elmes Henderson *Some Reminiscences of Upper Canada College from 1854 to 1857.* Pamphlet, U.C.C.A., p. 6.

[20]"Some Fifty Years Ago," *The College Times,* Easter, 1901, pp. 10-19.

[21]Mangan, *op.cit.*. At the end of Chapter 1, "Reformation, Indifference and Liberty,", the author notes, "Before 1845 the picture is clear. With the single exception of Stonyhurst the schools of this study were characterised by the pupil's substantial liberty to roam over the local countryside and the restriction of staff concern to the classroom. In all the schools sponsored, systematised and compulsory games were as yet unknown," p. 21.

[22]*Upper Canada College Cricket Club. Minutes of Meetings, 1868-1891.* University of

It is true to say that the seeds of athleticism in the Canadian private school system were sown when this College Cricket Club was instituted in the mid-1830s. Cricket remained as the sole truly organised sport in the school until the late 1860s when a number of other activities began to proliferate the college grounds. Athleticism began its steady rise at that time until by the 1880s and the 1890s, the phenomenon closely resembled its British counterpart.

The situation at St.John's College School in Winnipeg once again provides a distinct contrast. Prior to the re-opening of the school in 1866, there is some evidence that pupils at its predecessor, the Red River Academy, enjoyed periods of healthy exercise. An Old Boy of the Academy in 1845 remembered vividly the delight of the boys as a result of the erection of a winter slide. Apparently, this jubilation was not shared by the mending staff whose work on stitching the garments of the pupils increased by several hundred percent. To ease their workload, two new toboggans coupled with drastic warnings seemed to have improved affairs on both sides.[23] During the 1860s and the 1870s under the new name of St.John's, students adapted their pastimes and activities to the local conditions and happenings. The stalking of prairie ducks on the week-end hunting expeditions was common in the 1870s, and such activity was limited by school rules to boys over sixteen years of age.[24] Other prohibitive rules of that decade, because of their existence, suggest that the boys tended to involve themselves in unauthorised outdoor pursuits. Skating on the frozen river was not permitted without the sanction of the Headmaster, and bathing at the same location and climbing trees in the grounds of the school were also forbidden. Another game on the undesirable activity list was that of 'coppers and buttons' which was popular in 1875.[25]

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[22](cont'd) Toronto Archives. The 6th meeting of the Committee, May 12, 1873, p. 44. At this meeting a vote was taken and the outcome was that the masters were prohibited from playing for Upper Canada College teams in the future.

[23]"A Reminiscence," *The Black and Gold*, 2:4, February 7, 1927, p. 1.

[24]"An Appreciation of the Late Mr. Justice McKay," Newspaper Cutting in the *Scrapbook of Walter Burman*, St.J.R.S.A.; and Bredin, T.F. "St.John's on the Red," *The Eagle*, 1976, pp. 8-12. Boys under sixteen years of age were not allowed to keep guns and shooting within one mile of the school was not permitted.

[25]Bredin, *ibid.*.

Emphasis on games as an instrument or means by which the student could be educated was not evident at St.John's until the 1880s, even though the Headmaster, Bishop Robert Machray, a graduate of Aberdeen University and Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, had a first hand knowledge of the status of sport and games within the British educational system. There were personal reasons for Machray's early anti-athletic stance, but his primary concern in the formative years of the school revolved around keeping it financially solvent and maintaining discipline among the pupils who were described by an Old Boy of the 1880s as "a primitive lot of young rascals many of whom had not acquired any habits of self-discipline and undoubtedly gave the authorities a great deal of trouble."[26] Organised sport arrived at St.John's with the formation of the St.John's College Football Club in 1887, an event which roughly coincides with the establishment of other clubs in Manitoba.[27] Accompanying its foundation was the growing belief in Manitoba that sport, and particularly British sport, had character-building qualities.[28] The arrival of athleticism at St.John's was timely indeed, and as will be seen in the following chapters, it fulfilled an important function within the school.

At the other St.John's, the best way to describe the condition of games from 1861 to 1894 is casual but supervised. Edmund Wood, the Montreal school's Headmaster until 1878, was a graduate of St.John's College, Oxford, and of University College, Durham. He was "a thorough athlete, tall, straight, a great swimmer and sportsman."[29] There is no evidence to believe that this athletic clergyman preached the muscular Christian sentiments typical of Kingsley or Hughes. However, it has been remarked that his interest in boys' sports and pastimes was due to his understanding of what such activities meant to them. His interest was

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[26]C. Camsell, *Son of the North.* Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1954, pp. 26-27. He recalls two attempts in his time at setting fire to the building, neither very serious.
[27]See M. Mott, "The British Protestant Pioneers and the Establishment of Manly Sports in Manitoba, 1870-1886," *Journal of Sport History,* 7:3, Winter 1980, pp. 25-36; and *St.John's College Foot-ball* [sic] *Club, Minutes of Meetings, 1888-1900.* The club ran rugby and soccer teams at senior and junior levels. The school pupils for the most part participated at the junior level.
[28]Mott, *ibid.*.
[29]*Centenary Book of the Parish of St.John the Evangelist, Montreal, 1861-1891.* Montreal, 1961, p. 11; and E.A. Collard, *Montreal Yesterdays.* Toronto: Longmans, Canada Limited, 1962, specifically Chapter 20, "Father Wood of St.John the Evangelist," pp. 221-240.

natural and keen, and on more than one occasion he joined in their athletic delights.[30] Despite this personal zeal, it was not until 1894 that an attempt to formally organise sport within the school was made. The nomadic nature of Father Wood's parish work and of his habitat (the school was located wherever Wood lived, and he changed homes four times before 1867) placed a restriction on games, as did the fact that the school was centrally located in Montreal with limited access to athletic facilities.

Religious priorities also dictated the extent to which physical exercise within the school, as an organised concern, could be supported. D.S. Penton, the school historian, has noted that both Wood and his successor, Father Arthur French (1878-1899) were primarily Anglican clergymen and secondly teachers:

> Their first duty was always to their parishioners and the school was of interest to them mainly as a support for the Church itself. Moreover they were neither of them men who cared much about money, except as it would further the work they were trying to do in the Church and in the parish. Certainly the school cannot have brought either of them more than a few hundred dollars extra income at any time, and during the lean years, was probably operating at a deficit.[31]

French took over the school in 1878. He stated in the prospectus for the next year that games were played on a casual basis, consisting of 'healthy exercise and amusements' under the supervision of the masters.[32] By 1894, French, an Old Boy of the school and a graduate of Keble College, Oxford, and of Cuddeston Theological College, had made a firm statement of intent with regard to the emphasis to be placed on sport at the school. He advocated compulsory games and stated that his experience had told him that "depraved habits of mind and body are in the inverse ratio to the due employment of the mind and body in the hours of

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[30]Collard, *ibid.*, pp. 226-227.
[31]Penton, *Non Nobis Solum*, p. 25.
[32]*St.John's School Prospectus, 1879*, from "Matters of Parochial Interest of St.John the Evangelist Church Montreal. From Beginning of Work in 1861 to Close of Second Rectorate in 1916-17. From Shorthand Notes made by Miss. Margaret Wand, under Direction of Second Rector. Re-Written and Enlarged by Second Rector," Royal Trust Company, Montreal, Undated.

recreation as well as study."[33] He went further than opining that hours of play were as much a part of school as those of study by suggesting that a monetary subscription be made by parents to assist in defraying the cost of building, promoting football, making an outdoor rink, camping and snowshoeing, and library and gymnasium maintenance. He also stated that during the summer, boys should be obliged to stay at school and partake in school sports.[34] These strong words display a simple but close resemblance to the 'Circular to Parents' sent by Marlborough's G.E.L. Cotton and to the Harrow Philathletic Club circular, both produced in 1853 with the intention of promoting interest in games and other manly exercise among the boys of the respective schools.[35] However, whereas the British circulars succeeded in their objectives, French's printed and purposeful paper failed to attract the attention and support of the boys and of the parents. Compulsory games were never instituted. Nevertheless, organised sport did begin to take a firm place in school life at St.John's and French's ideal would be achieved after 1900 with the arrival of Charles Sanderson Fosbery as new Headmaster and founder of the school's successor in 1909, Lower Canada College.

So far, with the exception of Upper Canada College, there has been a definite time lag between the founding dates of the schools and the emergence of organised games within the schools. The trend at the remainder of the later-established institutions followed no rigid pattern. Immediate assimilation and deferred adoption were distinct features.

Both student and master-directed types of activity existed at Trinity College School at Weston, between 1865 and 1868, and at Port Hope, from 1868 onwards. Fighting among the boys was allowed under certain conditions. One Weston Old Boy claimed that the rule was there should be no fighting. It was rather the case that prefects were authorised to allow a fight to take place providing it was in their presence.[36] While supervisory power remained in the hands of the prefects in such circumstances, other activities also flourished at Trinity. Some were

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[33] *St.John's School Prospectus, 1894, ibid.*.

[34] *Ibid.*. The charge suggested was $4 for day boys and $6 for boarders.

[35] See Mangan, *op.cit.*, pp. 22-35. The author does point out the latent function of Cotton's circular, that of the utilisation of games as a form of social control.

[36] "An Old Boy's Reminiscences," Part II, *The Trinity College Record*, VIII:2, April 1905, pp. 12-14.

staff sponsored, others were not. The variety of pastimes existing can be seen by looking at a simple content analysis of Peter Perry's diary which contained entries from 1867 to 1870 when Perry attended the school (see Appendix I). He actively took part in a number of sports and leisure pursuits on a regular basis. The entries in 1867 were short and concise with the following being typical examples:

> *Friday, May 24th/67*
> Warm. No School. Played Cricket Match with Toronto. We beat them. I had accident with gunpowder. It pained me very much at first. Better in the afternoon.

and:

> *Sunday, June 9th/67*
> Warm. Went to Church. Went out to hunt for insects. Went to Church in the evening. Mrs. Johnson's Birthday.[37]

By 1870, young Perry had become more detailed in his recordings, and more colourful too:

> *Saturday, May 14th/70*
> Fine. Dinner. Beefsteak and Queen's Pudding. We had a Cricket match with some of the town fellows. Played two innings each and we came out even. They had big fellows while our club was only little fellows. Wrote letter home. Mr. Badgley sent me down to see if the drill sergeant was at the drill shed but as he was not there we had no drill. Went down and got a lock for my locker and got my hair cut. I also bought a glass syringe but the second time I fired out of it it smashed and so I lost 35 cents by it. Received letter from home. Went to Mrs. Shortts to tea. Bethune, Deblaquiere, Ford and myself were asked, but Bethune and Deblaquiere did not got [sic] but Ford and myself went. We had splendid fun played "Dan Tucker", "Chair Dance", "Fortune Telling" and Quaker's Meeting". Just got back at half past nine. Perram Max came back.
> Latin 20.2.1.[38]

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[37] *Diary of Peter Perry*, entries for Friday, May 24th, 1867, and for Sunday, June 9th, 1867. T.C.S.A., Special Archives, File 2.
[38] *Ibid.*, entry for Saturday, May 14th, 1870.

It is clear from Perry's diary that competitive and organised sports co-existed alongside the freetime activities of the students. Masters and students had arranged the Annual Meeting of Athletic Sports, in the form of the Athletic Sports Committee, as early as 1865.[39] Athleticism took root at Trinity College School from its first year of foundation, but it only developed to maturity in the 1880s and the 1890s when a full set of values and justifications supported its existence within the school.

Although Rothesay Collegiate School was established some twelve years after Trinity, a period of fourteen more years passed by in which physical exercise was practiced on an informal basis. One Old Boy of the school has written:

> Sports were not very well organised. The cricket pitch was much better than the team. Mr. Thompson was pretty good himself but had little time to coach us. An irregular form of Rugby, somewhat like that described in the pages of Tom Brown's School Days was played on what was known as Scribner's field, which was bounded by the Church Road at the north end and by the cross road (later opened) between Fairlawn and Netherwood. The cricket pitch was laid out by a man named McKeever, who lived in a small house near the rock in the vicinity of the present waterworks.
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> Prisoner's Base was the most popular game, and in this sport Dick Ritchie, Will and Boies De Veber, Lawrence and John Oliver Vail Seely, (Ollie) excelled. Mr. Thompson, in the early days of the school, gave some instruction, and by 1880 a good majority of the students were able to dive from the deep end of the wharf, where in 1878 the depth of the water was said to be 17 feet.[40]

Rothesay's founder and first Headmaster, an Englishman, William Thompson, promoted physical activity to the best of his ability. The leisure time of the students in the winter was taken up with skating and tobogganing.[41] Obvious use was made of the natural surrounds in which the school was set as well as the occasions when masters could involve themselves.

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[39]Athletics File, 1865. A copy of reports from the local paper of the Second Annual Meeting of the Athletic Sports on May 28th, 1866. Events are recorded along with the Athletic Sports Committee, T.C.S.A..

[40]Wm. Percy Robinson, "Reminiscences," October 16, 1950, p. 3, from a File marked RCS History I, R.C.S.A.. Further evidence for swimming in the local rivers, creeks and brooks is provided by H.G.D. Ellis in *Not Scholarship Alone*, Pamphlet, May 1965, p. 2., reprinted from *The Atlantic Monthly*, R.C.S.A..

[41]Robinson, *ibid.*, pp. 4 and 7; and a supplementary letter dated November 27, 1950, p. 1..

Organised sport was introduced to Rothesay with the arrival of the Reverend George Exton Lloyd in 1891. In the subsequent years athleticism grew and provided more than just a means of keeping the pupils occupied in extra-curricular time.

At another rural school, this time in Ontario, the adoption of organised sport was also delayed. The small number of boys at Lakefield Preparatory School and the indifferent attitude of its first Headmaster and founder Sparham Sheldrake, limited not only what the boys could do with regard to exercise, but also with regard to academic work. Reminiscences by Frances Richards, Sheldrake's daughter, and by Major Charles Gwyllm Dunn, an Old Boy, reveal little evidence concerning any type of activity except for the presence at the school of a dancing master from nearby Peterborough. This move appears to have been inspired more by Mrs. Sheldrake than by her husband, a gentleman emigrant from Britain who wanted to learn about farming in Canada more than educating the youth of the country.[42] However, circumstances were soon to change and athleticism at Lakefield was to take on a notably different guise due to the school's wilderness-like location. It was also shaped by the ideals and beliefs of its longtime Headmaster, Alick Mackenzie who agreed to buy the school from Sheldrake in 1894. The arrival of Mackenzie resulted in dramatic changes at the school in all walks of life, and particularly with regard to sport. Cricket, ice-hockey and snowshoeing were immediately introduced to the boys of 'the Grove.'[43] Muscular Christianity became part and parcel of life at Lakefield where the school's unoriginal motto *Mens Sana in Corpore Sano* expressed Mackenzie's belief in the value of healthy exercise. Athleticism under Mackenzie's guiding hands developed along its own unique lines and represented much more than the value captured in its commonly used motto, and in the following school poem:

> Mark, how the stream of boys has come and gone,
> Each passing year brings changes in its wake,

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[42]Letter written by Frances Richards to Mr. G. Winder Smith, dated December 14, 1965, pp. 1-2; and Memo to Grant Johnston from Major Charles Gwyllym Dunn (1893-1899 Grove) in January, 1967. L.C.S.A..

[43]Dunn, *Ibid.*, p. 5.

New faces greet us as the term rolls on,
Small boys grow big; big boys the School forsake.

Some, seeking knowledge in a larger sphere,
At T.C.S. or U.C.C. pursue,
New paths of learning, and in time appear
As "old Boys," and their happy youth renew.
In reminiscent mood stroll to and fro,
Narrating yarns of what they used to do.

Comparing notes of pillow fights and scraps,
On football, hockey cricket and the like,
Recalling old-time picnics, or perhaps
Parading thro' the country on a bike;
Oft in the years to come they'll call to mind
Re-unions of the old boys, ties that bind
Each to the other, and the old motto find,

"Sound mind in body sound," rings true and clear,
A good foundation through their lives to prove;
No fate shall rob them of the memory dear
Of days when they were youngsters at the Grove.[44]

Lakefield and Rothesay are the two final examples of institutions which did not immediately function with organised games as an integral component of school life. The situation at Bishop Ridley College in St.Catharines, Ontario, and at the University School in Victoria, British Columbia, can be dealt with swiftly. Regular physical exercise was a carefully considered aspect of the boys' education from the date of foundation. It was organised by the staff at the schools, with the Headmaster and co-Headmasters, in the case of University School, assuming dominant leadership roles. Such was also the case at the tenth school, Shawnigan Lake Preparatory School, near Duncan on Vancouver Island in British Columbia.

Shawnigan Lake was founded during World War I in 1915 and adopted a militaristic type of athleticism among its initial students. It was primarily after the war when the numbers at the school increased that organised sport became entrenched as part of the educational system at the school. It is well worth looking at Shawnigan's formative years, and at the

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[44] "Mens Sana in Corpore Sano," *The Grove Chronicle,* III:4, April 1909.

character of the Headmaster, Christopher W. Lonsdale, who attempted to transplant many of the ideals and customs of his *alma mater* in England, Westminster School, to a rural Canadian setting. The result, once again, provides a unique insight into the variation of the athleticism movement among the schools of this study.

The picture is now somewhat clearer in terms of delineating the beginnings of organised sport and games at each of the ten schools. Table 2 displays the approximate dates of adoption and growth of organised activities at the schools in relation to their foundation dates. It shows distinctly a disparity in the dates of acceptance. Students at all the schools were given some degree of liberty to arrange and partake in their own pastimes. The extent to which they enjoyed such pleasures was very dependent on the restrictions placed upon them by the school authorities. Nevertheless, the Canadian private schoolboy found time to engage himself in a number of amusements. While his British parallel before the era of athleticism roamed the nearby countryside and pretentiously played at games, the young 'Canuck' did the same and often under guidance from staff. He also snowshoed, skated and tobogganed over the local terrain. Canada's northern location exerted an early influence on the types of activities in which its youth could indulge. Athleticism in turn would be affected by this geographic factor.

The English public school sporting tradition of organised games, contrary to Molloy's previous claim, did not permeate all the schools which had been established by the 1860s. Financial restraints and the amount and interest of master involvement varied. This affected the degree of organisation. Staff support and participation was vital to athleticism taking root and developing within the private schools. Metcalfe, in an early investigation of sport in nineteenth-century Ontario, stated with reference to games at these schools that:

> although there was enthusiastic support by the Headmaster and Masters, their role was one of stimulation rather than active leadership and teaching...the onus for the operation of the team was at this stage placed upon the students.[45]

[45]A. Metcalfe, "Physical Education in Ontario during the Nineteenth-Century," *Canadian Association of Health, Physical Education and Recreation Journal*, 37:1, September/October, 1970, p. 32.

Table 2: Approximate dates of emergence and growth of athleticism.

(School)	(Location)	(F)	(A)	(G)
King's Collegiate School	Windsor, Rural	1788	1876	1876-1890s
Red River/St.John's College School	Winnipeg, Urban	1820	1887	1887-1890s
Upper Canada College	Toronto, Urban	1829	1836	1836-1880s
St.John's/Lower Canada College	Montreal, Urban	1861/1909	1894	1894-1900s
Trinity College School	Weston/Port Hope, Rural	1865	1865	1865-1880s
Rothesay Collegiate School	Rothesay, Rural	1877	1891	1891-1900s
Lakefield Preparatory School	Lakefield, Rural	1879	1894	1894-1900s
Bishop Ridley College	St.Catharines, Rural	1889	1889	1889-1890s
University School	Victoria, Urban	1906	1906	1906-1910s
Shawnigan Lake Preparatory School	Shawnigan Lake, Rural	1915	1915	1915-1920s

KEY: (F) Denotes foundation
(A) Denotes approximate date of organized sport and games
(G) Denotes period of growth of athleticism within the schools

In the next three chapters it will be shown that such generalisation is only partially correct. Masters and Headmasters provided much more than 'enthusiatic support,' not only in Ontario but right across the country. These men had valid and diverse motives for promoting organised games within each of the schools. They were the driving forces behind the athleticism movement. They supplied the rationale for it, initiated, nurtured, monitored and guided it.

Chapter III

MEN AND MOTIVES FOR ORGANISED GAMES

In his study on sport and games in selected private schools of Ontario, Geoffrey Watson remarked on the means by which the ideology of athleticism spread:

> The Public Schools evolved a system of sport and games, known by the philosophy of Athleticism, which influenced not only the English middle class population but also the colonial outposts of the British Empire. As men migrated, they carried their enthusiasm for the sports they had played as school-boys, hence diffusing the ethos of Athleticism into the colonies.[1]

While athletic hedonism may have initially carried British sports and their alleged values to the outposts of Empire, this motive alone does not adequately explain the promotion of organised games within the private schools of British North America, and, after 1867, Canada. Indeed, the motives were more complex and various. Depending upon the school, its date of foundation, and its location, systematisation and sponsorship occurred for reasons other than emulation of the British model. Of course, in those schools which were established toward the end of the nineteenth-century and in the early years of the twentieth-century, the justifications for organised games closely resembled the coherent set of educational arguments that existed in the Mother Country. By that time, athleticism in the schools of both countries was a characteristic feature of a private schooling. In the Dominion, it fulfilled a number of functions. It served to foster and encourage patriotic sentiments: a love of one's heritage, country and for the school itself. It was used to restore such patriotism after periods of uncertainty and instability. And, it was an agent through which a new school could gain profile and respectability alongside older traditional institutions. This chapter examines the motives of those men who were initially responsible for promoting athleticism at the ten schools.

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[1]Watson, Sport and Games in Ontario Private Schools, p.42.

Upper Canada College was founded in 1829. It is regarded by most people as the pre-eminent independent school in the country and as "the cradle of the Canadian Establishment."[2] The credit for establishing this model of the English public school on Canadian soil rests with Sir John Colborne, Upper Canada's Lieutenant Governor. This replication was not accidental. Colborne had been educated at Winchester and later helped to restore Queen Elizabeth School while Governor of Guernsey.'[3] His transplantation of the British model was completed with the import of a 'cargo of masters' from the renowned universities of Oxford and Cambridge. These men were 'men of scholarship,' grounded in the traditional classical curriculum of the public schools. More importantly, they were capable of encouraging healthy and manly games, and particularly cricket, the 'noble game' in which Sir John Colborne always 'took the deepest interest' and which he promoted with the knowledge that "the amusements of youth tinge the character of the man."[4]

Under the direction of the Reverend Dr. Joseph H. Harris, Upper Canada College's first Principal (1830-1838), physical exercise was organised at the school. There is no concrete evidence to reveal that Harris, a graduate of Clare College, Cambridge, had any involvement with the formation of the College Cricket Club in 1836.[5] Credit is given to the *triumvri* of Canadian cricket, Barber, Barron and Kent, all masters at the school.[6] George Anthony Barber, the Reverend Frederick William Barron and the Reverend William Boulton had been influential, along with some members of the graduating class of the College for that same year, in organising the Toronto Cricket Club in 1834.[7] With the death of Boulton in 1834, John Kent joined the other two masters to institute cricket firmly at the school. They then ensured that

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[2]Gossage, *A Question of Privilege,* p. 39.
[3]See Dickson and Mercer Adam, *A History of Upper Canada College,* particularly pp. 12-23.
[4]*The Patriot,* July 15, 1836.
[5]See "Regime of the Reverend Dr. Harris, 1830-1838," pp. 50-65, in Dickson and Mercer Adam *op,cit.*.
[6]G.G.S. Lindsey, "College Cricket," pp. 263-270, in Dickson and Mercer Adam *ibid.;* and G.G.S. Lindsey, "Cricket in Canada," Part IV, *The Dominion Illustrated Monthly,* I;12, January 1893, pp. 726-743.
[7]Lindsey, "Cricket in Canada," *ibid.;* and S. Fillmore, *The Pleasure of the Game.* Toronto: Cricket, Skating and Curling Club, 1977, p. 67.

enthusiasm for it was maintained throughout the following years.

Little is known of John Kent's educational background except that he was superintendent of the College Boarders in his years at the school (1833-1838). It was an acknowledged fact however that he was a devotee of the game of cricket.[8] Barber's early career before his arrival at the Home District, or Royal Grammar School, is equally as mysterious. He was hired to teach Penmanship and Mathematics at Upper Canada but is more remembered for his cricketing crusade. By accounts he was a sporting zealot, "absorbingly fond of all sports, a veritable encyclopoedia [sic] of sporting history."[9] His fascination with cricket remained at an addiction level throughout his life. He was "a one-man cricket committee of enormous vitality, inexhaustible enthusiasm, and bottomless optimism."[10] When he left the College in 1839, his fascination with sport continued in his role of publisher of the *Herald*, a Toronto paper replete with sporting news.[11]

Frederick Barron, a graduate of Queen's College, Cambridge, joined the staff in 1834 and became Principal in 1843, a position he held until 1856.[12] He was also a sporting enthusiast. He was "of medium height, broad-shouldered and full-chested," and had "a splendid muscular development, slightly inclined to corpulency, with a fair, round, genial face and bold head."[13] Barron participated with the boys in their games, and especially in cricket.[14] The fusion of enthusiasm for cricket of Barber, Barron and Kent, popularised it among Upper Canada Collegians. Barber's genius for organisation established the game, and Barron's tenacity nursed it to the status it attained and retained at the school.[15] Cricket was more than just a game however. It was a political symbol, a "delightful and untainted channel" through which British

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[8]Young, *The Roll of Pupils*, p. 55.
[9]Lindsey, *ibid.*.
[10]Fillmore, *op.cit.*, pp. 38 and 76.
[11]Lindsey, *ibid.*.
[12]Nathaniel Walker, "Regime of Principal Barron, M.A., 1843-1856," pp. 87-96, in Dickson and Mercer Adam *op.cit.*.
[13]*Ibid.*, p. 89.
[14]Letter from an Old Boy, A.R. Boswell, ex-Mayor of Toronto, quoted by Walker, Ibid., p. 96; and Young, *op.cit.*, p. 45, where Barron is described as a lover of yachting, boxing, cricket and skating. He was a member of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club.
[15]Fillmore, *op.cit.*, p. 67.

feelings could "flow into the breasts of our Canadian boys."[16] The game's virtue, as a report of the College's successful performance against Toronto Cricket Club in 1836 stated, was that it inculcated "the noblest traits of the English character." Amidst the atmosphere of rebellion and political strife of the Canadas in the mid-1830s, it is not surprising that cricket was ascribed political significance by loyalist supporters. A cricketer, *The Patriot* claimed, "*is staunch in allegiance to his King.*"[17]

The political and moralistic values attached to cricket gave athleticism at Upper Canada College an early ideological dimension. The claims appealed to those colonists who were concerned with the propagation of a distinct set of cultural and class values. Differentiation in class was rigid at this time, and participation in selected sports highlighted such distinctions.[18] The introduction of cricket to the College perpetuated the elitist reputation which it had already been ascribed. A blueprint for subsequently founded private schools in the colony was set. Upper Canada College's renown and high profile, as much as the public schools of Britain, provided future schools in Canada with a model to emulate, with a set of ideals which they could follow and to which they could aspire.

While athleticism flourished at Upper Canada College, 'godliness and good learning' was the order of the day at St.John's College School in Winnipeg. The Headmaster, Robert Machray, arrived at the Red River settlement in 1865 to take up his position for the Anglican Church as Archbishop of Rupert's Land where he "sought to mobilize the resources of church and state for the formation of a new society that would be an outpost at the same time of Britain and of Christendom."[19] In a letter to Prebendary Bulloch of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in the November of that year, he wrote:

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[16]*The Patriot, op.cit.*.
[17]*Ibid.*, the emphasis is original.
[18]E.C. Guillet, *Early Life in Upper Canada.* Toronto: Ontario Publishing Co., 1933, p.321.
[19]J.W. Grant *The Church in the Canadian Era. The First Century of Confederation.* Toronto: McGraw-Hill, Ryerson, 1972, p. 51.

> I believe that the whole success of my efforts here will depend, under God, upon the success of what I purpose - to establish a College for the training of those who wish a better education, in the fear of God, in useful learning, and in conscientious attachment to our Church.[20]

His life prior to coming to Canada had been one of devotion to learning and to God. As a boy he had been an 'omnivorous reader.' He had little time for sports, particularly after being hit in the head by a shinty stick. The subsequent injury, requiring many stitches, left its mark. It is suggested that the incident discouraged to a great extent his never very strong liking for school sports.[21]

At King's College, Aberdeen, Machray sustained his academic and religious inclinations. And at Sidney Sussex, Cambridge, there was no change in his daily routine. He declined membership of the College Boat Club, the Cricket Club and the Football Club. Economic expedience provided a convenient yet honest excuse.[22] This anti-athletic standpoint, however, did not tarnish his status within this sport conscious community. A fellow student at the time noted that:

> Machray did not belong to the College Boat Club, not from any want of sociability, but because his means were limited, though the numerous scholarships and exhibitions he won enabled him to pay all his college expenses. With another man this, at that time, would have been a fatal bar in the estimation of his fellow-undergraduates. But in spite of this Machray was liked and respected by all. Owing to his not joining in any of our games, I knew but little of him as a student. Athletic sports had no charms for him. After he became Dean of Sidney, and I conversed with him about cricket, football, fives or tennis, he used to speak of them all indifferently as "playing ball"![23]

Not unexpectedly, he carried his Christian convictions and indifference to athletics with him to the Dominion and character training at St.John's was stressed through a disciplined and

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[20]R. Machray, *The Life of Robert Machray, D.D., Ll.D., D.C.L., Archbishop of Rupert's Land, Primate of All Canada, Prelate of the Order of St.Michael and St.George.* Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, 1909, p. 125.
[21]*Ibid.*, p. 10.
[22]*Ibid.*, p. 45.
[23]*Ibid.*, p. 53.

religious education.[24] Machray's ideal of the Christian gentleman, like that of Thomas Arnold, did not attach any importance to the physical. Experiences at Aberdeen and at Cambridge, and his devout sense of duty to the Church, influenced the way in which the school was first managed. However, on his brief return to England in 1871, a more concrete educational model for the institution was found. Machray spent several days at Westminster School with a former Cambridge colleague, the Reverend C.A. Jones, a Housemaster at the school. The visit furnished him with "many a hint for the rising school of St.John's College, Winnipeg."[25] Westminster, noted for its orthodox character training education and its devotion to healthy and manly sports and exercise provided Machray with a blueprint on which to organise St.John's.

There is evidence to suggest that games were utilized after his visit to England for their character building qualities. Charles Camsell, a pupil at the school in 1884, remarked that "emphasis was placed not so much on book learning as on the development of character and 'playing the game'."[26] After 1885, Machray watched over the progress of athleticism. Athletic facilities improved dramatically, and the organisation of the College Football Club in 1887 marked the beginning of frequent and competitive games for the College and the College School. In the following years, the manly sports of Manitoba were to occupy an important place in the students' lives.[27] Athleticism gained credence and support. It was regarded as an integral part of the educational programme. It was a means by which the school could be recognised and "grow and flourish until it became a great power in the land."[28] By 1911, the standard of athletics at the school had become a yardstick by which its reputation was compared with other private schools. Athletic success and strength meant national profile:

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[24]William Douglas, "Pioneer Schools," *Winnipeg Free Press*, September 15, 1953.
[25]C.A. Jones, quoted in Machray, *op.cit.*, p. 222.
[26]Camsell, *Son of the North*, pp. 27-28.
[27]"Twenty-five years of Progress, 1885-1910," in *St.John's College School, Winnipeg. Clubs and Honor List, 1922, p. 4*. St.J.R.S.A.; and William J. Fraser, *St.John's College, Winnipeg, 1866-1966. A History of the First Hundred Years of the College*. Winnipeg: The Wallingford Press, 1966, p. 37.
[28]*St.John's College School. Class and Honor List, 1914*. Under "Historical Note," this aim was stated to be one of the "most cherished desires" of Headmaster Machray, p. 1.

> We wish that we could hold our present boys with us for a few years so that we might build up a school to trim the whole of Canada, and with the material we have, given the right impetus, we are confident that we should be in the first flight in any games that are on the list.[29]

St.John's and Upper Canada College represent contrasting pictures of the emergence of the athleticism ideology. The origins at other schools followed similar trends. Trinity College School, inspired by Upper Canada and traditional British association, succumbed immediately to athleticism. The seduction of King's Collegiate School was more gradual. Nevertheless, it was a carefully planned attempt to extend physical exercise throughout the school.

Athletics were inaugurated at Trinity College School under the Headmastership of the Reverend Charles Badgley. This was the consequence of his experiences at educational institutions in Canada and in Britain. Badgley was a Canadian. He graduated from Upper Canada College, Trinity College in Toronto, and Queen's College, Oxford, after which he taught for a year an English public school, Hurstpierpoint in Sussex. Undoubtedly, his years in England affected his views on managing the new school at Weston, but it is difficult to discern however, whether his years at Upper Canada College and Trinity or at Oxford and Hurstpierpoint were the mainspring for the immediate involvement with organised sport. The Annual Games or Races were started in 1865 and the longest surviving inter-school game, the cricket match with Upper Canada College, began two years later. Regardless of the precise motive, Badgley was obviously oriented toward physical exercise as well as intellectual endeavours. He was "a large man with a tall athletic figure...[with] long black whiskers and a very decided mouth...a man of high scholarly attainments."[30] He influenced and guided the students in and outside the classroom. Free time was not one of constant unsupervised activity

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[29] *St.John's College Magazine*, XXIV:1, November 1911, p. 42. One section of this journal, 'College School Department,' was given over to reporting school activities. Specific mention was made in this issue and article of the desire to compete against Trinity College School and St.Andrew's College.

[30] "Reminiscences of Dr. A. Jukes," *The Trinity College School Record*, 43:4, May 1, 1940, pp. 48-49.

as Perry's diary reveals. Of the eleven half-holidays given to the pupils in 1867, he recorded playing cricket on six occasions. On the day when there was no school at all, a cricket match was arranged against a team from Toronto.[31] In 1870, eleven cricket games were played on the eighteen half-holidays, and on the two days of no school, the Annual Games and a cricket match took place.[32] During the latter period, the Headmaster announced that the school was to officially have a half-holiday three times a week.[33] This allowed the boys a regular opportunity to play cricket and on occasion amuse themselves as they wished.

Badgley was assisted in his sporting crusade by at least one member of his original staff. The Reverend John Carter, an Englishman, was "a great friend of the boys [who] taught them many wonderful things about cricket and was always ready to act as umpire or take a bat as the case might be, and for a time taught classics."[34] From 1867 to 1876 the Reverend Frederick Alexander Bethune, an Old Upper Canada Collegian, organised cricket and sport in general on a competitive basis at Trinity. He took part in the games with the boys as a most 'zealous and efficient housemaster.'[35] His involvement can be attributed to his experiences at Upper Canada and through his relationship with his brother, the Reverend Charles Bethune, Badgley's successor as Headmaster in 1870. Bethune had also been educated at Upper Canada and [illegible] College in Toronto. He was wholly conventional in his advocacy of games and viewed athleticism as more than a means of maintaining social control over the boys. Under his careful administration, athleticism prospered at Trinity for a thirty year period. It gained momentum with augmented justifications for its existence throughout the 1870s and the 1880s.

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[31] *Diary of Peter Perry,* entries for May 2nd to June 18th, 1867. Half-holidays represented periods of time, usually a full morning or afternoon, allocated for non-specified endeavours. The time-table for the period in question was cancelled and students were allowed to indulge in other activities which could include academic and non-academic pursuits. Such holidays were, more often than not, declared by the Headmaster and could cover a full day as well as a half-day.

[32] *Ibid.,* entries for April 27th to July 11th, 1870.

[33] *Ibid.,* entry for May 16th, 1870.

[34] "Reminiscences of Dr. A. Jukes," *op.cit.*.

[35] "Recollections of E.D. Armour, K.C.," *The Trinity College School Record,* 43:4, May 1, 1940, pp. 58-59, where he states that "cricket was kept alive by the Rev. F.A. Bethune. Ceaseless and tireless was he in coaching the team." And *Diary of Peter Perry,* entry for Friday, May 13th, 1870, when Bethune plays in an organised game between the New boys and "Old" boys.

Trinity's healthy and Christian education propelled it to a high profile position as one of the country's leading schools alongside its Toronto counterpart, Upper Canada College.

Another conformist Headmaster in the Bethune mould was the Reverend Charles E. Willets. Like Machray, he had graduated from Cambridge. He left Corpus Christi College in 1872. Unlike Machray, Willets was influenced by the passion for sport at the University. His ideal of the Christian gentleman included the physical and his programme at King's did not exclude games.

At the time of his appointment in 1876, enrollment at the school had dropped to thirteen students.[36] By the February of 1877, Willets had induced a further nine boys into the school. When he resigned from the position in 1888, the number had increased to fifty-three. The success for this rejuvenation was openly attributed to the active work of the Headmaster.[37] His basic aim was to educate and uplift the youth of the land, both morally and physically.[38] He strived unselfishly to change the image of King's. The fruits of his labour were displayed no more overtly than in the advances made in athletic activities and improved facilities.

As early as 1843, criticism levelled at Nova Scotians' indifference to the manly and athletic sports of 'Old England' had reared its head in the local press:

> Many of our young men spend a great deal of time in effeminate and enervating amusements, forgetting that the practice of those games which constitute the amusements of so many in the old country tends to the development of their physical proportion and if not too extremely involved in, also strengthens their powers of mind.[39]

Such criticism surfaced again in Windsor in 1881 in the *King's College Record*, a publication

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[36]R.V. Harris, *A History of King's Collegiate School*, pp. 35-38.
[37]*King's College Record*, VI:52, November 1883, p22; and X:94, May and June 1888, p. 120.
[38]Cecil E. de Wolfe, "The Collegiate School - An Historical Sketch," *The Windsorian*, 3:1, Christmas 1905, pp. 1-2.
[39]*The Nova Scotian*, May 13, 1843.

which mainly served the student body of the University, and partially the Collegiate School. In an article entitled "Muscle," the merits and the necessity of building a gymnasium were discussed.[40] The credit for advancing the idea of a gymnasium is given to Willets.[41] It was a well-considered plan to provide opportunity for physical exercise to the students. His contribution to the development of athleticism at King's was immense. He was singularly responsible for initiating the construction of the new gymnasium in 1888, a project to which he devoted no small financial support.[42] He also secured the services of a permanent drill instructor, and introduced regular forms of physical activity including cricket, football, and the Annual Summer and Winter Games. Willets, in typical Victorian fashion, saw clearly the physical and moral benefits of exercise. It was part and parcel of the education process which aided the student to "successfully fight life's battle in the world."[43]

Charles Willets' Herculean efforts to transform King's from a backward private school to an attractive school for the sons of the wealthy have much in common with other Headmasters of the period. Regional profile as well as national reputation was vital as, in the last quarter of the nineteenth-century, schools competed for clientele. An attractive education filled the school. Old schools and new ones responded to the times. Organised physical activity became very fashionable. Athleticism had emerged as an ideological force in Britain and was developing in certain Canadian institutions. Conformity prevailed. At Rothesay, Lakefield and St.John's, Montreal, the value of games was enthusiastically espoused by new Headmasters. They subsequently saw their schools rise in numbers and in repute.

George Exton Lloyd became Headmaster at Rothesay in 1891. The Calendar for the school revealed the man's educational philosophy. His first aim was to impart such religious

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[40] "Muscle," *King's College Record*, III:32, August 1881, pp. 236-237.
[41] de Wolfe, op.cit..
[42] *King's College Record*, XII:107, December 1889, pp. 30-31; XI:97, November 1888, p. 16; X:92, March 1888, p. 86; and X:90, January 1888, pp. 50-51. The names of the subscribers and the amounts given are recorded.
[43] *King's College Record*, X:94, May and June 1888, p. 120; a reply by Willets to the President after the Convocation Speech and the Farewell Address to Willets and his wife.

instruction as would develop a manly and straightforward Christian character. Second, he wanted to provide an intellectual education equal in all respects to the best that could be obtained. Finally, he thought it necessary to give thorough physical training.[44] Lloyd's approach was typically British, Victorian and conventional. The principal sports played reflected his British upbringing; they included cricket, English rugby, and tennis. Such activities were to be indulged in daily.[45] His beliefs on physical exercise reflected prevalent attitudes of the era, and they were shaped by a personal and an almost fatal experience.

He was born in England, the son of a clergyman, and was educated privately by his father and at St.John's School in London. On arrival in Canada he completed his schooling at Wycliffe College in Toronto. In 1885 he served with the Queen's Own Regiment during the Red River Rebellion and was adopted as Chaplain. He suffered near fatal injuries at the fight at Cut Knife Creek during which he heroically attempted to save the lives of three of his company's men. After his recovery he was honoured and ordained to the Ministry. Confirmed beliefs in military efficiency and discipline, allied with a deep concern for physical healthiness and well-being, resulted in what has been considered his major contribution to the school: the cadet corps.[46] Physical drill to Lloyd inculcated prompt and unquestionable obedience to orders and, physiologically, it had the great value in 'setting up' and training 'to walk properly.'[47] The cadet corps at Rothesay signified a healthy alliance between athleticism and militarism. In fact, at Rothesay, physical drill, as a preparatory exercise for conflict and as an instrument of education, was an element of the athleticism ideology. This was apparent at other institutions in this study but it is best exemplified by the New Brunswick institution. The sight of cricketers playing in their khaki uniforms reflected the ideological dimensions of athleticism at Lloyd's school. His disciplined Christian education of body and mind produced a host of muscular Christian soldier-athletes of Empire.

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[44] *Calendar for Rothesay Collegiate School, 1892-93.* p. 10.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. 19.
[46] Ellis, *Not Scholarship Alone,* p. 3.
[47] *Calendar, op.cit.,* p. 20.

The inspiration for 'God and games' at Lakefield came from Alick Mackenzie. He was a genuine Canadian 'apostle' of athleticism. Mackenzie had no direct contact with the English public schools. He was the son of an Anglican Minister and attended local high schools in Kincarden and Brantford before graduating from Trinity College in Toronto. He then obtained his first teaching position in Port Hope at Trinity College School. At the school he was confronted with the athleticism 'gospel' in its Canadian private school setting.[48] At Lakefield, Mackenzie transplanted his 'sound mind, sound body' belief and made it the basis for his boys' lives in this unique rural setting. Over the years Mackenzie's own form of athleticism gradually developed and left an indelible mark on every boy who passed through the Grove's 'open house.' An Old Boy of the era has stated:

> It was all a very long way from stiff and orderly Heath Mount, the setting alone guaranteed that...For the outdoors, games, Lake Katchewanooka, gardening and the woods and fields had more of our time - and much more of our interest - than the school room in 1917. To my brother and me it was wonderful beyond belief.[49]

Mackenzie was an idealist. Outdoor activities, he believed, built 'sturdy minds,' and similarly 'sturdy bodies' therefore would grow from the same root.[50] Support of this ideal by the students confirmed his belief in its encouragement. It was also a sure sign that the school itself was in satisfactory health, physically and morally.[51] It was, as the next chapter will show in more detail, Alick Mackenzie's personal experiences which motivated his sponsorship of healthy outdoor pursuits. Throughout his years at the Grove he turned out bands of little muscular Christians in the Lakefield mould.[52] This fact did not go unobserved in Ontario and earned

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[48]J.M. Gray, "The Grove in the 1920s," pp. 10-11. Paper in Lakefield College School Archives.
[49]J.M. Gray, *Fun Tommorow. Learning to be a Publisher and Much Else.* Toronto; Macmillan of Canada, 1978, p. 27.
[50]J.M. Gray, *A.W. Mackenzie, M.A., D.D., The Grove, Lakefield, A Memoir.* Toronto: The Grove Old Boys Association, 1938, pp. 11-12.
[51]"Sports," *The Grove Chronicle*, III:1, November 1908, pp. 1-2.
[52]Personal conversation with Bruce Hunt, Lakefield, November 10th, 1982. Mr. Hunt was a pupil at Lakefield after 1910. In conversation with regard to the academic standing of Lakefield at that time, the comment that the sudents were mu[illegible]lar

'Mackenzie's School' a notable reputation among the private schools of the province.

Mackenzie's task at the Grove was essentially a building process: He had to provide an education to match the likes of Upper Canada College and Trinity College School. Lakefield's preparatory nature helped in this regard. The situation at St.John's in Montreal was quite different. When Charles Sanderson Fosbery arrived in 1900 the school had a tarnished reputation. Under C.W. Rogers, a graduate of Repton and Cambridge, mismanagement and misappropriation of funds left the school in a financially precarious position. Esteem was low. Fosbery's task was challenging to say the least. He had to set the school back on its feet economically, rejuvenate school spirit and instill a fresh sense of respectability. His method for achieving these goals was not unorthodox. By emphasising the value of sport and games he provided a solid base from which school loyalty could be built, a proven means of establishing *esprit de corps*.[53] C.G. Heward who was at the school when Fosbery, or 'The Boss' as he was affectionately known, arrived, has remarked on the status of athletics under his watchful eyes:

> At all times emphasis was laid upon games and athletics and a number of old boys became noted athletes in later life. ...There were two features of the School life which made a very marked impression upon me while there, and which remained most clearly in my memories of the school after thirty-five years. The first of these was the remarkable personality of Mr. Fosbery, under whom I spent most of my life at the School. ...[he] was the major influence in the building of the characters of many hundreds of boys who passed through his hands in St.John's and L.C.C.. The second of these was the splendid school spirit that existed in St.John's; a healthy fighting pride in the School was evident among both big and little boys, and this was particularly the case in connection with sports. ...The School turned out en masse regularly for the games, and teams had splendid support also from the fair sex. I think it may be fairly said that all the boys were keenly proud of the School, and realised that its prestige depended in large measure on them.[54]

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[52](cont'd) Christians rather than academics was expressed. It was noted that this term had not been openly used by Mackenzie, at least not as far as Mr. Hunt could remember.

[53]Penton, *Non Nobis Solum*, p. 44.

[54]C.G. Heward, "Pre-L.C.C. Days. Geneological Notes. Memories of St.John the Evengalist School," *Lower Canada College Magazine*, No. 2, June 1939, pp. 11-15.

Fosbery's motives for promoting games were a result of British association and experience. He had been educated at the Grammar School at Newark-on-Trent and at Trinity College, Dublin.[55] He taught at Cheltenham College in 1887 before moving to Yorkshire the following year to take up the Headmastership of Howden Grammar School. Not unlike other Headmasters of the period, he possessed a keen awareness of the Victorian educational games ethic, particularly with regard to Trinity where a great deal of attention was paid to sport in the latter decades of the nineteenth-century.[56] This knowledge, the philosophical ideals of the period, and his own personal active interest in sport were manifest at St.John's, and on the pages of the school magazine. Fosbery set the tone in all aspects of school life. And everyone took notice and responded. From 1900 to his retirement in 1935, the history of St.John's, later to be re-established as Lower Canada College, is inexorably woven round the life of this man.

While these older schools conformed, newer ones merely copied. By the end of the nineteenth-century, private school promoters were no longer unenlightened. The Headmasters at Bishop Ridley College, University School and Shawnigan Lake School eagerly subscribed to the ideology of athleticism.

John Ormsby Miller was appointed Ridley's first Headmaster. He inherited a school with no history and no traditions. Almost immediately he created a fully functioning school out of a defunct sanitarium. Miller had a knowledge of the public schools of Britain and a more in-depth awareness of the closer Canadian models of Upper Canada College and Trinity College School. Ridley was successfully built with these institutions in mind and on the basis of

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[55]He completed his B.A. and his M.A. at Trinity in 1891 and 1895 respectively.

[56]See K.C. Bailey, *A History of Trinity College Dublin, 1892-1945*. Dublin: The University Press, Trinity College, 1947, and specifically Chapter VII, "Sport," pp. 97-153. Fifty-six pages of the book's total of two hundred and sixty-one are given over to the discussion of sport. In his opening comments Bailey remarks, "Athletic sports are a very important part of College life. Some students, it is true, seem to think them the only part, and we must deplore such a lack of proportion. If, however, a student keeps a reasonable balance between sport and work, the resulting man will probably be a sounder product than if all his attention had been given to books." P. 97. Bailey describes the historical development of the numerous sports and clubs at Trinity.

that vague Victorian facet of school life, 'school spirit'. The school motto, devised by Miller, read *May I be Consumed in Service*. Patriotism for the school was realised on the games field. Sport and games were organised to overcome growing pains as well as laying the foundation for future athletic success. As one school historian has aptly pointed out, sport "was at the heart of the great school formed:"

> School spirit took firm hold at Ridley in the last few years of the XIXth century. Heroic performances in games, community enthusiasm for non-athletic activities, acceptance of relationships between seniors and juniors, between staff and students - these developed in the boys enthusiasm for, and pride in, their school.[57]

Miller was born near Liverpool in England in 1862. He was educated at a local school before arriving in Canada and entering Wycliffe College in Toronto. As a young man he was attracted to the Church and God. He also loved manly sports, and particularly cricket. His emphasis on the provision of a Christian education as a developmental agent of a boy's character was always evident at Ridley.[58] And his efforts at instituting games were no less vigorous. In the early years, many efforts were made to interest the boys in a variety of activities. Games were viewed as a medium whereby loyalty to the school was expressed by staff, students and Old Boys alike. By the end of the century, the role of sport and games had added a new dimension. *Esprit de corps* was still fostered through them, but on a competitive basis however, they offered a great opportunity to give Ridley a high profile position within the province. Cricket and football matches against Upper Canada and Trinity College School became regular and important. The patriotic sentiments inspired through athletics are captured in this poetic work published in the school magazine in 1904:

Spirit of Ridley, known to all

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[57]Cronyn, *Ninety, Not Out*, pp. 1-2.
[58]"Christian Education," an address delivered at Prize Day, 1890, by the Reverend Principal Miller, M.A., *Bishop Ridley College, Prospectus, 1891*. pp. 13-17.

Who spent fair days beneath thy sway,
We who have lived within thy thrall
Never so far can fare away,
But that thy power will hold us yet,
We'll not forget - We'll not forget!

With ever fleeting wing, time flies
The captains of thy teams depart
Safe in their hearts thy memory lies,
When as they toil in field or mart,
Fond recollections hold us yet,
We'll not forget - We'll not forget!

We bode our time, then went our way,
Each to his separate task addressed,
Still be our lot or grave or gay
Thy memory's cherished in each breast
Fond recollections hold us yet,
We'll not forget - We'll not forget!

The thoughts of by-gone football games
Lay bonds upon the hearts of some;
Some cricket; and some hockey claims
No matter in what guise they come;
Fond recollections hold us yet,
We'll not forget - We'll not forget!

We all must love the good old School,
Where many care-free days were spent;
What thought we chafed beneath thy rule,
Deep in our hearts we were content,
Thy seat in our affection's firm,
Until the closing of life's term.[59]

Conformity to ideological subscription was also apparent at the University School. The policy was to develop the physical and mental side of the character of the boys. Ideal was inspired by experience. Each of the three co-Headmasters was British. Conviction to games was to be expected. Games built character and "the first and foremost aim of every member of staff, through every hour of every day of every term, is that same development of character."[60] The Reverend William W. Bolton arrived in Victoria in 1885. He was a Cambridge

[59]J.P. Haverson, "A Ridley Recessional," *Acta Ridleiana*, Midsummer 1904, p. 20.
[60]"An Interesting Glance at Our History," *The Black and Red*, No. 48, June 1925,

graduate, an 'athletic blue,' and an ardent rugby player who saw to it that games took their 'proper place' at St.Paul's School which he took over in 1886.[61] R.V. Harvey came to Vancouver in 1900 to take up a teaching position at Queen's School. He was an eager games player. He loved rugby and cricket and established the cadet corps and a scout troop at University School.[62] J.C. Barnacle joined the staff when the University School was founded in 1906 and "lent his strong hand and shoulder to the work" of turning out "manly, Christian and capable men" in the classrooms and on the playing fields.[63] Harvey brought his love of games to Victoria in 1908 when he moved the boys of Queen's School from the mainland. The fusion of ideals of Bolton, Barnacle and Harvey was complete by the September of 1908. Participation and pride in athletic activities quickly established school spirit and fulfilled the 'healthy mind in the healthy body' philosophy to which the Headmasters ascribed and which they believed would create healthy citizens, imbued with a moral and physical soundness of character.[64]

Emulation of the British tradition was also adhered to at nearby Shawnigan Lake School. In a prospectus for 1918 it was stated that the school was maintained on the lines of the English preparatory school system for boys between the ages of seven and fifteen.[65] Games constituted an integral component of education for Christopher W. Lonsdale. This ex-Westminster man was an idealist. He believed that pure academic training was not the sole requisite in a sound education. "With scholastic achievement alone," he stated, a boy "was more likely to to be a failure." The successful boy needed two things; "character and

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[60](cont'd) pp. 12-16; and "A Foreward from our Head," *The Black and Red*, No. 50, June 1926, pp. 5-6.

[61]"Rev. W.W. Bolton, M.A.," *The Black and Red*, No. 54, June 1928, p. 5. A 'blue' was a coveted award presented at Oxford and Cambridge to students who participated in sporting competition between the two universities. In Bolton's case, the award was given for track and field athletics.

[62]"History of the Two Schools. Part I. The Queen's School," *The Black and Red*, 1:1, November 1908, pp. 16-17; and "Memorial Service," *The Black and Red*, 3:23, June 1915, pp. 6-8. Given by Bolton on the death of Harvey during World War I. He talked of Harvey's devotion to the school especially in terms of his enthusiasm for the cadet corps.

[63]"History of the Two Schools, Part II. The University School," *The Black and Red*, 1:2, March 1909, pp. 10-11.

[64]The school motto, as at Lakefield, was *Mens Sana in Corpore Sano*.

[65]*Prospectus, Shawnigan Lake Preparatory School, 1918*, p.2. S.L.S.A., 18/3.

personality."[66] Athletics to Lonsdale were important in the character building process. He borrowed freely from Westminster and from other English public schools and grafted their customs onto his own educational programme. He combined the traditional English public school games values with an appreciation of the more 'earthy' pleasures that could be experienced at the school's beautiful lake-side setting.[67]

It is evident from this initial investigation into the place of organised physical exercise at the schools of this study that the belief in the beneficial nature of physical activity became consistently popular. Private school promoters followed, without question, established patterns of the time. They perceived themselves to be responsible for the physical development of their pupils and endorsed its importance in their programmes. This view was part of a balanced ideal; the education of the body and the mind. And yet, it was unbalanced in practice. Athletic pursuits were encouraged in the various school prospctuses and calendars. School authorities advocated the utility of games publicly with the same conviction they recommended academic studies. However, athletics were not time-tabled equally with subjects such as latin, history and mathematics. In fact, the curriculum did not always display set periods for games. The official time spent on academic affairs outweighed heavily the hours devoted to organised games. In spite of this, considerable emphasis was placed on the physical aspect of education. Athleticism, it must be concluded, was ascribed significant status as an educational ideal within the Canadian private school system.

The examination of the early origins of athleticism at each school is now more complete. The ideas and traditions of the British model were transmitted by those individuals who had a knowledge of the system. More established Canadian private schools were also copied. But adoption was more than an emulative structure. Justifications were founded upon a

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[66] *High River Times,* October 30, 1930. Report on address by C.W. Lonsdale given to the Rotary Club of Duncan, B.C., entitled "The Ideal Boy." In the *Scrapbook by C.W. Lonsdale, Miscellaneous Clippings, re-Education and the School, 1926-1931,* p. 99. S.L.S.A., 31/1.

[67] Honourable Mr. Justice A. Bruce Robertson, "Recollections etc., 1916-1976," Letter dated October 7, 1944, p. 6. S.L.S.A., 28/2.

mixture of motives at each school; enthusiasm, patriotism, profile, personal experiences and ideal provided a distinct blend of reasons for introducing athletics. Athleticism in some schools took on a similar but revised form from its English counterpart, a form inspired by geographic setting as much as by the ideological views which were developing in Britain. As it grew, it adhered to a varied set of educational arguments and to the personal beliefs of the Headmasters. The ideals of these men were frequently borrowed and often refined. They matured along with the ideology itself. They were reflected in articles, speeches and memoirs in school magazines and other literary works and influenced the organisational structure of sport and games within the school. The ideals, control and administration of athleticism in the Canadian private schools are areas which have received scant research attention. In the following chapters it will be shown that previous generalisations made with regard to these areas require revision.

Chapter IV

THE HEADMASTERS: BRITISH AND CANADIAN, CONFORMISTS AND THE UNORTHODOX

An article in the *Trinity College School Record* in 1928 investigated the impact that two English public school Headmasters, Thomas Arnold and Edward Thring, had [illegible]in's educational system. It concluded that since their time only Sanderson of Oundle School had shown the constructive power of the other two leaders. In the final lines of the essay, the composure, inspiration, courage and enthusiasm of Trinity's Headmaster, Graham Orchard, following the destruction of the senior school buildings by fire, was eulogised. His strenuous efforts earned him lauded recognition alongside Arnold, Thring and Sanderson.[1] This inevitable and complimentary comparison does not relate fully the unique contribution made by the Headmasters of the Canadian private schools. Without doubt, they did emulate the ideas and practices of their British counterparts, but they should, in the final analysis, be viewed and evaluated in the light of their own accomplishments. Headmasters at each school were individual in their approach towards organising the school, and towards the sytematisation of games. The responsibility for the diffusion of the ideology of athleticism lies primarily with the Headmasters, of which there were many (see Table 3). Their ideological inspiration relied heavily on the conventional British customs and precedents. There is a substantial element of truth to this view. However, it is far too simple an explanation. The coherent arguments which supported the emergence and consolidation of the ideology of athleticism in Britain were subject to appraisal and alteration. For example, G.E.L. Cotton's early use of games as a form of social control at Marlborough was supplemented by later and more idealistic justifications for their existence. Idealists included Headmasters such as H.H. Almond of Loretto and Edward Thring of Uppingham. The trend in the Canadian schools was remarkably similar. One group of British Headmasters simply transplanted their passion for games and its popular supporting value claims on Canadian soil. There were also Canadian 'apostles' of a similar ilk.

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[1] "Great Headmasters," *The Trinity College School Record*, XXXI:1, March 1928, pp. 4-6.

Table 3: Headmasters of the schools of the study.

UPPER CANADA COLLEGE	
Rev. Joseph Harris	1829-1838
Rev. John McCaul	1839-1843
Frederick Barron	1843-1856
Rev. Walter Stennet	1857-1861
George R.R. Cockburn	1861-1881
John M. Buchan	1881-1885
George Dickson	1885-1895
George R. Parkin	1895-1902
Henry W. Auden	1902-1917
William L. Grant	1917-1935

KING'S COLLEGIATE SCHOOL	
Rev. David W. Pickett	1854-1861
Rev. John T.M.W. Blackman	1863-1867
Rev. George B. Dodwell	1867-1873
Rev. John Butler	1875-1876
Rev. Charles E. Willets	1876-1888
Rev. Arnoldous Miller	1888-1893
Henry M. Bradford	1893-1897
Fred T. Handsombody	1897-1914
Rev. William W. Judd	1914-1927

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE SCHOOL	
Bishop Robert Machray	1866-1903
Bishop Samuel P. Matheson	1903-1905
Eric Hamber	1905-1915
J.J. Robinson	1915-1916
Walter Burman	1916-1948

ST. JOHN'S/LOWER CANADA COLLEGE	
Rev. Edmund Wood	1861-1878
Rev. Arthur French	1878-1899
C.W. Rodgers	1899-1900
Charles S. Fosbery	1900-1935

TRINITY COLLEGE SCHOOL	
Rev. Charles H. Badgley	1865-1870
Rev. Charles J.S. Bethune	1870-1891
Rev. Dr. A. Lloyd	1891-1893
Rev. Charles J.S. Bethune	1893-1899
Rev. R. Edmunds Jones	1899-1901
Rev. Herbert Symonds	1901-1903
Rev. Oswald Rigby	1903-1913
Rev. F. Graham Orchard	1913-1933

LAKEFIELD COLLEGE SCHOOL	
Sparham Sheldrake	1879-1894
Rev. Alick Mackenzie	1894-1938

ROTHESAY COLLEGIATE SCHOOL	
William Thompson	1877-1891
Rev. George Exton Lloyd	1891-1896
Oswald W. Howard	1896-1899
Isaac E. Moore	1899-1909
Rev. Walter R. Hibbard	1909-1938

BISHOP RIDLEY COLLEGE	
Rev. John O. Miller	1889-1921

UNIVERSITY SCHOOL	
Rev. William W. Bolton	1906-1912
James C. Barnacle	1906-1923
Robert V. Harvey	1908-1915

SHAWNIGAN LAKE SCHOOL	
Christopher W. Lonsdale	1915-1952

Another group was committed to idealism. And finally, there was the unorthodox educationalist who diverged from tradition and fashion and gave athleticism in Canada an added dimension.

The triad of British Headmasters at University School, Bolton, Barnacle and Harvey were totally conventional in their educational principles and practice. They preached and promoted Christianity, and they emphasised games. The athletic 'gospel' found particular favour. In this regard, the well-worn character building philosophy of games in education was faithfully supported. Bolton delivered numerous sermons on the subject and elaborated on his views in the school magazine in forwarding articles and editorials. Barnacle meanwhile voiced his opinion at prize givings, and was active in his personal encouragement of the games ethic. He played cricket, rugby and field hockey with the boys. Harvey perpetuated the ideology through different agents: the cadet corps and boy scout troops. Each in his own way achieved an imperative educational objective, that of character development.

In the Reverend William Bolton's eyes, it was in school where strong and virtuous citizens were created. It was the responsibility of University School to mould Canada's young manly Christians.[2] Christian manliness, Bolton believed, was learned through religious devotion to God.[3] And manliness, which referred to qualities such as loyalty, steadiness, fair-play, self-respect and self-control,[4] could be realised through games. Bolton's interpretation of education was Graeco-Renaissance in nature. He advocated the harmonious development of the whole man.[5] University School was committed to shaping a boy's mind and his body.[6] Games were seen as part of a balanced programme of education that would produce an equally balanced child. In this regard, the Headmasters were in accord with British public school

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[2]"History of the two Schools, Part II. The University School," *The Black and Red*, 1:2, March 1909, pp. 10-11.
[3]"Christmas Prize Giving, 1909," *The Black and Red*, 1:2, March 1909, pp. 2-3; and "Speech Day and Prize Day," *The Black and Red*, 2:5, February 1910, pp. 5-6.
[4]"Editorial," *The Black and Red*, 3:17, June 1913, p. 1.
[5]The importance of physical and intellectual development was constantly stressed in the school magazine. See for example *The Black and Red*, 1:2, March 1909, p. 12; 2:5, February 1910, p. 6; and 3:21, November 1914, pp. 6-7.
[6]This was reflected in the school motto, *Mens Sana in Corpore Sano*.

thought. The synchronism of the ideas of Bolton, Barnacle and Harvey was a factor which gave University School strength and purpose in its formulative years. There was never contradiction. When Bolton retired from active work in 1912, life in the school went on almost uninterrupted as it functioned under the dual direction of Barnacle and Harvey. Similarly, after Harvey's death in 1915, Barnacle was able to progress as sole Headmaster, impressing on the boys the previously preached values. Athleticism at the school was therefore under consistent supervision, prospering and growing under a guiding force which changed in numbers but not in ideal.

University School's replication of British principles and practice exemplified a pattern to which private schools established after 1900 conformed.[7] The trend was followed elsewhere in Canada as other expatriate schoolmasters fervently subscribed to English standards. At King's Collegiate School at the turn of the century, the atmosphere was "a wholesome one", and no boy at the school could "fail to benefit both mentally and physically."[8] The early endeavours of Charles Willets to extend physical activity opportunities were energetically continued by Fred T. Handsombody. Handsombody had arrived at Windsor in 1897 when morale, once again, was low. Willets had resigned in 1888. The state of affairs under his two successors, Arnoldous Miller and Henry M. Bradford, was not healthy. The numbers of boys entering the school decreased markedly and neither Headmaster could improve the declining relationship which existed between the school and King's College.[9] In an effort to heal the rift, the Board of Governors turned to Willets, who at the time was President of the University of King's College, and appointed him Rector of the school. A search to find a suitable new Headmaster was initiated. Handsombody was subsequently appointed. His response to the situation was predictable. He demanded that the school ran efficiently, and he promoted games.

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[7] See Barman, "Growing up British in British Columbia," p. 175.

[8] *King's College Record*, XXI:181, January 1899, p. 74.

[9] These points are discussed in R.V. Harris, *A History of King's Collegiate School*, pp. 37-39, and in an article in the *King's College Record*, XVII:157, May 1895, p. 146. In the latter it is stated that: "At the last meeting of the Governors, the Collegiate School seems, for some inexplicable reason, to have been treated as an institution entirely separate from the College. We have felt all along that the essential oneness of the two institutions needs to be more firmly emphasised."

For his model, Handsombody turned to experience and proven celebrated methods. He had graduated from athletically conscious Trinity College, Dublin, and then became a Housemaster at Sir W. Borlase's Endowed School in Great Marlowe, England. In Arnoldian fashion, he made moves to centralise authority; the prefect system was more formally instituted and utilised. With regard to games, he displayed the active enthusiasm of a young Edward Thring. Handsombody played rugby; soccer, hockey and cricket with the boys.[10] While his athletic performances were duly recorded in the school and college journals,[11] Handsombody's attitudes towards games are not well-documented. Nevertheless, he can be considered a typical example of the British public school Housemaster, instilling ideal and appropriate behavioural traits and commanding respect through participation. King's rural and isolated location and the few regular organised games against other schools propelled Handsombody into a hero-like status among his pupils. Besides playing, he kept a constant vigil over games and the games field. Athletic facilities were maintained and improved, provision was made for a drill instructor, and he coached teams and sponsored intra-school sports with regular donations of cups and medals.[12] Under Handsombody's vigorous and dynamic leadership, conditions at King's improved visibly. When he left the school in 1914 to take up the Headmastership of the Quebec High School, he had earned the salutary valetes. *The Windsorian* stated that he was "known to, and loved by all Old Boys and present scholars" and would "yield the same force and have the same influence which he has shown in this smaller field."[13]

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[10]He played for the school in their matches against club teams such as the Three Elms Cricket Club of King's College, Windsor Town, the Wanderers of Halifax and the Military Garisson. See for example reports in *The Windsorian,* V:1, Christmas 1906, p. 21; and V:3, Christmas 1907, p. 23.

[11]He did play cricket regularly for the Three Elms Cricket Club and in 1901 was awarded the Cogswell Bat, symbolic of the Club's top player. The *King's College Record,* reported that "the gods could not have chosen a more popular recipient on whom to bestow their favours," XXIII:204, June 1901, p. 159.

[12]"Reminiscences," by an Old Boy, *The Windsorian,* 8:1, Christmas 1910, pp. 2-4. This article discusses the advancements at at the school, such as the introduction of the cadet corps, the improvement in the gymnasium and facilities in general, and the formation of the Old Boys Association. Handsombody is given full credit.

[13]*The Windsorian,* 12:1, Midsummer 1915, p. 2.

The examples of King's and University School represent the reaction of British trained educators in Canada. Their response was not unpredictable nor unexceptionable. At other institutions, Canadian private school promoters were equally British and traditional in their methods and ideas. They told their pupils to 'play fair' and to 'play the game,' stressing the moral and physical benefits of involvement in sport.

While the impetus for organised games at St.John's College School in Winnipeg was British in origin, it was the school's own Canadian products who were largely responsible for perpetuating the games ethic. Robert Machray was a titular figurehead as far as games were concerned. He was totally committed to and involved in his work with the Anglican Church. Athleticism found support with Samuel Pritchard Matheson, Eric Hamber and Walter Burman. Hamber was English. He impressed the boys as a physical specimen and as a disciplinarian. Standing "slightly above six feet," Hamber was "straight as a ramrod, not only in body but also in mind" and "condemned, with scathing contempt, all kinds of meanness and ungentlemanly behaviour."[14] Games at St.John's under Hamber functioned no differently than they did under Matheson and Burman. They were considered a vital medium of character development. Matheson had been educated by Machray at the College School and later at the College. His inclination was to the Church and he subsequently followed the example of his mentor by becoming the Anglican Church's Primate of All Canada in 1904.[15] However, he was also attracted to sport. In his early years as a teacher he was described as "a solidly built man who in his younger years had been a famous athlete."[16] Matheson displayed none of Machray's indifference. He gave school games every encouragement.[17] Walter Burman continued in the

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[14]W.A. Griesbach, *I Remember*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1946, pp. 188-189.
[15]O.R. Rowley, *The Anglican Episcopate of Canada and Newfoundland*. Milwaukee, Wisconsin: Morehouse Publishing Company, 1928, especially the sections on Machray, pp. 44-47, and Matheson, pp. 128-131.
[16]Griesbach, *op.cit.*, p. 156.
[17]*Calendar of St.John's College and St.John's College School, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1895-1896*, p. 26, and *Calendar of 1902-1903*, p. 68. Although Machray was the nominal Headmaster, Matheson was the man in control at the school. This was certainly the case with Walter Burman who was the Principal under Warden Matheson. He was Headmaster in all but name. See *Calendar of St.John's College and St.John's College School, 1915-1916*, p. 19.

same vein. Like Matheson he had been educated at the College and the College School. The main purpose of the school, he believed, was to develop Christian manliness in "the culture of the classroom" and through "the sportsmanship of the playing fields."[18] Quite in line with English public school counterparts of the period, Burman viewed games as a means to an end. More than his predecessors, Burman was St.John's 'flaming evangelist' of games and guaranteed the consolidation of athleticism at the school.

Another Canadian, Charles J.S. Bethune, the distinguished Headmaster of Trinity College School for almost thirty years, was similarly orthodox in his advocacy of games. Trinity's Christian educational objective was to develop to the utmost the pupils' mental, moral and physical powers.[19] Games were an influential factor in the creation of manly Trinity boys. Bethune stressed their importance as a means of moral training; they instilled vital qualities such as team loyalty, patriotism for the school and country, and fair-play.[20] His belief in the value of organised physical activity stemmed from earlier experiences. He had been a keen cricketer at Trinity College in Toronto after leaving Upper Canada College in 1856.[21] When he took up the appointment at Port Hope, he immediately became President of the Cricket Club and showed the greatest interest in the game's development at the school.[22] In fact, evidence suggests that he was more prominent in organising and sytematising games than in preaching their values.[23] Despite being a renowned writer on scientific matters and editor of the highly reputable *Canadian Entomologist*, Bethune wrote little concerning the domain of the school or

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[18]T.C. Boon, "Walter Burman of St.John's, Winnipeg," *Canadian Churchman*, October 7, 1948, p. 17.

[19]*Calendar for Trinity College School*, between 1895 and 1901.

[20]"Play the Game," Address given to the students at Guelph Agricultural College by Dr. C.J.S. Bethune, *The Trinity College School Record*, XII:3, December 1909, pp. 55-56.

[21]T.A. Reed, (ed.) *A History of the University of Trinity College, Toronto, 1852-1952*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1952; particularly Chapter 11, "Trinity in Athletics," pp. 264-291.

[22]E.M. Watson, "Cricket at Trinity College," *Athletic Life*, January 1895, pp. 51-53.

[23]*Trinity College School Calendar, 1895-96*, pp. 26-27. Bethune was President of the Cricket Club, the Football Club and the Athletic Sports Committee. In "Recollections of Dr. Bethune," *The Trinity College Record*, 43:4, May 1st 1940, p. 56, and *Calendar for Trinity College School, 1875-76*, there are references to the preparation of ten acres of land for cricket and football.

of the place of athletics within it. Nevertheless, it is almost inevitable that he be labelled a muscular Christian. He was devoted to God and he loved cricket. Under his leadership the foundations of athleticism were firmly established at Trinity College School which in no small way was responsible for the diffusion of the ethic to other parts of Canada.

Athleticism in Canadian private schools had a dual matrix. Association with the British practice and ideal was a predominant influence. Also of importance were the more established and renowned schools of the Dominion. Upper Canada College and Trinity College School fall distinctly into both categories. They were both inspired by British tradition and both generated diffusion in Canada. The nature of athleticism at Upper Canada changed with the times and was in accord with the prevailing educational thoughts of its Headmasters. In the last quarter of the nineteenth-century in Britain, athleticism had taken on new dimensions. Edward Thring at Uppingham and Hely Hutchinson Almond at Loretto were expanding the traditional public school curriculum.[24] They were also formulating a well-constructed philosophical rationale for physical education. Educational innovation spread slowly but surely to the schools of the Dominion. The ideological justifications for athleticism at Upper Canada College were indicative of the new educational public school trends of the period.

Athleticism at Upper Canada College prior to the appointment of George Cockburn in 1861 remained a notable feature. Frederick Barron's muscular hedonism had nourished the ideology through a period of growth that enabled it to survive the disfavour of Principal Stennet.[25] However, the real period of growth of athleticism, and other facets of school life, was stimulated by Cockburn, a Scottish schoolteacher of striking and massive proportions.[26] He had been educated at Merchiston Castle School in Edinburgh, and later at Edinburgh University. He had also taught at Fettes College, another noted Scottish public school which

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[24] See Mangan, *Athleticism*, pp. 43-58.
[25] D.R. Keys, "Regime of G.R.R. Cockburn, M.A., Fifth Principal, 1861-81," in Dickson and Mercer Adam *A History of Upper Canada College*, pp. 113-126; and *The College Times*, X:4, Christmas 1891, p. 41.
[26] Ibid., p. 124.

like Merchiston Castle and Almond's Loretto exhibited the same enthusiasm for games as its English counterparts. In Canada, he served as Rector for the Model Grammar School in Toronto and was personally recommended for the position of Principal at Upper Canada by Egerton Ryerson. His period at the College was one of public strife and internal reorganisation. This consumed much of his time and effort. To accommodate the increasing numbers of boarders, he restructured the school on the lines of the English public schools by introducing the Resident Master system. And he repelled the criticisms from public sectors concerning the school's academic standing and its financial operation.[27] With regard to games, Cockburn was an organiser and expansionist. Games and facilities were arranged through him and were developed with his consent.[28] Consequently, the opportunities for physical exercise during his term at the school increased. Cockburn was in complete harmony with traditional British practice and reproduced conventions of the system at Upper Canada College. His policy of sponsorship and expansion was sustained by John Milne Buchan and George Dickson. Buchan acted more as a consultant.[29] Dickson, however, displayed considerable rationale for the existence of athleticism.

Dickson's education had been completely Canadian. He was born in York County and attended local schools at Richmond Hill and Whitby before graduating from University College in Toronto in 1872. For the next thirteen years he taught at Chatham High School, Woodstock College and Hamilton College.[30] Despite this Canadian training, he was more committed to promoting athleticism at Upper Canada College than any of his predecessors. In his efforts to

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[27]Notable here was the Upper Canada College Question in the late 1860s to which Cockburn had to reply publicly to statements regarding the school's academic and financial standing in the province. See George R.R. Cockburn *Statement to the Committee of the Legislature on Education.* Toronto: Hunter, Rose and Co., 1869. P.A.C., 1-3585.

[28]*Upper Canada College Cricket Club. Minutes of Meetings.* Entries reveal that Cockburn was consulted with respect to games being arranged and/or cancelled, and with regard to preparing field facilities. He had a sanctioning type of vote for games against any opposition. See entries for April 27th, 1870, p. 19, and September 7th, 1874, p. 53, for pertinent examples.

[29]A.H. Young, "John Milne Buchan, M.A., 1881-1885," in Dickson and Mercer Adam, *op.cit.*, pp. 136-155.

[30]Young, *Roll of Pupils*, p. 50.

extend physical activities to the boys, he excelled. He inaugurated new sports and directed policies of facility expansion and student involvement.[31] His most important innovation was undoubtedly the creation of a new system of games management in late 1892 and early 1893 which centralised control under himself, the staff and, representing the boys, the stewards.[32] The stewards were the managing body of the boys, assisted by the staff.[33] The intended function of the stewards was to organise and control sports in the school under the auspices of a Games Fund to which each boy was expected to subscribe. The new mechanism had problems. Articles in *The College Times* went to great lengths to discuss the advantages of the new system:

> We think that the boys ought to give the new games' fund some encouragement. If

[31]A.A. Macdonald, "Other College Sports," in Dickson and Mercer Adam *op.cit.*, pp. 271-274, Upper Canada College's first official ice hockey team was formed in 1890-1891. *The College Times*, VI:5, January 27, 1887, p. 33; VII:5, February 1890, p. 36; XI:2, November 7, 1892, p. 15; and IX:2, December 1890, p. 6, express the boys' gratitude to the 'energetic' Principal for the erection of a slide, skating rink, the near completion of a cinder track and improvements in the gymnasium respectively. The *Minutes of Meetings*, of the Cricket Club reveal his direct involvement in allowing student participation in sport, his sanctioning of activities, his urging for financial support from students via the staff and his desire to expand facilities.

[32]*The College Times*, XI:6, February 8, 1893, pp. 63-64. The article read as follows: "The College has always had a good name for the interest taken in and the enthusiasm shown for its sports and athletics by the great bulk of its students, and it is this only, that has enabled us to take so high a position among the schools of the province with regard to these important branches. But it would seem that the present generation much prefer to go and shout and blow horns at the College matches to subscribe the small sum of one dollar towards the support of the College institutions. The stewards are a newly created body, whose functions are not yet clearly understood, and the system upon which the games are now being mangaged is also a novelty, which facts may probably account, in some measure, for the disgracefully inadequate response to the appeal for funds; but surely it must be clearly understood by everybody that money, and a good deal of it, is imperatively necessary for carrying on everything, even school games."

[33]*Minutes of Masters Meeting Book, 1892-1901.* Entry dated January 15 on a loose sheet between pages 38 and 39 on which entries for 1893 are written states that three of the masters, Leacock, Macdonald and Edgar were appointed a Committee to act with the stewards and to superintend the financial part of the concern. The orders of the stewards had to be submitted to the Committee for sanction. A further entry for September 6th, 1894, point number 3, p. 59, shows that Dickson relieved the stewards of more responsibility. University of Toronto Archives, A-74-018/192.

> properly carried out and supported it would add greatly to our efficiency in Athletics. Of course, being a new scheme, it may not be quite understood yet. The idea is to amalgamate all the sports under one head, under the management of the stewards. But even if it isn't quite understood still we think that the boys, and especially the boys on the first teams ought to pay up. There are numerous boys on the teams that haven't paid a cent, and if they don't pay, what can you expect the Juniors to do. The Spring term is now coming on, and the football and hockey seasons have not yet been paid for. So we hope that the boys will open their pockets a little more than they have done previously.[34]

There was some degree of financial and practical consideration behind Dickson's new scheme. However, the demand did not attract immediate support. Dickson was still adamant to overcome any obstacles. He appealed to the boys publicly, and presented a character building rationale for the sytematisation of games in the genuine belief that they were an educational medium which had to be fully exploited at Upper Canada College. Furthermore, "a school without a playground," he argued, "is not doing its work."[35] As a last resort he encouraged his staff to urge the boys to contribute to the Games Fund.[36]

It is difficult to identify the exact inspirational source of Dickson's programme. His motives appear to be more obvious. The practicalities of maintaining facilities required financial support. His desire to make use of existing facilities and to provide new ones suggests sincere enthusiasm. And his belief that 'desultory play' only resulted in the formation of 'evil' characteristics implies that Dickson saw games to some extent as a means of social control. In this regard, his purposeful response had much in common with G.E.L. Cotton of Marlborough and Charles Vaughan of Harrow. His subscription to the character building qualities of organised physical activity conformed with contemporary British and Canadian educational thought. Regardless of the dubious origins of and motives for Dickson's ideas on systematisation and centralisation, it can be stated that he was the most influential figure in initiating formal control over athleticism at Upper Canada College.

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[34] "The Why and Wherefore," *The College Times*, XII:3, December 18, 1893, pp. 24-25. The function of the Games Fund was discussed in "Games Fund," *The College Times*, XI:8, March 27, 1893, p. 85.
[35] "Speech Day," *The College Times*, XII:1, October 4, 1893, p. 7.
[36] *Minutes of Masters Meeting*, Entry for Tuesday, October 23, 1894, point number 7, no page number.

Dickson's policy of expansion and reorganisation at Upper Canada was taken up with greater vigour by his successor, George R. Parkin, an idealist, a writer, a Christian and above all, an educationalist. At the time of his appointment, he was already an internationally recognised authority on the topic of 'Empire.' And his work as a teacher in New Brunswick was greatly admired.[37] Parkin's credentials for the position at Upper Canada were impeccable. As was typical of the man, he approached the task fully prepared. His ideas on education, based on past personal experience, were firmly established. The greatest influence on his life had been his meeting with Edward Thring during his visit to Oxford as a mature student in 1873-1874. Thring's impact on Parkin was considerable. Through discussion and regular correspondence over the following years, Parkin's philosophy of education developed. Upper Canada College was the testing ground for his ideals. Similar to the Uppingham Headmaster, he was imbued with a deep religious commitment to his objective of making the College the leading school in Canada.[38] His educational mission was to create the Christian gentleman possessing the Christian habits, manners and principles by which the school and Canada could be judged.[39] Parkin also embraced Thring's concern for the individual boy. He wanted to provide at Upper Canada College an environment where the students could grow in 'an intellectually vigorous and morally wholesome atmosphere.'[40]

The value of a healthy living had impressed Parkin throughout his early life in New Brunswick where he was born; the youngest of thirteen children, educated, and where he taught for a good number of years.[41] As a youth he was a 'long, lean healthy boy' and his character

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[37]He had turned down the chance to become Headmaster of King's Collegiate School in 1888.

[38]Arnoldi, *An Epoch in Canadian History*, p. 25.

[39]G.R. Parkin, "The Principal's Prize Day Address," *The College Times*, Christmas 1895, pp. 1-11.

[40]G.R. Parkin, *Edward Thring, Headmaster of Uppingham School: Life, Diary and Letters*. 2 Volumes. London: Macmillan and Co., 1898, pp. 196-197. Thring letter to Parkin, dated July 9th, 1875. Thring states his strong religious feelings are a major source of Uppingham's existence. In a letter to the same, dated September 23rd, 1878, pp. 227-228, Thring again states his convictions, this time with regard to his belief that teachers should 'possess a religious element. Parkin's attitude on this subject was very similar, indicative of the influence on him of Thring.

[41]J. Willison, *Sir George Parkin: A Biography*. Toronto: Macmillan and Co., 1929, pp. 10-12.

and his love of the outdoor life were fashioned by the rugged farming and fishing conditions which he encountered in his childhood. This attraction for healthy activity was sustained while he taught at Bathurst Grammar School and then at the Collegiate School in Fredericton where he coached his students in their games.[42] Parkin's contribution to athletics at Upper Canada College was one of provider and reorganiser. The school on his appointment had been relocated at Deer Park. His strenuous efforts over the years were spent in re-establishing it on a solid basis. In the seven years he administered the College, he raised over $53,000 to supplement the Endowment Fund and extracate the institution from government financial support. Also, a preparatory school building was erected, fifty acres of land were added to the grounds, and new athletic facilities were provided.[43] He gave every encouragement to games at the school as the prospectuses during his time there attest.[44] Indeed, athleticism prospered under Parkin and found a willing ally in the College's next Principal, H.W. Auden.

Henry William Auden was an enlightened Headmaster. He had been educated at one of England's most famous schools, Shrewsbury, and then at Christ's College, Cambridge. He came to Canada from Fettes College in Edinburgh where the work of H.H. Almond of Loretto was keenly admired and partly emulated.[45] Auden borrowed freely from his experiences and from the ideas of British educationalists. He introduced Almond's emphasis on physiological evaluation of pupils. A simple fitness examination of the boys by the College Physician in Auden's early years at the school progressed to lectures on hygiene and care of the body, and the regular recording of 'accurate scientific measurements' of the boys' condition at a later stage.[46] This 'scientific training of the young human animal' was augmented with suitable literary examples of English public school life.[47] Auden, it is clear, saw games as a means to an

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[42] *Ibid.*.
[43] *The College Times*, Midsummer 1901, p. 3; Easter 1896, p. 8; and Easter 1902, pp. 45-47.
[44] *Prosectus for Upper Canada College, 1899-1902.*
[45] Mangan, *op.cit.*, p. 82.
[46] *Prospectus for Upper Canada College, 1902-03, 1912-13.*
[47] Mangan, *op.cit.*, p. 55; and for examples of articles see, "English School Life," *The College Times*, Christmas 1908, pp. 33-35, disusses life at Clifton College; and "Sedbergh (1546-1909)," *The College Times*, Christmas 1909, pp. 45-47.

end. His students were to be "God-fearing, robust, strenuous, hard-working, clean-thinking, clean-minded, and warm-hearted" in the Almondian mould.[48] With Auden at the helm, athleticism at Upper Canada College flourished right through to 1917 when William L. Grant assumed the Principalship and maintained the propagation of the ideology.

The checkered forces which stimulated athleticism at Upper Canada illustrate the individual approaches of the Headmasters. Influences at the end of the nineteenth-century were increasingly diverse and characterised acceptable changes in attitudes. The Victorian idea of manliness for example had been transformed in the public school environment. Arnold's moral interpretation of manliness, which encouraged self-reliance and unselfishness through Christian endeavours, had been replaced by a 'sturdy sporting manliness.' As one author has succinctly pointed out, "in the Victorian public school manliness passed from moral earnestness into vigorous 'muscular Christianity'."[49] But there was more to the ideal than its representation of physical hardness and moral awareness acquired through games. Manliness to some symbolised a way of life. Almond's manliness was 'Sparto-Christian' in nature. It included moral and physical health and was "an ideal of temperance, courage and *esprit de corps* supported by a regiment of all-weather exercise, cleanliness, comfortable informal dress, and fresh air."[50] Victorian Headmasters and educators endorsed the Sparto-Christian ideal. Its diffusion to the Dominion was inevitable.

Charles Sanderson Fosbery arrived at St.John's School, Montreal, in 1900 with definite ideas on how the school should operate. Over the next thirty-five years he grafted his own ideals onto the existing framework of the school and after 1909 onto the newly-created Lower Canada College. The prefect system and organised games quickly became part and parcel of

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[48] "A School Sermon [The following was delivered by the Headmaster of Loretto, on the occasion of his final serman to the boys of the school]," *The College Times*, Midsummer 1908, pp. 5-10. The speech made constant reference to the work previously done by Almond.

[49] N. Vance, "The Ideal of Manliness," Chapter 7 in Simon and Bradley, *The Victorian Public School*, p. 128.

[50] *Ibid.*, p. 125.

everyday life. Fosbery's programme of education placed a heavy emphasis on character formation. His approach, like that of many British Victorian Headmasters, was influenced by the writings of Herbert Spencer. In one of his noted essays on education, Spencer had advocated the natural growth of the individual's intellectual, moral, and physical faculties. In childhood, Spencer believed, attention should be specifically given to physical development.[51] Fosbery took Spencer at his word and made his ideas a cornerstone of his education philosophy. In an article in *The Eagle* Fosbery quoted Spencer's views regarding hygiene and physical exercise and stated that "physical exercise must be practised with regularity." He concluded that if the suggestions were carried out faithfully, "the result will surely be a healthy mind in a healthy body."[52] Such a state of existence for Fosbery was only the stepping stone for further accomplishments. "The joy of physical fitness is one of the greatest joys in this world," he argued, "for without it, it is impossible to excel either in work or games."[53]

Athleticism to Fosbery meant more than the belief that games built character and formed traits which were transferable in later life. Fosbery's philosophy of physical education constituted health education, diet, clothes and fresh air, and was based on personal precept and example. His own living conditions were 'Spartan.' His bedroom was on the main dormitory floor, and housed an iron cot, varnished dresser, chair and table, and a plain unshielded light hanging on a wire from the ceiling. The floor was uncovered, and the heating was kept low in Fosbery's belief that it was good for the health, and for the economy of the school.[54] He was the epitome of his own philosophy of life, leading by example. He took part in regular activity himself and ensured that his boys did the same, perceiving it to be advantageous in the preparation of a healthy body, and in turn a healthy school.[55] He outlined this requirement to

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[51]H. Spencer, *Education: Intellectual, Moral and Physical.* New York: Appleton, 1896, pp. 188-189.

[52]C.S.F. "Health," *The Eagle,* 1:6, June 1907, p. 56.

[53]C.S.F. "Forward," *Lower Canada College Magazine,* III:4, December 1912, pp. 6-7.

[54]E.A. Collard, "Of Many Things...," *Scrapbook on Charles S. Fosbery;* and Claxton, B. "Talk to the Boys of Lower Canada College on the Occasion of the Ninetieth Birthday of Dr. C.S. Fosbery, Former Headmaster of L.C.C.," Printed Document, p. 7. L.C.C.A..

[55]One of Spencer's arguments was that success in life for an individual was

the boys publicly. It was his wish that everybody participated in sports.[56] Expediency as well as idealism played its part here as Brooke Claxton, a future Cabinet Minister, pointed out:

> In order to field teams for all forms of inter-school competition, it was usually necessary for every single boy, provided he was not physically incapacitated, to play on the appropriate school team irrespective of his qualities as a player and without the slightest regard as to whether or not his parents wanted him to play. That was taken for granted, and it was never questioned.[57]

Games were obligatory, with only a medical note accepted as an excusable reason for non-participation. However, his concern for the health of the pupils was extended beyond compulsion to the games field. It also included the school buildings. Fosbery strived vigorously and without financial consideration to improve hygiene conditions. In an article published in *The Eagle* in 1908, the need for better ventilation in urban areas, where the air was less healthful than in the country due to the growth of manufacturing industries, was discussed.[58] Some six months later, following the moving of the school to Notre Dame de Grace, Fosbery outlined the benefits that would be gained by the installation of the new heating-ventilation system which guaranteed a positive supply of fresh air to each room all the year round. "In warm weather the air washer cools the air, and in winter it softens and moistens the atmosphere, making hygienic conditions as nearly perfect as possible. Let us hope," he continued "that full advantage will be made of such comfortable surroundings and that the results shown in work and sports will be such as will credit all concerned."[59] The hygiene and physical welfare of his students obsessed Fosbery to the point that he even lectured to them

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[55](cont'd) dependent upon him being a good animal, and that national prosperity was dependent upon having a nation of good animals. Physical education for children prepared them for future life. Fosbery's healthy society, the school, relied on the individual health of his boys.

[56]*The Eagle*, December 1905, p. 4.

[57]Claxton, *op.cit.*, p. 6.

[58]"The Need for Purer Air," *The Eagle*, II:3, June 1909, pp. 10-11.

[59]"The New Buildings," *Lower Canada College Magazine*, II:4, December 1909, pp. 5-6.

that less frequent use of the street cars would greatly enhance their physical condition.[60] This regard to health at Lower Canada College parallelled a national concern for the prevention of diseases in the public schools, and it augured well for the school which maintained a healthy profile through the measle and infantile paralysis epidemics of 1916.[61]

V.C. Wansbrough, who succeeded Fosbery at Lower Canada, described him as a man of extraordinary courage and industry, always with the school at heart.[62] With his combination of Spencerian and personal beliefs and experiences, it would be more appropriate to say that he always had the health of each boy at heart, which in progression ensured, and was the best indication of, the health of the school.[63]

Christopher Lonsdale was another Sparto-Christian proselyte. He remained faithful to British practice at Shawnigan Lake School. And he also realised that his ideals required adaptation. Lonsdale, it will be remembered, was a Westminster 'apostle.' Life at the school had left him with distinct views on education. Religion was to provide the central feature. A disciplined approach to everyday situations was mandatory. The physical and mental hardships endured would build a boy's character, they would form it, and provide a basis for future success in life.[64] Lonsdale's positive belief in the value of the healthy body surfaced in the Shawnigan mode of athleticism. It was a rugged, disciplined involvement in healthy outdoor activity fostered out of experience and expedience. The atmosphere at Shawnigan Lake was religious, sparse and bleak in the belief that it was good for the boys. After all, at Westminster it had been good enough for the Headmaster. Also, the revenue from relatively few students in

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[60] "Speech Day," *The Eagle*, II:1, December 1908, pp. 5-7.

[61] See N. Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society*, particularly Part II, "'To Create a Strong and Healthy Race.' Children in the Public Health Movement, 1880-1920," pp. 33-91. And specifically, Chapter 3, "'Our Whole Aim is Prevention.' Public Health in the Schools, 1880-1914," pp. 39-55. *Lower Canada College Magazine*, V:2, April 1916, p. 29; and VI:1, December 1916, p. 11.

[62] V.C. Wansbrough, "Past and Present," *Lower Canada College Magazine*, No.2, June 1939, pp. 29-30.

[63] Fosbery often expressed his desire to see the school in 'good health.' For example, see *Lower Canada College Magazine*, III:4, December 1912, pp. 6-7.

[64] The *Victoria Daily Times*, July 7, 1928, describes Shawnigan as "an institution moulding public spirited citizens of the country - with the chapel being an example of the continuous presence of God in the life of every individual." Cutting in *Scrapbook by Lonsdale*, p. 83.

its early years, gave Lonsdale very little financial leeway in school operating costs.[65] As a result, the boys learned the art of clearing tree trunks from the school grounds, and also took early morning cold baths or a quick dip in the lake (at least until the ice formed in winter) accompanied by the Headmaster.[66] Healthy endurance was the order of the day, and the night when the students slept in unheated dormitories with the windows open to all elements, except rain and snow.[67] Such an existence physically toughened the boys of Shawnigan. Games were employed to perform a similar function. The physical demands tempered the mental and moral faculties. They moulded body, mind and spirit, and in Lonsdale's mind they ensured the efficiency of the individual for the sake of the community as well as for himself.[68] This Spencerian attitude, as with Fosbery at Lower Canada College, was a utilitarian, indicative and progressive ideal. The health of the student reflected the health of the school which in turn advanced the well-being of society to which the individual would ultimately contribute. Lonsdale later supplemented this philosophical justification with more scientific, physiological and aesthetic reasons for athleticism. He kept record of medical documentation regarding disfigurement ascribed to over-emphasis of physical activity and attempted to to maintain a balance between athletic and academic education at Shawnigan Lake.[69]

Besides preaching a doctrine of health education, Lonsdale, "a strong good looking man with broad shoulders and comparatively narrow hips," was the embodiment of his own philosophy.[70] He is an example of another diffusionist who successfully transplanted a British ideal. However, he also displayed the ability to adapt to the environmental conditions which confronted him in Shawnigan Lake's natural but austere setting. In this regard, he must be

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[65]Robertson, "Recollections etc., 1916-1976," Letter dated October 7, 1944, p. 5.
[66]"Recollections etc., 1916-1976," Letter from George Cameron, June 25, 1975, p. 1.
[67]*Ibid.*.
[68]A local newspaper report, paper unidentified, "Speech Day, July 24, 1929, *Scrapbook by Lonsdale.*
[69]An address given by Sir Ronald Ross at the London Conference of the Association of Public School Masters, undated; an article on "School Athletics," from *The British Medical Journal,* April 5, 1930, p. 656; and Clark, M.L. "A Report on Seasonal Variation in the Growth of School Children," from *The Lancet,* August 16, 1930, pp. 365-367. *Scrapbook by Lonsdale,* pp. 28, and 95.
[70]Robertson, *op.cit.*.

considered an innovator. But he was by no means the first to react in this way. Others before him had included the country's natural setting as part of their athleticism philosophy.

Athleticism at Lower Canada College and at Shawnigan Lake symbolised the intrusion of neo-British educational idealism and, in the case of Lonsdale, it illustrated one man's ability to adjust to different circumstances. Not unexpectedly, there were others, and notably those who considered themselves Canadian, who embraced these recent ideals and formulated new ones. Such manifestations were apparent at Rothesay, Ridley and Lakefield.

George Exton Lloyd fashioned the ideals that Rothesay Collegiate School emphasised; Christianism, militarism and athleticism. The cult of Lloyd's Christian athlete warrior progressed under the auspices of Oswald W. Howard and Isaac E. Moore. Both were [illegible] in the Dominion, and Moore in particular enthused over, and appeared to have thought about, physical education. He was a graduate of the Univer[illegible]onto, which by now, the 1890s, was an ardent promoter of manly sports. His philo[illegible]ercise included the use of outdoor games and activities as instruments of moral an[illegible]ysical development. It also encompassed th[illegible]stematic use of the gymnasium, to insure in boys the conditions necessary for future good health."[71] Improvement of the physique Moore argued, did not evolve from "unrestricted use of the apparatus," it could only be acquired through careful training.[72] Unlike Thring and Almond who were inspired by German gymnastics and the works of British physical educationalist Archibald MacLaren respectively, Moore's supplementary use of the gymnasium was "a necessity born out of personal experience."[73] Systematised gymnastics were Moore's major contribution to athleticism at Rothesay. His successor, Walter R. Hibbard, added further refinements.

Hibbard graduated from Bishop's College, Lennoxville, Quebec, and taught for four years at Trinity College School before taking up the Headmastership of Berthier Grammar

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[71] *Calendar for Rothesay Collegiate School, 1899-1900*, p. 7.
[72] *Ibid.*, p. 14; and *The Saint John Weekly Globe*, Wednesday, September 5, 1906.
[73] Mangan, *op.cit.*, p. 55; and *Calendar of Rothesay, ibid.*.

School. He was a devout Christian. His sermons at Trinity's Chapel expressed his educational bias. A school's welfare, preached Hibbard, lay in the development of a true and manly Christian character.[74] At Rothesay, Hibbard emphasised the Chapel as the heart of school and religion as the most important facet of the boys' lives.[75] Sport and games were further agents by which Christian manliness could be inculcated. This belief was unmistakably British. However, this 'apostle' also attached importance to the Canadian elements of physical activity. Ice hockey and snowshoeing as well as rugby and cricket were considered strenuous enough to develop muscle firmness as well as desirable moral attributes such as loyalty, fair-play, self-reliance and self-discipline.[76] This application of British theory to Canadian games was inevitable, and Hibbard was by no means leading the way in this matter. He is merely a symbol of a trend which will be examined in more detail in later chapters. Canadian sports were consumed by athleticism, and lent themselves readily as expressions of the ideology in the Dominion. Hibbard's philosophy of physical education did not finish here. It also incorporated the school's rural environment and 'abundant wholesome food' which presented great opportunities for developing health and vigour of body. His beliefs partly stemmed from his own love of sport. In his youth he had enjoyed skating and later took up golf, both of which were activities that were undertaken in open, healthy spaces on frozen lakes and country golf courses. He never lost the feeling gained from playing as a boy and found solace and almost a sense of regeneration in teaching students and empathising with them in their joys and despairs, particularly in regard to their games. Hibbard once wrote that "being immersed in youthful likes and dislikes, hopes, ambitions and pleasures tends to belie the fact that one is getting older." He continued, "to this day I have as keen an interest in games as most boys have."[77]

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[74] *The Trinity College School Record*, VIII:6, December 1905, p. 1.
[75] Dr. W.R. Hibbard, "Memoirs of R.C.S., 1908-1938," File marked Archives, p. 26. R.C.S.A..
[76] See the *Scrapbook on Hibbard* found in the Rothesay Collegiate School Archives. For example, a letter from Stewart Jones, June 13, 1938, stated: "Some of course learned more than others but the principles of fair-play and sportsmanship, which you made part and parcel of our training, have been a solid foundation on which all of us have been able to depend."
[77] Hibbard, *op.cit.*, p. 30.

Involvement as a coach to school teams satiated Hibbard's keen interest.[78]

In later life, his attitude toward education at Rothesay, and in fact in Canadian private schools *per se*, was affected by a visit to Winchester College in England.[79] Hibbard was perceptive enough to realise the individuality of the English public schools and of the ideal which each institution fostered and developed. He was of the opinion that to some extent this was true of the Canadian schools. "They must seek to develope [sic] along their own lines," he argued, and must be seen as "indigenous to the country and not exotic growths or faint imitations of English schools."[80] Athleticism at Rothesay did display some idiosyncratic characteristics. Hibbard stressed the ideals of 'manliness, strength and truth' through a combination of Chapel, diet, a healthy environment, and Canadian and British games. These were blended with Moore's belief in sytematised gymnastics and Lloyd's emphasis on military proficiency. It produced a distinguishing feature at Rothesay, a feature not built on distorted facts to suit Hibbard's own theory.

Rothesay's ideal matured gradually. At Ridley College, the case was somewhat similar. The school was established on no specific blueprint. Upper Canada College and Trinity College School had been scrutinised closely as had the operational features of the British public schools.[81] Responsibility for the final working model rested in the hands of its youthful Headmaster elect, the Reverend John Ormsby Miller. As Ridley grew and developed then so did Miller's views on its operation. Preconceived ideals were not discarded, but rather moulded [illegible]ssively to create a new spirit within the school. 'Ridleyism' epitomised not only an ideal to which the Ridley boy aspired, but also a process which represented, in Miller's eyes, a means by which young Canadians could be produced and injected into society.[82] The young Canadian

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[78]Ruth Pierce, "Historical Sketch of Walter Robert Hibbard," File marked W.R. Hibbard, R.C.S.A..

[79]Hibbard, *op.cit.*, p. 30. There is a typing error in this paper which confuses the date of his vistit. Winchester at the time was under the Headmastership of Dr. O.T.P. Williams. It is suggested that the visit was circa 1926.

[80]*Ibid.*.

[81]Beattie, *Ridley - The Story of a School*, p. 29.

[82]See J.O. Miller, *The Young Canadian Citizen: Studies in Ethics, Civics and Economics*. Toronto: J.M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., 1919, which is an edited [illegible]ion of his *Short Studies in Ethics*. Toronto: J.M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., 1895. [illegible]d see the

citizen; Miller believed, should be one imbued with the character fashioned on the life of Christ, and filled with a moral and physical steadfastness which would provide the capability of carrying him through life. Education was an instrument of political socialization at Ridley, and physical exercise was one of the key elements in this educative process.

Miller's path to Ridley had by no means been straightforward. He had been academically inclined as a youth. Religion had been an early influencing factor also, and indirectly brought him to Canada where his father acquired a Church appointment. Young Miller obtained a position in a Toronto law office. However, the drudgery of work left him totally uninspired. Miller's real mission was God and education. Degrees in Arts and Theology were subsequently received before he became a teacher in a rural school near Whitby. Although he was predisposed to attaining career objectives, Miller had other passions. He was an athlete, and in particular a partisan cricketer. The early years of his work at Ridley witnessed a fusion of experience, hedonism and ideal as he strived to secure the intellectual, moral and physical development of the boys.[13]

Miller, like many of his British counterparts, took to writing. His works reveal his concerned interest as a teacher in the school curriculum and in moral and religious instruction.[14] He displayed a simple eloquence of literary rhetoric designed to capture the understanding of the child. His writing also indicated the variety of authors who influenced his thoughts with regard to education. Miller relied heavily on the works of Ruskin, Bacon, Carlyle, Johnson and Hughes in his ethical composition *The Young Canadian Citizen* in which he stressed the importance to teachers of moral education, and emphasised the qualities which he believed should be possessed by Canadians. The final end to which an individual should strive was the development of 'character.'[15] Duty, obedience, truthfulness, courage, purity, unselfishness, honesty, faithfulness, justice, ambition, patriotism, self-control, self-reliance and courtesy were all, in his mind, the components of character. It is visible throughout his

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[12](cont'd) section "Ridley and the Canadian Scene," pp. 255-258, in Beattie, *ibid.*.
[13]*Calendar of Bishop Ridley College, 1889*, pp. 8-9.
[14]All his books were designed to be used as school texts.
[15]*The Young Canadian Citizen*, p. 5.

essays that Miller had a psychological and physiological philosophy concerning the building of a 'young Canadian.' He made constant reference to the interdependence of man's physical and moral qualities. Daily 'grooming' of the body, physical courage (which was dependent very largely upon bodily vigour and strength of muscle), purity of the body, honesty in games, and self-reliance in the gymnasium and in the playground all had physiological benefits which in turn affected the moral side of a boy's nature in a positive manner.[16] Thus, they were rationalised by Miller as being desirable attributes for the future success of the individual and of the country. He was well aware of contemporary educational thought and practice in his capacity as Honorary Secretary of the Canadian Branch of the National Physical Recreation Society of England.[17] The Ridley Headmaster preached and practiced his philosophy of physical education, leading by precept and example. He was the personification of his own ideal; fully committed to God, strong in spirit, mind and body. Miller is a worthy candidate of the manly or muscular Christian school.

Athleticism at Ridley constituted a large component of 'Ridleyism.' Devotion to the school was desired above all else and it was impressed more through organised sport than any other facet of school life. And J.O. Miller sanctioned this approach idealistically and actively. Results were quickly realised. Ridley, in a relatively short period, became an established and recognised private school and in time provided others with a model to emulate. D. Bruce Macdonald diffused aspects of Ridley custom and practice to St.Andrew's College in Toronto, and William Wallace Judd introduced some of the school's finer characteristics of athleticism to King's Collegiate School. Miller's emphasis was a powerfully binding and infectious force.

In a similar manner, the educational model of Trinity College School inspired the introduction of organised sport at Lakefield. Athleticism at 'the Grove' however, had a more distinctive and idiosyncratic flavour, shaped by Alick Mackenzie's love of the natural Canadian environment.

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[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6, 19-24, 25-29, and 34-38.
[17] H.J. Morgan, (ed.) *The Canadian Men and Women of the Time: A Handbook of Canadian Biography.* Toronto: William Briggs, 1898, p. 631.

For many children living in rural areas of nineteenth-century Canada, the school was one of the focal points of learning and social interaction. However, as the popular Canadian novelist Charles Gordon, known to many people as Ralph Connor, pointed out, many traits and attributes were shaped outside this formal setting. In his case, it was the 'university of the forest' which helped to develop observational powers, skill in action, cool courage and patient endurance.[88] Such experiences while growing up had a great and lasting affect on Alick Mackenzie's views on education, as did his period as a teacher at Trinity College School, the ideas of his father, the literary works of Scott, Kingsley, Hughes and Twain, and the Grove's natural setting by Lake Katchewanooka.

Mackenzie's nomadic existence in his youth following his father's clerical career filled him with a love of that which was special and to be prized in Canadian life. The Rectory of his first home was a log house on the shore of Lake cu Shazawigamog. And when his father moved to Kincarden he often went out with the fishermen on Lake Huron, learning to eat raw fish when the trips were long and the food supplies were low. In Brantford, his next home, young Mackenzie enjoyed paddling on the Grand River.[89] After graduating from Trinity College, Toronto, he returned to rural Port Hope where he taught at Trinity College School and preached on Sundays in the outlying townships. His father's classical views on the balanced development of the body and mind undoubtedly impinged on his attitudes during their formative years and was an influence which parallelled the effect of his personal experiences. To Mackenzie, a thorough system of education required "physical and mental health in harmony."[90] At Lakefield, the ideal of athleticism was realised through action and experience in games and in Canada's great natural playground.

At Trinity College School, Mackenzie had immersed himself in teaching Mathematics and in sport. He coached football, presided over the Gymnastic Club, and served as

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[88]C.W. Gordon, *Postscript to Adventure. The Autobiography of Ralph Connor.* New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1938, p. 12.
[89]W. Lampman, "The Beginning," Recollections of 'Win' Lampman, Mackenzie's eldest daughter, pp. 11-12. A.H. Harris File, L.C.S.A..
[90]File marked Speech Day, 1889, T.C.S.A.. This a newspaper clipping reporting the speech made by his father at the Prize Day in July, 1889.

Vice-president and Committee member for the Hockey and Football Clubs respectively.[91] He took the boys for drill three times a week and also for regular gymnastics. An indication of the unorthodox nature of the man can be gauged by relating the memoirs of one of the boys at the school. While outside on the football field, Mackenzie, as if sinking back into the carefree days of his youth, threw off his jacket and proceeded to race a fellow colleague round the perimeter of the field, much to the delight of the boys.[92] By the time he moved permanently to the Grove in 1894 he began to put his philosphy to work with the fifteen boys at the school:

> If the youthful Headmaster of 1894 found little cause for enthusiasm in the rambling ill-planned school buildings, at least they were in a superb setting. Below to the west lay lovely Lake Katchewanooka, and to the north along the lake a deep fringe of evergreens and hardwood. In due time they were to become "The Lake" and "The Woods" to hundreds of Lakefield Old Boys. About them, across the years, grew up customs which in time became famous and even reached the secure dignity of tradition. Young Alick Mackenzie, who loved the out of doors, at once gave the boys of his small School all possible freedom. He delighted in swimming and canoeing, and they learned both. He knew the woods and relished camp-fire meals; so in time, did they. The pleasant expeditions with a few boys became institutions and, as the School grew, their fame spread....[93]

Mackenzie, and his ideals and enthusiasm, was captivating. In his religion, he was robust, and it was this which made him so widely loved by the boys, and was the great source of his power and drive.[94] This vigour was applied to all aspects of school affairs, including the concern that his boys should be mentally and physically well-adjusted for life. He sought always to attain a balance which he appeared to personify: "his fine weather-beaten face and clear eye, the great frame with its latent vitality, the big brown hands which gestured so expressively - these,

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[91]*Trinity College School Calendar, 1895-1896,* pp. 26-27, School Club Lists; and typescript interview with L.G.P. Montizambert, a boy at the school from 1892 to 1895, Academics File for 1872, T.C.S.A..

[92]Montizambert, *ibid.,* and a typed copy of a letter written by the same boy to his father, dated November 12, 1893. Lampman, *op.cit.,* made the comment that her father never forgot what it was like to be young, especially with regard to listening to sermons in the 1880s. As a result, his own sermons were always short and he even put a time limit on discourses given by visiting preachers.

[93]Gray, *A.W. Mackenzie,* p. 10.

[94]*Ibid.,* pp. 17-18.

obviously belonged to a man of sound physique." This combination was "the living example of sound mind in a sound body," and presented a very striking and persuasive example to boys and visitors alike.[95]

Integrity, self-control, and responsibility were qualities which Mackenzie admired and which could be learned in the natural environment of the woods, on the playing fields, and generally through everyday contact with the other boys. They provided the foundations on which the character of the man was subsequently built.[96] With *Tom Brown's School Days, Westward Ho!* and *Huckleberry Finn* unconsciously serving as guidebooks,[97] the healthy natural environment of the Grove as their school, and the Sparto-Christian living ideal which Mackenzie purveyed and advocated, the boys of the Lakefield existed in an enchanting and unorthodox education system. There are many commonalities between Alick Mackenzie and other educational visionaries of the era. His approach bears a striking resemblance to that of H.H. Almond. Like his Scottish counterpart he greatly favoured cross-country runs. The Cowley, Seaforth and Campbell handicaps were considered the most important part of school sports and "fostered and good qualities of grit and endurance."[98] He was also concerned with the individual health of each boy, a Spencerian justification for the encouragement of vigorous outdoor activities that symbolised the school's health, morally and physically.[99] His philosophy reflected a love of healthy activity, and was affected by a combination of influential concerns which comprised living and sleeping accommodation, literary works and most of all the Grove's natural location. It was, said Mackenzie, "the innate love and natural instinct of the boy for the freedom and independence of life in the woods" that showed "the hidden capabilities of self-help and resourcefulness in man."[100] In this latter regard, Alick Mackenzie was

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[95] *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.
[96] A.W.M. "The Boy in Camp," *The Grove Chronicle,* III:5, August 1909, pp. 1-2; and "Things not Learned in Books," III:4, April 1909, p. 2.
[97] Gray, "The Grove in the 1920s," p. 2; and Gray, *Fun Tomorrow,* p. 36; "Editorial," *The Grove Chronicle,* V:2, April 1911, pp. 1-2, Mackenzie suggested that the boys read exciting adventures in the books of Hughes, Kingsley, Scott and Twain.
[98] *The Grove Chronicle,* V:1, November, p. 5.
[99] "Editorial," *The Grove Chronicle,* III:1, November 1908, pp. 1-2.
[100] *The Grove Chronicle,*" III:5, August 1909, p. 2.

Wordsworthian; he was 'Nature's Gentleman':

> One impulse from the vernal wood
> May teach you more of man,
> Of moral, evil, and of good
> Than all the sages can.[101]

George Altmeyer has indicated how certain groups in Canada at the turn of the century looked to Nature as a medium of education through which the youth of the country could be taught, rather than concentrating solely on athletics.[102] Alick Mackenzie certainly belongs to this group, and he must be considered a prime promoter of this type of education in Canada. It is perhaps testimony to his driving personality that he inspired two of his colleagues, John Morgan Gray, who was also a student at the Grove, and Gordon Hill Grahame to capture him and Lakefield in fiction. As Dr. Bruce and Dr. Miller, he has been immortalised in literature, as has his unorthodox brand of education and athleticism, a strain based on experience of the things he believed should be cherished in Canada's unique environment.[103]

In his thesis on sport and games at Ontario private schools, Watson offered several explanations for their philosophical outlook on school administration. He noted that Arnoldian practice influenced the schools' internal management and that the 'games playing tradition' of the British public schools had been integrated into the educational programme.[104] Watson's interpretation only partially explains the situation. Headmasters in Ontario and right across the

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[101]J.F. Davidson, "Memory's Gleanings of the Grove, 1910-1914," *The Grove Chronicle*, Jubilee Number, 1929, p. 14.

[102]G. Altmeyer, "Three Ideas of Nature in Canada, 1893-1914," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, X:3, August 1975, pp. 15-31.

[103]J.M. Gray, *The One-Eyed Trapper*. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1941. Mackenzie is characterised as Bruce of Mapleridge. And G.H. Grahame, *Larry, or The Avenging Terrors*. Toronto: The Mussen Book Company, 1923. Mackenzie appears as Miller of the Grove.

[104]Watson, *op.cit.*, pp. 35-40.

Dominion did more than merely emulate Arnold's principles. They looked to other sources for inspiration and ideals. And athleticism constituted more than the popular character building justification. The contribution to British educational philosphy of Edward Thring and H.H. Almond, the changing concept of manliness, and the country's natural environment were reflected in the different approaches of the Headmasters in Canada's private schools. They constituted a mixture of ideological thought and a diversity of experience.

Watson's individual analysis of the Headmasters is also misleading. He identified Cockburn of Upper Canada College, Orchard of Trinity College School and Miller of Ridley as being the chief exponents of athleticism in their respective schools. Such was the case with Miller. However, at Trinity and Upper Canada, other Headmasters played more significant and integral roles in the growth and consolidation of the ideology than Cockburn and Orchard. The inspiration, as Watson suggests, may have been British in origin, but the promoters were often Canadians. The contributions of George Dickson at Upper Canada College and of Charles Bethune at Trinity College School cannot be overlooked, as they have been in the past. These Headmasters, and others like them, were at the centre of control and organisation of athleticism within the schools. They provided more than stimulative support, and their involvement sheds new light on their role in the development of the ideology in the Canadian private school system.

Chapter V

FACILITATING THE GROWTH OF AN IDEOLOGY: THE DEDICATED FOLLOWERS OF FASHION.

The growth and consolidation of the athleticism ideology at the private schools of Canada was not solely dependent upon the directive, active and idealistic forces of the Headmasters. Private schooling in the last quarter of the nineteenth-century was a competitive business. And business, in terms of numbers and, more importantly, the fees, went to those schools with profile. Tradition alone did not secure a reputation. Schools were also judged by their facilities. One British Headmaster was confirmed in his belief that 'machinery,' the system and appliances of the school, was responsible for its success as an institution.[1] As athleticism became fashionable, it was only logical that schools had to be furnished to accommodate its promotion and to attract, and in some cases, to retain, clientele. There was an intentional policy of facility expansion accompanied by official directives which made sure that the facilities were not only built, but also that they were utilised. The rise of athleticism was paralleled by the increased involvement and attention of school authorities and school associated groups.

The expansion of athletic facilities and school grounds was a uniform process. Gymnasiums were constructed and reconstructed, fields were cleared, levelled and cultivated, and new resources and apparatus were purchased. However, the methods used to extend opportunities reflected a certain amount of individuality. Funding for example, came from a variety of sources: staff, parents, Old Boys and students. In purpose, this represented more than a strong desire on the part of all groups to secure a healthy environment. To the Old Boys it was a means of retaining a link with the 'old school' through an identifiable medium, sport. Fields and buildings were added and erected respectively as memorials and monuments to individuals and groups. For parents, and especially those oriented towards athletics, monetary and material gifts not only indicated a sincere interest in the education process, it also ensured public acknowledgement of their contribution towards it. Staff support allowed sporting

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[1]Parkin, *Edward Thring*, p. 92, Introductory notes to the diary.

pedagogues the opportunity to sustain their own personal interests and involvement, and to reinforce practically the values preached in sermons, speeches and school magazines. Finally, contributions from the boys were sought to assist and offset some of the costs of maintaining athletic equipment, and partly to assure activity. There was also a distinct individuality with reference to the actual appearance of athletic facilities. Conveniences at Lakefield would have shocked some Upper Canada Collegians. And early conditions at Shawnigan would have depressed the period athletic diehard of Trinity College School.

The erection of the gymnasium at King's Collegiate School was organised by Charles Willets and funded by interested Old Boys.[2] Its completion permitted the school to obtain the services of a regular physical training instructor from the military garrison in Halifax.[3] The gymnasium and the playing field at King's were both considered appropriate for the instruction of physical and moral attributes. Belief in the character building qualities of physical training was advanced in the public school system of Canada, with the impetus for promotion originating in Upper Canada under the guidance of Ryerson and James Hughes.[4] The completion of the gymnasium at King's paralleled the early efforts of Nova Scotia's public school promoters to establish physical training as part of the curriculum, and the stimulus given to gymnastic instruction in Halifax by the British militia.[5] Unlike in Britain, where the games field was widely recognised as the athletic medium for inculcating moral attributes, the gymnasium, as well as camping and scouting activities were to be encompassed in the Canadian private school's interpretation of athleticism. The values attached to the traditional British

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[2]See Chapter 3, particularly the discussion on King's.
[3]Harris, *op.cit.*, p. 37. Sergeant Cunningham was actually appointed to take up his position in the October of 1887.
[4]See D.L. Morrow, Selected Topics in the History of Physical Education in Ontario: From Dr. Egerton Ryerson to the Strathcona Trust, 1844-1939, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1975.
[5]See M.C. Sills, The History of Physical Education in Nova Scotia with Particular Attention to the Elementary Schools, Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1976. And, "Soldiers' Recreation and Smoking Rooms, Halifax," *Canadian Illustrated News*, 2:14, April 6, 1872, p. 211. The article describes the recreation area, and on p. 212, there is an engraving of the facility.

team games were transferable and were applied freely to a wide range of healthy outdoor activities in the Dominion. The completion of the building at King's signalled the steady development of the school's athletic facilities. After 1910, when the Old Boys Association was formed, the refinement process was accelerated.[6] Patronisation of games prior to this time had been fostered by the staff. The Old Boys were eager to assist. The function of the Association was to perpetuate school records and traditions, preserve *esprit de corps* among all connected with the school, and to "stimulate among the present generation a healthy rivalry in the class room and on the sporting field, by the offer of prizes and other distinctions."[7] There followed a period of inauguration of cups and trophies, and of refurbishing facilities.[8]

At the other Maritime institution, Rothesay, Old Boys' patronage was not in evidence until after 1933. Although an Old Boys Association had been established in 1896 for the purpose of forwarding the interests of the school and promoting fraternal intercourse among past students, its effectiveness, especially as a games' benefactor, was not felt for nearly forty years.[9] The main source of funding for improvements came after 1908 when the school estate was purchased outright, by the Church Synod. Subsequently, grants were received from the local Board of Education to complete the new gymnasium and the manual training department, as well as level off ground and produce a new athletic field.[10] The existing two hundred acres of land, encompassing woods, and streams and gardens which had been beautified under Lloyd,[11] were thus supplemented by new improved fields and buildings which were enthusiastically used by both staff and students.

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[6] *The Windsorian,* 8:1, Christmas 1910, p.1.

[7] "Aim of The Old Boys Association," *The Windsorian,* 11:1, Christmas 1913, p. 35. The article claimed that the value of such an organisation in other schools had been proven, specifically with regard to successfully providing prizes and new facilities.

[8] *The Windsorian,* 17:1, Christmas 1919, p. 32. There were some twenty prizes available. Ten were sport connected, one partially involved sport participation, three were for the cadets and six were academic prizes.

[9] *Calendar for Rothesay Collegiate School, 1899-1900,* p. 32; and Hibbard, *op.cit.,* p. 30.

[10] Report of the Board of Education Presented to the Synod, November 3rd, 1909. File marked R.C.S. History I, article number 8, Purchase of the School by Synod, 1907-1908, R.C.S.A.

[11] *Calendar for Rothesay Collegiate School, 1892-1893,* p.15.

At Upper Canada College, Trinity College School, and Ridley, the picture of expansion is remarkably similar. "Machinery" for games was developed at each school through a variety of sources and patrons.

At Upper Canada, complaints about the decrepid state of the old gymnasium at Russell Square were bad enough for George Dickson to order renovations. Dickson was the main instigator behind the construction of the hockey rink and the cinder running track in the early 1890s.[12] The College Old Boys Association had been organised in 1882, but neither Buchan nor Dickson had tapped its resources and modernised facilities despite the fact that athletics were claimed to function as a means of keeping a large number of Old Boys in touch with College life.[13] It was George Parkin who sought to fully use his Old Boys to secure the freedom of the College from government funding, and to improve its buildings and surrounds. Like Thring, he was aware of the value of facilities in the functioning of a school. He strived "in every way to make the surroundings of school life...beautiful, healthful and efficient."[14] Parkin's devoted and laborious work in attaining donations to supplement endowments was the result of overt appeals. In one public speech he remarked that he "hoped some generous person would contribute $10,000 for a new Gymnasium." He also pointed out that "the play-grounds should also be in better condition" and that "a few good scholarships would be a great benefit."[15] The manifestations of his pleas were seen in subsequent years as extensions were heralded by *The College Times*, and by visiting dignitaries.[16]

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[12]*The College Times*, VII:3, December 1888, p. 18, stated that the gymnasium was in a bad state and that appliances were damaged. Dickson and Mercer Adam, *A History of Upper Canada College*, present an engraving of this facility opposite p. 256 and claim that it was renovated in 1888. If this is true, the repairs must have been made after the printing of the complaint in *The College Times* in late 1888 or early 1889. This gymnasium was reputed to be thirty years old by the time the College was re-located at Deer Park in 1892.

[13]"Old Boys Annual Meeting and Luncheon," *The College Times*, Midsummer 1901, pp. 8-12.

[14]J. Castell Hopkins, *Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1901*. Toronto: The Annual Review Publishing Company, 1902, p. 342.

[15]*Ibid.*.

[16]The new gymnasium was built in 1902. See "The New Gymnasium," *The College Times*, Easter 1902. pp. 45-47. During Parkin's time at the school, the grounds increased from thirty to eighty acres. Hopkins, *ibid.*, Arnoldi, *An Epoch in Canadian History*, p. 9, and Young, *The Roll of Pupils of Upper Canada College*, p. 9, all

While Parkin's friendly and persuasive coercion succeeded in acquiring funds at Upper Canada, a similar type of approach, coupled with a strong affiliation for the new school, emerged at Bishop Ridley College. From its foundation, Ridley was replete with purposely made and incidental conveniences. There were eight acres of playing fields across from the Welland Canal which in itself served as a swimming area and an ice surface for hockey and skating (see Figure 2). There was also a well equipped gymnasium.[17] Within fifteen years of opening, and despite the fire of 1903 which destroyed the school and most of its buildings, athletic appliances had developed to the full through the conscientious and dedicated staff and an eager and devoted Old Boys Association, established in 1898.[18] Donations or support in any manner by the Old Boys were regarded as "tangible proofs of interest...in the school" and were "gratifying in the extreme."[19] The aim of all involved was to see Ridley become 'the finest school in Canada.' The facilities which fostered school spirit were symbols of allegiance in the quest to achieve that objective.

Elsewhere in Ontario at the turn of the century, Trinity College School and its environs had also been expanded and transformed. An early version of the playground at Port Hope was described as "a large field without a blade of grass on it."[20] This dusty, stone-ridden cricket field and the gallow-type structure, which served as a gymnasium throughout the 1870s, were

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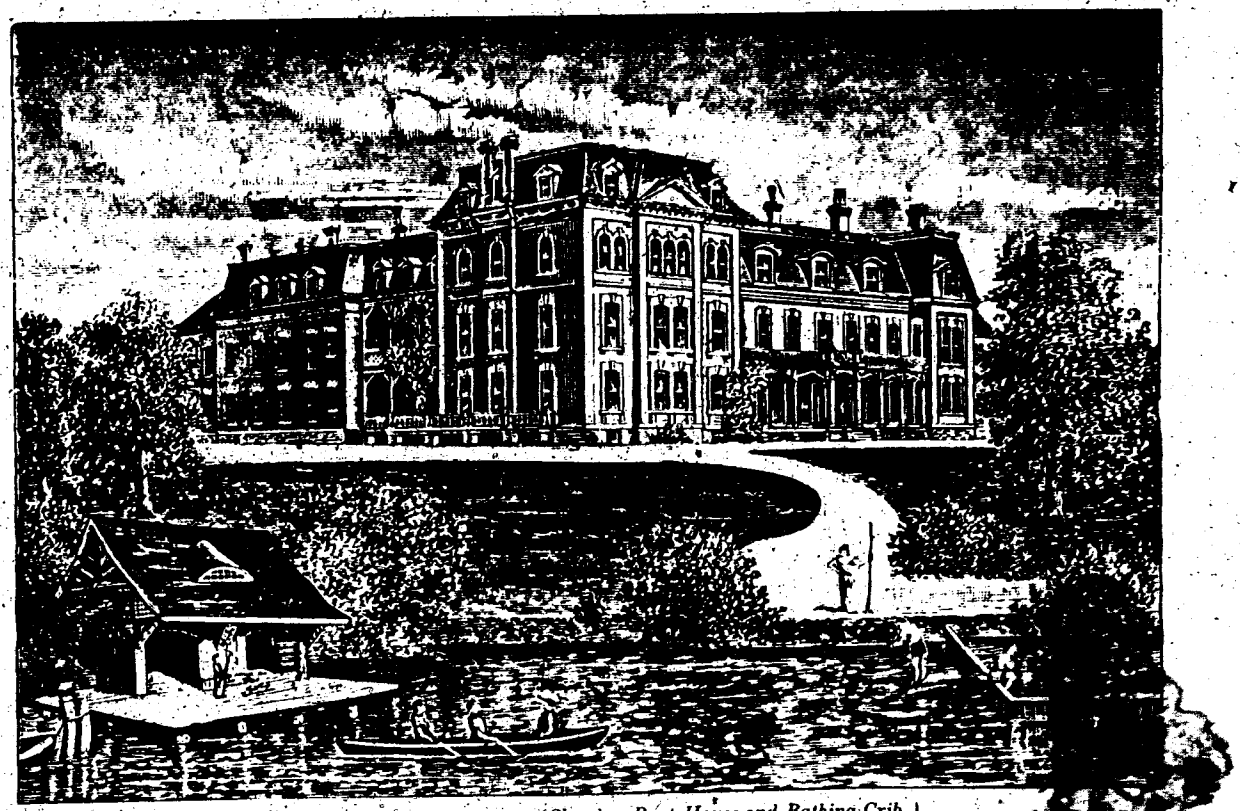
[16](cont'd) credit Parkin and the Old Boys for the expansion of the grounds and the facilities.

[17]*Calendar of Bishop Ridley College, St.Catharines Ontario. A Canadian School for Boys for 1890*, p. 8.

[18]Cronyn, *Ninety, Not Out*, pp. 8-23. *Acta Ridleiana*, Midsummer 1903, pp. 1-2, describes the number of donated cups as competition prizes on Sports Day and concludes "on behalf of the boys ACTA wishes to thank all those who have so generously helped us in our games." Cups were donated by Old Boys for track and field, football, cricket and cross-country. *Acta Ridleiana*, Easter 1906, p. 3, there is an obituary on the past College President, Thomas P. Merritt. It describes how his foresight resulted in the purchasing of the cricket field and how he used his farmer to level the field and to put in the drainage. *Acta Ridleiana*, Easter 1911, p. 3; Christmas 1911, p. 2; Midsummer 1913, p. 2; and Midsummer 1914, pp. 2-3. George H. Gooderham, reputed to be the richest man in Toronto, is thanked publicly for donating $2,000 worth of bonds to the New Gymnasium Fund, for his untiring and unselfish work as a patron of sport in general, and again specifically for financing cricket tours.

[19]*Acta Ridleiana*, Christmas 1904, p. 1.

[20]"An Old Boy's Reminiscences," *The Trinity College School Record*, VIII:1, February 1905, pp. 7-9.



BISHOP RIDLEY COLLEGE.—(*Showing Boat House and Bathing Crib.*)

FIGURE 2: EARLY ATHLETIC FACILITIES AT RIDLEY – 1892.

purposefully refined.[21] Much of the necessary improvements between 1870 and 1900 were directed and sponsored by Bethune and other enthusiastic staff members, although towards the end of the century the Old Boys began to play a more prominent role.[22] Indeed, the pattern of expansion and improvement at Trinity, as with Upper Canada and Ridley, was quite repetitive. St.John's in Winnipeg did not deviate from this trend either. Staff and Old Boy sponsorship coincided with the increased enthusiasm for sport in the city and the concern among public school promoters with the provision of facilities for physical training.[23] Almost without exception, similar policies of expansionism could be seen at the rest of the schools of this study.

On the west coast at Shawnigan Lake, the lack of finances in the school's formative years placed a heavy demand on staff, generous benefactors and boys. For almost fifteen years facilities were 'rough and ready.'[24] The playing field comprised dirt and rocks and an old set of goalposts for which the boys found an alternate relieving use.[25] There was a rifle range, a dirt boxing ring, a *quasi*-golf course and wooden and earth tennis courts.[26] The lake supplied a natural resource for swimming and boating. It was a far cry from the deluxe contemporary

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[21]This *quasi*-gymnasium was situated in a corner of the playground and comprised "a huge frame, open to the sky and to the elements, equipped with a horizontal bar, so large that little fingers could hardly encompass it; a pair of parallel bars - the bars made of pine planks two inches by six; a trapeze; a pair of rings; a rope for climbing; and a ladder." The apparatus "was dignified by the name of The Gymnasium. The floor was mother earth, baked as hard as clay can be baked, with here or there a stone cropping out. The advantages of this were that no boy ever allowed himself to fall - it was too serious a matter." *Ibid.*.

[22]See "Recollections of Dr. Bethune," in which he states that hardly a foot of land or a brick building was in existence on his arrival in 1870. *The Trinity College School Record*, 1:1, February 26, 1898, p. 6. The cost of the new hockey rink was defrayed by the Headmaster and the staff.

[23]*Calendar of St.John's College School, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1914-1915*, and unmarked file in Box marked Burman which stated that money was subscribed by Old Boys in 1910 to a drive started by Burman and Matheson for the purpose of building a hockey rink. For a review of the work in the public school system see, D. Downie, A History of Physical Education in the Public Schools of Manitoba. Unpublished M.Ed. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1961.

[24]Denis Craig Douglas, "Shawnigan Lake School, 1924-1932, Part I. September 1924 to May 1927," January 1981, pp. 1-8. 24/1, S.L.S.A..

[25]The reference here was to boys urinating on the posts.

[26]Douglas, *op.cit.*, and *Shawnigan Lake School Magazine*, No.2, 1923-1924, p. 11. It states that some school members were "fired perhaps with zeal at the transformation of the golf course, certain members of the Tennis Club decided to build two earth courts. Urged on by the personal example and physical persuasion of the President, Moore i, the preliminary work was done by the members themselves."

appliances at Ridley, Upper Canada College and even University School in nearby Victoria, but a need, and an ideal,was fulfilled. By working towards completing their own playing areas, the boys were learning Lonsdale's belief in the individual's responsibility to contribute to his society, which in this case was the school.

At University School, the contribution of the staff was a notable feature of the assistance given to developments. The grounds and buildings of the Mount Tolmie establishment were specifically designed with physical activity in mind, and the grounds were the most striking feature of the school.[27] Barnacle and Harvey in particular did not spare themselves in time, effort and money to ensure that as the school grew, athletics prospered simultaneously.[28]

The picture at this point with regard to facility development has been tediously uniform. However, complete conformity to the general rule was not the case with the Grove or with Lower Canada College. At Lakefield, no real expansion was required. The lake, the trails, and the areas for campsites had always been in existence, and the boys utilised them to the full in formal and informal activity. The school had its gymnasium of sorts, although it more resembled a barn to which one compassionate Old Boy donated fifty dollars to floor, in memory of an old school chum.[29] This *quasi*-gymnasium was used sparsely. The natural surrounds and the hockey rink, which was enlarged to improve skating and hockey conditions in 1908, were far more popular.[30] The rink and the football field, with its pronounced slope, were required for inter and intra-school competition and as such warranted occasional development. These in effect could be considered major improvements at a school where the main facility for

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[27]McLeod L. Gould, "Secondary Education in Canada," in James Sandison (ed.) *Schools of Old Vancouver*. Vancouver: Vancouver Historical Society, 1971, particularly the section on the University School of Victoria, pp. 27-28. Gould's article was reprinted from *Westward Ho!*, VI:1, January 1910, pp. 35-37.

[28]*The Black and Red*, 1:3, June 1909, p. 2. Harvey brought some gymnasium equipment with him from England via his school in Vancouver and set the rifle range up out of his own funds; and 2:6, May 1910, p. 4, six acres of grounds were added to the existing area; and 1:2, March 1909, p. 5, Barnacle was responsible for developing a small golf links at the school.

[29]"Editorial," *The Grove Chronicle*, II:9, March 1908, p. 1.

[30]*The Grove Chronicle*, VI:1, November 1908, p. 1. Hockey was frequently played on the lake under master supervision.

healthy outdoor education had remained unaltered for thousands of years.

Lower Canada College also diplayed a certain degree of non-conformity. Fosbery was forced to search for alternate gounds due to the unavailability of space after the move to Notre Dame de Grace in 1909. For a period of nearly five years, Lower Canada College performed some of its major activities, and notably its Sports Days in the spring and fall, at the grounds of the Montreal Amateur Athletic Association. Athleticism at the school was partially nurtured by the assistance of this powerful Association which illustrated to the boys evidence of Canada's greatest sporting tradition and heritage, and even allowed the school's better athletes to participate in its Sports Meetings.[31] By 1913, independence had been secured. Fosbery, with typical business acumen, had managed to purchase the grounds opposite the school from the Westmount Athletic Association. Immediately, the size of the playing fields was doubled. By 1920, when the Old Boys Association was established, facilities were almost completed. In fact, the Old Boys celebrated the inauguration of the new Association by immediately proposing the erection of a gymnasium as a memorial to those former students who had lost their lives in the First World War.[32] It is clear that Fosbery wished to follow the traditional pattern. However, until resources, financial and physical, became available, his policy involved the utilisation of the conveniences at his disposal to ensure Lower Canada Collegians, and the school, maintained a clean bill of health.[33]

The final picture with regard to the expansion of games 'machinery' is now somewhat clearer. It occurred in varying degrees, at different rates, and under the guidance and patronage of staff, parents, Old Boys and students alike. Maintenance was also achieved through the

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[31]D.L. Morrow, *A Sporting Evolution. The Montreal Amateur Athletic Association, 1881-1981.* Published by the Montreal Amateur Athletic Association and Don Morrow, 1981. He notes that very few high schools at the turn of the century possessed their own facilities and that the M.A.A.A. promoted sport at this level, p. 85. *Lower Canada College Magazine,* II:7, October 1910, p. 49, gives an example of student participation. It reported that twelve boys entered in the M.A.A.A. Sports in 1910.

[32]"Inception of the Association," *Lower Canada College Magazine,* No.2, June 1939, pp. 118-124.

[33]In his desire to promote another activity, swimming, he was forced to use the Laurentian Public Baths. *Lower Canada College Magazine,* II:7, October 1910, p. 11.

financial contributions made as part of school fees, in games funds, club and athletic association dues, and donations made to special appeals.[34] The 'economics of athleticism' was not enough, however, to preserve the interest of the boys. Allegiance to the ideology was secured by more stringent school policy which guaranteed that the facilities were used, and that the boys were scrupulously supervised and monitored.

Compulsion was not a term used by the schools in their calendars and prospectuses. This does not mean that students escaped the physical rigours of the games fields. Reality prevailed. Policies were employed to encourage participation. At University School, games were regarded, if not overtly labelled, as compulsory.[35] By 1916 at King's in Nova Scotia the boys *were obliged to participate unless under Doctor's orders.*[36] Great care was taken to *make every boy take a regular amount of healthy exercise* at Rothesay and Ridley.[37] Games and sports had *every encouragement* at St.John's College School, Winnipeg, and at Lakefield.[38] Healthy recreation was *expected to be indulged in* and was *provided for as far as possible throughout the year* at Trinity College School.[39] At Shawnigan Lake, certain activities were *taught to the boys.*[40] And at Lower Canada College, participation was *obligatory.*[41] The institution of such endorsements was both immediate, in the cases of the later established schools, and gradual, in the cases of the earlier schools, depending to a great extent on the individual ideas of the

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[34]This varied from school to school. For the period of this study, fees for athletics were included in the general fee at Ridley, King's, Trinity College, University School, and Lower Canada, and were separate at Upper Canada, Rothesay, Lakefield, Shawnigan Lake and St.John's.

[35]R. Wenman, Letter to the author, April 1983. Reg Wenman was a boy at the school prior to 1920 and rejoined the school in the mid-1920s as a master.

[36]*Prospectus for King's Collegiate School, 1916*, p. 11. Emphasis mine.

[37] *Calendar for Rothesay Collegiate School, 1892-1893*, p. 19; and *Calendar of Bishop Ridley College, 1890*, p. 8. Emphasis mine.

[38]*Calendar of St.John's College and St.John's College School, 1895*, p. 26; and *Lakefield College Prospectus*, Undated, but before 1901, p. 5. Emphasis mine.

[39]*Calendar for Trinity College School, 1888-1889*, p. 14; and Grahame, *Short Days Ago*, p. 71. Emphasis mine.

[40]*Prospectus, Shawnigan Lake Preparatory School, 1918*, p. 2. 18/3, S.L.S.A.. Emphasis mine.

[41]Claxton, A Talk to the Boys of Lower Canada College, and *Prospectus for Lower Canada College, 1917*, p. 15. Emphasis mine.

Headmaster.

There is no doubt that it was the staff, and particularly the Headmasters, who drafted the policies and instigated the enforcement of a system of games which in some schools was compulsory in everything but name. George Dickson at Upper Canada College stated that "much attention is paid to the physical development of the boys," and that "physical training forms part of the regular school course and all boys who are not hindered by weak health are expected to take part."[42] George Parkin's approach changed slightly to reflect his balanced view of education: "It is the policy of the College to give considerable but not undue encouragement to physical culture, school games and athletics."[43] Parkin even attempted to impose compulsory cricket on the whole school in 1898.[44] His motives for this are unclear. He may, like Edward Thring, have perceived cricket as more than 'a mere game.' It was a link of Empire, "the greatest bond of the English speaking race."[45] However, it seems more plausible that his desire that 'all pupils' take part in cricket was an attempt to involve the day boys at the school in sports which were in effect the domain of the boarders. And, considering the discipline problems in the school on his appointment, there may have been an element of social control behind Parkin's reasoning.[46] This uncertainty makes it impossible to clearly state his purpose.

Nevertheless, in general, there was a latent social control function behind the use of games. This is illustrated clearly by the fact that for the majority of time, games at the schools were under the supervision of masters who, in many cases, were expected to involve themselves in games. Such was the case at University School, Rothesay, Ridley, Lakefield and Shawnigan Lake.[47] Constant monitoring guaranteed the safety of the boys and it also assured at all the schools that direction of athletics remained under the auspices of the masters who headed the

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[42] *Prospectus for Upper Canada College, 1894-1895*. pp. 4-5.
[43] *Prospectus for Upper Canada College, 1902-1903*, p. 13.
[44] *The College Times*, Easter 1898, pp. 23-24.
[45] Letter, Thring to Parkin, dated Monday, Sept. 23/78, (1878), Parkin Papers, MG30 D44, Volume 2, pp. 358-363. Public Archives of Canada.
[46] This assertion is made having looked at the *Minutes of Masters Meetings Book* which revealed that Parkin did have to take numerous disciplinary measures against the boys.
[47] This was stated in the Calendars and Prospectuses for these schools and by Wenman, *op.cit.*.

various sporting organisations at each institution. For example, it is rather naive to believe that the preparatory aged boys of Lakefield financially and administratively took charge of the Grove Athletic Association or were even responsible for organising teams. They were involved, but the real power remained in the hands of the staff. Reg Wenman, a boy and subsequent member of staff at University School for over fifty years certainly believed that the situation was such at that institution where the masters controlled games.[48] The state of affairs was quite similar at St.John's, Winnipeg, and at Lower Canada College. In the early years at Shawnigan master supervision was necessary. Later, Lonsdale promoted independence among the boys and centralised authority in his prefects who maintained a disciplined and harsh regime once the system had evolved to the full. At Trinity College School, it will be remembered that the prefects were given some degree of authority in keeping order when fights broke out between the boys. However, their power in relation to games was subordinated under the staff, and final sanctioning power remained with the Headmaster.[49]

The move by George Dickson at Upper Canada towards the systematisation of games under the stewards came after a remark aimed at the masters in *The College Times* concerning the football team's games against senior opposition. "If the College teams are expected to make a good showing," it stated, "the masters should take more interest in games, or this institution will no longer be Upper Canada College."[50] The statement did not apply to all staff, for a small and devoted body of masters were actively involved with games. Dickson was aware of some of the staff's lack of interest in supporting games. Indeed, as George Parkin noted, this apathy also spread to their teaching duties. The criticism of master lethargy by the school press must

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[48]Wenman, *ibid.*.

[49]*Calendar for Trinity College School, 1888-1889,* pp. 28-29. The cricket, football, gymnastics, lawn tennis, athletics, snowshoeing and hockey clubs were all headed by staff. In The *Oxford Cup and Colour Committee Book, 1896-1923,* for the Oxford Cup Cross Country Race. Arrangements and regulations for the race were placed in the hands of the committee which consisted of three 'selected' masters and two 'elected' students. This assured that the staff retained more than just a nominal power over games. An entry in the *Minutes of Meetings* of Upper Canada College Cricket Club contained a proposal from Dr. Bethune with a view to arranging a match against Trinity. 4th Meeting, May 13, 1875, p. 56.

[50]*The College Times,* VIII:2, November 1889, p. 9.

not be taken as a general indication that all teachers were disinterested. While it was perceived from *The College Times* that the stewards were in command, the minutes taken at staff meetings reveal that actual organisational power rested in the hands of a few dedicated and enthusiastic pedagogues such as W. 'Stony' Jackson, John Martland, A.A. Macdonald and even the renowned writer Stephen Leacock.[51] Dickson's formula for systematised games was a catalyst to athleticism's consolidation at Upper Canada but it failed to excite those teachers who were obviously opposed to making any contribution to the physical side of the boys' education. This legacy was inherited by Dickson's successors and was still evident when Grant took over the Principalship in 1917.

At all the schools, it must be recognised that the move towards highly organised and supervised games was the major influence of the masters, and particularly of the Headmasters. At some schools authority was passed on to the prefects and senior boys. But as one Old Upper Canada Collegian who was visiting public schools in Britain remarked in *The College Times*, there was a notable difference in the power handed to the boys in the British setting. "The hours of work and the work itself in some respects, the recreation and exercising of authority" would, he suggested, seem "strange to the Canadian system."[52] Irrespective of this perceived discrepancy between the systems of the two countries, school policies which aimed at ensuring the boys' participation in games were very alike.

Facility development and official measures to involve the students present only two dimensions of the growth of athleticism. The ideology was strengthened by yet another internal force which reinforced values and beliefs, and generated enthusiasm among the youthful athletes. Numerous teachers at the schools were tangible examples of powerful agents who propagated the cause of athletics. They were proponents of athleticism, and in many cases they were the products of it.

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[51] *Minutes of Masters Meetings*. There are occasions when staff were asked to form committees. The people involved in this type of organisation formed a limited nucleus of interested and able masters.

[52] "English School Life," by J.A.B. who was at Clifton, *The College Times*, Christmas 1908, pp. 33-35.

The topic of the games master and his contribution to promoting the games ethic in the Canadian private schools has only been slightly developed.[53] In Britain, it has been identified that the growth of the ideology in the public schools created a demand for the games master, a demand ably supplied by the finishing schools of Oxford and Cambridge. The new breed of teacher that emerged has been classified into three types, each of which was disposed to fulfilling specific duties in the school system.[54] In Canada too, various types of masters can be distinguished. At first, the division is mainly dualistic: They were either British or Canadian trained. Then, there were a small number of Americans and Europeans. However, the existence of these small factions does not negate Wilcox's generalised claim that some masters, or 'missionaries,' of athleticism and muscular Christianity were direct products of the English public schools, while others were 'disciples' of the Canadian practitioners, products of the nations emerging world of private education.[55]

Because of missing data and incomplete records, it is impossible to make a concrete statement about the genealogical roots of the masters at the schools as a whole. However, from the sources available an attempt will be made to indicate the seemingly prominent trends at each school. As was the case with Headmasters in terms of the number of years they held that position, the number of masters educated in Britain or Canada at any one time in any one school was not always representative of the effect that those staff members had on consolidating athleticism. It did, nevertheless, at times, represent an attitude prevailing in certain circles of private schooling; one of 'Britsh is best.' One historian has succinctly shown

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[53]This has come mainly from Watson, Sport and Games in Ontario Private Schools, and Wilcox, "The Contribution of the English Public School to Canadian Amateur Sport," Unpublished Graduate Paper, The University of Alberta, Edmonton. 1969. Watson actually included sections on prominent masters mentioned in the school histories of Upper Canada College, Trinity College School and Ridley. Consequently, four masters were spotlighted at Upper Canada, pp. 66-77, three at Trinity, pp. 96-100, and four at Ridley, pp. 131-139. One given reason for the weakness of this approach is the reliance on the school histories which in the case of Upper Canada only goes as far as 1892, an inadequacy of the study as a whole as it purported to look at the schools up to 1939.

[54]Mangan, *Athleticism*, pp. 114-115. The three types were the oustanding games player of moderate or mediocre intellectual ability, the talented all-rounder and the moderate all-rounder.

[55]Wilcox, *op.cit.*, p. 43.

that the British gentleman emigrant did not always successfully adapt to the environment of the New World.[56] Similarly, British teachers did not always necessarily adapt to the private school setting in the Dominion as well as they might have believed they could. In fact, the Canadian trained master deserves more credit than he has previously been given.

The most complete information pertaining to the educational backgrounds of the staff is at Upper Canada College. But statistical analysis, besides providing some data from which interesting observations can be made, does not specifically reveal those individuals or groups that exerted an important influence on the rise and consolidation of the ideology at the school (see Table 4). It is not surprising to find that prior to Confederation a greater percentage of teachers (30.6%) were trained in Britain or Europe. Canadian University education, as with the school system *per se*, was only just beginning to establish itself and turn out its own graduates. Also, the British products were held in awe in educational circles as they were 'pulled' or 'pushed' to Canada's shores throughout the nineteenth-century.[57] After Confederation, there was a noticeable change. Graduates of Canada's newly founded Universities and Colleges began to supply more teachers (43% as opposed to 21.7%), and particularly those institutions in the Toronto area.

Old Boys of the school began to drift back to their *Alma Mater*. Some were attracted by the security which a teaching position within private education offered. Others were drawn by the prospect of sport. Geoffrey Watson identified Barber, Goodwin, Barron and Cochrane as 'disciples' of athleticism at Upper Canada College. Interestingly, all had British origins. Watson's reliance on Dickson and Mercer Adam prompted these selections. A perusal of *The*

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[56]Dunae, *Gentlemen Emigrants, passim.*

[57]Dunae, *ibid., pp. 5-6.* He states that "many young Britons were attracted, or pulled, to Canada by the prospect of adventure and excitement, just as many were attracted by the prospect of wealth. On the other hand, many British gentlemen were dislodged, or pushed, from their homes because of socioeconomic pressures. Among the latter were the army officers who, having retired on half-pay at the end of the Napoleonic Wars, found that they were unable to maintain their position in society on their paltry pensions. Then there were the "broken-down" or "reduced" gentlemen who had large families but small incomes, and the liberally educated schoolboys who were unable to find suitable employment in an increasingly industrialised Britain."

Table 4: Educational backgrounds of masters at Upper Canada College, 1829-1916.

	PRE-1867	1867-1916	TOTALS
OXFORD	3	5	8
	5.7%	3.7%	4.3%
CAMBRIDGE	7	14	21
	13.2%	10.5%	11.2%
TORONTO	9	58	67
	16.9%	43.6%	36%
CANADIAN[1]		8	8
		6%	4.3%
BRITISH[2]	4	3	7
	7.5%	2.2%	3.8%
EUROPEAN[3]	3	7	10
	5.7%	5.3%	5.4%
EUROPEAN[4]	2		2
	3.8%		1.1%
SUBSTITUTE[5]	2		2
	3.8%		1.1%
UNKNOWN BACKGROUND[6]	20	38	58
	37.5%	28.6%	31.2%
OTHERS[7]	3		3
	5.7%		1.6%
TOTALS	53	133	186

KEY:
1. Graduates of a Canadian University: includes Bishop's College, Lennoxville, McGill, Dalhousie, University of New Brunswick and Queen's University.
2. Graduates initially from Britain. Educational Background is unknown.
3. Includes Universities in France, Germany, Scotland, Ireland and England. Educational background is known.
4. Masters identified as Europeans.
5. Substitute teachers.
6. Nationality and educational background unknown.
7. Teachers accepted for positions which they subsequently did not take.

College Times and the minutes books of meetings of the Masters and the Cricket Club show that other teachers were prominent in athleticism's development. Jackson, Martland, Macdonald and Dickson were equally as important in its move towards consolidation. Both Jackson and Martland were educated in Britain, and Macdonald, an Old Boy, was the first master to be appointed at the school with duties specifically oriented towards organising games.[58] Regardless of the energetic input by the few, the lack of interest in extra-curricular activity of the many was apparent to the boys and even George Parkin became dismayed at the quality of some of his staff and took steps to replace the inadequate ones.[59] Certainly, as Gossage points out for the private school system as a whole, the standards of teaching at Upper Canada ranged from superb to abysmal.

Unlike in Britain, there is not a plethora of biographical and autobiographical literature relating schoolboy life in the private schools of Canada. Portraits of teachers in recollections in school magazines paint a picture of scholarly standards coupled with a vigorous, disciplined and humanistic approach to education. These reminiscences were, of course, meant to sell the school to anyone who might read the magazine as well as to praise the staff. Some schools placed great value on a prospective teacher's academic standing. Ridley's first staff for example was acknowledged as being academically outstanding.[60] The masters, and their qualifications, were magnets that attracted students to the school as much as the sound, healthy and Christian education which it offered. Likewise, those in charge of appointing staff were often impressed by the qualifications that an applicant possessed.

Denis Craig Douglas, a boy at Shawnigan Lake in its early years, recalled the rumour among the pupils regarding the qualifications of the masters and stated that they had to have represented an English County at cricket. There were also 'whispers' of remittance men.[61]

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[58]Howard, *Upper Canada College*, p. 314.
[59]He makes reference to this in a letter to George Denison, 10th July 1900, G.T. Denison Papers, MG29 E29, pp. 4083-4090, P.A.C.
[60]Beattie, *Ridley - The Story of a School*, p. 26.
[61]Douglas, "Shawnigan Lake School, 1924-1932," the section on Staff and Teaching, 5-3. A Remittance man was any individual who received an allowance from family or friends in Britain; Dunae, *op.cit.*, p. 124.

There was a distinct British flavour among the staff at Shawnigan and Douglas opined that the rumours were really meaningless, even if true, for the education given was deemed suitable regardless of academic and teaching skills. University School was the most British of all the schools of this study. Ideally situated in an environment where a British way of life was maintained, it retained the standard games of rugby, cricket and field hockey and its staff was for the large part trained back in the 'Old Country.'[62] Four new members arrived in 1908, almost like muscular 'messiahs.' Three Oxford graduates and a former Manchester University student were valuable additions to both the school's academic and athletic programmes. F.H.B. Champain was a cricket and rugby blue who spent five years devoting his time and efforts to the school. When he left for Australia in 1913 *The Black and Red* declared that he would be truly missed, "especially when the cricket season rolled round."[63] The sporting zealots had no need to worry. The replacement, V.R. Bennett, was a "decided acquisition in cricket, football and hockey."[64]

While the available background material of the masters at the two schools on the west coast indicates a definite trend with regard to British training, it is impossible to state the case at St.John's in Winnipeg. Matheson and Burman had been educated at the school itself. Hamber and Machray were of British origin. Of the other staff, little is known and so an assertive statement cannot be made. At the Grove, the trend was more towards the Canadian, and its faculty were not necessarily academically biased. As much as Alick Mackenzie, the masters at Lakefield epitomised its healthy outlook on life. If they did not appreciate it when they arrived, they soon began to develop a liking for the Grove's unique situation. The 'first and foremost' of the Grove teachers was T.W.B. Marling, a schoolboy athlete at Trinity College School in the 1890s, a University enthusiast at Trinity College, a promoter at Bishop's College School (1900-1903) and Upper Canada College (1903-1909), before finally arriving at Mackenzie's school.[65] However, the Grove ideal was better represented by Gordon Hill

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[62]Wenman, *op.cit.*.
[63]*The Black and Red*, 2:11, November 1911, p. 4, and 3:18, November 1913, p. 4.
[64]*The Black and Red*, 3:18, November 1913, p. 3.
[65]Young, *Op.cit.*, p. 59, and Lampman, "The Beginnings," p. 5.

Grahame, another Trinity College School boy who found his way to Lakefield and rejoiced in the freedom of its wide open spaces. His conversion was gradual. He had suffered the ordeal of games at Trinity, and retired from participation with the boys at the Grove after a series of injuries and accidents, none too serious.[66] The loves of his life became walking and canoeing. By the time World War One had broken out, he was a self-confessed muscular vegetarian, and endured trials of physical hardships which would have severely tested the fittest of athletes. To prove to himself that man 'could live on bread alone,' he paddled off into the wilderness to spend the last month of the summer holidays there, taking with him only a bushel of wheat, sleeping bag, flint and steel, knife, fork and hatchet. After a month of wilderness life he returned to Lakefield twenty-five pounds lighter and felt as though he had never been fitter in his life.[67]

Grahame soon became obsessed with pursuits which tested his powers of physical endurance to the extreme:

> On Sundays and the various holidays that occur throughout the school year, I took long hikes, some of which embraced the entire period of the shorter vacations, Easter and Christmas. I was a practising exponent of physical fitness. I walked from Lakefield to Brantford, covering the 160 miles in four days. I made the entire circuit of Lake Ontario on foot. On a summer weekend in 1912 I paddled a sixteen foot canoe from Cobourg in Ontario to Charlotte in New York State, crossing Lake Ontario at its widest in twenty four hours. That same year I walked from Lakefield to New York City, 570 miles in seventeen days. I lived exclusively on fruits and

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[66]In *Short Days Ago*, p.102, he writes: "I joined the boys in their sports. On the football field I was very brittle. After fracturing an anklé and then a wrist in friendly games, I retired from competition and appeared only as a slugger who could be counted upon to score the occasional boundary when he managed to keep his wickets intact. I became a legend as the only man who ever swatted a ball clean through the headmaster's house. I spent the whole of the next day and a goodly portion of my twenty-five dollar monthly salary glazing windows. That I couldn't catch the easiest lob without tripping over my feet, and that I stopped most line drives, not with my hands but with my unprotected body, did little to dim my reputation. Once I stopped a lustily driven ball that hit the trousers pocket where I kept my matches and in a few minutes I was desperately trying to put out the fire and keep the burning fabric from incinerating me. I had finally to unbelt my pants and tear them off. It was an embarrassing moment and I hastily left the field enveloped in a shirt and hazy essence of matches and fricasseed Grahame."

[67]*Ibid.*, p. 104.

> vegetables during all my hikes, and fruit was plentiful and cheap in the fertile countryside of the Mohawk and Hudson River valleys.[68]

It was only natural that his delight in this basic and natural type of athleticism should rub off on the boys at the school. In 1911 Grahame organised a Boy Scout Troop Patrol which kept a good number of the students well trained and in 'good shape.'[69] And he even took two boys with him on his last 'idyllic pre-war excursion' by canoe and foot to New York.[70] Grahame was the epitome of the Grove-Mackenzie ideal. It was a Canadian ideal, a healthy and sincere delight in nature's 'open university' which was promoted with vigour at Lakefield. Indeed, the academic experience of the boys was rather haphazard compared with the rounded growth acquired through the physical rigour and from the vivid terrain of Mackenzie's unorthodox system.[71]

The pattern at the other schools in Ontario, Upper Canada College, Trinity College School and Ridley was one of British and Canadian influences. At Upper Canada, the contribution from the proselytes of the 'Old Country' was evident as was the increasing role of Old Boy staff members and Canadian trained graduates. A similar blend of promotive forces existed at Trinity while Ridley's masters displayed a distinct Canadian element, symbolic of a 'Canadian School for Boys.' J.O. Miller utilised to the full the scholastic and muscular resources leaving the Province's tertiary level institutions (see Table 5).

The universities and colleges of Toronto and the region's private schools acted as mutual feeders. The schools sent graduates who contributed enormously to the development of organised sport at this educational level while the latter in return sent back masters of sport to the schools. By the end of the nineteenth-century, the production of athletically oriented staff had become a cyclic process. It was the old boys of Upper Canada who had set the trend in organising sport at University College and University of Trinity College. However, as Trinity

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[68] *Ibid.*.
[69] *The Grove Chronicle*, V:2, April 1911, p. 7.
[70] Grahame, *Short Days Ago*, p. 111.
[71] Gray, *Fun Tomorrow*, pp. 30-31.

Table 5: The educational backgrounds of masters at Ridley to 1919.

TOTAL NUMBER OF STAFF	114	
UNKNOWN BACKGROUNDS	56	49%
CANADIAN TRAINED	48	42%
BRITISH TRAINED	7	6%
OTHER: AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN	3	3%

Of the seven British trained teachers, only two were educated at Cambridge. School historian, Terence Cronyn noted that a great many of the names on the staff list contributed very little towards school life at Ridley. The turn-over rate, illustrated below, was in fact quite high.

ONE YEAR APPOINTMENTS	48	42%
TWO YEAR APPOINTMENTS	14	12%
TWO TO FOUR YEAR APPOINTMENTS	34	30%
FIVE OR MORE YEARS OF SERVICE	18	16%

Irrespective of the length of time that they were at the school, the following masters have been perceived to have contributed to sport and games. The name of the staff member is followed by his *Alma Mater* and the time he taught at Ridley:

A.F. Barr	University of Toronto	1897-99
G.M. Brock	University of Toronto	1914-15, 1921-53
W.H. Graham	University of Toronto	1894-96
H.C. Griffith	Trinity College, Toronto	1899-1907, 1911-49
W.B. Hendry	University of Toronto	1896-1900
J.O. Miller	Wycliffe College, Toronto	1889-1921
P.D. Mitchell	University of Toronto	1906-09
G.B.McClean	University of Toronto	1891-93
E.G. Powell	University of Toronto	1900-46
C.E.H. Thomas	Jesus College, Cambridge	1912-38
H.G. Williams	University of London	1891-1932

The information here is based on three sources. Prospectuses, many of which contain no staff lists, the Ridley Association staff file, which has little relative information, and editions of *Acta Ridleiana*. The author would like to acknowledge Jeremy Packard and Terence Cronyn for their help in collating this material.

College School and Ridley established themselves, their ex-pupils also began to take a leading administrative role. T.D. Phillipps of Upper Canada College was largely responsible for founding cricket and for establishing it as *the* game at University of Trinity College from 1852 through to the early 1900s. He was ably assisted in this regard by other Upper Canada Collegians such as the Bethune brothers as well as a host of Trinity College School graduates, for whom the higher institution of learning was a natural progression, and, after 1890, by ex-Ridley boys.[72] At University College, the situation was not that different.[73] By 1900, when athleticism had consolidated itself in Toronto's institutions of higher learning, the Canadian athletic pedagogue became a salient feature of the private school system.

The picture at this junction must not be distorted. While the higher educational institutions of the Dominion did foster their own products, the British tie was ever-present. Traditions and customs at certain places were diffused and enthusiastically promoted by Oxbridge sporting zealots. At the University of Trinity College for example, Oxford man Edward Wynn Huntingford was a multi-talented professor with the athletic appetite of a Leslie Stephen, the famed Cambridge Don. Eccentric, brilliant at his work, and the most versatile man ever connected with Trinity is how Huntingford has been described. He could "ride, row, run, and box, paint, write verse, sing, render first aid, set bones and sew cuts (*without* anaesthetic)," and "he could organise a picnic, stage a play, train a choir...deliver public lectures, and preach." In the final analysis, he was a "picturesque-and privileged person...a thorough gentleman."[74] 'Hunty,' as he was affectionately known, had been an avid cross-country runner in his Oxford days and delighted in this morning exercise from the time of his arrival in Toronto. In fact, he instituted it and other forms of activity at the College.[75] Such

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[72]See T.A. Reed, (ed.) *A History of the University of Trinity College, Toronto, 1852-1952*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1952. Look particularly at Chapter 11, "Trinity in Athletics." He remarks that Trinity ranked high in cricket and that the club's success was largely due to the players coming up from the schools where cricket was played.

[73]T.A. Reed, *The Blue and White. A Record of Fifty Years of Athletic Endeavour at the University of Toronto*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1944. A number of Old Upper Canada Collegians were involved here.

[74]Reed, *A History of the University of Trinity College*, p. 277.

[75]*Ibid.*, pp. 277-278.

encouragement was equally supported by Oswald Rigby, professor in History and later, for a brief period, Headmaster at Trinity College School. He frequently coached the students and was a "great enthusiast for cricket."[76] Both these men were firm believers in the value of competitive sports. They were eager diffusionists of the traditional games ethic and had "a stimulating and far-reaching effect on the athletic life of the College."[77]

The influential masters at the three renowned Ontario schools then, were illustrative of developing trends. Arthur Lewis Cochrane is worthy of particular note in this regard.[78] Trained in the British Army, Cochrane taught fencing and gymnastics at Upper Canada from 1894 to 1921. However, he countered this conventionalism with innovation and adaptation. In 1895 he founded the first Canadian Branch of the Royal Life Saving Society, and in the early 1900s he established 'Cochrane's Camp' at Lake Temagami, that "happy Indian hunting ground" in "the wildest of a wild country."[79] The Summer camp, for children of wealthier families, offered "all manner of sport and wholesome food" and exemplified the diversity of activity which proponents of athleticism advocated in the Dominion.[80] British and Canadian factions and influences co-existed in the schools. John Martland and William 'Stony' Jackson at Upper Canada, and E.M. Watson at Trinity represented the transplanted English public school master. A.A. Macdonald (Upper Canada), F.A. Bethune, H.J. Campbell, C.J. Logan and Alick Mackenzie (Trinity), A.F. Barr, G.B. McClean and Harry Griffith (Ridley) all symbolized the new Canadian input into games development at the schools. Each teacher in his own way and for his own motives ardently fostered athleticism's growth. The muscular Christians and the moralists as well as the pure enthusiasts found personal gratification on the games fields. By playing, donating time and effort, and on occasion preaching the gospel of athletics, these men became as much a symbol of the ideology as the house and flat matches,

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[76] *Ibid.*, pp. 278-279.
[77] *Ibid.*, p. 277.
[78] For an overview of Cochrane's contribution to physical education and recreation in Ontario see M.A. Hall "Arthur Lewis Cochrane. A Biographical Sketch," Unpublished Paper, Queen's University, Kingston, 1964.
[79] *The College Times*, Christmas 1895, p. 44; and "Camping on Lake Temagami," *The Grove Chronicle*, V:1, November 1910, p. 2.
[80] Altmeyer, "Three Ideas of Nature in Canada," p. 25.

the trophies and facilities, and the players and teams which they helped introduce, develop and produce. They were, irrespective of their origins, a cohesive force in the consolidation of the ideology.

Categoric generalisations with respect to the more easterly located schools cannot be made. Investigation of staff backgrounds does not produce complete and conclusive evidence for a definite statement to be made. However, certain trends can be identified. At Rothesay, it appears that the influential masters were predominantly Canadian (see Appendix II). Many, in fact, were trained locally. The few English teachers that were appointed after 1900 remained there for a brief time only, perhaps finding the school's situation and its appearance not to be the ideal that they had imagined back in Britain. Lower Canada College and King's Collegiate School displayed an apparent reliance on British trained staff. Fosbery's confirmed belief in and his knowledge of the British system and the succession of Headmasters from overseas at the Nova Scotia school predisposed both institutions to such an emphasis. But again, there were at both schools individuals who made an impact who were not from establishments in Britain. Frank 'Shag' Shaughnessy who coached at Lower Canada, but was never on staff, is a noteworthy example.

The use of masters educated in Canada is a notable feature of those private schools east of British Columbia, although certain institutions still employed the product from Britain. It is quite valid to state that by the end of the nineteenth-century, the Canadian sporting pedagogue was emerging from the shadows of the British prototype. Indeed, he was beginning to promote sport and games and their underlying values with equal, if not greater, zeal.

Although the dates of adoption and subsequent growth of athleticism differ among the ten schools, it can be recognised that the internal and external forces associated with the schools functioned coherently to consolidate its position as an integral component of their educational programmes. Facilities for activity were conspicuously developed and maintained through the generous subscriptions of staff, Old Boys, parents and students. And by the wishes of those in

higher authority, the boys were almost compelled to take part in games which were constantly supervised by able and enthusiastic masters. While these factors greatly assisted the growth and acceptance of the ideology, it was among the boys themselves that games were considered important but were also identified and emphasised as being so. In the following chapters the ideal and reality of games among the pupils will be investigated to consider the intended and actual purposes that athleticism fulfilled.

Chapter VI

TOM BROWN IN CANADA: GAMES AND THE IDEAL BOY

Between the year of Confederation and the onset of World War One, sport in Canada witnessed great changes. It became more organised. And it was popularised across the country by various types of groups. The advent of the newly-established Sports Clubs and Associations after 1881, following the example of the Montreal Amateur Athletic Association,[1] provided respectable upper and middle class sectors of society with the opportunity to watch and to participate in regular and organised competitive and recreative athletics. For these people, the justification for and involvement in sport went beyond enthusiasm, enjoyment and competition. There were underlying moral benefits which one Toronto newspaper was quick to outline to its reading public:

> Athletics...bring out some of the best qualities in human nature, generous rivalry, self-control, patient endurance and steadfast determination, together with a fiery zeal and great courage. The lessons of sport are to be stout of heart and straight forward, respectful to authority, strong in emergency, modest in success and considerate to the beaten.[2]

It is not surprising that the 'gospel' of sport was found attractive by such a large number of people when the ideals behind subscription were thus delimited. However, sport and games were not the exclusive domain of the social elite. Canadians of all classes enjoyed and took part in the country's craze for athletics.[3] But this involvement was not necessarily viewed as healthy though. Sport in certain settings was considered more of a vice than a virtue.

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[1]See Mott, "The British Protestant Pioneers," and Morrow, *A Sporting Evolution*, for an overview of the clubs and associations in Manitoba and Montreal respectively. The formation of the Montreal Amateur Athletic Association has been described as "undoubtedly the most important single development in Canadian sport." See S.F. Wise and D. Fisher *Canada's Sporting Heroes*. Don Mills: General Publishing Company, 1974, p. 19.

[2]*The Globe*, September 8, 1896.

[3]*The Christian Guardian*, October 22, 1879, was critical of the attention being paid to sport. See also Lord Dufferin's speech in 1873 cited in Wise and Fisher *op.cit.*, p. 18. Dufferin stated that "in studying the characteristics of Canada, I have been impressed by the devotion of the people to manly sports and exercise."

The rise of organised sport accompanied the urbanisation and industrialisation of Canada's cities. Social vices such as intemperance, gambling and prostitution were visible concomitants of the quickly-forming urban society.[4] The saloon or tavern was replacing the more traditional establishments of home and church as the focal point of social activity, and certain sporting pursuits were closely associated with environments where the new social vices could be found in abundance. Billiard halls and race courses were perceived to be dens of iniquity, lewd speech and alcohol. They certainly were not the places where the virtuous side of sport was exhibited. It was notably the Protestant religious sects, Methodists, Baptists and Presbyterians, who proclaimed a social gospel of reform, a movement to make the industrial system conform to the principles of Christianity, and fought to wipe out these evils. Particular sports were inevitably deemed unhealthy and harmful, a contaminating influence on the development of Christian character.

At Canada's private schools, sport and games maintained their virtuous status. In this setting, they were considered suitable and desirable agents of education. In theory they fostered the Christian ideal and helped to create upstanding citizens. In actuality, they were a much more powerful force within and beyond the boundaries of school life. The ideal boy was often depicted by the athlete, and the ideal boy would eventually make the perfect citizen. It does not necessarily follow that the athlete represented the desired archetypical citizen, but there was a definite relationship between these two ideals. The following three chapters will investigate the boy products of the schools in an attempt to gain a fuller understanding of the ideology of athleticism in action.

Who was the ideal boy? What types of qualities did he possess? Who were his models? The answer is by no means straightforward. There was no one uniform model for all the schools. The 'Tom Browns' were a blend of the ideal and the real, a distinct formula which

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[4] See R. Allan, "The Social Gospel and the Reform Tradition in Canada, 1890-1928," in S.D. Clark, J.P. Grayson and L.M. Grayson (eds.) *Prophecy and Protest*. Toronto: Gage Educational Publishers, 1975.

nevertheless formed a remarkably similar product.

The fictional epitome of the boy at the private school was without doubt Tom Brown, the hero of *Tom Brown's Schooldays*. Thomas Hughes' book has been identified as the prototype of the school novel which "spread nationwide a stereotype of school life and schoolboy behaviour, far beyond the classes who attended public or even private boarding schools."[5] Indeed, Tom's manly or muscular Christian character along with his heroic actions provided one template for aspiring private schoolboys in the English speaking world. With regard to this study, the book has been mentioned in sources associated with King's Collegiate School, Rothesay, Lower Canada College, Ridley, Upper Canada, Lakefield and St.John's, Winnipeg. It is not unreasonable to assume that the other three schools were familiar with it also.[6] However, in at least two of the institutions in this study, other fictional characters augmented Tom Brown's position as a role model.

The Grove was hardly an equivalent Rugby School setting. Although Rugby's fictional hero may have been in the boys' minds as Alick Mackenzie read to them in the evenings, other more sturdy paragons sprung to mind as they immersed themselves in Lakefield's magnificent natural surrounds. John Morgan Gray recalled that "living as it seemed on the edge of wilderness awakened an old dream of mine, to have clothing made of skins like Robinson Crusoe."[7] Perhaps the thought of Defoe's island adventurer was too exotic for most of the boys, but life at the village of huts, appropriately termed 'Shackville,' conjured up vivid imageries of the hardy *coureur de bois*, the nation's pioneering traders and hunters. A perceived anology by the boys at Mapleridge, the fictional Grove in John Morgan Gray's *The One-Eyed Trapper*, presents this ideal.[8] Gray's reminiscences provide only one interpretation of the Lakefield product. Another literary model, a Crusoe, Tom Brown and Tom Sawyer all in one

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[5]See Patrick Scott, "The School and the Novel: *Tom Brown's Schooldays*," in Simon and Bradley, *The Victorian Public School*, p. 34.
[6]Trinity College School for example had intra-school games played between Bigside and Littleside, well-known terms at Rugby School.
[7]Gray, *Fun Tomorrow*, p. 27.
[8]Gray, *The One-Eyed Trapper*. And particularly Chapter 1, "Gerald Carr Learns a Lot."

was Larry Northcote of the Grove or Gerald Carr of Mapleridge.[9] Carr was the hero of Gray's novel, while Larry was the protaganist of Gordon Hill Grahame's *Larry, or The Avenging Terrors*, the first story of boarding school life in Canada.[10] Larry, an avenger of wrong doings and untruthful actions, predictably, displays Christian moral virtues and athletic prowess on the football field as well as possessing a Mackenzie love for the rural surroundings of the Grove. In short, he embodied the Mackenzie ideal.

Larry Northcote and Gerald Carr are just two literary ideals of boyhood at Lakefield. The type of boy that Alick Mackenzie would have admired, and perhaps of which he had personal knowledge, had been captured in fictional form prior to the publication of the works of Gray and Grahame. The novels of Charles Gordon and Ernest Thompson Seton were widely-read in North America at the turn of the century, and their ideals illustrate again the added dimension of athleticism in the New World setting. A North American boyhood image was beginning to emerge.

There is no doubt that Charles Gordon, writing under the pseudonym of Ralph Connor, was Canada's most popular novelist prior to 1920.[11] An important ingredient of his stories was his emphasis on Christian morality. And one of the media through which Connor developed his ethical themes was that of physical activity, various forms of which appeared regularly throughout his texts.[12] Christianity of the muscular variety was a distinct feature of Connor's works and was one reason for his popularity.[13] One of his better known novels was *Glengarry School Days* which bears a remarkable resemblance in basic structure to Hughes'

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[9]Gray, *Fun Tomorrow*, p. 36. He recalls Makenzie reading *Tom Brown's Schooldays* to the boys. *Huckleberry Fin*, and *Westward Ho!* and the works of Conan Doyle and Stevenson were also presented. Mackenzie wrote an editorial about the value of reading such books in *The Grove Chronicle*, V:2, April 1911, pp. 1-2.

[10]Grahame, *Larry, or The Avenging Terrors.*

[11]If the criteria of best-selling and most widely-read are applied here, this statement holds true. J.D. Logan and D.G. French in *Highways of Canadian Literature.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1924, state that at this time his books had excelled sales of three millions. Edward McCourt in *The Canadian West in Fiction.* Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1949, quotes sales as being above five millions.

[12]See D. Brown, "Images of Sport in Canadian Fiction: The Contribution of Ralph Connor," Proceedings of the 5th Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education, University of Toronto, Toronto, August 26-29, 1982, pp. 23-32.

[13] McCourt, *op.cit.*, p. 37.

Tom Brown's Schooldays (see Table 6).[14]

Table 6: Simple content analysis comparison of Glengarry School Days and Tom Brown's Schooldays.

Tom Brown's Schooldays	BOOK	*Glengarry School Days*
Reverend Thomas Hughes	AUTHOR	Reverend Charles Gordon
1857	PUBLISHED	1902
Rugby School, England, 1830s	SETTING	Twentieth School, Glengarry, Canada, 1860s
Tom Brown	HERO	Hughie Murray
Thomas Arnold	HEADMASTER	Archibald Munro
Tom and Slogger Williams	FIGHTS	Hughie and Foxy Ross
Village games of skill and strength	INFORMAL GAMES	'Deephole' (waterhole) aciviti[illegible]
Cricket and rugby	FORMAL GAMES	Shinny and the spelling match

Connor was aware of Hughes' novel and may have used it as a basis for his own work, in which he transplanted Tom Brown into the Canadian setting in the person of Hughie Murray.[15] Hughie has a firmness of character, a strength of will, a sense of duty and moral self-sufficiency which, when combined with the hardiness equated with Canada's severe northern climate, produces a definite feature; that of a muscular Christian pioneer. Redmond has discussed the new form that muscular Christianity took on in the Canadas and has claimed that "a kind of "Canadian Muscular Christianity" evolved which overlaid the original gospel imported from England, and which stressed the physical advantages accruing to 'a hardy northern race' engaged in building a new nation across a vast wonderland of nature."[16] Connor's writings certainly exhibit evidence to support this claim and Hughie Murray, who possessed a zealous predilection for healthy outdoor activities in the wilderness of Glengarry, exemplified Canada's emerging Tom Brown. He would have been quite at home at Mackenzie's

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[14]R. Connor, *Glengarry School Days*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart,1902.
[15]J. Charles King Gordon, Gordon's son, personal letter to the author, March 30, 1982.
[16]G. Redmond, "The Gospel in the Colony: 'Muscular Christianity' in Nineteenth-Century Canada," A Paper Presented at the XIth International HISPA Congress, Lisbon, Portugal, April 4-10, 1981, p. 22.

school.

Like Charles Gordon, Ernest Thompson Seton, the Toronto based artist, naturalist and writer, saw nature as a character building force. His ideals were quite influential. It is believed for example that Baden-Powell's interpretation of the Canadian Boy Scout as an emulator of the backwoodsman, explorer and frontiersman was borrowed freely from Seton's passionate and romantic portrayal of the North American Indian.[17] To Seton, the Indian personified "the finest type of physical manhood the world has ever known."[18] He established his own Scouting movement and used the 'Native American' as his model. The organisation became known by a variety of names; the Woodcraft Indians, the Indian Scouts and the Seton Indians. Seton saw the first aim of education as being *manhood, not scholarship* and sought to involve his Scouts in "those pursuits which develop the finest character, the finest physique, and which may be followed out of doors, which, in a word, *make for manhood*."[19] His heroic boyhood ideal was based on his belief that the boy from ten to fifteen was purely physical in his drives. "I do not know," he stated, "that I ever met a boy that would not rather be John L. Sullivan than Darwin or Tolstoi."[20] His paragon of virtue and manhood may have been the *Ideal Indian* of Fennimore Cooper but his literary model also possessed the qualities of a muscular Christian adventurer. Rolf Kettering had "a common school education, a thorough knowledge of the Bible and of "Robinson Crusoe," a vague tradition of God everywhere."[21] Rolf emerges from his 'sturdy frontiersman' experiences of trapping, canoeing and snowshoeing as a man

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[17]Altmeyer, "Three Ideas of Nature in Canada," p. 26. In D.F. Howell's The Social Gospel in Canadian Protestantism, 1895-1925: Implications for Sport, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1980, specific mention of Seton's works are made as recommended reading for Canadian Scouts and camping organisations, p. 144. See also, L.G. Mitchell McKee, "Nature's Medicine: The Physical Education and Outdoor Recreation Programmes of Toronto's Voluntary Youth Organizations, 1880-1930," Proceedings of the 5th Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education, University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada, August 26-29, 1982, pp. 128-139.

[18]E.T. Seton, *The Gospel of the Redman: An Indian Bible*. London: Psychic Press Ltd., 1937, p. 46. This was reproduced from his *The Book of Woodcraft and India Lore*. New York: Doubldy, Page and Company, 1917 (1912), p. 46.

[19]Seton, *The Book of Woodcraft*, p. 5. Emphasis original.

[20]*Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

[21]E.T. Seton, *Rolf in the Woods. The Adventures of a Boy Scout with Indian Quonab and Little Dog Skookum*. New York: Grosset and Dunlop, 1911, p. 10.

"schooled in a school of hardship, developed in the big outdoors, wise in the ways of the woods, burnt in the fire of affliction, forced into self-reliance...a man of mark."[22]

Seton's works were truly representative of influences that surrounded the youth of the North American pioneers.[23] And his ideas on education correspond closely with those of Alick Mackenzie. Seton's ideal boy, educated in the 'university of the forest' and wise in the ways of 'woodcraft' was not unlike the Lakefield product and would have thoroughly enjoyed the Grove's unorthodox system which incorporated quite purposefully principles remarkably similar to his 'Indian Lore.'[24]

The investigation of the fictional ideal is not yet complete. Literary aspects of athleticism and of the muscular Christian theme were evident at all the schools of the study. The novels of Hughes, Kingsley, Scott, Twain, Henty and Connor were to be found in the school libraries.[25] At Upper Canada College the novels of Ralph Connor were received with particular enthusiasm.[26] Gordon and his brother Gilbert had both taught at the school after graduating from the University of Toronto. His career as a writer was followed with interest and his stories were deemed attractive. If these conspicuous texts were not persuasive enough, it was not unusual to find short stories equating games with success in the school setting appearing in the school journals. A boy at King's for example could be encouraged to be a "fine specimen of Nova Scotia's sons" like Smith of "Jerry Fisher: or a School Tale of A.D. 1946." Smith was a "tall, handsome, muscular man, who preferred life in the woods, where he could hunt or fish, and occasionally take a job of lumbering or exploring when they should offer, to farming, or labourer's work in the town."[27] The King's student might have admired

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[22] *Ibid.*, p. 277.

[23] See also *Two Little Savages: Being the Adventures of Two Boys Who Lived as Indians and What they Learned.* New York: Grosset and Dunlop, 1911.

[24] Mackenzie was aware of the Indian trapper way of life and did mention it to the boys in *The Grove Chronicle* in an article on camping in 1909.

[25] Additions to the libraries were often published in the school magazines. For example, lists in King's magazine, *The Windsorian,* include works by Henty, Hughes and Twain among others. *The Windsorian,* 15:1, Christmas 1917, p. 41, and 15:2, Easter 1918, pp. 10-12.

[26] See for example the review of *The Man From Glengarry* in *The College Times,* Midsummer 1901, pp. 43-45.

[27] "Jerry Fisher: or a School Tale of A.D. 1946," by Z, *The Windsorian,* 1:3, 1896,

Smith's inclination towards the pioneer life in the Canadian wilderness, but he was more likely to be impressed by the schoolboy sporting heroes who appeared at intervals throughout *The Windsorian's* early years. Ralph Williams of Watson College, Lytton of St.James', Archibald Carruthers of Clifton College and Bob Davis of St.Edward's School were typical characters. They learned the 'lessons of life' and gained or regained moral courage, self-respect and popularity on the games field.[28] These novelets emphasised the positive benefits of participation in sport as well as highlighting the heroic stature of the games player. They were more than adequately supported by a never ending supply of references to the moral and mental benefits of school games. 'Play the game,' 'fair play' and 'sportsmanship' were frequent topics of discussion. The *raison d'etre* for sport, and indeed for physical exercise of all types, proliferated in the school magazines.[29] The indoctrination process was increased by the exchange of magazines between the schools, a powerful and incidental means of reinforcing an already dominant ideal.

Fictional and literary examples are important in the attempt to depict Canada's Tom Brown. However, further models existed in reality. These were the boys in the schools who had won the medals and cups that were presented to the 'best all-round boy.'

The prizes came in various forms and under an assortment of names (see Table 7). They represented the ultimate goal for a boy at the school, and were symbolic of the attributes that the 'best boy' should possess. In some cases the criteria were defined in simple and uncomplicated terms. Efficiency, leadership, conduct and scholarship were demanded of those who coveted attainment. And that common but seldom defined term, 'true manliness,' was

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[27](cont'd) pp. 93-99.

[28]F.R. Henshaw, "How Lytton Saved the Game," *The Windsorian,* 5:1, Christmas 1907, pp. 5-18; "The Game and the Car," 6:1, Christmas 1908, pp. 5-10; "Ted Roberts' Luck," 8:1, Christmas 1910, pp. 5-8; and "The Game," 18:1, 1920, pp. 19-20.

[29]See for example, "Play the Man," *Acta Ridleiana,* Midsummer 1906, p. 1; "A Good Sport," *Acta Ridleiana,* Christmas 1906, pp. 9-11; Saunders, D.W. "A Talk on Cricket," *The Trinity College School Record,* 1:2, April 4, 1898, pp. 10-13; "Kansas City Letter," *The College Times,* Christmas 1896, pp. 47-49, lauds the game of cricket and its character building qualities; J.E. Merritt, "The Raison d'etre of Physical Exercise," *The Eagle,* 1:6, June 1907, pp. 27-29; and Alick Mackenzie's "The Boy in Camp," *The Grove Chronicle,* V:1, November 1910, pp. 2-3.

Table 7: The cups, medals and prizes awarded at schools of the study.

School	Prize	Criteria
King's Collegiate School	W.T. Whitehead Cup	Scholarship, sports, popularity and conduct
Upper Canada College	J.H. Mason Gold Medal	True Manliness
Trinity College School	Bronze Medallist	Steady perseverance in industry, courtesy and integrity
Rothesay Collegiate School	J. Fairweather Memorial Prize	The boy who by exemplary conduct elevated the tone of the school
St.John's College School	British Public School Prize	Balanced interest in studies and games and a maintenance of the high traditions of the school
Bishop Ridley College	J.H. Mason Gold Medal and S.H. Blake Medal	True Manliness: a manly, straight forward Christian character
Lower Canada College	G.H. Harrower Cup	The best all-round boy
Shawnigan Lake School	Efficiency Cup	Leadership, responsibility and popularity

another quality which characterised the victor. However, while the winner may have been manly and Christian, the vote was, more often than not, one of popularity. At Trinity College School, the holder of the Bronze Medal for steady perseverance in industry, courtesy and integrity was the ideal 'Trinity College School Boy:'

He's a young *rara avis,*
He'll always behave as
A mixture of angel and *divil;*
His manners are various,
Temper precarious,
He's rollicking, reckless and civil.

He's modest, courageous
His boldness outrageous
He's never just what you expect him.
But the more that you see
Of what he can be
The more you will always respect him.

He's quick to offend,
But quick to defend
When his honour and courage are doubted.
He'll give his last penny
(That's if he has any).
And never care twopence about it.

In fight or in play
He goes in to stay
Till his best is done, you may depend,
For in fight or in play
There's only one way
To play the game out to the end.

He's loyal and true
And he never could do
Any cowardly action or mean;
For the one, single rule,
That is taught in the School
Is "Fear God and Honour the Queen."

But this young *rara avis*
Will always behave as
A mixture of angel and *divil;*
He's proud and he's courteous,
Mischievous, virtuous,
Rollicking, reckless and civil.[30]

The medallist at Trinity, a mixture of the real and the ideal, was "carried out of the gymnasium in the good-old fashioned way and chaired through the building."[31] The celebrations were not dissimilar at other institutions. Popularity of course, in an environment where athletics was a strong force, predisposed the leading senior boy athletes as possible and probable winners. One aspect of the criteria outlined by those in power was thus unbalanced in relation to others. In fact, only one school, St.John's in Winnipeg, overtly mentioned the notion of a 'balanced' winner. The British Public Schools Prize was inaugurated after World War One, "to be given annually to the boy who, in the opinion of the masters and scholars, displays in the highest

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[30] "The Trinity College School Boy," *The Trinity College School Record,* I:1, February 26, 1898, p. 4.
[31] "Speech Day," *The Trinity College School Record,* XI:5, November 1908, pp. 51-53.

degree a well-balanced interest in his studies, in his games and in maintaining the highest traditions of the school."[32] The reality in many instances was that the award winner did not necessarily match the ideal.

The fallible nature of public opinion was recognised and discussed by at least on Headmaster. Walter Hibbard at Rothesay was convinced that individual prizes should not be awarded because of the popularity element involved in the selection procedures.[33] At another school, Lower Canada College, the criteria for success were outlined more stringently than at any other institution. Athletic and intellectual endeavour, and a sprinkling of aesthetic appreciation, was demanded from the boys (see Table 8). It is noticeable that Fosbery modified the standards over time and that points awarded for sporting pursuits were increased. This slightly favoured the leading athletes at the school. Regardless of Lower Canada's detailed scoring system, distribution of the awards based on popularity was more the prevailing trend. The leading schoolboy athletes were often recipients of these 'symbols of success,' and consequently, the image of the sport-playing ideal type was perpetuated.

Three other types of model were in evidence at the schools. The first of these was the lauded Rhodes Scholar, the student of a Canadian University who went to study at Oxford University. The Scholarship had been set up by the imperial plutocrat Cecil Rhodes in 1903 as a means of 'promoting unity among the British peoples.' It afforded students of the Empire the opportunity to experience life at Britain's renowned centre of learning and sporting excellence.[34] In selecting candidates, paramount importance was given to those individuals who displayed qualities of intellect, character and leadership. Physical vigour and the moral attributes acquired through playing games were also admired.[35] The Rhodes Scholar was

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[32]Box marked Burman, unmarked File, The British Public Schools Prize. St.J-R.S.A..
[33]Hibbard, "Memoir of R.C.S.," p. 28.
[34]See H.W. Morrison, *Oxford Today and the Canadian Rhodes Scholarship.* Toronto: W.J. Gage Ltd., 1958; F. Aydelotte, *The Vision of Cecil Rhodes.* London: Oxford University Press, 1964; and G.R. Parkin, *The Rhodes Scholarships.* Toronto: The Copp Clark Co., 1913. Parkin left Upper Canada College to take up the position of Organising Secretary of the Rhodes Scholarship. He worked in this capacity from 1902 to 1920. Only four Scholarships per year were originally given to Canada. This was increased to eleven by 1958.
[35]Aydelotte, *ibid,* pp. 22-23; and Parkin *ibid.,* p. 126.

Table 8: Point scoring system for the Harrower Cup.

1907	Points	1911 Revised list for All-Round Cup	Points
For classwork (including neatness and punctuality) every ten per cent	1	First 50% for every 10%	2
Head Boy of Form	1	Next 10% for every 5%	2
Form Captain	1	Every 1% additional	1/2
Gymnasium, Competitor	1	(Thus: 50%-10marks, 60%-12marks,	
Gymnasium, Winner	2	70%17marks	
Swimming, Competitor	1	Head of Each Form	2
Swimming, Winner	2	Head in each subject, 65% or over	1
Cadet	1	Choir	2
Cadet, N.C.O.	11/2	Theatricals	2
Cadet, Officer	2	Drawing	1
Member of Concert Choir	1	Drawing, excellence (additional)	1
Member of Theatrical Club	1	Music	1
Place on Football Team	1	Music, excellence (additional)	1
Captain of Football Team	11/2	Sloyd	1
Place on Hockey Team	1	Sloyd, excellence (additional)	1
Captain of Hockey Team	11/2	Gym. Squad	2
Cricket Average bat	1	Gym. Competition, winner	2
Cricket Average bowling	1	Swimming, each event	1
Boxing, Champion	2	Sports, each event (3-leg, obstacle,	
Boxing, Member of Club	1	sack excluded)	1
Sloyd	1	Cadet	2
Sloyd, Excellence	2	N.C.O. (additional)	1/2
Tennis, Competitor	1	Band (additional)	1
Tennis, Champion	2	Officer (additional)	11/2
Music, Excellence	1	Form, Captain	1/2
Music, Excellence	11/2	Football, team	2
Music, Excellence	2	Football, captain (additional)	1/2
Dancing, Member of Class	1	Hockey, team	2
		Hockey, captain (additional)	1/2
		Cricket, team	2
		Cricket, captain (additional)	1/2
		Lacrosse, team	2
		Lacrosse, captain (additional)	1/2
		Water Polo, team	2
		Water Polo, captain (additional)	1/2
		Boxing, winner	2
		Tennis, winner	2

From *The Eagle*, 1:6, June 1907, pp. 52-53; and from *Lower Canada College Magazine*, 11:8, April 1911, p. 7.

eulogised as an exemplary product of the private school system.

Jack C. Farthing of Lower Canada College was described as a "student, athlete and leader in student affairs." He combined "all the qualities which one has come to associate with Rhodes Scholars, and that to a remarkable extent."[36] W.J.Pearse of University School meanwhile, was the 'kind of boy,' a rugby player and Rhodes Scholar, who was admired by that school's Headmasters.[37]

The balanced Rhodes Scholar was supported by a second exemplar, the pedigree schoolboy athlete; the 'ace' hockey player, the 'star' footballer, or the 'stylish' cricketer. The examples here are voluminous in the school magazines among the well-articulated match reports and character portrayals of team members which accentuated the pertinent qualities necessary and responsible for success both in victory and defeat. The capacity to work hard and to show cool courage under adverse conditions, the ability to inspire team-mates and to display potential leadership attributes on and off the field was common phraseology describing the performance of these athletes. The more flattering testimonials were usually saved for the outstanding performers. Captains were popular choices. And so were the long-standing players who had received their 'colours.'[38] But the greatest acclaim was given to the multi-talented sportsman such as Upper Canada College's C.W. Darling, B.C. Morrison, C.G.M. Grier and G. Southam, all 'triple Blues.' The achievements of the 'triple Blue' were publicly extolled in *The College Times*. He was an example for all to follow. Of Gordon Southam it was written:

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[36] *Lower Canada College Magazine*, IX:2, May 1921, p. 24. Farthing attended New College and played lacrosse for Oxford against Cambridge from 1922 to 1924.

[37] "The School Sports," *The Black and Red*, 3:20, June 1914, pp. 3-4, a speech by J.C. Barnacle. In the same volume, p. 7, it is stated that he won his 'half-blue' at lawn tennis and for running in the cross-country race. Volume 3:16, March 1913, p. 23, reports Pearse playing ice hockey against Cambridge. H.M. Abrahams and J. Bruce-Kerr *Oxford Versus Cambridge. A Record of Inter-University Contests from 1827-1930*. London: Faber and Faber, 1931, lists a W.J. Pearse and a W.J. Pearce both at New College. The latter was in the 1913 cross-country race and the former played lawn tennis in 1913-1914 and lacrosse from 1912 to 1914. It is not known whether or not this is an error on the part of this book or on the part of the school magazine.

[38] 'Colours' is a term which refers to an award made to athletes. The award could be bestowed for playing in a special game or for playing for a specific team over a stated period of time and could be in the form of a blazer, tie, cap or scalf or any combination of these. The contemporary equivalent would be the 'letter' award.

> During his first two years Southam [illegible] too young to be very conspicuous. He was of a modest and retiring nature, and even among the boys of his own age he did not assert himself unduly. But as he grew in years and strength he soon made his mark. He had the happy faculty of doing everything well, and before long won recognition in the classroom and on the field. In football, hockey and cricket he gained a reputation for ability and steadiness. In his last year he played on the second teams in hockey and football, and for two years he brilliantly distinguished himself in the firsts in cricket. Southam did not neglect his studies. In fact he displayed the same energy in work, as he did in play. His work was always carefully done and gave great promise of future success. Although Southam was modest and retiring, he was always popular with the School. A manly independence characterised his actions, and he was ever good natured and generous. Southam's success at Varsity has been directly the result of training he received at College. His College life was marked by a correct and steady development both mentally and physically, and, although no doubt he had great natural abilities, without his College training his success would not have been so immediate. In 1904 he became a triple Blue, and in the same year he played international Cricket on a team captained by another College Old Boy, Tiny Counsell. In 1905 he played on the University Football team which won the Championship of Canada. In the Summer of 1906 he was a member of the University Golf Team which won the Championship at Ottawa, and on his return to Toronto he won the Championship of the Lamblon Golf Club, as well as the novice Tennis Championship at Varsity. Although at Varsity Stadium Southam seems to have devoted more attention to sport, it cannot be said that he has neglected his studies. He still preserves the same happy balance between his work and and play, and the character which has been directly the result of such a combination has won him the respect and admiration of his friends. Gordon Southam is to be congratulated on his success. His career has been a happy one, and his example is therefore one worth following. A sound mind in a sound body, should be the ideal of every Collegian.[39]

Such recording of public acclaim bestowed upon the prominent athletes was a potent force in the determination of the school product. The final role model whose character and personality permeated the lives of the boys was the games master.

The sporting housemaster of Britain's public schools has been described as the personification of 'the boyish ideal of life,' and it has been stressed that his passion inspired passion, that his effort stimulated effort. He was a "pillar of the public school system...a father figure whose influence could be considerable long after the celebration tea in his drawing

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[39]*The College Times*, Christmas 1906, pp. 11-12. The motto *Mens Sana in Corpore Sano* appears under the picture of Southam. A similar acclamation is given to other 'triple Blues.' See for example the valete for Crawford G.M. Grier in *The College Times*, Summer 1915, pp. 36-37.

room or the exhortations on the touchline were past."[40] It was not necessarily the house, flat or resident master who personified games and the boyish ideal of life at Canada's schools. In essence, it was any teacher, and even non-staff member, who involved himself with the boys and their sports. There was, as with the ideal boy, no one type. These men coached, played, enthused and moralised. Some only did one of these things while others did everything.

Harry C. Griffith, according to school historian Kim Beattie, was "one of the most outstanding boys who ever attended Ridley."[41] He matriculated from the school in 1896, winning the Dickson Scholarship in Modern Languages for Trinity College in Toronto where he graduated in 1899. His arrival back at the school in 1900 was greeted with enthusiasm by the cricketers who felt 'fortunate' to have him as coach, a capacity in which he would "make up in a great measure for the lack of a professional."[42] At all times throughout his school, college and teaching career he immersed himself in his work and in sport, aspiring for the highest stature in everything he undertook. His carefully planned sessions were appreciated by all, and none more than by Headmaster Miller. On Griffith's departure from the school in 1907 for a brief four year sojourn at Trinity College as a French Lecturer and football coach, Miller wrote to the *Acta Ridleiana* readers that "pages could be filled in his praise as a coach and enthusiast in sport."[43] His achievements at Trinity won him similar acclaim. He steered the University of Toronto football team to the Dominion Championship in 1909 and 1910, and was regarded as an innovative coach who aimed for "initiative and sportsmanship and inculcating those very principles which should be inseparable in a college team."[44] This trend was re-established on his return to St.Catharines in 1911 where he was equally as successful in all respects.

Apart from his active involvement, Griffith also preached to the boys about the moral value of sport. His articles in the school magazine concluded with the unmistakeable signature, 'G.'[45] Many old Ridley players treasured the memories of trotting out on to the field with

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[40]Mangan, *Athleticism*, pp. 154, 160-161.
[41]Beattie, *Ridley - The Story of a School*, p. 782.
[42]*Acta Ridleiana*, Midsummer 1900, p. 3.
[43] *Acta Ridleiana*, Midsummer 1907, p. 2.
[44]Reed, *The Blue and White*, pp. 102-103.
[45]See for example "A Good Sport," *Acta Ridleiana*, Christmas 1906, pp. 9-11, and

Harry's voice ringing in their ears, "Play hard, but play clean! Score first and keep on scoring! Tackle hard, tackle low and tackle often!"[46] Harry Griffith's promotion of athletics at Ridley was incessant. If he was not actively teaching the boys the finer points of sport and moralising, then he was attempting to expand facilities and introduce new forms of sport and competition.[47] In many ways, he embodied those qualities found in other sporting pedagogues of the schools of this study.

Sergeant Richmond Dooe of Rothesay Collegiate School was a teacher in the Griffith mould. He was an irregular staff member carrying out drill instruction prior to Hibbard's appointment, and full time thereafter until he died of a heart attack, suffered, almost fittingly, in one of his gymnastic classes. Dooe was a teacher of firm resolve, a staunch advocate against anything tricky or unfair, particularly in athletic competitions.[48] Other masters across the country fall in the same category. Eric Hamber and Walter Burman of St.John's, Winnipeg, are further examples of teachers whose influences were long remembered after the last contact had been made.[49] Similarly so was the coach of Lower Canada College's football and hockey teams, Frank 'Shag' Shaughnessy, an American whose sense of realism with regard to competitive athletics overshadowed the British moral theory.

Under Shaughnessy, Lower Canada teams did not just compete. They were winners. Shaughnessy's noted innovative contributions to Canadian football have been well-documented.[50] His novel and systematised practices that made McGill University a force

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[45](cont'd) "Playing the Man," Midsummer 1906, p. 1.

[46]Beattie, *op.cit.*, p. 784.

[47]For example, he introduced an intra-form soccer competition and formulated the rules for it, *Acta Ridleiana*, Christmas 1903, p. 19. As Secretary-Treasurer of the Old Boys Association he urged the Old Boys to re-equip the gymnasium, and he pushed for the funding of a new gymnasium, *Acta Ridleiana*, Christmas 1907, p. 32, and Easter 1908, pp. 17-18.

[48]Hibbard, *op.cit.*, p. 8.

[49]A. Heeney, *The Things that are Caesar's: Memoirs of a Canadian Public Servant*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972, pp. 8-9; Griesbach, *op.cit.*; and Burman File, St.J-R.S.A., in which letters to the school historian T. Bredin indicate that Burman was remembered as a disciplinarian who stressed 'gentlemanly' behaviour.

[50]See F. Cosentino, *Canadian Football. The Grey Cup Years*. Toronto: Mussen Book Company, 1969; and G. Currie, *100 Years of Canadian Football*. Toronto: Pagurian Press, 1968. Shaughnessy was a native of Amboy, Illinois, and had attended Notre

with which to be reckoned had a similar effect at Lower Canada College. The arrival of this American football genius at the school was no accident. Nor was it prompted by Fosbery. The move to bring 'Shag' was instigated by the team's captain Allan Mitchell who approached him at his McGill outpost and tentatively secured his services. But first, Fosbery had to give his approval. Shaughnessy's terms for coaching were not exactly what Fosbery may have had in mind. The proposed morning training sessions would interfere with work schedules. Nevertheless, the Headmaster submitted and 'Shag' had arrived. He showed the boys new plays, taught them the correct way of practicing. This brought the team success and the school profile and allowed Shaughnessy's unethical and 'ungentlemanly' codes of behaviour quite a degree of tolerance:

> The first football practices were unforgettable. Shag taught the players how to pick up a rolling ball by rolling over it, had them tackle a running man, and taught them the finer points of Kicking. The great departure, however, was his instruction that to open a hole in the line they were to put a hand under the opponent's thigh, lift him so that he was pivoted on one leg and swing him aside. Here was the difference between British and American methods.
>
> "That's holding!" the boys said. "You are not allowed to hold under the rules."
>
> "Oh, the referee will never see that!" Shag replied.
>
> Mr. Shaughnessy used very forceful language which appalled the Boss who speedily left the field, blissfully unaware that the same language was used by the boys themselves.[51]

Shaughnessy's technical approach may have been correct, but his code of moral ethics, at least in practice, did not fit the traditional public school ideal. 'Fair play' was obviously not endorsed to the full. In 1921, Shaughnessy was presented with a token of the boys' appreciation at the end of season Football Supper. In his reply, he thanked the donors and encouraged them to maintain in the future 'the sportsmanlike traditions of the school.'[52] While a difference in Shaughnessy's public and private rhetoric is clearly evident, it is difficult to measure the effect

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[50](cont'd) Dame University before moving on to become coach at Clemson. He came to Canada in 1912.

[51]A. Mitchell and R. McLagen, from Penton, *Non Nobis Solum,* pp. 65-67; and *Lower Canada College Magazine,* III:4, December 1912, p. 8.

[52]*Lower Canada College Magazine,* X:1, December 1921, p. 37.

that such a contradiction had on the students. It is certain, however, that 'Shag' was greatly admired:

"Who came from old McGill one day
To teach your football team to play?"
"Why those who speak about him say.
T'was Shaughnessy."

"Who is it when the lines pell mell?
You know! he with the mighty yell!
That makes the whole line hold so well!"
"T'is Shaughnessy."

"Who is it at the half time bell
Comes in and starts to give you - ? Well
You know we do not have to tell!
"T'is Shaughnessy."

"Who is it with the bellowing roar,
Telling the halves to make the pill soar
And the line to drill through like a bore?"
"T'is Shaughnessy."

"So that is who you all call "Shag".
His praise you there write in the mag.
And in his honour raise a flag,
To Shaughnessy."[53]

Frank Shaughnessy, who went on to obtain a Law Degree, undoubtedly influenced his players. But his coaching mores were certainly not the type that were publicly endorsed as habits to be acquired by the boys of Lower Canada College. Taking unfair advantage of an opponent and knowingly breaking the rules were not the trademarks of a 'Fosberyite.'

Shaughnessy is, from accounts available, an exceptional example of an intruding unethical influence on Canadian private school sport. Among the other schools, the prevailing British philosophy and ideal was constantly re-emphasised and exhibited on the playing fields by the sporting staff and the other devoted proponents. At King's Collegiate School, Fred

[53]"Shag," by Gnuoy; *Lower Canada College Magazine;* IX:1, December 1920, p. 51.

Handsombody was a perfect example of the games playing teacher, and he was closely followed by Fred Buckle (1903-1935), a Trinity Hall, Cambridge, graduate who delighted the boys on the hockey rink, on the soccer field and on the cricket square. He was a vigorous sporting housemaster in the English public school fashion. On the opposite side of the country, F.A. Sparks made quite an impact on the boys of University School. If a new boy was critical of cricket, he was advised to stop making sneering remarks about the slow pace of the game and was warned, "wait till you have fielded for Mr. Sparks when he is feeling good."[54] Sparks' prowess was held in awe, as were the talents and disposition of F.H.B. Champain. This Oxford double Blue and Gloucestershire County cricket player proved conclusively his 'all-round worth and ability' in a game against a local club team. It was reported that his "fielding is perfect, his bowling deadly and his batting striking and finished." Furthermore, it added that his "cutting and off-driving was beautifully timed and altogether his exhibition gave sincerest pleasure to all lovers of cricket assembled."[55] Champain was illustrative of the games playing master who was common to the cricket squares of England's public schools. In many ways, he was a latter day Frederick Barron, a refined model of the British zealot who had participated with the boys of Upper Canada College as early as 1836. Masters at the established Ontario school continued to impress young Collegians well after Barron's departure.

John Martland's career at Upper Canada began in 1862, and for nearly thi[redacted]ars until 1891, he faithfully served the school in all aspects of life, within and outside the classroom. Born in Blackburn, England, and educated at Sedbergh, then a remote grammar school in rural Yorkshire, and at Queen's College, Oxford, Martland's passion for games was such that it has been stated by one of his former pupils that he would walk anywhere or any distance just to see an Upper Canada team perform.[56] He was an avid supporter of cricket and served as the College Club's President almost from the moment of his appointment. In fact, he

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[54]*The Black and Red,* 2:10, May 1911, p. 19.
[55]Champain had attended Hertford College and played cricket and rugby against Cambridge from 1897 to 1900, and from 1897 to 1899 respectively. The excerpt is from the University School Record I, p. 11.
[56]Young, "John Milne Buchan," p. 145.

is cited by one of the school's historians as a 'major influence' on the game's development.[57]

Martland also inaugurated a more symbolic feature of athleticism by starting the Football Supper to honour the team in 1888.[58] His devout enthusiasm was matched by the fervour and efforts of W.S. 'Stony' Jackson (1877-1917). Jackson literally represented a transplanted Tom Brown. He had been educated at Rugby School and the University of London, and like Martland, he left an imprint on the pages of the Upper Canada's annals which were 'never to be obliterated.'[59] 'Stony' took on the role of Resident master to the full. Strict and disciplined, yet emanating a perfect sense of justice, he was admired by many of the boys. Healthy outdoor activity was a love of his life. He had played rugby in England and in Canada, and after his competitive years were behind him, he spent many of summer vacations in the Alps, being a 'climber of no mean calibre.'[60] At Upper Canada, all branches of athletics captured his interest and attention. He was a long time serving President of the College Football Club, he personally assisted with the laying of the cinder running track at Deer Park, and he organised tennis tournaments and introduced the system of 'caps' for athletics.[61] This man of many talents was certainly one on whom the boys could model themselves.

The impact of Martland and Jackson at Upper Canada College was considerable indeed. At the other established Ontario school, Trinity, proponents of athleticism among the staff were ascribed noteworthy status in the eyes of the boys. Three Canadian teachers in particular, F.A. Bethune, C.J. Logan and H.J. Campbell, fostered an enthusiasm for cricket

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[57]A.A. Macdonald, "Other College Sports," in Dickson and Mercer Adam *A History of Upper Canada College*, p. 266. Also, see the *Minutes of the Meetings* of the Upper Canada College Cricket Club; there are many references to his work as President. Look for example at the entry for May 22, 1868, p. 4, when he is corresponding with the Headmasters of Trinity College School in an attempt to arrange games between the two schools.

[58]*The College Times*, XII:3, December 1888, p. 18.

[59]*The College Times*, Summer 1929, p. 18.

[60]*Ibid.*.

[61]*The College Times*, XI:3, November 26, 1892, p. 28; XI:9, June 24, 1893, pp. 103-104; and *Upper Canada College Athletic Record, 1892-1893*, pp. 1-8, which revealed that he was involved with all sports at the school as President of the rugby, cricket, hockey and tennis clubs and associations, and of the Games Committee (the Annual Sports).

and established the game's foundations there in the early 1870s.[62] Another 'Canuck,' E.L. Curry (1882-1892) was "a thorough sportsman in the best sense of the word," and left as a memorial of his interest in games "the football field, the junior tennis ground and a considerable addition to the cricket crease." *The Record* was obliged and pleased to admit that it was owing to his careful management and enthusiasm that the school was "indebted for these features in our playing fields."[63] Another pedagogue of boundless energy for sport, and specifically for cricket, was former Clifton Collegian, E.M. Watson who died in 1900 at Rothesay after a previous lengthy and successful appointment at Trinity College School:

> No man ever spared himself less than he. The Cricket Club was perhaps the institution upon which he loved best to lavish his energies. To further the interests of his favourite sport, no self-denial was too exacting; he rose early and retired late in order to keep the Club in the highest possible state of efficiency.[64]

Staff members such as Watson, Griffith and others must be considered powerful agents of socialisation in the lives of the boys attending Canada's private schools. Through personal precept and example they were significant role models for the students and affected vast numbers of individuals by what they did, how they did it and by what they said.[65]

The investigation of the predominant forces impinging on the formation of the Canadian private school product is now almost complete in its delineation. Models were based on representations in literature and in school awards as well as in the actual image of the school athlete extraordinaire, the all-round boy and the enthusiastic games master. Boys learned from Headmasters, schoolteachers and a wide range of visiting dignitaries that games and manly

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[62] "More Thoughts of '76," *The Trinity College School Record,* IX:2, May 1906, pp. 11-12.
[63] "Obituary, E.L. Curry '82-92," *The Trinity College School Record,* VIII:4, July 1905, p. 36.
[64] "In his Gracious Keeping," *The Trinity College School Record,* III:1, February 28, 1900, p. 10.
[65] For a discussion on socialisation in the school environment see F. Elkin and G. Handel *The Child and Society: the Process of Socialization.* New York: Random House, 1972 (1960).

sports were a symbol of success. The belief that the boy who excelled in athletics was the boy who succeeded in later life was emphasised constantly. Canada's Tom Brown in fact possessed the desirable qualities in varying degrees. And he was also exemplary of the type of boy who had best adapted himself to the educational environment in which he lived. The setting combined a healthy outlook on life with a pronounced Christian upbringing as compounded by Social Darwinism. As one historian has remarked, private school educators tried to ensure "that the young became not only believing Christians but the fittest possible Christians."[66] The daily routine of school life was strict and often harsh. It encouraged the instinct and stressed the need to survive as much as to behave like a 'Christian Gentleman.'

The co-existence of Christianity and Social Darwinism in the private schools of the Dominion in the late nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries presents a paradox. The two ideologies were quite contradictory in their basic tenets. However, the simple fact of the matter is that life at the schools, including the function of organised games, can be interpreted from a Darwinian standpoint as well as from the Christian point of view.[67] The prominent ideas and contemporary intellectual thought which influenced middle-class attitudes to life and society were in evidence in Canada's private schools.[68] Thomas Aldwell recalled that at Trinity College School in the 1870s:

> The routine was necessarily strict...Food, while adequate, was not wasted, and our appetites were those of growing boys. Often I spun knives with other boys for the toast at breakfast. If I won, I was not hungry that morning; if I lost, I was only a little hungrier than usual. It was worth taking a chance...*It was survival of the fittest.* And the boys who fought usually became fast friends. It was a real boys'

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[66]Barham, "Growing up British in British Columbia," p. 126.
[67]This idea is not original. In 1980 Barham identified the existence of the two ideologies; *ibid.*. The idea has been more fully developed by Mangan in "Social Darwinism, Sport and English Upper Class Education."
[68]See A. Metcalfe, "Some Background Influences on Nineteenth-Century Canadian Sport and Physical Education," *Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education,* V:1, May 1974, pp. 62-73. Metcalfe concentrates on the impact of Christianism, Liberalism, Darwinism and Marxism.

training.[69]

Darwin's ideals have been encapsulated frequently in the 'survival of the fittest' phrase. Following his treatise on evolution, it offered a convenient explanation to many of the struggle for physical individualism and superiority which existed in certain situations in life.

Charles Darwin's biological interpretation on evolution, published in *On the Origin of Species* in 1859, marked scientific advancement which questioned the more traditional and established moral and religious beliefs of Victorian society. The basic tenets of Darwinism, that the individual species that best adapted to environmental conditions would by the process of natural selection survive less capable species, "established a new approach to nature and gave fresh impetus to the conception of development."[70] The doctrine of biological evolution forced philosophers, sociologists, anthropologists, politicians, historians and theologians alike into investigating and explaining its application to social, economic and political phenomenon. Social Darwinism conveniently explained the inequity of man's adaptation to the social environment in the same way as Imperial Darwinism accounted for superiority in races. At the end of the nineteenth-century, Canadians were viewing life in Darwinian terms. For example, arguments for military preparedness, as Carl Berger has shown, were based on the transposition of Darwin's ideas on to international affairs, the struggle for existence between nations.[71] Organised games in the private schools of the Dominion can be interpreted with these prevailing nineteenth-century ideals in mind.

Several schoolboys have revealed in their memoirs the rugged reality of life in Canada's elite institutions. At Upper Canada College, one Old Boy remembered vividly how the day boys in the 1850s were expected at dinner times to 'run the Gauntlet' into the Dining House.

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[69]T. Aldwell, *Conquering the Last Frontier*. Seattle: Artcraft Engraving and Electric Company, 1950, pp. 5-6. Emphasis mine.

[70]R. Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought*. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1955, p. 3.

[71]C. Berger, *The Sense of Power. Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982 (1970), and particularly Chapter 10, "Militarism," pp. 233-258.

Depending upon the time of year, they could be showered by either stones or by snowballs.[72] Raymond Massey, the noted celebrity of stage and screen, described the scene at Upper Canada some fifty years later. Disciplinary action among the boys, even at the Preparatory School, was, he stated, 'as bad as lynch law.'[73] The Toronto school was not alone in its maintenance of institutional forms of boy justice, government and customs. The 'Gauntlet' practice, in a slightly refined and less savage fashion, was used in a 'rites of passage' manner at Ridley. The 'Pillow Gauntlet' was captured in verse by an unknown poet:

> On either side the "flat" there stands
> A row of boys, and in their hands
> Are weapons, which, like bags of sand,
> Descend on an unhappy band
> Who won't so soon forget.
> And up and down the flat they fly,
> Each strong and healthy looking guy,
> Taking a "swat" as they pass by
> It is the pillow gauntlet.[74]

In comparison with the incidents of cruelty at other Ontario schools, and certainly with the sadistic and brutal treatment of boys in the British public schools, Ridley's pillow gauntlet appears quite humane. It does neverthless illustrate the point that life at the private school held its 'fears' and its 'dreads' as well as its 'fond recollections.'[75]

Other authors have vivid memories of the hardy nature of school life. John Morgan Gray remembered in detail the barrack room hardiness of the Grove. The "smell of urine from the permanently impregnated floors" as a result of spillings from the bed pots was common. And in winter, "the jerries were usually frozen solid and the floor was like a skating rink." The

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[72]Elmes Henderson, "Some Reminiscences of Upper Canada College from 1854 to 1857," p. 6.
[73]R. Massey, *When I was Young*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, pp. 77-78.
[74]"The Pillow Gauntlet," *Acta Ridleiana*, Christmas 1910, p. 34.
[75]St.Andrew's College, although not specifically under investigation in this study, provides another pertinent example of school life which a young and frightened Raymond Massey described as 'mob sadism at its worst.' The 'sweats' exemplified premeditated group discipline. The 'guilty' party was subjected to periods of suffocation under under piles of matresses. Massey, *op.cit.*, pp. 77-78.

new boys were expected to close all the dormitory windows in the mornings after the 7 a.m. rising bell, and to place the underwear of the senior boys on the coil radiators. Then, as Gray recalls, came the stern test from which no boy was exempt:

> ...everyone had to have a cold bath to start the day. It didn't involve soap or any pretence at cleanliness, the object was hardiness. Since there were only two tubs in the communal bathroom, one was filled with cold water, the other with naked and shivering boys. We were chased through in relays by the prefects into the icy water, into the other tub to shiver and towel, taken back to the dormitory through the chill hall to scramble into long woollen underwear and clothes:...[76]

It is not surprising that during history class when the boys were introduced to the Greeks and encountered the Spartans that they 'recognised' themselves; Lakefield was "a hard school...but not cruel."[77] Its small size, family atmosphere and Alick Mackenzie's keen awareness of the boys were reasons which accounted for this absence of malice.

Shawnigan Lake was also depicted as being 'Spartan,'[78] while St.John's College School was "a rough school morally and physically." Any place where frozen water jugs and receiving a flogging for failing to pass a Latin exercise were routine instances,[79] suggests a stoic, if not an unChristian way of life. Strict school discipline and the country's severe northern climate combined to create an austere setting in which the boys existed. Organised games did much to augment this atmosphere of robust living.

Direct reference associating games and Social Darwinism was not a point of discussion in private school literature. It was muscular Christian phraseology which was overtly expressed in the writings and speeches of the Headmasters and other games promoters. Only Fosbery at Lower Canada College referred to the application of Spencerian social theory to health and school life. And it was left to George Parkin to allude to Darwinian sentiments in his thoughts on Imperial Unity. However, the emphasis on muscular Christian intent cannot mask an actual

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[76]Gray, *Fun Tomorrow,* pp. 25-26.
[77]*Ibid.,* and p. 35.
[78]Robertson,"Recollections etc.," p. 5.
[79]Heeney, *op.cit.,* p. 8; and Griesbach, *I Remember,* p. 157.

mechanism of organised games. Games, particularly for those who were heavily committed to them, maximised the physical growth of the individual as much as they developed group cohesion and identity, and codes of moral behaviour. Ridley's J.O. Miller put forward the notion of the need for bodily exercise in his *Short Studies in Ethics*. Although it was not stated outright, Miller's examples to justify this necessity clearly reflected Darwinian thought. In the story of the two canoeists in the Mozambique Channel, it is the stronger of the two who survives the accident; "an example," Miller noted, "of the difference wrought in two men merely by exercise, or the steadiness of training." He added that exercise not only made the body strong, but that it also produced immense energy which characterised the English race and which prompted "the growth of vast colonies," and "the maintenance of empire over less civilized peoples."[80] Games promoted physical superiority in the individual and within the nation. They contributed to the development of the character of the boy. Physical and moral qualities for survival in the outside world were acquired at school.

It has been postulated that the physical training system of Canada's public schools was grounded in Darwinism and that organised games within the private schools were heavily indebted to the tenets of muscular Christianity.[81] This interpretation requires revision. The games fields of Canada's elite schools were sites for 'continuous and calculated Darwinian effect.' Indeed, muscular Christianity and Social Darwinism co-existed on the playing fields of Ridley, St.John's and other schools across the country. Physical individualism, within the rules of the game, was the order of the day.

In the final analysis, the qualities of Tom Brown in the Dominion were many and varied in their blend. It is very clear that he was cast in the image which the schools wished to project publicly. He was moral and Christian in the Arnoldian mould. He was muscular and manly in the Hughes and Kingsley ideal; healthy, virtuous and athletic. Furthermore, the physical rigours of school life and the invigorating northern climate contributed to his

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[80]Miller, *Short Sudies in Ethics*, pp. 72-77.
[81]Metcalfe, *op.cit.*, p. 71.

development. In essence, he was a modified version of the British model. He typified the values attached to games in the 'Old Country,' and he embodied the notion of Canadian character. Healthy outdoor activities in the country's harsh climate, as much as the climate itself, squeezed out the unfit and produced a 'hardy race of the north.'[82] This struggle with the conditions and forces of nature is an integral element of athleticism in the Canadian private school setting. It supplemented the orthodox character building justifications for organised games on which the games promoters placed considerable emphasis in the belief that they were a symbol and guarantee of future success. In this light, games must be recognised as a powerful agent of socialisation, and the following chapter will reveal that school authorities and the boys themselves attached no minor degree of importance to sport.

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[82]G.R. Parkin, "The Educational Problems and Responsibilities of the Empire," in J. Castell Hopkins (ed.) *Empire Club of Canada*. Toronto: Saturday Night Press, 1912, pp. 70-80.

Chapter VII

ATHLETIC TRIBES AND TEAMS: STATUS IN THE SCHOOLS

In an editorial in *The College Times* in 1897 it was stated that "if boys learn to play at school with a high ideal, they will play with the same ideal as men."[1] As it progressed, the article became quite clear in its message to the boys of the school. It was essential that appropriate, but not excessive emphasis, be given to athletics. In Platonic fashion it advocated that "athletics should be the handmaiden of the soul or intellect, rather than the mistress," and it continued to imply that involvement in games was an influential determinant of character formation and of class distinction. The first consequence 'among the evils' of 'undue exaltation' the editor argued, "is that intangible and yet fatal system of professionalism, which breaks down the barriers of clubs and introduces most undesirable characters, with whom gentlemen would not care to associate under any other circumstances."[2] In this context, the words 'professionalism' and 'gentlemen' had implicit meanings; they were both descriptive and evaluative, and symbolised quite definite class distinctions.[3] In late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Canada, the private schools were bastions and vanguards of the amateur ideal, and their concept of amateurism was associated, as was the case in Britain in the public schools, with social status. These elite institutions used sport to preserve social class gradations. Involvement in athletics as a boy can be regarded as a major component of a process whereby the modes of behaviour, and the values and attitudes of a social group, were learned. Games were a potent force of socialisation.

Educationalists and sociologists alike have identified the importance and relevance of socialisation in the societal setting. It has been defined as the process by which an individual learns the ways of a given society or social group so that he can function within it.[4] Furthermore, the individual can also be socialised into the ways of a particular segment, or a

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[1] *The College Times*, Christmas 1897, pp. 1-2.
[2] *Ibid.*.
[3] P.C. McIntosh, *Sport in Society*. London: C.A. Watts, 1968, p. 78.
[4] Elkin and Handel, *The Child and Society*, p. 4.

subculture of the society.[5] In such defined social circumstances, a person learns certain attitudes and values, and shares common modes of communication and interaction which signify attachment to the group or segment of the group to which he belongs.[6] The school has been recognised as an environment which prepares the child to function in other settings. Within it, children are subjected to a variety of influential forces: teachers, peer groups and textbooks, each in its own way an agent of socialisation. The concept of socialisation has been used previously to analyse the function of educational textbooks in the public school system of Ontario.[7] However, its use as a concept to explain and understand the function of sport and games in the school setting has been neglected by historians. Within the Canadian private schools, athletics were a highly valued element of school life, and the important status which athleticism was ascribed was maintained and enhanced by a boyhood world of shared symbols which not only bound the sporting subculture together, but which also distinguished it from other groups that existed in the total school population.

In the 1912 Midsummer edition of *Acta Ri*[illegible] the following poem entitled "Ridley Tribes," appeared:

> Within these college walls of brick,
> Resounding with the master's stick,
> The boys are grouped in many tribes
> (I'm writing here some cutting jibes).
> The Prefects get the foremost view,
> Sedate, and stern, and perfect, too,
> With faces grave and dignified
> Where does tranquility abide?
> The Fusser's Union, heart-bust bunch
> Of togged-up sports asked out for lunch
> To coffee fights, picnics, and tea,

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[5] *Ibid.*, p. 67.
[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 28 and 47.
[7] See N.G. McDonald, "Political Socialization in Ontario Schools, 1867-1914," A Paper Presented to the Founding Conference of the Committee for the Study of Educational History, Calgary, Alberta, February 1, 1980; and W.S. Fox, "School Readers as an Educational Force (A Study of a Century of Upper Canada)," *Queen's Quarterly*, No. 39, 1932, pp. 688-703.

Dressed up in the loudest symphony.
Then comes the Knocker's multitude,
Who jeer at prefects, staff and dude;
They oft forget the Prefect's place
Is one of high and mighty grace.
Then last of all the Plodder's bunch,
The fellows never out for lunch
Who never knock, or throw a brick,
But labor only for matric.
Now tell me reader, tell me true
In which of these four tribes are you?[8]

It is not surprising to discover that within the private schools of the Dominion, segregated groups or "tribes" co-existed. In essence, the school society was a microcosm of society at large. The population was distinctly stratified. Among the prefects, intellectuals, rebels and athletes identified by the unknown poet of "Ridley Tribes," the latter group formed a major element of the schools' societies. It shared a common set of symbols, customs and values which held that particular faction together and which highlighted its prominence in everyday schoolboy life.

The athletic tribe was a large and powerful unit. When near compulsory involvement was concerned, almost every boy in the school could be regarded as a member. However, the tribe was hierarchical in its structure and comprised several groupings. At its head were the leaders, the senior team captains and outstanding players. These boys were in constant contact with the staff, and particularly the Headmasters, and held leading positions on club committees. At Trinity College School, the captains formed the Colours' Committee with the Headmaster.[9] And at King's it was often reported in the school magazine after holiday periods that the thought on everybody's mind was who would be captain of the relevant sport team for that time of year. For example, in one Christmas edition of *The Windsorian* it was claimed that "as Hockey is our most popular sport, the captain is the most coveted position in school life."[10] George Parkin realised the importance attached to the captaincy of the football team at Upper Canada early in his regime when he threatened the prospective candidate with expulsion.

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[8] "Ridley Tribes," *Acta Ridleiana,* Midsummer 1912, p. 24.
[9] *The Trinity College School Record,* XIX:1, May 1916, p. 27.
[10] *The Windsorian,* 8:1, Christmas 1908, p. 19.

A petition from team members expressed their concern, and in the end, more thanks to a personal appeal from the boy's father, the youth was allowed to remain at the school without the tenure of the honoured position.[11]

Below this upper echelon came the committee members of the various official clubs that existed at the schools, and the members of the school first teams. These groups were not necessarily mutually exclusive as first team members were sometimes voted or automatically designated as a body onto the respective committees. Associations and committees were recognised as the controlling organs of sport and games at the schools. Here, under careful staff supervision, its members learned managerial skills, became aware of the decision making process and experienced a sense of responsibility and power. D.B. Macdonald of Ridley is an extraordinary example of a boy involved in committee work. The calendar for 1891 revealed that he was President of the Hockey Club, Secretary of the Games Committee, Vice-Commodore of the Canoe Club, and on the Committee of the Glee Club.[12] Not surprisingly, Macdonald was also a Blake Gold Medallist. His experience in administrative affairs at Ridley did carry over to later life. At the University of Toronto he was President of the Athletic Association from 1894 to 1898.[13] His administrative prowess was further developed in 1900 when he became Headmaster of St.Andrew's College in Toronto, a position he held until 1935.[14] While Macdonald's case is not an example which all boys at these schools experienced or emulated, it is one which is typical in its pattern, for many other boys did benefit in a similar way from their participation in organisational affairs at the school level.

Members of the first teams of the popular sports at the schools of this study were held in high regard and, as will be seen shortly, differentiated themselves from other members of the tribe by a variety of symbols and customs. The lower members of the sporting fraternity were

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[11] *Minutes of Masters Meetings,* entries for February 17, 1896, p. 143, and February 19, 1896, p. 145.
[12] *Calendar of Bishop Ridley College,* 1891, pp. 32-34.
[13] Reed, *The Blue and White,* p. 302.
[14] During this time, he was elected the first Vice-President of the Canadian Inter-Collegiate Athletic Union in 1906 and a member of the Canadian Olympic Committee in 1912. See Watson, *op.cit.*, pp. 148-150.

made up of athletes from junior teams, those from the minor clubs,[15] and to some degree from the intra-school sports' competitors who appeared for their flats, dormitories and houses. The athletic tribe also included boys from other groups such as prefects and seniors who were already in positions of power and responsiblity and who were held in awe, if not fear. At Trinity College, the prefects were selected by the Headmaster and were considered in certain circumstances to be an extension of his authority.[16] At Shawnigan Lake, prefects wielded out of class power. They could put a boy's name in the *Defaulters Book* for a number of offences and, if the boy did not wish to appeal to the Headmaster, they could administer 'prefects licking.'[17] Harry Griffith noted in an article in *Acta Ridleiana* that when he was a boy at Ridley, the boys in the 'Top Flat' were thought of as *the best* in the school, and were considered to be 'like gods in Olympus.'[18] Dual group membership was definitely the case at Lower Canada College. Fosbery introduced the prefect system on a modified basis on his appointment and these boys to some extent formed a regulating organ. However, as Penton points out, "the ruling hierarchy in the school was formed by the prominent athletes."[19] This statement is partially supported by an analysis of boys' involvement over a four year period (1905-1909) with regard to their affiliation as prefects, with the school magazine and in sport (see Appendix III).

Limited biographical and autobiographical references support the claim that games were an important aspect of life at certain institutions, and that other inclinations were regarded with some degree of condemnation. While at Upper Canada College Preparatory School from 1907 to 1910, Raymond Massey was a self-confessed poor games player. "My three years at

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[15]The minor clubs did not necessarily attract the star sportsman of the schools, although they could still be made up of boys who considered themselves 'special.' For example, the Snow Shoe Club at Upper Canada was described as "unique in object, elite in its membership, complete in its success," *The College Times,* Easter 1902, pp. 38-39.

[16]*Calendar for Trinity College School, 1875-1876,* p. 13, and Aldwell, *op.cit.,* pp. 4-7.

[17]Douglas, "Shawnigan Lake School, 1924-1932," p. 8.

[18]"Ridley in Ancient Times," by 'G.' *Acta Ridleiana,* Midsummer 1899, p. 3. Emphasis mine.

[19]Penton, *Non Nobis Solum,* p. 53.

Upper Canada Preparatory School," he remembered, "had been satisfactory in the classroom where I finished top of my form of thirty-two, though I had been a dismal failure on the playing field." He openly admitted that his social status, as a consequence of his inept sporting ability, was low.[20] Massey would have been more at home in the French Lycee, described in *The College Times* some fifteen years prior to his arrival at the school, where it was noted that "the hero...is the boy who is head of his class," and where "there is no trace of that feeling of enthusiastic admiration for the captain of the eleven...athletics are almost unknown here."[21] Conn Smythe, the famous Canadian sports personality, was also at Upper Canada about the same time as Massey (1908-1910), and was quite adamant in his opinion of the school. "I hated Upper Canada College," he declared.[22] Smythe detested the system and some of the products it created. Sport however, and specifically hockey, provided an equalising, and indeed upgrading, situation to him. He wrote in his memoirs that "hockey was just starting the week I arrived and I was chosen captain of the Lower Flat hockey team. That suited me fine. It gave me a grip on something." He continued, "when I was on the ice, I was top man. What I said, the others did. It was becoming more and more ingrained into me," he concluded, "that I was anybody; that I could have their kind of life if I tried hard enough."[23]

John Morgan Gray was at Upper Canada College shortly after the Great War, having realised that he had outgrown Lakefield where he had been a senior boy, prefect, cadet officer and on all the sports' first teams.[24] In his new environment he noticed a 'more bracing atmosphere' with regard to the intellectual side of education, and yet he was aware that academia seemed "to have been less important than games and social life both inside and outside the classroom."[25] Gray's observation was by no means astute, nor was it a recent one. As early as 1859, Upper Canada Collegians had reacted publicly in poetical fashion to the sad

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[20]Massey, *When I was Young*, p. 75.
[21]"The French Lycee," *The College Times*, IX:4, May 1891, pp. 2-4.
[22]C. Smythe and S. Young, *Conn Smythe. If You Can't Beat 'Em in the Alley*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1981, p. 21.
[23]*Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.
[24]Gray, *Fun Tomorrow*, p. 46.
[25]*Ibid.*, p. 50.

state of the school playground:

Cheerily ring the voices of Spring,
O'er the shrill cool April blast;
The birds twitter forth their opening hymn,
And the leaflets are opening fast,
Through the dusky pine, in a dying whine,
Old Winter his death dirge sings,
But no merry shout of boyish glee
From the walls of the College rings.

The beavers peep from their wintry sleep,
The beetle drones out its mirth,
And the trees shuffle on their garb of green
To gladen the wakening earth.
Joyous and free in its fresh spring glee,
Chirps even the meek little cricket;
But an acre of mud is all we can get
For the bat, the ball and the wicket.

We'd a verdant lawn in the times agone;
Where we gambolled and played at our ease,
Till our playground was ruthlessly spoiled
By that odious Senate's decrees.
The dear old spot must in silence rot,
Or in building lots be sold,
Oh, it galls our hearts as we sigh and think,
On the good lost times of old.

E'en the squirrel now, from bough to bough,
In its joyous gymnastics may spring,
But never a swing a bar, or a pole,
From the Senate can College boys wring,
The time has been in summer's sheen,
Many hours we sported away,
But an old flag-staff in a desert of mud,
Is all that is left us to-day.

"All work and no play" is as bad, sirs, to-day.
As when you, old griffins, were boys;
Our playground give back, with its coating of grass,
And hurrah! for our old College boys.
And this we can tell, we shall travel as well
On the hawthorny pathway of knowledge,
If you give a free rein to the play-hour sport
Of the pupils of old U. C. College.

Cheerily ring the voices of Spring
O'er the shrill cool April blast;
The birds twitter forth their opening hymn,
And the sterness of Winter is past,
In the old playground, let our voices resound,
At old British cricket once more,
And with bats, as with books, we'll beat all the world
As we did in the good old days of yore.[26]

High regard for athletic endeavour was continually emphasised at the Toronto institution throughout subsequent years. "Health boys, is of more importance than studying in class," claimed one writer in *The College Times* in the late 1880s.[27] He went on to suggest that "no boy should study all afternoon and then all evening," and hoped that some of the 'too-hard-working students' would take his plea to heart and patronize "the toboggan slide rather than courting the *gentle* music of classic lore."[28] Over-enthusiasm for games was a feature at Upper Canada. One Old Boy of the school remarked at a Prize Day in 1915 that "when I was at school forty odd years ago very few boys over-worked themselves at their lessons...some of us did pay too much attention to games to the detriment of our studies."[29] The attempt at employing hindsight to advocate study before play was voiced too late at that school, where the athletic tribe was an established and influential social group.

Games were also important at Trinity College School as both Thomas Aldwell and Gordon Hill Grahame alluded to in their autobiographies.[30] Even with their prominence in school life, it appears that outstanding scholars like the distinguished Canadian poet Archibald Lampman, who was also Head Boy, were not isolated by their peers. Lampman's biographer, Carl Connor, described him as 'liked but never feared.' Although he was not active in competitive athletics, Lampman had a keen interest in football, hockey and cricket, beside being an excellent swimmer and skater. It is reported that "on Speech Day he was carried with

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[26]"The College Boys' Complaint. *Respectfully dedicated to the Senate of the University of Toronto by the Boys of Upper Canada College,*" Dickson and Mercer Adam, *op.cit.*, p. 247.
[27]*The College Times,* VI:6, February 10, 1887, p. 41.
[28]*Ibid.*.
[29]*The College Times,* June 17, 1918, pp. 62-63.
[30]Aldwell, *Conquering the Last Frontier,* and Grahame, *Short Days Ago.*

much jubilation through the grounds of the school on the shoulders of the boys he had beaten in examinations."[31] Anti-intellectualism was not, from available accounts, a prevailing attitude within the hallowed halls of Trinity.

If a generalisation is to be made about the status of the different groups in the schools, it would be to the effect that athleticism was strongly encouraged, intellectualism, provided a modicum of interest in games was exhibited, was tolerated, and behaviour which did not conform to a normative pattern, which was defined by the groups themselves, was discouraged and at times publicly admonished. For example, 'lounging' was considered a gross vice at Lower Canada College. The lounger was to be deterred before he even had the opportunity to form any bad habits. His progressive development was easily spotted. The lounger 'in embryo' wandered about, hands in pockets, and looked the picture of despair as he did absolutely nothing even though there was a game at hand which he could join in if he wished to do so. The 'half-lounger' did not look or feel so wretched. His enjoyment consisted of sitting in the reading room with his books on fine days in the belief that he had some sickness which prevented him from partaking in healthy exercise or games with the rest of his school fellows. The final product, the 'full blown lounger,' was a sight to behold:

> This specimen is too familiar an object with all of us when we have conceived a general idea of the genus to require a very accurate description at our hands. He loves lounging for its own sake; he has acquired a taste for it and in proportion as lounging becomes his chief study does his interest in work and play alike decrease. He generally gravitates either towards foppery or slovenliness, and seems to separate himself by degrees from the ordinary boy and to form a peculiar little society of his own. He loves to promenade up and down in an aimless way and seems to sneer at those who waste their energies on such healthy pursuits as hockey, football, etc..[32]

Lounging did not contribute towards an individual's success in later life, and was a

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[31]C. Connor, *Archibald Lampman. Canadian Poet of Nature.* Montreal: Louis Carrier and Co., 1929, p. 34.

[32]"The Lounger," by E.W.H., *Lower Canada College Magazine,* II:5, March 1910, pp. 10-12.

counter-productive force in developing *esprit de corps*, that loyalty to the school which in turn transformed into patriotism for the larger community, the nation of Canada.

Other groups which came under similar attack were those who indulged in 'slackness' at Trinity College School and the day boy faction at Upper Canada College. The latter's non-participation and non-conformity was seen as factor which disrupted the unity and efficient functioning of the school society as a whole. An article in *The College Times* in 1889 condemned them for withdrawing "from all active part in promoting the welfare of the school" and with specific regard to athletics, it noted a falling in standards that could only be alleviated by 'every boy' helping in 'every way' he could.[33] This final point had been emphasised two years earlier,[34] but to no avail, for the day boy faction continued to be recognised as fragmented entity of the school right up to the end of the Great War period when they were still considered self-indulgent and limited in their commitment to the college.[35]

The athletic tribes of the schools of this study were not homogeneous groupings. Membership was not restricted to merely the sporting zealots. Any interested party was accepted. However, within the tribe a hierarchy of power, a structured social inequality, was apparent among the individuals and sub-groups of the clique. Social and biological characteristics served to set up a distinct social order. Involvement in sport and games was a linking common denominator of the tribe, but the bond was strengthened by a series of meaningful acts and customs.

Ritual is associated with religious ceremony. It has been defined as a code or form of ceremony with the function of enhancing the social importance of something which is held of value in the society which utilises the ritual.[36] In this context, and without inferring that athleticism should be equated with religion, certain customs or ceremonies are evident among

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[33]*The College Times*, VII:4, January 1889, pp. 16-17.
[34]*The College Times*, Christmas 1897, pp. 1-4.
[35]Gray, *Fun Tommorow*, p. 53.
[36]J.H.M. Beattie, *Other Cultures: Aims, Methods and Achievement in Social Anthropology*. London: Cohen and West, 1964, p. 210.

the followers of the athleticism ideology at Canada's private schools. These observances can be considered symbolic in that they were acts of identification, expressive and indicative of group identity. Such representation was quite complex. It comprised dress and rhetorical acclamations in verse. These modes of communication and interaction functioned as further consolidating and conforming mechanisms which helped to define groupings, relationships and values.

Outside games against teams from other schools fostered *esprit de corps* not only among the athletes but within the entire school community. Each school sought its own particular prize, its symbol of local or 'private school' dominance and success. When opposition from other schools of a similar nature was not available, teams competed against local high schools. Irrespective of the opponent, the events were great cohesive agents for the school involved and gave rise to an idiosyncracy which distinguished these Canadian establishments from their British counterparts. The school cheer became a 'battle-cry' for the team, and entire school. King's Collegians learned their rhyme, which was peculiarly Americanised:

> Chick-a-chick-a-boom,
> Chick-a-chick-a-boom,
> Chick-a-chick-a-boom,
> Boom-boom-boom-boom,
> Rah, Rah, Rah,
> Rah, Rah, Rah,
> Collegiate, Collegiate,
> Sis, Boom, Bah.[37]

More refined cheers appeared at other institutions, although University School, Shawnigan Lake, St.John's and to a lesser extent Trinity College School, are notable for their lack of rousing verse.

The best example of school games as community-binding occasions is the Little Big Four Championship matches between the noted Ontario institutions after 1900. These meetings were "evidenced by a fervent desire to achieve nothing less than total victory, because of the

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[37]*The Windsorian*, 5:1, Christmas 1907, p. 22.

considerable status resulting from being champion of the four private schools."[38] Until 1930, cricket and football were the two sports which attained 'Championship' status. No visible trophy was awarded to the winners, but the 'glory and honor' of the nominal prize was coveted by the schools concerned, and by the teams and their supporters. Victory, and heroic defeat, spawned rhetorical admiration for the team, school and individual players.[39] In 1915 for example, after the football championship was shared by Ridley and St.Andrew's, *Acta Ridleiana* printed the following poem:

A is for Alexander, our great rugby star.
B is for Biddy who no one can Barr.
C, is for Cooper, our quarter so neat.
D, is for Daniel, so quick on his feet.
E, is for Effort, which all the school
shows.
F, is for Football, as everyone knows.
G, is for Griffith, the coach of great
fame.
H, is for Honor due unto his name.
I, is for Irwin, the wild Irish boy.
J, is for Jack Boyd, our pride and our joy.
K, is for kicking which started them
all.
L, is for Lennard, who gobbles the ball.
M, is for Mills, our small outside wing.
N, is the number of points he did
bring.
O, is for Onslaught, so hard and so
strong.
P, is for Peters, who helps it along.
Q, is for Quickness to drop on the ball.
R, is for Ryder whom no one can maul.
S, is the scrimmage, so steady and true.

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[38]Watson, Sport and Games in Ontario Private Schools, p. 152. The schools were of course Upper Canada College, Trinity College School, Bishop Ridley College and St.Andrew's College. For an overview of the Little Big Four Championship, see Chapter 7 of Watson's Thesis, "The Little Big Four Championship," pp. 152-197.

[39]Watson, *ibid.*, remarked that the selection of the outstanding players at each school was a difficult task because of the scarcity of individual description, "a feature of the private school attitude to school boy sport and games," p. 154. This is indeed a misrepresentation as the portrait of Gordon Southam in the previous chapter shows. Watson's conclusion is based on a limited perusal of secondary sources. An investigation of school magazines reveals descriptions of school games in which individual performances are highlighted regularly. Also, at the end of the season, appraisals give biographical sketches of the players on each team.

T, are the Tricks which always go
through
U, is for under, which we never are.
V, for the victors who now wear an
"R."
W, is Watson, the bowlegged bear.
X, is the rate he speeds through the air.
Y, is for yellow, a thing we don't know
Z, is the zeal which all the team show.[40]

And *The College Times* paid tribute to its victorious team of 1917:

[Now gather round and listen
Unto my triumph song.
The night is cold and stormy,
The evening hours are long,
I tell a tale of valour,
Of valour as of old,
Like in the Middle Ages,
When every knight was bold.]

The team was as fine a one
As ever had been seen,
Playing for the College,
Perhaps in years fourteen,
With Gus and Mac and Shaker,
With Todd and Chas. and Mate,
With Herb. and Lance and Beatty
These last had lots of weight.
Mike Mitchell was the Captain
Till in the Oakwood game
His leg got rather badly sprained,
And that made him somewhat lame.
Then Gus he took thte Captaincy
And right well held his place:
He steered the School to victory
Throughout the football race.

Our first game in the race
'Gainst Ridley it was played,
And by a score of nine to eight
Our prowess was displayed.
When our boys left their football ground,
The Ridley lads were feeling blue;
They'd been champions now for seasons three

[40] "Team Alphabet," *Acta Ridleiana*, Christmas 1915, p. 8.

And hoped to be yet for a year or two.
T.C.S. were easy,
After Ridley's fight to beat.
When our boys went to Port Hope
They swept them off their feet;
That put us up another lap
In the Championship race,
And made certain, come whate'er to pass,
We'd tie for the first place.
The game that gave us Victory
On the home grounds it was played.
T'was 'gainst the Saints, our ancient foes,
Our team in battle line were arrayed.
The S.A.C. supporters 'gainst us
Offered odds of three to one,
But they rued it long before
That fateful day was done.
Our lads did beat the Saints
By a score of twenty-one to five,
And the U.C.C. that night
Were the happiest bunch alive.

[And now the story's over,
The series past and won,
But next year we hope to follow up
The good work we've begun.][41]

Even before the formation of the Little Big Four, Upper Canada and Trinity had engaged in athletic competition which captured the concern of each school. The cricket game was thought of as a "friendly but invigorating rivalry...one of the most interesting and important events of our cricket season," by Upper Canada Collegians, and perhaps nothing is more indicative of the lengths to which the schools would go to ensure high levels of performance, and ultimate success, than the printing of the skill analysis and practice booklet privately issued at Trinity College School in 1884.[42] The athletic rituals of 'solidarity and permanence'[43] were evident from east to west coast, and while not of similar magnitude to the Little Big Four games, they were, nevertheless, accompanied by similar adhering eulogies of occasion, team and player.

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[41] "Champions," *The College Times*, Christmas 1917, pp. 29-30.
[42] W. Pickering *Wrinkles. For the Trinity College School Cricket Club.* Privately Printed, 1884, (for private circulation only).
[43] Mangan, *Athleticism*, p. 144.

In the Maritimes, the annual track and field competition between Rothesay and King's aroused enthusiasm and great interest to say the least. And at Lower Canada College, winning the Paton Trophy and the Fosbery Cup was symbolic of the school's status in the province, and of the flourishing state of athleticism within the school. The Paton Trophy, sponsored by the Montreal Amateur Athletic Association, was competed for in drill and gymnastics by the secondary schools in the Montreal area, while only elite institutions challenged for the Fosbery Cup which represented supremacy in track and field among Lower Canada, St.Alban's of Brockville and Ashbury of Ottawa. Victory for the Montrealers brought recognition from none other than the Headmaster himself:

> Attend all ye who list to hear our noble Track Team's praise,
> I tell of the thrice famous deeds they wrought in recent days.
> When the great force from Ottawa and Brockville did in vain,
> Compete in friendly rivalry the Fosbery Cup to gain.
>
> I tell of Farthing's mighty jump of 20 span and more,
> Of twice five fences on the sward he lightly hurdled o'er;
> I tell of Merrett's jump likewise, and Wells's agile leap,
> Of Flannagan who in the mile first place secure did keep,
>
> Of Skaife, who followed in his steps the second place to gain,
> Of Symonds who for record time did strive with might and pain
> An dwon [sic] the Quarter mile with ease, of Molson too and Brown
> On whom in rela [sic] round the track their opponents oft did frown.
>
> But as their homeward course they take, their training's at an end,
> On candies, nuts and chocolate their money now they spend.[44]

Fosbery's poetical words of admiration were indicative of a pattern that was in evidence across the country. At each school, and during different seasons of the year, a specific team was ascribed great social status due to its athletic accomplishments.

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[44] "The Track Team (at Brockville.)," by C.S.F., *Lower Canada College Magazine*, II:9, June 1914, p. 43.

At Lakefield it was easy to discern which sport had ascendancy, for the terms were appropriately labelled: "Football Term - Christmas Holidays - Hockey Term - Easter Holidays - Cricket Term - Summer Holidays."[45] While other establishments were not as clear in their demarcations, the trend was very similar. In the winter months at St.John's, Winnipeg, it was reported that "the sun rises and sets on hockey."[46] At most schools, the actual games played varied due to geographic location and rule changes which were numerous at the turn of the century. In British Columbia, weather conditions made it possible for rugby to be played the whole year round, and field hockey replaced ice hockey as a winter sport. In the Ontario schools football of the Canadian code became common practice as it also was in Montreal at Lower Canada College. King's Collegiate School is an excellent example of an institution which was affected and influenced by local popularity patterns. In Halifax, the attraction of various sports ebbed and flowed. Between 1867 and 1918, cricket, English rugby and basketball all had enjoyed 'golden ages.' At King's, participation followed these trends, and those sports, along with soccer, which was eagerly promoted by Handsombody, proved to be the ones that captured the imaginations and interests of the athletes.[47] The teams were frequently apportioned praise in poetic verse and in detailed match reports. The tribute in Figure 3 was a common form used at Rothesay Collegiate School and also at Lower Canada College.[48]

In addition to this regional variation in team admiration, one specific custom served to highlight the importance of the team, the status of sport *per se*, and the differentiation in social order. The numerous 'suppers' and 'dinners' were gala events of the year in the majority of the

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[45] Gray, *Fun Tommorow*, p. 40.
[46] *St.John's College Magazine*, XXIII:3, February 1911, p. 33.
[47] See for example, *The Windsorian*, I:2, 1895, pp. 27-28; IV:2, Christmas 1906, pp. 21-22; and XII:1, Midsummer 1915, p. 2, for discussions on the popularity of different sports at the school and in Nova Scotia. For an overview of selected sports in the Province, see R.M. Davies, A History of Rugby in Nova Scotia, Unpublished M.Sc. Thesis, Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1979; G.P. Stephens, A History of Basketball in Halifax, 1894-1930, Unpublished M.Sc. Thesis, Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1977; and R. Moss, "Cricket in Nova Scotia During the Nineteenth-Century," *Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education*, IX:2, December 1978, pp. 58-75.
[48] These illustrations are taken from *The Blue and White*, XV:1, December 1918, p. 15, and from *Lower Canada College Magazine*, VI:1, December 1914, p. 18.

R. C. S. FOOTBALL TEAM.

M. S. S. SKINNER
C. E. CREASE
H. M. STEVENS
J. E. McCREADY
J. A. TAYLOR

J. K. L. SCAMMELL
C. H. CREAMER
R. H. DOUGLAS
R. KITCHEN
M. E. WHITE
M. G. TEED

A. C. TUFTS
J. W. LONGLEY
G. McPHAIL
C. M. BOSTWICK
R. M. GIBSON
R. S. BLACK
J. PETHICK

FIGURE 3: ACROSTIC SALUTES.

Senior Football Acrostic 1914.

FLANAGAN
BROWN
MOLSON
SKELTON
BAILLIE
CLARK
LYALL
BLACKADER

MCLAGAN
NICHOL
AMBRIDGE
GILMOUR
PEVERLEY
PINCOTT
SNOWDON
DURNFORD
SLATER

K. C. BLACKADER

Senior Team.

Flying Wings	Molson, Brown I
Halves	Flanagan, Lyall I, McLagan
Quarter	Baillie (Capt.)
Scrum	Clark, Durnford, Blackader, Snowdon
Inside Wings	Skelton, Ambridge, Nichol
Middle Wings	Peverley, Pincott
Outside Wings	Slater, Gilmour
Spare	Claxton

schools of this study. The occasion appears to have been inaugurated at Upper Canada College by John Martland in 1888 with the institution of the Football Supper. From this small beginning, the ceremony spread through Ontario and diffused to points east and west, expanding in size, splendour and significance. One Hockey Supper at Upper Canada College at the turn of the century was a particularly grandiose affair:

> The members of our victorious Seven were by no means strangers to the banquet table, for they had already been entertained no less than four times.... This supper at the College was however, different from all the others. It was given by the school to the house in honour of the team, and thoroughly represented U.C.C. in all ways. At a little after 7.15 the doors were thrown open, and the expectant and anxious boys filed in. The tables were arranged in two long rows running down the central part of the dining-room. At these were seated the house boys and several day boys who were their guests, with prefects at the heads. Then at what is ordinarily the master's table were the masters, team, captains of other teams, and head of town.[49]

Following the meal were speeches from the team captain and his victorious cohorts, toasts to College, Queen and Team, and several renditions of school cheers such as:

> Quacky-go-wack, Quacky-go-wack,
> Boom-rah, boom-rah,
> U.C.C. - U.C.C. - College.

and:

> One-a-zippy, two-a-zippy,
> Three-a-zippy, zup!
> College! College! Rush 'er up!

Dr. Parkin then toasted the health of the team and gave a short 'sermon' on the value of

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[49]*The College Times,* Easter 1898, pp. 33-37.

working together for a common purpose which he appropriately and neatly tied in with the championship success. A song entitled "The Champions" was sung by all, praising each individual member of the team; this was accompanied by a lantern slide show, much to the delight and amusements of the boys. Football and cricket captains, caught up on the wave of euphoria, were then called upon to make speeches as were a number of sporting pedagogues. The messages of cohesion and loyalty within the ranks of sport and within the confines of the school itself were addressed, stressed and reinforced. 'Stick to Old College and she will stick to you,' was the over-riding theme, and devotion expressed through sport was the exclusive feature of this occasion.[50]

Sports dinners were held at Trinity, Ridley, Lakefield, Lower Canada College, Rothesay, St.John's and University School.[51] The splendour and liveliness of the festivities varied at each function, but each supper was viewed as one of the great social gatherings of the calendar year. For many of the boys it represented a time of self and group identity. It was a symbol of alliance, support and status. And another sporting event of social status was the Old Boys game. The 'Tom Browns present' versus the 'Tom Browns past' allowed the former heroes to 'wield the willow' and 'carry the pigskin' on the fields where they had achieved their previous boyhood successes. The event also re-emphasised the elite nature of sport at these institutions as leading dignitaries and members of the local community crammed the athletic grounds. All these occasions were most illustrative of the unifying and divisive nature of athleticism among the students. So too were the internal systems of sport and games which were adopted at the schools.

The house system in the British public schools has been identified as a particularly forceful instrument for inculcating unity and identity within the environs of the school.[52] While the house system was widely established in Britain by 1870, its use in Canada was, due to

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[50]*Ibid*, pp. 33-41.
[51]At University School the function was called 'School Dinner,' and at St.John's, the 'Athletic Association Dinner.'
[52]Mangan, *op.cit.*, p. 146.

differences in foundation dates and the diffusion of educational principles and practice, not consistent. Nevertheless, whether they were termed houses, dormitories or flats, residential competition among the boys at the schools swelled the numbers of the athletic tribe, allowed for the boys to be constantly monitored in extra curricular time, and perpetuated the stratified social structure which had developed. Evidence from school magazines suggests that residential games existed at the more established institutions by the 1880s and 1890s. At Upper Canada, Trinity, Ridley and King's, they were indeed successful ventures. But there is not enough documentation to support a claim that at this time they had reached the 'fiercely contested' status that they had attained in the Britsh public schools.[53] Intra-school sport was of course advanced by two sources in the Canadian private schools; the residential system of games, and the individual athletic clubs and associations which did not represent the major sports such as football, hockey and cricket. Both media aimed at involving as many students as possible in healthy activity and fulfilled the functions outlined above. Four schools will now be specifically investigated in an attempt to provide a picture of the different manifestations of organised activities among the boys of the schools. Trinity College School, Ridley, Lakefield and University School have been chosen here because there is adequate and available material which allows a purposeful examination to be made and a clearer representation to be given.

At Trinity, intra-school sports were utilised after the founding in 1865 under the guise of the Annual Sports. By the 1890s when athleticism was consolidating its position at the school, flat games, cross-country races and the Annual Sports were consuming affairs. Flat competitions were organised according to age and dwelling. Upper and Lower flats were pitted against each other in Bigside and Littleside games for the seniors and juniors respectively. This Rugbean influenced nominal system was extended to include Middleside teams after 1900 when competition reached a level which went beyond a light-hearted rivalry. It will be remembered that in 1896 the Oxford Cup had been introduced to foster a healthy outlook towards the school's football programme by encouraging cross-country runs as a form of fitness

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[53] *Ibid.*.

preparation. By 1911, this competition and others like it were attracting the serious attention of various factions within the school. *The Record* had identified an increased interest in the Annual Sports of 1898,[54] and thereafter it accelerated until it reached an intense pitch. At the Bigside flat football matches, each player was greeted as he appeared on the field with cries of 'lower, lower,' or 'upper, upper,' while during the cricket games it became necessary to balance the strengths of the competing teams by distributing equally the first and second team players with colours.[55] The Oxford Cup races had warranted enough prestige by 1911 that the Committee and designated runners from the rival flats surveyed the course prior to the event, and pre-race training regimes drew much attention in the college press.[56] The contention that existed in flat games was captured in the following poem, "Bigside Football Flat Match 1912:"

Oh, the day dawned bright and gloomy
And the sun was in the sky,
And of course the field was soggy
For we didn't want it dry.
The wind blew from the westard,
And the players' hearts beat high;
The "Uppers" said, "We'll win to-day."
The "Lowers" answered, "Try."

So the heroes donned their armour,
Then they sauntered to the fray,
And never shall forgotten be
The battle of that day.
The veterans on the side-lines
Kept up a goodly din,
And everybody did his best
To make his own side win.

And when the battle started
There followed cheer on cheer,
For each supporter raved and yelled
Into his neighbour's ear.

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[54]*The Trinity College School Record,* I:5, November 10, 1898, p. 36, states that only five boys on the roll did not run. It concluded that this was "striking evidence of a true and healthy spirit in the school."

[55]*The Trinity College School Record,* XI:6, December 1908, p. 66; and XIII:1, April 1910, p. 9.

[56]*The Trinity College School Record,* XIV:2, July 1911, pp. 26-27.

And both sides played their hardest
And though the "Lowers" won
The "Uppers" played a splendid game,
And all enjoyed the fun.[57]

Such verse is a rarity by *The Record's* terms, for poets of athleticism at the school were few and seldom recorded the triumphs of its athletes in this imaginative form. Nevertheless, along with other evidence it points to the significant standing that games among the boys had reached at Trinity.

At another Ontario school, Ridley, internal promotion reflects a marked contrast. The importance of club activities throughout the 1890s was a salient feature of its organisation. One energetic force here was the Exercise Association which was assigned the title of 'Pale Face Club,' a taunting misnomer. The Club emerged in 1894 after a decline in fortunes of the Gymnastic and Canoe Clubs,[58] and under the guidance of the staff it became infamous throughout the school. Some boys "thought the invitation to join the club a trifle pressing," reported *Acta Ridleiana,* because its members "go for runs or into the gymnasium chaperoned by a Master...develop ruddy complexions...become famous for their magnificent muscles."[59] The strong and mighty were not adverse to displaying their superiority either, much to the chagrin of the ill-fated victims. It was related in *Acta* that "when Nicholls 'ma sees fit to plant his fist into the small of some unfortunate fellow's back," that the 'slugee' always moaned "It's a Pale Face."[60] The Club became an elite symbol of athletic power with boys eventually waiting for vacancies to join its ranks. It was also a coercive force in the propagation of healthy activity as one writer was quick to point out; "the good work that has been accomplished by the Pale Face Club is not going to be allowed to drop, and loafers are still going to have a hard time of it."[61] By the early 1900s, a genuine interest in athletics was

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[57] "Bigside Football Flat, Match 1912," *The Trinity College School Record,* XV:3, December 1912, p. 73.
[58] *Acta Ridleiana,* I:1, February 1891, p. 5; and II:9, June 1892, p. 14.
[59] *Acta Ridleiana,* Christmas 1894, pp. 5-6.
[60] *Ibid.*.
[61] *Acta Ridleiana,* Easter 1895, p. 4.

exhibited at Ridley, and reports that the clubs were better patronised and the re-forming of associations confirmed this enthusiasm which school historian Kim Beattie described as the 'Physical Culture Fetish.'[62] Coupled with this increased involvement were the squad and form matches, designed and organised by staff to further promote physical exercise among the boys. Each new sport was eagerly greeted:

> Welcome, Thou Soccer stranger,
> To make up a jolly four:
> Rugby, and Hockey, and Cricket extend
> To you a wide-open door.
>
> Welcome to our Dominion,
> Welcome to B.R.C.
> Welcome for Autumn's last days,
> When life would be dull without thee.[63]

The Annual Sports and cross-country races supplemented club and intra-mural types of activities and generated much support among the sub-groups of Ridley's athletic tribe for which the Cricket, Football, Hockey and Cross-Country Suppers sustained the measure of social stratification.

At the Grove, the word 'tribe' is an appropriate term for describing the nature of boyhood life. Shackville and the vast and exciting natural environment gave Mackenzie's school its rough and ready character. Snow-shoeing, boating, camping and hiking were encouraged among 'the Spartans of the west.'[64] And some of the more traditional features of Trinity College School were also incorporated. Lakefield had its dormitory games, cross-country races and, of course, its Annual Sports, and employed Rugbean terminology and age group distinctions in its Bigside and Littleside competitions. Among the boys, participation in healthy outdoor activity was deemed important; to be called a 'mug-wump,' a boy who remained

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[62]Beattie, *Ridley - The Story of a School,* p. 205.
[63]"Welcoming the Stranger," *Acta Ridleiana,* Christmas 1909, p. 28. Soccer was actually introduced in 1903 by Griffith.
[64]This term was used by Seton to describe the Indian way of life.

uninvolved in sports or stayed indoors all the time, was 'the height of insult.'[65] "There were very few of that ilk at the school," wrote Gordon Hill Grahame, "it being considered very disgraceful to be accused of mug-wumping."[66] John Morgan [redacted]y could not be ascribed this detested label. He actively pursued all forms of physical activity at the school and hinted at the social significance of being appointed a team captain.[67] While it is evident that social gradations were established through sport at the Grove, it is not difficult to realise that its location and Mackenzie's influence were the greater forces that were responsible for the emergence of the significant customs of athleticism at the school. The regular campfire meals and snowshoe tramps were more symbolic of the ideology than the Football Suppers and the dormitory games and races.

The most British influenced system of internally organised games existed at University School where it is known that the boys had regular exercise after the classes had finished.[68] Games were arranged in two ways; by age groups, as seniors, intermediates and juniors, and by houses. Missing information in records makes it impossible to determine when the house system in some of the schools was actually adopted. *The Black and Red* establishes the date at University School as 1913:

> The most important feature of this term has been the adoption of the House System, whereby the School House is now divided into two parts by partitions in the main corridors, and each placed under a Housemaster. Thus we now have: Warden's House (Mr. Thomas); East House (Mr. Sparks); and West House (Mr. Willis)...The East and West House are, of course, keen rivals in games, and when a boy wins any individual Championship such as Shooting, Boxing, Running, Gym. or Tennis, a pennant, bearing the date, is awarded to his House as a permanent trophy.[69]

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[65]Grahame, *Larry, or the Avenging Terrors,* p. 111; and J.F. Davidson, "Memories Gleanings of the Grove, 1910-1914," *The Grove Chronicle,* Jubilee Number, 1929, pp. 12-14, mentions the 'mug-wamps,' not 'mugwumps,' as a sector of school society.
[66]Grahame, *Ibid.*.
[67]Gray, *Fun Tommorow,* p. 40.
[68]Wenman, Letter to the Author.
[69]*The Black and Red,* 3:17, June 1913, p. 2.

The system promoted elitism and, in terms of games, unified the different house groups. Team sports were also organised on a league basis with sides being chosen and often, as with the case of rugby, being scaled down in numbers to bring to light "several players of merit who had been hiding their talents in the big senior games."[70] The league games were overshadowed in significance and status by the advent of the house matches, the very first of which attracted special coverage in the school press. "All other games," it stated, "fade into insignificance compared with the memorable House match, the first ever played at the University Grounds" before such 'distinguished company' as the whole school who watched from the touchlines. A draw was the 'fitting result,' and on conclusion "the centre-forwards of both Houses were seized by their admiring supporters and chaired in triumph to their respective houses."[71] In addition, the Annual Sports augmented the advancement of this sporting meritocracy system in which individuals and groups with the greater skill and prowess rose to the forefront of athletic supremacy, and thus were disposed to becoming leading figures in schoolboy life.

This brief examination has revealed that the systems utilised were varied in type, and were subject to modification over time. At those schools not specifically investigated, alternate, yet strikingly similar structures existed. It is difficult however, to state categorically what the precise function of the house or flat system was at each institution. The main purpose of the system in the Canadian private schools appears to be one of maintenance and social control, and its main characteristic was its close association with games. This organisational arrangement allowed a minimal number of recognised leaders to control a large number of boys at times when they were not involved in classwork. Authority figures were primarily staff, and senior boys were appointed to delegated positions of responsibilty. At St.John's in Winnipeg for example, it was the 'elders' of the school who considered organised games essential "in preparing the young for the exertions and temptations of adult life," while it was the 'seniors' who supervised a 'goodly portion' of the days given over to rugby and hockey.[72] As at Upper

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[70] *Ibid.*, p. 7.
[71] "The House Match," *The Black and Red*, 3:18, November 1913, pp. 10-11.
[72] Heeney, *The Things that are Çaesar's*, p. 8.

Canada College, the question of where the real controlling power rested, and where it appeared to rest, is answered by investigating the *Minutes of Masters Meetings* book at the school. Control in a supervisory capacity was partially in the hands of the 'seniors,' but this was entirely a deputational type of authority. The real power rested with the Headmaster and staff.[73]

At Upper Canada, the house system as it was widely recognised in Britain, was only adopted *circa* 1920 under the Principalship of W.L. Grant. However, it was only fully explained to the boys some nine years later in *The College Times:*

> These four Houses, as they are called, were created...mainly for athletic purposes. It was found that the old organisation of athletics was breaking down, largely on account of the great increase in the number of day boys, and it was thought that, if the day boys were divided into two groups, with a Master in charge of each group, almost every day boy could be given a certain amount of training in games...Each of these Houses was placed in charge of a House-Master and an Assistant, with the authority to appoint their own prefects...One advantage of this new organisation of the boarders is that the fifty or sixty boys in each of the Resident Houses live a corporate life to a greater extent than was possible under the old system. There is a more intimate relationship between the Masters and boys, and between the older and younger boys of the House. In this way new loyalties are fostered, and a better *esprit de corps*. Another advantage of the new system is the larger part played by the prefects of the Resident Houses. They do almost all the duties that used to be performed by the Flat Masters. They supervise the study periods and carry on the whole of the daily routine of the House. These new responsibilities are providing a valuable training for the prefects, and a good object lesson for the other boys:...The organisation of the day boys has been developing along similar lines...Each of these Houses has a House-Master at the head of it, and four prefects to assist the House-Master in looking after his own boys. In this way the day boys are taught more effectively the need of conforming to the ancient usages and established customs of the school, and they are brought into closer relation with all kinds of activities outside the classroom.[74]

This extract is important for several reasons. First, it distinctly outlines the functions of the system; those of ease of organisation, better integration of students into school life, the fostering of school spirit and unity, and the training of character. Second, it is possible to identify the use of the system as a definite mechanism of social control. Finally, it serves to

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[73] *Minutes of Masters Meetings, St.John's College School, 1912-1935,* St.J-R.S.A..
[74] *The College Times,* Summer 1929, pp. 4-5.

eradicate the well-worn fallacies concerning the adoption of the house system and the role and authority of the prefects at Upper Canada College by clearly demonstrating how even the most acknowledged model of the British public school in the Dominion failed to employ to the full extent the characteristic features of the Great public schools. In this case, if 1870 is taken as the date when the house system was widely established in Britain, it took nearly fifty years for it to appear in a similar form at Upper Canada.[75]

Residential systems of games undoubtedly contributed significantly to the growth and consolidation of athleticism and it must be concluded that although matters did not match the frenzied state of affairs which was apparent in Britain, house and flat matches were, to use Mangan's words, 'unavoidable participatory rituals' for those taking part either as players or spectators. Internal competition did foster group spirit among the boys, but patriotism for the schools, which were after all young in comparison with some of their British counterparts, was an end that was constantly sought. The arrangement also facilitated distinguishing the different members of the athletic tribe, and in fact among all the boys in the school, as games generated heroes who were publicly acknowledged for their sporting excellence. Identification of those sub-groups committed to excellence in athletics was represented nominally. Bigside, Littleside, Seniors and Juniors were all terms which carried with them social distinctions. And there was also a symbolic differentiation in dress, a further means by which the great athletes and team members could be recognised:

It is only an old piece of felting,
  It is really nothing at all,
But many to get it are striving
  Each cold and dreary fall.

If they win after many a worry,

[75]Mangan, *op.cit.*, p. 146. The emergence of residential systems of games is analysed in detail with 1870 being given as the date when public schools in Britain had adopted the system.

They may at the end of the year,
Wear it on their breasts with glory
That which to them is so dear.

But there cannot be one for them all,
As fourteen only are given
So some lose theirs who have worked hard all fall,
Though hard they may have striven.

It is only an old orange letter,
There's nothing so fine by far
For you can't get anything better
Than the Ridley Football "R."[76]

The winning of first team 'colours' or 'letters' was a memorable event for the Ridley footballer. It appeared, as depicted by one school artist, to have an inflatory effect on the athlete's disposition (Figure 4).[77] It was, as the poem's title implies, the ambition of many of the athletic tribe to gain their colours and so join the elite group who were projected to the summits of the school's social strata. In this prestigious position, the noted athlete became an obvious role model. He had attained social renown and significance through his athletic deeds and thus he was himself a symbol of success. He was allowed to be publicly acclaimed for his superiority. Indeed, at certain schools, recognition was demanded.

Each school had its system of colours; the award distinguished the hard-working, long-serving, dedicated player from his peers. Skill played its part too:

Norman Daniel got his colours
By playing better than the others.[78]

The criteria for awarding colours at each school has not been preserved in school texts, although pictures of teams display the players in their full trappings, evidencing the particular

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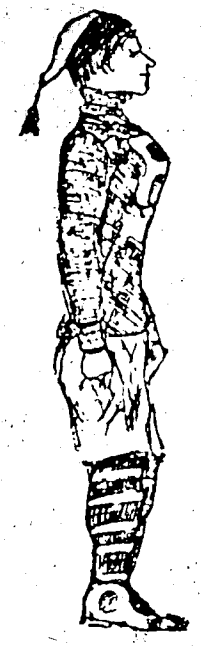
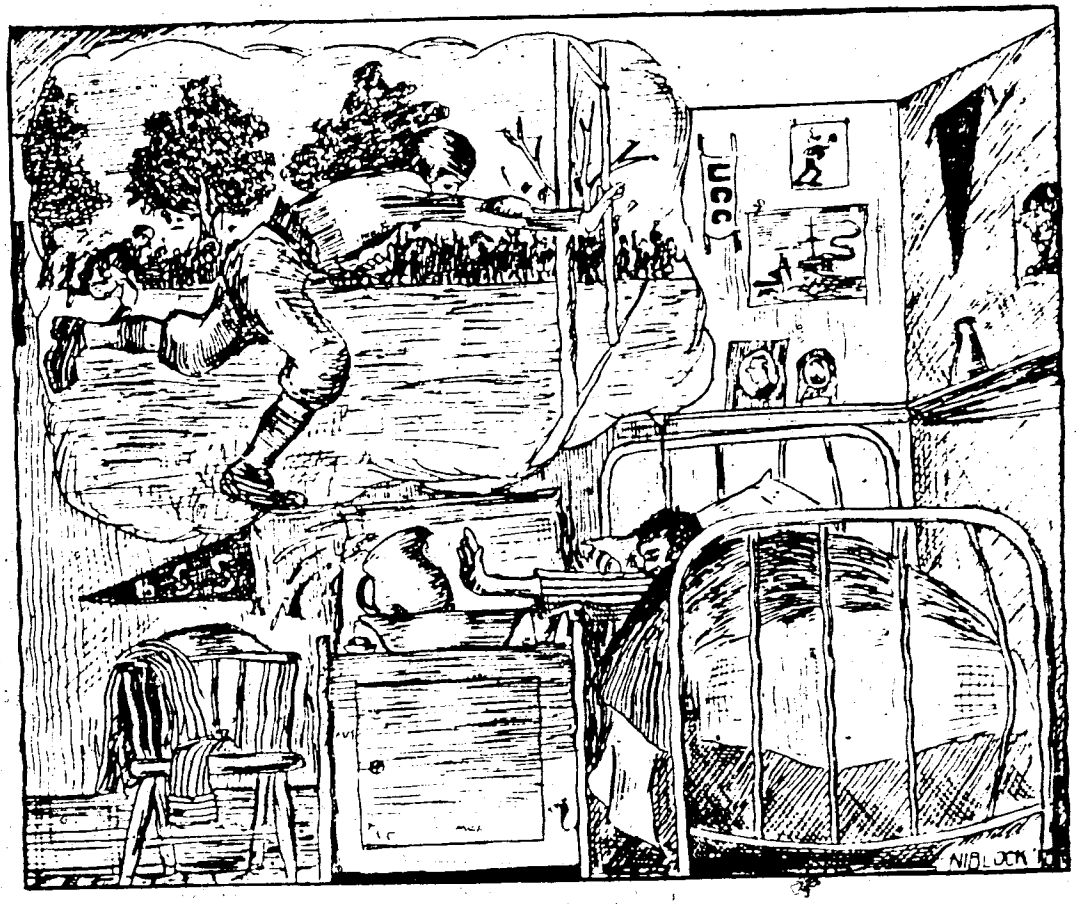
[76] "Ambition," *Acta Ridleiana,* Christmas 1915, p. 15.
[77] The illustrations are taken from *Acta Ridleiana,* Christmas 1910, p. 34, and from *The College Times,* Christmas 1918, p. 34.
[78] *Acta Ridleana,* Christmas 1909, p. 30.



When the R's were presented.



The Straight Arm

FIGURE 4: SCHOOLBOY IMPRESSIONS OF ATHLETICISM.

characteristics of the 'sport,' sometimes called the 'blood,' of the period. Literary evidence has been documented in varying degrees at the schools and it will be used to indicate how it provided a subtle yet simple means of social distinction.

Of the 'togged-up sports' or 'dudes' of Ridley, little is known apart from the fact that the "R" was a prized acquisition bestowed on the select few. Colours were awarded on a similar basis at Trinity College School, and during house games privileges were given to those honoured sports of the school first teams. In intra-school cricket for example, first eleven players were permitted to wear the waist scarf of school colours, while the neck scarf was confined to those who had received colours in any one of the major sports of cricket, hockey and football.[79] Photographs of Trinity teams portray the 'blood' in all his regalia; blazer, neck and waist scarf, and caps. His prowess, and the social status of the position and its rights were recorded by *The Record:*

> Art thou a promising bat, and dost thou play cricket in form?
> Hearken, my son, to my words, and obey the advice that I tender;
> Thou shalt attain thine ambition, the summit of human ideals,
> Wear a cricketing cap, and appear in the Record's good pages.[80]

In *The Black and Red* at University School, there occurs the only mention of the term 'bloods,' which had more common usage in Britain. Its appearance is in a solitary line of a poem entitled "People are Saying," and it remarks:

> That the bloods who were sweaters have ordered new ties for Sunday.[81]

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[79] *Oxford Cup. Colour Committee, 1896-1923,* Meeting of the Colour Committee, June 20, 1923.

[80] "How She is Played," *The Trinity College School Record,* XXI:1, May 1918, pp. 27-28.

[81] "People are Saying," *The Black and Red,* 3:16, March 1913, p. 13.

A fuller reference to differences in ties was mentioned in the poem, "The Golden Rule," but no allusion to sport is made.[12] Nevertheless, the 'blood' at University School was still a reputable fellow, whose image lingered on after he had left:

> Reputation can be built up in a term or so;
> Do not be down hearted if you find the going slow;
> Do your work as best you can, and play with all your might,
> In a year or two you'll find your chances looking bright.
> At books, or games, or shooting you will find you can do well
> I sing of one who in four years did in all these excel
> Did anybody here know Sidney? -S-I-D-N-E-Y?
> Did anybody here know Sidney - better known to fame as Si?
> Our best half-back, and our strongest bat,
> And with plenty of savvy underneath his hat;
> Did anybody here know Sidney? -(YES!)- Sturdy old, plucky old Si![13]

More noticeable at University School than the blood's attire was the contrived and complex system of shields whereby the honoured groups and individuals could be identified.[14] The full and complicated recording procedure can be found in Appendix III. Let it suffice at this junction to state that this system was as discriminatory as the dress codes of Trinity and of its neighbour, Upper Canada College.

The athletic tribe at Upper Canada began to take a concerted interest in their general appearance in late 1895 as a result of Trinity College School insisting on a 'definiteness' of the colours worn by its teams. *The College Times* called for conformity. It expressed dismay at the football fifteens inappropriately garbed in golf-stockings that ill-matched the caps. Uniformity in caps, blazers, sweaters and football stockings was demanded. However, there were particular qualifications; "we mean this to apply to the whole school, but not, of course, in any way to interfere with the design or color of the special teams."[15] For over a year, the 'color question'

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[12] See W.B. Banks, "The Golden Rule," *The Black and Red*, 4:29, June 1917, p. 46.
[13] "Old Friends," *The Black and Red*, 2:7, October 1910, pp. 4-5.
[14] "Our Trophies," *The Black and Red, 3:16, March 1913, pp.18-19.*
[15] *The College Times*, Midsummer 1897, p. 46.

was an issue.[16] It was finally settled at a full meeting of the stewards, when it was decided that colours awarded to team players were permanent and could be carried over from year to year and would be awarded to the entire team representing the school. More importantly, a definite system of colours was adopted for certain teams. Stewards could wear a white coat with dark blue silk roll-collar, blue cuffs with full crest on breast pocket; the crest could also be displayed on any coat not adopted by a team, or on a straw hat. The major teams were defined as follows:

> *Football*:-White sweater, dark blue cuffs, collar and band with plain crest, velvet and silver cap.
> *Hockey*:-Blue sweater, white collar, cuffs and band with plain crest, blue peaked cap with white crest, blue stockings with crest on right leg.
> *Cricket*:-White blazer, blue and white roll-collar, blue and white cuffs, facing on pockets, with special crest, white cap with plain blue crest.[17]

The final distinguishing emblem, separating the 'super blood' from the mere mortals, was a cap designated to be 'the special symbol and honour' of the 'triple blues.'

Upper Canada College's vigorous adoption of the colours system is exceptional. Only Trinity approached a similar intensity. The vogue at other schools was less ostentatiously expressed. At Lakefield for example, it would have been impractical to taste nature's delights in the adornments of the Upper Canada blood. Such trappings were not in accordance with Mackenzie's 'nature as education' philosophy. Similar circumstances at Shawnigan Lake dictated that standards of dress would differ from the more traditional schools of Ontario. Dress however, was only one dimension of the athlete's status at the school, for he was universally ascribed an inflated social ranking which was truly indicative of the importance attached to athletics.

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[16]This is the original spelling used in *The College Times*. The word will be spelled 'colour' throughout the text.
[17]"Colors," *The College Times*, Midsummer 1897, p. 46.

The products of the Dominion's private schools progressed into a variety of reputable professions and business careers. Preparation for tertiary level education which presented the opportunity to advance in law, medicine, accounting, business administration, the civil service, teaching and military commissions, was a prime objective of the educational process at these establishments. Entrance into these elite avenues of society required that the prospective entrants be duly furnished to function effectively in their chosen sphere of life. As much as the academic courses at the schools served to equip the students with the knowledge necessary to succeed career-wise, it was participation in sport which was believed to prepare individuals for life's later endeavours, for the future business of 'living.'[88] Success in life was equated highly with success in games. Athleticism functioned to promote, preserve and consolidate hierarchical social structure among the student population of Canada's private schools. Without doubt, the concept of elitism was perpetuated through the middle and upper class ideals that athleticism embodied and by the actual social stratification process that the ideology more than adequately supported and partly controlled.[89]

David Hargreaves in his classic study on social relations in a secondary school pointed out that children in the school environment were subject to a variety of influences. He identified one of these as the peer group which has values, norms and status hierarchies which all its members must take into account. He further recognised that "adolescence is a period in which the search for a self-identity is most marked, and in which many basic social attributes are acquired," and that within this general framework "subcultural differentiation takes place."[90] Athleticism within the private schools of the Dominion fulfilled many of the students'

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[88]W. Burman, "Some Thoughts on College Organizations," *St.John's College Magazine,* XXII:5, Midsummer, April 1910, pp. 18-21.

[89]Richard S. Gruneau touches on this point in "Elites, Class and Corporate Power in Canadian Sport: Some Preliminary Findings," in F. Landry and W.A.R. Orban *Sociology of Sport.* Miami, Florida: Symposia Specialists, 1978, pp. 201-242. However he provides no evidence to support the claim that the role of sport at the private schools was one of consolidating hegemony of the dominant groups of the leadership class in the period prior to 1910.

[90]D.H. Hargreaves, *Social Relations in a Secondary School.* London: Routledge and Keegan Paul, 1967, p. 183. The same observation has been made by other researchers in education. See R.J. Havinghurst and B.L. Neugarten *Society and Education.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1967, and O. Banks *The Sociology of*

search for a self-identity. The athletic tribe was a large peer group adhering to an ideology which comprised role-models, values, customs and social gradations. The pressure towards conformity to the group was great. In the early 1900s, it was stated quite categorically in Upper Canada's *College Times* that the form and function of athletics in the school had "a direct and potent influence upon the formation of character as the classroom."[91] In retrospect, the writer could not have been closer to the truth. In Victorian and Edwardian Canada, athleticism was a powerful educational force and a prime agent of socialisation, a forceful means by which values, symbols and codes of behaviour were fostered and transmitted.

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[90](cont'd) *Education.* New York: Shocken Books, 1968.
[91]*The College Times*, Midsummer 1902, p. 8.

Chapter VIII

IMPERIALISM; NATIONALISM AND GAMES

In 1907, Andre Siegfried, noted French intellectual, published his critical commentary on *The Race Question in Canada.* His discourse on education emphasised in part the cultural imperative of those schools which drew on England for 'their inspiration.' Using Upper Canada College as his focal point of attention and attack, Siegried generalised to the private schools of the country as a whole. "Their entire management recalls Eton and Rugby, which have manifestly been taken as models," and, he noted "games are held in high honour, especially those which are exclusively British, like cricket, as distinguished from American games, like baseball and basketball," The conclusion drawn was entirely predictable. "There is a desire of the authorities to anglicize their pupils, or one might almost say imperialize them."[1] While not totally correct in some of his assertive statements concerning the management of Canada's elite schools, Siegfried was quite perceptive in his observations on the role of games. They symbolised an efficacious instrument by which cultural ideas were transmitted. This function of organised sport in the educational setting of the Dominion has never been explained adequately.

Historians have revealed how textbooks were utilised in the public school system as a means by which desired values and attitudes could be inculcated into pupils, a subtle method of political socialisation. At the schools of this study the character-building qualities, which authorities believed were enhanced through participation in sport, were consciously related to concepts of citizenship. Internal and external forces impinging on school life succeeded in imposing a specific set of views on the students. Each school in varying degrees imbued its offspring with a sense of belonging to Canada and Empire and athletics functioned both manifestly and latently in achieving this end. Acknowledgement and explanation of this added dimension not only displays the complexity of athleticism, but it also provides fresh insights into and a greater understanding of the ideology at a working level.

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[1]A. Siegfried, *The Race Question in Canada.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1966 (1907), p. 83, translation by Frank H. Underhill.

Before attempting to explain the use of games by educationalists to propagate a sense of affiliation with Canada and the Empire, it is necessary to define the concepts of nationalism and imperialism and to outline a framework for investigating their manifestation in the schools. Is it, for example, essential in terms of available information to analyse material from each school, or can a case study method be adopted to give a clearer picture of the situation? These problems will now be addressed.

Imperialism has been assigned a number of meanings which have depended upon the time and place when the term was used.[2] From a British viewpoint in the nineteenth century, interpretation of imperialism varied to such an extent that it could, depending upon national and international circumstances, evoke tones of pride and contrasting aversion in the course of a decade. The word symbolised the domination of Britain over her Dominions and the purposeful aim to maintain and strengthen the stability and components of the Empire.[3] It captured succinctly the greatness of the 'Motherland.' For the purpose of this analysis, imperialism will be regarded as the binding [illegible] such as race, language, customs and institutions, which linked Britain and Canada.[4]

After Confederation, it has been noted that the people of the 'Young Dominion' became increasingly Canadian in their outlook on life.[5] There was an interest in creating an awareness of the new national spirit. This increased consciousness of Canadian nationality materialised in various forms, exemplified by the formation of the Canadian First movement, the emergence of Canadian poets and writers such as Bliss Carmen, Charles G.D. Roberts and Ralph Connor, and the publication of national journals such as *The Dominion Illustrated Monthly* and *Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly and National Review*. Without question, there was a "promising ability and an earnest desire to be Canadian...to give the Dominion a

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[2]See Richard Koebner and Helmut Dan Schmidt *Imperialism. The Story and Significance of a Political Word.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964. The authors look at the varying interpretations of imperialism in different eras of history.

[3]*Ibid.*, p. XXIV.

[4]*Ibid.*, p. 38.

[5]J.M.S. Careless, *Canada. A Story of Challenge.* Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1970 (1953), p. 270.

character and viewpoint of its own."[6] And yet despite this concerted effort to secure this sense of Canadian character, many 'nationalists' still emphasised the links with Britain. For these 'Canadian imperialists,' the sense of nationality and unity of Empire were interlocked and identical.[7] As Carl Berger has pointed out, men such as George Grant and George Parkin possessed "an intense awareness of Canadian nationality combined with an equally decided desire to unify and transform the British Empire so that this nationality could attain a position of equality within it."[8] This imperial strand of Canadian nationalism was evident in educational circles in the Dominion,[9] and not without surprise, it was a popular outlook at the country's private schools. Nationalism will be viewed in this light and as a cultural awareness of nationality based upon commonly shared understandings of national character and history.[10]

National character has been defined in terms of the dominant modal values of a culture and has been determined in one way by analysing the content of that culture's popular press and literature.[11] In this chapter, modal values appearing in school journal literature will be compared with contemporary values associated with nationalism and national character, and to a similar extent with imperialism and imperial character, in an effort to explain the relationship between games, nationalism and imperialism.

An analysis of all ten schools of this study would reveal, in the majority of cases, a definite general trend towards rhetorical linkage with imperial values. It would be dangerous however, to make generalised statements concerning the motives influencing such views. Sameness of thought could be espoused for vastly different reasons. Instead of searching in-depth for these discrepancies among all the schools, this chapter will focus primarily on

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[6] *Ibid.*, p. 273.
[7] Berger, *The Sense of Power*, p. 49.
[8] *Ibid.*.
[9] See Robert M. Stamp, "Empire Day in the Schools of Ontario: The Training of Young Imperialists," and N. McDonald, "Canadian Nationalism and North-West Schools, 1884-1905," in Chaiton and McDonald, *Canadian Schools and Canadian Identity*.
[10] Berger, *ibid.*, p. 9.
[11] See N. Inkeles, "National Character and Modern Political Systems," in L.K. Hsu (ed.) *Psychological Anthropology: Approaches to Culture and Personality*. Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1961.

three. This conveniently removes the limit in level of interpretation imposed on the analysis due to the availability of evidence by concentrating on institutions where paucity of source material is not a problem. For the purpose of clarity of analysis, and in a conscious attempt to reveal differences rather than similarities, Upper Canada College, Bishop Ridley College, and Lakefield College School have been chosen for closer scrutiny.

Upper Canada College's early ties with Toronto's elite predisposed it to frequent association with Britain and the Empire. Such declarations were overtly displayed in school literature as, for example, in "The Hoisting of the College Flag," penned in 1842:

Hail! Glorious banner of the free,
Hail! Emblem dear of liberty,
Beneath whose folds with boist'rous glee
Full many a band has played.
Long may'st thou freely wave on high,
O'er hearts imbued with loyalty;
While joyous shouts rise to the sky,
Whene'r thou art displayed.

Although the first of these glad bands,
Is now disposed through many lands,
Yet England's flag shall ne'er want hands
Her honour to sustain;
While glows a patriot bosom bold,
Or love of country keeps its hold,
Unmoved by mercenary gold,
Or the base hope of gain.

How gladly will fond memory trace,
In after years each well known place,
And strive each old familiar face
In fancy to recall;
But still in all her dear domain,
Our flag the first place shall retain,
And to behold it once again,
Be the fond wish of all.

So ever on each festive day,
Before they enter on their play,
Shall willing hands their flag display

With mingled shouts and cheers;
And as it streams through College air,
Let young and old join in the prayer,
That England's flag may still wave there
Through long succeeding years.[12]

It is obvious from further College publications that no real effort was made to refute the connection. The school, by its own admission, was an enclave of imperial education catering for boys 'from every corner of the British Empire' and "breathing the spirit and taking in the ways and methods of the New World...fitting the recipient for life in a British Country."[13] This sense of purpose was reflected in the content of the school's curriculum which prepared boys specifically in competencies such as trade and commerce, thus enabling them to fulfill occupational advancement in their own country.[14]

The training of young imperialists was by no means an exclusive directive of the renowned Toronto establishment. Upper Canada was merely maintaining a stance adopted also by the public school system and continued to supply large numbers of young men well-versed 'in the glorious traditions of Empire.' An integral imperative of imperial education comprised the preservation of British ideals "so long and thoroughly developed in the past history of England," which included "the high ideal of man, of high moral manhood" upon which "the future of every individual and every nation depends."[16] Complete dependency on the Mother Country was not advocated. Independence juxtaposed with association was the order of the

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[12]Ebenezer Stinson, "The Hoisting of the College Flag," from Arnoldi's *An Epoch in Canadian History*, p. 9.
[13]*Ibid.*, "Imperial Education," pp. 29-30.
[14]It is claimed that this professional preparation for business indicated a difference in curriculum between the Canadian School and its British counterpart. Arnoldi, *ibid.*, p. 30, stated: "there the candidate for success, unless he has been specially educated in Britain, has found himself compelled to begin over again and to learn the very alphabet of methods, and during the process has found himself side by side with lads educated at U.C.C., probably ten years his juniors. How discouraging, even hopeless, a prospect. Parents of many boys in Britain have through the years, perceiving this education, educated their boys at Upper Canada College for life in this Country."
[15]N. Burwash, "Imperialism in Education," in William Clark (ed.) *Empire Club Speeches, 1903-1904*. Toronto: William Briggs, 1904, pp. 31-37.
[16]*Ibid.*, p. 37.

day. In 1907, *The College Times* called for Canada to shed her 'swaddling clothes' without severing the links which bound her to Britain.[17] Through these ties, it was believed that worthy qualities could be cultivated; an appreciation of honesty, a common sense of decency and a true and earnest belief in good for good's sake were much-valued requisites for future Canadians.[18]

Powerful imperial sentiments were advanced by individual masters at Upper Canada and also emanated from a number of writings and communications in the school journal. Each medium supported the other as a force of indoctrination and consolidation. The supreme proselyte of Empire was George Parkin. His identification with British heritage was constantly stressed in the numerous articles and reviews for papers and magazines which he authored, and in the invited speeches which he delivered throughout the English speaking world. A Canadian by birth, Parkin recognised the country's uniqueness and promoted nationalism through the prominent role which he perceived the Dominion should play in the development and consolidation of the British Empire.[19] However, when using the word 'national,' he was not only expressing his Canadianism; the term referred to the characteristics of race, and specifically to the Britannic or Anglo-Saxon race. George Parkin was a nationalistic imperialist.[20] Although he placed importance on Canada's individual character in terms of its geography, location and climate, his ethnic consciousness was deeply British. He was committed in "almost every walk of public life" to think in these terms, and especially "in regard to educational matters as in regard to anything else."[21] His initial Prize Day Address at Upper Canada in 1895 made particular reference to the commonalities of the British public schools and of the Toronto school. He was quite clear in the delineation of his educational programme. The products of Parkin's Upper Canada would leave the school furnished with a high sense of moral purpose, imbued with the qualities of pureness, manliness and honesty, indicative of 'the

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[17]"The Empire Problem," *The College Times*, Christmas 1907, pp. 2-3.
[18]*Ibid.*.
[19]Parkin, "The Educational Problems and Responsibilities of the Empire," p. 80.
[20]See Terry Cook, "George R. Parkin and the Concept of Britannic Idealism," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, X:3, August 1975, pp. 15-31, and Douglas L. Cole, "Canada's "Nationalistic" Imperialists," *Journal of Canadian Studies*; V:3, August 1970, pp. 44-49.
[21]Parkin, *op.cit.*, pp. 70-71.

manners of a Christian and a gentleman.'[22] Here in short was Parkin's definition of the imperial character.

Games at Upper Canada College functioned as a convenient agent of imperialisation through which desired values could be transmitted. Cricket, of course, had very strong imperial connotations from the moment of its introduction to the boys in the belief that it instilled "British feelings into the breasts of our Canadian boys."[23] Over sixty years after the formation of the College Cricket Club in 1836, these sentiments were still evident. At the start of the cricketing season in 1899, *The College Times* lauded the game for its educational worth. "May the good work go on this year," it concluded, "and may the College always be known as a Cricket nursery where the boys are taught to play what, as British subjects, we regard as our national game!"[24] Through cricket, it was believed that values such as patience, courtesy, generosity and a sense of moral duty could be imparted.[25] Learning the finer points of the game was thought to be as important as learning Latin or Greek, "and when that best of lessons has come home, the English character has received its stamp forever" with "a good and valuable citizen" being the product.[26] In this light, cricket, to quote Parkin's idol, Edward Thring, was more than a mere game. It was "the greatest bond of the English speaking race" and perceived as a genuine educative tool.[27] Education to George Parkin, as it was to many Victorian educators, was 'a process of moral development.'[28] Cricket and other games such as football and hockey were part of that process at the College where students were reminded never to forget the principles of fair play which embraced sport in Britain. It was through games that the Upper Canada Collegian constituted his 'working' moral qualities and was thus

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[22]"The Principal's Prize Day Address," *The College Times,* Christmas 1895, pp. 1-11.
[23]*The Patriot,* July 16, 1836.
[24]*The College Times,* Easter 1899, pp. 7-8.
[25]"Cricket," *The College Times,* Easter 1898, pp. 23-24.
[26]"Kansas City Letter," *The College Times,* Christmas 1896, pp. 47-49.
[27]Letter, Thring to Parkin, *op.cit.*. Thring was referring specifically here to the tour of Britain by the Australian cricket team. It must be noted at this point that tours by sporting teams were a means of displaying the imperial bond, a view which was recognised by contemporary reporters. See for example "The Recent Cricket Match, and Some of its Lessons," *Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly,* Vol. I, November 1878, pp. 608-615.
[28]*The College Times,* Midsummer 1896, p. 9.

"likely to acquit himself creditably and manfully in the great match of life."[29]

It would be misleading to conclude that sport was solely linked to imperialism at Upper Canada. Without doubt, there was a definite relationship between the preferred qualities of the schools' products and those qualities acquired through involvement in games. High moral conduct was not only a sign that the College was turning out young imperialists in the George Parkin mould, it was also an indication that it was creating "good men, good citizens, and good Canadians."[30] Games contributed towards this sense of Canadian citizenship by developing the moral codes of behaviour associated with the ideal citizen. This nationalistic or patriotic slant was overshadowed at the school, at least until the arrival of W.L. Grant in 1917, by the stronger imperial sentiments. The cultural influences conceptually embracing sport were decidely British in their origin and outlook even though some forms exhibited Canadianisation. The situation was somewhat similar at Bishop Ridley College, although it must be stated that unmistakable and intentional expressions of nationalism were evident.

Canadian imperialism was a dominant ideal at Ridley where the sense of emerging Canadian identity was more recognizable than it had been at Upper Canada College. The school had been founded in the post-Confederation era. It was a self-appointed 'Canadian School for Boys.' A consciousness of the country's past and the moral duty of its sons was articulated by its Headmaster, J.O. Miller, who was deeply concerned with the education of the young Canadian citizen.[31] Miller's call to serve as a teacher was as consuming as Parkin's obsession with Empire. He was convinced that religious and moral education went hand in hand. His aim was to produce young citizens of virtuous standing, shaped in the image of Jesus Christ who was Miller's "model of all virtues...the example to the human race of all the traits of true manliness which men admire."[32] This aspiration could only be achieved through a sound and systematic course in the fundamental principles of morality which the Ridley Headmaster

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[29]"Editorial," *The College Times,* Christmas 1897, pp. 1-4.
[30]"A Visit from His Excellency the Governor General," *The College Times,* XI:4, December 16, 1892, pp. 40-41.
[31]In his history of the school, Beattie described Miller as being dedicated to the task of moulding young Canadians. Beattie, *op.cit.,* p. 141.
[32]Miller, *The Young Canadian Citizen,* p. 76.

believed was sadly lacking in education in the Dominion. His thoughts on moral education were captured in his first textbook, *Short Studies in Ethics,* published in 1895, in which he betrayed his sense of Britishness by declaring that it was "the glory of Canadians to belong to such a race."[33] He also, however, expressed his opinion that Canadians should display a love and loyalty for their country where "no boy grew to manhood with a fairer heritage." Furthermore, he advocated with purpose that "it is our duty to cultivate the love of our country."[34]

True to his word, Miller took on the task of cultivating an awareness of Canadian nationality. In 1902 he published *Brief Biographies. Supplementing Canadian History,* which centred on the country's history through biography, maintaining a traditional nationalist role by paying close attention to the English and French founding figures of the country.[35] The book reflected Miller's belief in Canadianising the youth of the nation by awakening their own sense of history. His full ideas on this topic were ultimately formulated for *The Young Canadian Citizen. Studies in Ethics, Civics and Economics* which "set forth in as simple a way as possible some of the things that go to the making of Canadian citizenship."[36] Canadians, he emphasised, should be naturally imbued with thetrue qualities of manliness which in turn was made up of a strong sense of duty, self-reliance, self-control, honesty and justice. They would also be aware of and capable of identifying their role as citizens and the workings of the nation's institutions. Miller paid homage to the country's geophysical environment by recognising its influence in moulding its people. In an almost Parkinesque description he recorded that Canada was "rich in soil, in natural wealth, in fertility of its soil, and in all that goes to nourish a vigorous and progressive race."[37]

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[33]Miller, *Short Studies in Ethics,* preface.
[34]*Ibid.,* pp.68-71. The stated purpose of another of Miller's texts was "to awaken the interest of Canadians in problems which confront us as we emerge from the adolesence" of past years into the full manhood of normal life." See J.O. Miller *New Era in Canada: Essays Dealing with the Upbuilding of the Canadian Commonwealth.* Toronto: J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1917, p. 5.
[35]J.O. Miller, *Brief Biographies. Supplementing Canadian History.* Toronto: The Copp Clarke Company, Ltd., 1902. He looked at figures such as Cabot, Cartier, Champlain, La Salle, Vancouver and Selkirk.
[36]Miller, *The Young Canadian Citizen,* preface.
[37]*Ibid.,* particularly Chapter VII, "The Dominion of Canada," pp.117-127.

Physical attributes were important in Miller's conception of the ideal Canadian. The moral virtues which he wished his students to possess could be gained through involvement in exercise and were highlighted in his texts by physical examples. The acquisition of a sense of duty could be realised through regular bodily activity. It was quite natural that the playing fields of Ridley figured prominently in this process of civic education. It was here where courage, a sense of honour and fair play was born. On them, the "sterling qualities of manhood and citizenship; self-reliance, fearlessness, industry and honesty" were inculcated. Through games, a boy's "physical and moral forces" could be "built and fashioned."[38]

Despite Miller's constant reference to Canada and Canadians, his values were unquestionably Anglo-Saxon and characterised the British race. He could not escape Canada's British ancestry. Through cricket, of which he was a devotee and preferred for its 'manly virtues' over the Canadian game of lacrosse, and other healthy activities, young Ridleians were in fact exposed to Britannic ideals. Ridley produced a body of 'true and fair minded sportsmen' capable of functioning as citizens of the Dominion and filled with a sense of traditional British values which permeated the works of the Headmaster even though he was deeply concerned with the country's search for its own identity. In a speech to the school, Miller once declared, "if there is one thing I should claim for Ridley College above all others, it is that it was intended to be, and is, in touch with the spirit of the Canadian people, and of Canadian institutions."[39] While games served to instill his perceived qualities of Canadian citizenship, it must be stated that these qualities were distinctly illustrative of a binding link with the Mother Country.

Ridley, founded in the era of Canada's infancy, with its well-defined public mission to Canadianise its pupils, provides an interesting and subtle difference in approach to the more traditional imperial education offered at Upper Canada College. A third school, Lakefield, sheds further light on the subject. Like Ridley, the Grove was founded after Confederation and

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[38] A. Rogers, "The Private School and Citizenship," *Acta Ridleiana*, Easter 1920, pp. 9-10, and *The Young Canadian Citizen*, pp. 5, 59 and 64.
[39] *Acta Ridleiana*, Christmas 1906, p. 4.

kept in touch with national sentiments. In Lakefield's case, this was achieved as much by the school's advantageous setting in the country's great outdoors as by the literary and rhetorical writings and recitations of its Headmaster.

Students at Mackenzie's school were enchanted by its location. Life there was lived "in a Homeric Age of adventure" with regular outings to places like Buckley's Lake, Lynch's Rock and Miller's Creek.[40] Being in a place where a boy's imagination could run wild, it is easy to see how he could slip into a fantasy world and act out the life of the voyageur and trapper of the pioneer times. Such pretentions were truly Canadian, linking the boys through historical re-enactment to the romantic accomplishments of the past. It was quite common for the Grove boys to take part in bivouacs and spend time at their village of shacks and self-made huts which lay beyond the main school buildings. This quasi-pioneer existence provided a similar experience to camping which Alick Mackenzie endorsed since it permitted the boys "to enter into the spirit of the voyageur life, as to impart an Indian trapper tone to the whole camp." The desire to experience nature's delights was, argued Mackenzie, a boy's "natural instinct," and had other outcomes other than the rediscovery of the past. It also taught moral values.[41] It was Lakefield's access to the woods and the lakes which implanted in the students "the seeds of clean living, good sportsmanship, and that saving love of the open life that makes for purity of heart and soul."[42]

Canada's northern location and its severe winter were viewed as beneficial builders of character. They instilled and maintained qualities equated with strength, toughness and hardihood. This notion was popular with those who searched for characteristics which distinguished Canada from other countries and its people from other nationalities.[43] Its enervating and invigorating benefits were praised by politicians, educators, doctors, novelists

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[40]J.M. Gray, "Memories of "17 to 23,"" *The Grove Chronicle,* XXII:11, June 1929, p. 15.
[41]A.W. Mackenzie, "The Boy in Camp," *The Grove Chronicle,* III:5, August 1909, pp. 1-2.
[42]J.F. Davidson, "Memory's Gleanings of the Grove, 1910-1914," *The Grove Chronicle,* XIII:11, June 1929, pp. 12-14.
[43]See Berger, *op.cit.,* pp. 128-133.

and poets alike. George Parkin claimed that the country's hardy northern climate endowed the Dominion with a healthier race.[44] And Ralph Connor used 'Nature's forces' to re-shape Allan Cameron, the hero of *Corporal Cameron,* a British emigrant and former international rugby player for Scotland:

> There was no "porsch" or sign of one on Cameron's lean and muscular frame. The daily battle with winter's fierce frosts and blizzards, the strenuous toil, the hard food had done their work on him. Strong, firm-knit, clean and sound, hard and fit, he had lived through his first Canadian winter. ...Never in the days of his finest training was he as fit to get the best out of himself as now.[45]

Geographic and climatic influences at the Grove also played their part in the development of a Canadian national character. In a contrived letter in *The Grove Chronicle,* an English visitor, John Bull, described life on the lakes and in the woods. He concluded, "I couldn't help wondering if all Canadian boys had such a good time and why we English pitied those who had to live in such a severe climate. I had seen nothing but rosy cheeks and the keenest enjoyment of the frosty air."[46] Lakefield symbolised Canada's natural and wholesome geophysical identity. Memories of the school were of the woods and the lake, the background, both figuratively and literally, on which it was built. Katchewanooka, its nearby lake, for example, meant 'a love of water.' According to one former pupil, this and all it implied was implanted into the minds of Grove boys. Lake Katchewanooka brought "refreshement, daring, fun, balance, skill and all that goes with swimming and boating, and even hunting and fishing."[47]

Lakefield's air of national character was not just shaped by the environment. It also reflected Alick Mackenzie's acute awareness of things Canadian, and fits in with his outlook on life. He was a Canadian by birth. He loved the outdoors, and delighted in experiencing its pleasures. However, despite this distinct Canadian consciousness, there existed at the Grove a

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[44]G.R. Parkin, *The Great Dominion. Studies in Canada.* London: Macmillan and Co., 1895, pp. 213-215.
[45]R. Connor, *Corporal Cameron.* New York: H. Doran Co., 1912, p. 309.
[46]"A Letter," *The Grove Chronicle,* V:1, November 1910, p. 8.
[47]Davidson, *op.cit.,* p. 14.

thread of common heritage with Britain, a strand of imperial thought. Canadianism was not totally incompatible with a sense of Britishness:

> The Grove School, to those who know its methods and its environment, stands as a bulwark of staunch Canadianism; as a stronghold of good citizenship, fine ideals, and that spirit of fair play that has ever distinguished the British race.[48]

It would have been difficult for the British value claim of sport to have eluded mention at the Grove. Mackenzie was exposed to it at Trinity College School and at Trinity College in Toronto. 'Playing the game,' was not unknown among the boys of the school:

> Did you take those knocks that came your way
> With a smile and a mouth shut tight,
> Or did you stop to argue or to pay
> Them back with anger or fright?
> The knocks may be heavy or light as an ounce,
> But the game is what you make it
> For it isn't the fact that your hurt that counts
> But only how did you take it.
>
> So you got a hard tumble? Well, Well! What's that!
> Come up with a smiling face.
> It's nothing against you to fall down flat,
> But to lie there - that's disgraceful.
> The harder you're thrown, why the higher you bounce.
> There are falls on the way to each prize.
> It isn't the fact that you fell that counts;
> But the temper in which you rise.
>
> And though you have lost the whole game - what then,
> If you played it the best you knew?
> Just learn the game better and play them again;
> The winners will soon be you.
> With a score that is slow or a score that mounts,
> But be sure it will come if you choose.
> It isn't the fact that you've lost that counts;
> But only how did you lose.[49]

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[48] "Editorial," *The Grove Chronicle*, XXII:11, June, 1929, p. 4.
[49] "The Game," by M.A.M., *The Grove Chronicle*, V:2, April 1911, p. 2.

Traditional British values co-existed at Lakefield with the Canadian ideal but were overshadowed by the latter. The Grove's unorthodox classroom, the 'university of the forest,' was the more integral component of the school's educational process. Mackenzie promoted Canadianism, and to a much lesser extent imperialism. As one writer in *The Grove Chronicle* remarked, it was impossible not to think that a boy who had come under Lakefield's stimulating experience and had "breathed for a time, the fine atmosphere of culture and refinement that marks the school, could leave a better Canadian, a better Britisher, a better Citizen."[50]

The strong moralising influence of games and other forms of healthy outdoor activities provided more than adequate logic for their use as a medium for inculcating civic traits. The country's great public school educators, Egerton Ryerson, James Hughes and David Goggin, were ardent proselytes of the character-building and citizen-forming aims of education. Morality was a key aspect of the educational process. The good citizen was one of upright moral fibre, and it was the school's responsibility to shape the child into this image. 'Playing the game' on the green fields of Canada's private schools was seen as contributing towards this moral development. Indeed, the relationship between games, morality and the notion of citizenship was continually exalted throughout the schools of this study. There was an overwhelming commitment to the British value claim of sport; 'fair-play' was a unifying moral virtue of the good Canadian and of Empire.

At St.John's, Winnipeg, every effort was made to teach the boys to 'play the game' equally well from both a moral and a physical point of view.[51] Similar aphorisms were topics of particular concern elsewhere as Headmasters, staff members and visiting dignitaries joined the foray and advanced the claims of games in building up a morally strong nation. The official representative of the British Crown in the Dominion was the designated Governor General. In this capacity, he promoted imperial ties with the 'Mother Country.' The numerous men who

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[50] "Editorial," *op.cit.*.

[51] *St.John's College and St.John's College School, Class and Honor List, 1922,* p. 17.

took up this position were also vigorous sponsors of sport, a social extension of the consistent public policy.[52] They were ardent proselytes of the British public school sporting ideal. As early as 1872 Frederick Temple, Earle of Dufferin, made inferences concerning the beneficial nature of games to Upper Canada Collegians. "Skill in manly sports," he argued, "exercised a most healthful and pleasant influence upon our own conduct."[53] And the Dominion's Governor General in 1907, Earl Grey, reminded Trinity College School Boys of their responsibility to the Dominion: it was 'fair-play' that "was the ray which every boy should contribute to the Canadian Sun." Sport and Canadian society needed it. "If the sports of Canada were not quite straight or fair," he noted, it was certain that "there was something rotten in the character of Canada."[54] The Bishop of Birmingham preached to the boys of Lower Canada College in a similar vein, referring directly to the moral lessons to be taught through games and urging them to do their best "for the welfare of the school and Empire."[55] In British Columbia, former Harrow Headmaster, Cyril Norwood, and the late Headmaster of Bradfield College, Herbert B. Gray, preached the 'gospel' of games and moral education directly to the boys of Shawnigan Lake and University School respectively.[56] Such speeches constantly reaffirmed the 'old and glorious' traditions of Empire.[57] British ideals and commonality of race were views constantly

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[52]Redmond, "Diffusion in the Dominion," p. 12. The Governors General donated trophies which are still contested to-day. The most notable are the Stanley Cup, for ice hockey, the Grey Cup, for Canadian football (originally English rugby), and the Minto Cup, for lacrosse. For an evaluation of the role of ther Governors General see M.K. McLaughlin Vice Regal Patronage of Canadian Sport: 1867-1916, Unpublished M.A. Thesis, the University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1981.

[53]William Leggo, *The History and Administration of the Right Honorable Frederick Temple, Earle of Dufferin, K.P., G.C.M.G., K.C.B., F.R.S., Late Governor General of Canada.* Toronto: Lovell Printing and Publishing Company, 1878, pp. 86-89.

[54]*The Trinity College School Record,* X:5, 1907, pp. 49-51.

[55]"Visit of the Bishop of Birmingham to Lower Canada College," *Lower Canada College Magazine,* VII:1, December 1918, p. 19.

[56]*Scrapbook by Lonsdale,* p. 100; and "Speech Day 1911," *The Black and Red,* 3:13, February 1912, pp. 6-8. H.B. Gray was author of *The Public School and the Empire.* London: Williams and Norgate, 1913.

[57]For further examples, see the speeches by Lord Lansdowne and Lord Aberdeen at Upper Canada College in *The College Times,* VI:13, June 9, 1887, pp. 99-100, and XII:2, November 8, 1894, p. 13, respectively; Dr. William Caldwell of McGill University at Lower Canada College in *Lower Canada College Magazine,* III:2, April 1912, p. 2; and Justice Irwing at the Sports Day of University School, *University School Record,* I, p. 90.

stressed by the private school promoters.

George Dickson of Upper Canada College observed that "schoolboys of the Motherland play energetically, as well as work hard, and in this Brighter Britain the same traditions rule, and a good thing it is."[58] The young Canuck certainly adhered to the tradition of playing games, and there was also a great degree of innovation, adaptation and independence in the types of games that he played. While the moral theory of games was unquestionably British in its association, there is no doubt that in actual form, sport was illustrative of an emerging sense of Canadianism. Ice hockey, lacrosse and Canadian football were games which extolled the individuality of a people in search of their own identity.

One writer in the late nineteenth century throughly believed that lacrosse had "a nationalising influence upon all who come in contact with it," and that for this reason alone "it ought to be encouraged."[59] George Beers supported the claim with intense zeal, writing one book, *Lacrosse. The National Game of Canada*, and numerous articles in its defense.[60] Beers' passionate affair with lacrosse was not taken up with equal fervour by the country's private schools. Upper Canada Collegians and the boys of Ridley did have their passing flirtations with lacrosse and baseball respectively, but for them, and for boys at the other schools of the study, the major summer game had to be cricket which "embodied all the principles of British fair play which have helped bring respect to the name and flag of the Empire."[61] However, skating, tobogganing and snowshoeing were encouraged and the inclination of the schools towards playing team games popularised football and ice hockey. Orthodox values were easily grafted on to the Canadian activities. The analogy of life and the game of cricket was altered to suite new circumstances. The world became "an arena with a slippery sheet of ice:"

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[58] *The College Times*, XII:1, October 4, 1893, p. 7.
[59] W.K. McNaught, *Lacrosse and How to Play It*. Toronto: R. Marshall, 1873, p. 21.
[60] W.G. Beers, *Lacrosse: The National Game of Canada*. Montreal: Dawson, 1869. See also P.L. Lindsay, "George Beers and the National Game Concept. A Behavioural Approach," The Proceedings of the 2nd Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education, October 1972, pp. 27-44.
[61] *The College Times*, Christmas 1918, pp. 60-61.

And all have skates and hockey sticks and enter without
price.
And seats are round for those who rest,-the idle and
the old;
But those who are not in the game are apt to find it cold.
Some play defence, some forward with terrific speed and
stress.
The puck keeps flying 'twixt the goals of failure and
success.
Now up, now down, across and back, here, there and
everywhere,
The grit of skates, the crack of sticks, the shouting in
the air.
Some slip and fall a thousand times and spring up in a
trice;
Some go to pieces on their feet and have to leave the ice.
Some play offside, kick, tackle, trip, try every kind of foul.
Some players are forever cheered, some only get a howl.
We seldom hear the whistle of the watchful Referee,
Who mostly lets the game go on as if he didn't see.
No gong rings out half time to let the players get their
breath.
To most full time comes only with the solemn stroke of
death.
The winners are not always those who make the biggest
score;
The vanquished oft are victors when the stubborn game is
o'er;
For many things are added to make up the grand amount,
And everything is taken at the last into account,
The sort of sticks we played with, and the way our feet
were shod,
For the trophy is Salvation, and the Referee is God.

This type of game could only be helpful in moulding virtuous young Canadians:

God foster our Canadian sports and keep them clean
and pure,
Whole-hearted, manly, generous, and let them long
endure!
Long live each honest winter sport, each good Canadian
game,
To train the youth in lusty health and iron strength of
frame,
To make them noble, vigorous, straightforward, ardent,
bold,
More near a perfect standard than the greatest knights of
old!
Keep in the path of rectitude the young throughout the

land,
And guide them ever on their way by Thine unerring hand,
Among the slippery path of life in safety toward the goal,
And keep their bodies holy as the temples of the soul;
For the river of the future from the present's fountain runs,
And a nation's hope is founded on the virtue of her sons.
The glory of a man is strength, Thy wisdom hath declared:
Let strength increase, and strength of frame with strength of will be paired,
And let these twain go hand in hand with strength of heart and mind,
And strength of character present all forms of strength combined.
Oh, make our strength the strength of men to perfect stature grown,
And use it for Thine ends and turn man's glory to Thine own![62]

While sport reflected a Canadian element, steadfast loyalty to British ties with regard to the perceived virtues associated with games was upheld.[63] This was especially illustrated, as was the case in the public schools of Britain, by the analogy of sport and war. The confrontation in battle with the imperial foe conjured up an image of boys as sportsmen-soldier heroes. The moral benefits of games were transferable to the battlefields of Empire. In the midst of the gas at Ypres and in the horror of Passchendaele the concept of playing the game, as Girouard has pointed out, had little relevance to the soldiers of war. "It belonged to another world which seemed infinitely remote from the real world of mud, blood, boredom, fear, endurance, courage and mutilation in which they now existed."[64] However, in the safety of the cloistered confines in the Dominion, removed from the atrocities of the battle grounds, the relationship between games and war was truly believed by many students and educators. Adherents flourished while sceptics were few and far between.

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[62]Rev. W.M. MacKeracher, "The Parson at the Hockey Match," *The Eagle*, 1:5, March 1907, pp. 3-7.

[63]With regard to this concept of Canadianisation of sport, see J.W. Myrer, The Canadianization of Intercollegiate Football in Ontario from 1867 to 1921, Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Windsor, Windsor, Ontario, 1977. Myrer looks at the conceptual and actual influences impinging on Canadian football at this time.

[64]Girouard, *op.cit.*, p. 290. For an account of the war by Canadians, see W.D. Mathieson *My Grandfather's War. Canadians Remember the First World War, 1914-1918.* Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1981.

Canada's duty to and position in the Empire were emotional topics of concern as the new era of the twentieth century approached. In the 1890s, the imperial flame was kept alive by the literary and romantic ideals of writers such as Dilke, Henty and Kipling. This fervour was intensified even more by the outbreak of the Boer War.[65] Although those schools founded prior to 1899 contributed to the war effort, the pages of the respective school magazines are noticeably lacking in either descriptive or poetic allusions of Old Boys on 'the veldt.' Considering the relatively small numbers of ex-pupils actually serving in South Africa, this absence is not as curious as it first appears. This is not to say, however, that the war did not attract attention. At Trinity College School for example, a Grand Patriotic Concert was held and included "inspiring songs...stirring recitations...and vivid pictures of bivouac and field hospital" which made the young hearts in the audience "beat quicker in sympathy for the heroes who are now shedding their life's blood for the Empire."[66] The relative paucity of reference to the soldier-athlete in this period provides a sharp contrast to the record of the imperial and superior athlete-warrior of World War One.

> God save our Canada,
> Silver-crowned Canada,
> God save the king!
> Strength'ning Imperial ties,
> Let her triumphant rise
> Strong nation, great and wise,
> God save the king![67]

The Dominion's role in the First World War was recognised in the schools as being part of her 'Duty to the Empire.' This notion was forwarded in articles written by the boys, of which "Canada's Duty to the Empire" in *Acta Ridleiana* and *The Black and Red* are

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[65]For an interesting discussion of the impact of this war on imperial thought in Canada, see Robert J.D. Page, "Canada and the Imperial Idea in the Boer War Years," *Journal of Canadian Studies,* V:1, February 1970, pp. 33-49.
[66]*The Trinity College School Record,* X:5, November 1907, pp.49-51.
[67]John W. Garvin, "National Anthem. Amended for Canadians," in J.W. Garvin (ed.) *Canadian Poems of the Great War.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1918, p. 68.

representative examples.[61] Defense of Canada and Empire was the utmost responsibility and honour of the sons of the country's private institutions. The imperial legacy was well worth protecting against the German hordes:

These foreigners are cruel;
Their ruler ran amuck;
Now, on Europe's battlefield
They fight 'gainst British pluck.

Among the stalwart Britishers,
Brave, light-hearted and gay,
Are many Old Collegiate Boys,
Who fight the foe to-day.

Soldiers as noble as any,
Their training fits them all
To fight for right and England
On the field where heroes fall.

And Britain will finish glorious,
Her honour yet unstained;
She has millions of sons as noble
As those Collegiate trained.[69]

The schools can be considered major proponents of this imperial cause. They performed a vital function in preparing the dutiful citizen and soldier as the following poem, "To Ridley," infers:

To thee, O noble pile, I dedicate
Thoughts sad indeed, on this, the term's last day,
Not hardy yet art thou, but noble that here in
Was shaped the noble race whose life-blood flowed
To stop the German horde. These tablets are
The epitaphs to tombs in Flanders fields.
They are no more; a little time ago
The school, these fields, re-echoed to their shouts,

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[61] "Canada's Duty to the Empire," *Acta Ridleiana,* Midsummer 1914, pp. 19-22; and *The Black and Red,* 3:21, November 1914, pp. 19-23.
[69] "Germany's Enemies," by W.C.V., *The Windsorian,* 12:1, Midsummer 1915, p. 41.

And now! But others carry on. Indeed
Those names are called e'en now; their brothers, sons,
Make answer, who to-day, joyous have left,
Many have looked their last on thee, but all
Will hold, deep rooted, a respect and love
Which should affect for good their after-lives.[70]

Games were justified from the dual standpoint of instilling duty and military preparedness and efficiency. At Upper Canada in 1915, the editor of *The College Times* commented on a depressing year's results at hockey, football and cricket, finding it "hard to comprehend such conditions in Canada's Premier College even in war time." The challenge to improve was issued. After all, more than the College's reputation was at stake:

> Athletics are only to build us physically, and to fit us to play our part in the struggle for the Empire's existence, so that in winning or losing our matches we are becoming physically qualified to take our places, and must consider it from that viewpoint...we must consider athletics as only a means of enabling us to avenge our glorious dead.[71]

In a similar, but not revengeful mood, the physical and moral advantages of games were eulogised at Trinity College School by James Hughes who preached "our games, it is, that build character," and were of course, as a matter of progression, responsible for "that never-say-die spirit - that spirit which made our Canadian men in France the finest soldiers in the world, the spirit that saved the day for the allies at Ypres."[72]

This belligerent attitude and belief in the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race was not just imperial in its origin; it was representative of the application of Darwinian thought to racism and imperialism, a dominant ideal in late nineteenth century intellectual thought.[73] The war was seen as a struggle between nations and it was the 'fittest' that would 'survive.' From

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[70] "To Ridley," by C.G.A., *Acta Ridleiana*, Easter 1919, p. 20.
[71] "U.C.C. and the War," *The College Times*, Summer 1915, p. 36.
[72] *The Trinity College School Record*, XIX:3, February 1917, pp. 42-43.
[73] Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought*, particularly Chapter 9, "Racism and Imperialism," pp. 170-200; and Berger, *op.cit.*, pp. 233-258.

the literature of schools of this study, it is evident that the Empire would survive and the fitness of the Anglo-Saxon nation would glory. Involvement in games provided a convenient example and a persuasive explanation for the physical and moral superiority of Britain's forces over her enemy. An article entitled "College Sports" in the *Lower Canada College Magazine* made the comparison between the sporting ancestries of the two nations. The author began by stating that sports illustrated and moulded the national character of a people. The British, he argued, were of course the "premier sporting nation of the world" and had spread the gospel of games and their associated virtues to every corner of the Empire. In contrast, "have you ever noticed," he asked, "that Germany is not a sporting nation at all?" His subsequent condemnation of Germany's failure to participate in games brought him to the predictable conclusion that they would, naturally, "lose the day" on the "battlefields of Empire."[74]

By its association with Britannic racial supremacy, the utility of games as a preparatory agent for warfare was totally acknowledged. Continual confirmation of this belief appeared in the poems, letters and obituaries which peppered the school magazines. The analogy between sport and war, and between performance on the games field and on the battlefield, was thus regularly emphasised. Spurred on by Henry Newbolt's oft-quoted 'Vitai Lampada,' first published in 1897, the moral value of games began to supply other aspiring poets of Empire with sport and war metaphor. Simple analogy was made in poems such as "The Same Game" which was reproduced in the *Lower Canada College Magazine* from the *New York World*.

The boy who once won football fame,
Now goes, without a backward glance,
To play a fiercer, wilder game
Upon some bloody field in France;
Where every yard line means a trench;
Where players cannot stall for breath,
Or stop the game for bruise or wrench;
Where penalties are wounds and death.

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[74] "College Sports," by W.H.J., *Lower Canada College Magazine*, V:III, June 1916, pp. 21-23.

But still those boys will find it so
That football axioms apply
To hit the line and hit it low;
Never to let a foeman by;
To find a weakness and to send
The play to it, to rip and bore;
To fight unto the very end;
That's football - and it's also war.'[75]

A similar but more original and meaningful effort was published in Rothesay's *Blue and White*. The second verse of "With R.C.S. in Flanders" reflects the tone of the whole:

It's this very game we're playing,
Like the football games of old,
Tho' its just a little stiffer
And the weather's wet and cold;
It's the little bit we're doing
In the work upon the guns,
That makes us think of Rothesay
While we're fighting with the Huns.'[76]

This uncomplicated simile was embraced by staff, students and visitors alike. Even the soldier at the front distorted the situation. One Lower Canada Collegian in a letter to Fosbery claimed that "this is just about as exciting a game as I ever want to be in." He even confessed that "old football stunts come in rather handy sometimes dodging shells."[77]

The harshness of war was not always forgotten. More realistic views were described, but the analogy frequently remained the same as in C.A. Alington's "To the School at War," reprinted in *The College Times*:

We don't forget you - in the wintry weather
You man the trench or tramp the frozen snow:
We play the games we used to play together

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[75]Walter Turnbull, "The Same Game," *Lower Canada College Magazine*, VII:3, June 1919, p. 36.
[76]"With R.C.S. in Flanders, *The Blue and White*, XIII:2, Easter 1918, p. 10.
[77]*Lower Canada College Magazine*, VII:1, June 1917, p. 35.

In days of peace that seem so long ago;
But through it all, the shouting and cheering,
Those other hosts in graver conflict met,
Those other sadder sounds your ears are hearing,
Be sure we don't forget.[78]

At University School too, memories were portrayed with solemnity, although the overtones of morality, duty and glorification of the war were still evident:

Where yon grey mound lifts up his rounded head,
And earth and sea the air are one, combined,
Step gently o'er the playfields of the dead -
That turf with hallowed footprints is entwined.

For there in Youths' own halls, they lived their life;
'Twas there they learnt the noble and the good,
And there in games they fought their sportful strife
Who soon should fight in grimness and in blood.

A breed of heroes came from Tolmie's Hill
To fight for King and Liberty's sweet sake;
They died - and in their deaths they still
Hold up the untarnished shield for you to take.

For you, who now with shouts and sports uproar,
That same mock welfare earnestly pursue;
'Tis yours to bear unsmirched the name they bore.
And live the life they lived - pure, bold and true.

Step lightly o'er the playfields of the dead;
That turf with hallowed footprints is entwined;
And every growing shrub or flowery bed
Is their memorial - is with them enshrined.[79]

The schoolboy journal poets and authors of the Great War era skillfully, if not altogether in classic literary style, linked conflict in games with times of war. Similarly, the verse and prose

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[78]C.A. Alington, "To the School at War," *The College Times,* Christmas 1916, p. 37. Alington was Headmaster at Shrewsbury and later at Eton.
[79]"The Playfields of the Dead," *The Black and Red,* VI:32, June 1918, p. 35.

implicated heroic battlefield deeds with imperial duty.

> We have given our best, they have fought and bled:
> For the life of the Empire their lives were shed:
> To our lasting pride
> They died.[80]

The soldier-athlete of Canada and Empire was projected as a favourable image in the eyes of thousands of readers of private school literature. Messages were sincerely delivered and, it must be concluded, were believed. When the end of war came, the games fields were not emptied. One reasonable explanation for the maintenance of this viewpoint is the fact that the schools supported the practice of military drill and cadet training which were judged appropriate media for the imparting of moral and physical virtues such as good citizenship, self-discipline, and *esprit de corps* as well as the necessary militaristic qualities.[81] In Britain, athleticism emerged from the violence of the war under severe criticism. The dual attention paid to games and military training as preparatory agents for warfare offers an explanation for the lack of similar reactions in the Dominion. Scepticism and cynicism concerning the value of games for imprinting qualities of bravery, courage and duty did not destroy the coveted ideal of the 'British Imperial Spirit of Sport,' as it did in many of the British public schools.[82]

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[80]"Pro Patria," *The College Times,* Summer 1915, p. 3.

[81]Upper Canada College and St.John's School, Montreal, established corps as early as 1866. Prior to the Great War in Britain, there were only sporadic cadet corps in the public school system. Organised games were held in higher regard. See Geoffrey Best "Militarism and the Victorian Public School," in Simon and Bradley, *op.cit.*, pp. 129-146.

[82]This saying was coined by John Astley Cooper, a supporter of Empire and leading figure in the concept of the British Empire Games which he originally articulated in his idea of the Pan-Britannic Festival of Culture, Industry and Sport To Cooper, the "underlying philosophy of all our National and Imperial games is not only to produce skill, discipline, loyalty, endurance, steadiness in attack, patience under misfortune, and other physical and mental qualities, but to encourage unselfishness which is synonymous with good temper, a sense of humour and honour, as well as healthy hero worship." The popular idol of the British public he maintained was not found only on the "playgrounds of the British Empire," but also on the "wider arena of public life" where he "plays the game of life in all its occupations and on the battle-field according to the British conception of fair play" and "combines unconsciously in himself the attributes of what I call the British Imperial spirit of

In a speech to the boys of Trinity College School, General Sir A.C. Magdonell could say nothing but good about the training they received. The stress placed on "chivalrous conduct and magnaminous behaviour" was the mark of the Trinity College School boy, whom, not surpisingly, he considered "the kind of man whom men were willing to accept as leader - in military parlance."[83] At Upper Canada College, Principal Grant remarked that "it was the sporting spirit which pulled the Empire through the War..."[84] And at Ridley, games continued their dominant status in the lives of the boys.[85] John Astley Cooper's 'spirit of sport' and its alleged values still found favour at the schools of this study.[86]

In the early 1880s, an article on "Education and National Sentiment" appeared in one of Canada's new national journals, *Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly and National Review.* The author, K. Seymour Maclean, urged authorities to Canadianise the National Readers in the educational texts of the country's school system. In this way, he believed that the foundation for training young citizens of the Dominion could be established and a need for people to recognise and prize their relationship to the country could be accomplished.[87] While school readers were a medium for fostering national sentiment and for perpetuating a desired set of values in the public schools, in the splendid isolation of the private school setting, games contributed significantly towards achieving such a purpose. In fact, it must be considered that they fulfilled rather contradictory roles. Certain forms of physical activity were illustrative of Canadian character, and yet in terms of the benefits derived from participation, games, and

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[82](cont'd) sport." See John Astley Cooper, "The British Imperial Spirit of Sport and the War," *United Empire,* The Royal Colonial Institute Journal, VII:9, September 1916, pp. 581-596. I am indebted to Katharine Moore for making this paper available to me.

[83]"The Headmaster's Report," *The Trinity College School Record,* XXII:2, October 1919, pp. 20-24.

[84]"The Principal's Prize Day Speech," *The College Times,* Christmas 1922, pp. 11-16.

[85]Cronyn, *Ninety, Not Out,* p. 27.

[86]See for example "Teamwork," in Rothesay's *Blue and White,* June 1927, XXII:2, p 27; Lonsdale's address to the Duncan Rotary Club on "The Ideal Boy," *op.cit.;* and A. Rogers, "The Private School and Citizenship," *op.cit.*.

[87]K. Seymour Maclean, "Education and National Sentiment," *Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly and National Review,* VI:2, February 1881, pp. 190-194.

especially the maintenance of cricket, they were symbolic of the British sense of identity and of the link with Empire. The schools of this study, in varying degrees, easily equated the concepts of nationalism and imperialism for certain elements of Canadianism were founded on influential historical forces. Authorities at the schools believed in the traditional British value claim for sport and games and viewed them as an effective and essential means by which their young were Canadianised and imperialised.

Chapter IX

CONCLUSION: GUARDIANS OF TRADITION

In the early 1900s, the Reverend Herbert Symonds, Headmaster of Trinity College School for a brief spell, informed the educational world of the state of the 'boarding school system' in Canada. One portion of his account, quite naturally, focused on school games:

> During the past forty years a great deal of attention has been paid to the physical development of boys, and most boarding schools are excellently equipped with playfields and gymnasiums. ...The *morale* of the English boarding schools has vastly improved since the cultivation of athletic sports became something of a science, and no boarding school that overlooks this side of boy life can hope or deserve to prosper.[1]

Symonds was both correct and opinionated in his observations, but there is more to his commentary than mere description of schoolboy life. He related both the growth of and the conviction to an educational ideal. And, unbeknownst to the author, athleticism was still to emerge at some institutions in the periods before and after the Great War. It was the Headmasters who set the general tone for the schools which clung tenaciously to firmly established principles and practice. Judd at King's, Hibbard at Rothesay, Miller, and then Griffith, at Ridley and Burman at St.John's all held fast to traditional views. The longevity of their term of office assured that athleticism prospered under these Canadian-educated leaders. At Lakefield, the delights of the woods and the water as well as games were still promoted with vigour by Alick Mackenzie; while at Trinity College, Lower Canada and Shawnigan, the most recent bonds with the British system were exemplified by Orchard, Fosbery and Lonsdale respectively. There too, athleticism was guaranteed a high profile. However, because of the difference in the founding dates of the schools and because of the time lag between the growth and consolidation of the ideology in Britain and Canada, athleticism had not fully matured in institutions across Canada as previous scholars have claimed. At the later founded schools

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[1]H. Symonds, "The Boarding School System in Canada," *The Educational Monthly of Canada,* January 1903, pp. 21-26.

transformations had yet to take place. More significantly, at the more traditional schools, refinements were appearing.

Trinity College's Graham Orchard, an avid supporter of games, instilled a more disciplinarian attitude towards every aspect of school life. His pursuit of excellence and his idealism in his desire to create the 'Christian Gentleman' was Arnoldian in its obsession and manifestation.[2] The education provided by the 'Great' English public schools, of which Orchard was a product, was prized by the St.Paul's and Cambridge graduate.[3] In his view, the right attitude in class and at games was vital. His boys were highly disciplined in mind and body, epitomising his own forceful drive. At Upper Canada College, the appointment of W.L. Grant signalled more concrete changes.

Grant's lineage was unparalleled by any of his predecessors. His father was George M. Grant, educationalist, imperialist and intellectual. His father-in-law was George Parkin. Young Grant was steeped in and shaped by their Christian and Canadian imperial thought. To Parkin in particular he admitted that he owed "a stimulating and awakening" of his own "vague ideals."[4] It is not surprising to find that like Parkin he sought to create from boys, men who "qualified for the service of God and country."[5] In Grant's own scheme of education at Upper Canada, games had their place. He expanded facilities, he instituted the House system in the British mould, he organised a new Athletic Committee to govern games more efficiently, and he made games compulsory for day-boys and boarders.[6] Grant tempered his firm belief in the value of sport with an equally fervent emphasis on intellectual development. "Do not," he warned his boys, "set up a vicious and unreal antagonism between sportsmanship and scholarship." Balance and harmony characterised his educational formula. "Character is formed, disciplined integrity is shaped, not only on the playing field but in the class-room...the

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[2]See the chapter on Graham Orchard, "The Orchard Regime," in Humble, *The School on the Hill.*

[3]"The Headmaster's Report," *The Trinity College School Record,* XXII:2, October 1919, pp. 20-24.

[4]"The Principal's Prize Day Speech," *The College Times,* Christmas 1922, pp. 11-16.

[5]*Ibid.*, p. 16.

[6]*Ibid.*, pp. 13-14, and *The College Times,* Easter 1919, p. 1.

College must do more than turn out useful and pleasant members of the various golf clubs throughout the Dominion."[7]

Grant's post-bellum athletic innovations at Upper Canada College were not isolated episodes. At each institution athleticism gained rather than lost momentum. Memorial gymnasiums, hockey arenas and new fields were constructed. Banquets and celebratory suppers and dinners were still given to laud the championship teams. They were both monuments to and symbols of the continuing expansion and perpetuation of an educational ideology.

By the end of the Great War, athleticism can clearly be assigned a definition which reflected its status in the schools of this study. The term represented an ideology which at the practical level comprised considerable and often compulsory involvement in organised outdoor physical pursuits, notably the team games of cricket, rugby, Canadian football and ice hockey, and the activities of snowshoeing, tobogganning, skating, scouting, camping and canoeing. By taking part in such healthy exercises, it was believed that an individual developed behavioural qualities of physical and moral benefit in later life. A sense of duty to self and group, which could include a team, the school and ultimately the nation, the attributes of honesty, truth, fair play, and the ability to co-operate, command and obey were effectively transmitted through participation. These values were consciously upheld and expressed by school masters, official visitors, and the boys themselves, and they were symbolically represented in language, literature, dress and behaviour.

In the schools which have been examined, athleticism emerged and matured over different periods of time, depending to a great extent on the founding dates of the schools, on the individuals who held positions of power and responsibility with regard to making policy decisions and on contemporary ideas concerning educational practice. Subscription to the ideology was accompanied by several consistent features. School games became less desultory and unsupervised and more systematised and controlled. Premeditated construction of athletic

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[7]"The Principal's Prize Day Speech," p. 15.

facilities and increased promotion of physical activity by staff members were salient features and distinct patterns of ideological adoption, as were the endorsements by school administrators to ensure regular involvement. Conformity, that is any action in accordance with a particular standard or authority, was a prominent characteristic of athleticism and of those who professed its virtues.

It is clear that by 1919 athleticism had developed into an educational ideal which previously has been underestimated, in terms of its force, and misunderstood, in terms of its function, at these institutions. Organised games functioned as a convenient means of social control, and were a potent agent of socialisation. The values and attitudes which the supporters of games believed that they could impart corresponded with contemporary educational and intellectual thought. The training of young Canadians and citizens of Empire was achieved as much through the medium of healthy physical activity as it was through the values espoused in school text books.[1] The formation of the upstanding Christian citizen was also an imperative objective of private education. And games, through the moral lessons they taught, were seen to fulfill this purpose. However, this Christianising influence sometimes masked the harsh realities, not only of games, but of the actual school life which was often Spartan, stoic and in certain instances, unChristian. The environment created a rugged individualism among the students that reflected elements of Darwinian thought as much as the muscular Christian sentiments offered for public consumption.

Athleticism was consolidated at the schools through a number of forces which were both internal and external in nature. Primary influences were school authorities. The majority of Headmasters, irrespective of their origin, remained conservative in their approach to instituting organised sport as part of the educational programme and in their sponsorship of it. However, the philosophical arguments for games put forward by these men varied. Local

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[1]See R.E. Hughes, *The Making of Citizens. A Study in Comparative Education.* London: The Walter Scott Publishing Company, 1902. Hughes makes this point when discussing Britain's public schools. He states that "the most valuable and permanent attributes were engendered, not in the class room, but in the playing field," pp. 302-303.

conditions and circumstances, personal experiences and evolving sources of inspiration forced differences in lines of thought and in actual manifestation of the ideology at the working level. This, on occasion, gave athleticism a distinct Canadian guise despite the orthodox values underlying its advocacy.

Other factors affected the growth of athleticism. Considerable and favourable financial conributions were given by wealthy parents, Old Boys, staff and students. The latter two groups in particular were responsible for elevating the standing of sport and the sportsman at the schools. Codes of conduct on the games field were personified by athletically-oriented masters, both Canadian and British, and partially embraced the concept of the 'ideal boy.' Games teachers and athletes were role models and the pattern of their behaviour was given recognition. Others approved of the definition of these roles and consequently defined their own roles in terms of conformity to that of the model. Success in life was equated with success in sports. In the world of the schoolboy it was not uncommon to find that outstanding games players were ascribed high social status. Indeed, the leading athletes and teams went to great lengths to separate themselves from other sections of the school community. This exemplified the importance attached to sport by the boys and such action functioned latently to preserve and perpetuate the elitist atmosphere that the private schools *per se* symbolised. Many students conformed to this internal social and athletic hierarchy which was given substantial support in the poetry and prose of the school magazines. Conformity of ideal co-existed with conformity in rhetoric and action.

Following the war, Canadians in all walks of life began to take stock of recent events. It was a time to reassess and often revise previous ideas and practices. Education was not exempt from this process of reassessment. Problems of how to educate children effectively, and to what end, confronted the country's authorities dealing with public schooling. There was a demand for programmes that emphasised the technical skills and knowledge required to cope in an increasingly industrial society. Deteriorating health and hygiene conditions within the

schools were pressing concerns. And the American concept of progressive education, with its focus on the individual approach to learning and its condemnation of the traditional and tediously uniform methods, was advocated. This latter influence made considerable impact with reference to recommendations regarding physical education. An effort was made to replace formal drill with activities which were more child-centred. The aim was to "aid in the physical development of the child and to educate through play."[9] Organised games were promoted and inter-scholastic sports became the vogue.[10]

Reforms at Canada's private schools were not so dramatic. They were certainly in touch with contemporary educational thought but the need for change was not imperative. They remained 'mothers of convention,' creators and producers of society's leading citizens. In an era when many Canadians embraced the view that 'time makes ancient things uncouth,' athleticism in the country's elite institutions was faithfully and universally endorsed. In this light, the schools of this study were loyal 'guardians of tradition.'

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[9]J.H. Putnam and G.M. Weir, *Province of British Columbia. Survey of the School System.* Victoria, B.C.: Charles F. Banfield, 1925, pp. 95-96.

[10]See R. Lappage, Selected Sports and Canadian Society, 1921-1939. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1974, pp. 222-241. Putnam and Weir, *ibid.*, advised: "Organized games have a high educational value. They train for leadership, show the advantages of team work, and under good management develop a fine school spirit."

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APPENDICES

A. APPENDIX I: ANALYSIS OF ENTRIES IN THE DIARY OF PETER PERRY.

	May 2 - June 18, 1867	April 27 - July 11, 1870
Cricket	9	28
Drill	3	5
Fishing	3	
Swimming	1	2
Gymnasium	1	
Games Day	1	1
Other Activities	2[1]	16[2]
Study and Results	15	46
Illness	15[3]	5[4]
Weather	43	74
Meals	1	68
Punishments		7
Church	2	13
Total Entries	43	74
Total Activity	20	52
Weather	43	74
Meals	1	68
Total Other	32	71

KEY:
1. Includes walking with mother and hunting insects.
2. Includes boxing, fighting. tag, prisoner's base, pull away, leap-frog, firing water from a glass syringe, Dan Tucker, Dance, Quaker's Meeting, fortune telling, chess and shooting birds.
3. Includes burns from an accident with gunpowder, headaches and boils.
4. Includes a cold in the head, a sty on the eye and a hurt hand from catching a cricket ball.

B. APPENDIX II; THE EDUCATION OF MASTERS AT ROTHESAY TO 1919.

G. Exton Lloyd	Wycliffe College, Toronto.
O.W. Howard	Huron College, London, Ontario.
T. Beverly Smith	University of Toronto.
C.S. Smith	University of Toronto.
W.R. Hibbard	Bishop's College Lennoxville, Quebec.
I.E. Moore	University of Toronto.
R.W.Allin	University of Toronto.
E.M. Watson	Clifton College, England.
S.Bale	University of Toronto.
Professor Ross	Taught Physical Drill and Gymnastics.
H. Trumpour	University of Toronto.
H. Drummond	Fredericton Normal School.
J.F. Walker	Taught Physical Drill and Gymnastics.
H.D. Raymond	Superior School Licence.
R. St.John Freeze	University of New Brunswick.
W.H. Patterson	University of New Brunswick.
C. Lawson	University of New Brunswick.
Sgt. R. Dooe	Taught Physical and Militray Drill.
A. McEvoy	No Information.
J.P. Page	Ontario Normal College.
L. Gilbert	No Information.
E.S. Bridges	University of New Brunswick.
J. Holmes	University of New Brunswick.
R. Cooper	Selwyn College, Cambridge.
F.S. Morrison	Fredericton Normal School.
J.S. Brown	Bishop's College Lennoxville, Quebec.
H.L.E. Adams	Manchester University, England.
J.R.H. Harley	King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia.
F.J. Mallet	Downing College, Cambridge.
B.B. Barnes	Fredericton Normal School.
P. Couthurst	No Information.
A.D. Purdon	Leeds University, England.
H.V. Haines	Emmanuel College, Cambridge.
L.H.S. Bent	Mount Allison University, New Brunswick.
H. Caswell	Bishop's College Lennoxville, Quebec.
W. Murray	Fredericton Normal School
C. Scott	London University, England.
W.A. Haines	University of New Brunswick.
G.R. Ryder	Fredericton Normal School.

TOTAL	**40**
CANADIAN TRAINED	**27 (67.5%)**
ENGLISH TRAINED	**7 (17.5%)**
NO INFORMATION	**6 (15%)**

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[1]This information was gleaned from school Calendars of the period. R Cooper, H.L.E. Adams, F.J. Mallet and H.V. Haines only remained at the school for one academic year.

C. APPENDIX III: THE AFFILIATION OF PREFECTS AT ST.JOHN'S/LOWER CANADA COLLEGE, MONTREAL.

	PREFECT	HOCK.	FOOT.	CRICK.	TRACK.	MAG.
A.G. Haultain	1905-06	•	•			
A.R. Renaud	1905-08	•	•			
G.F. Pain	1905-08	•		•	•	Business
H. Johnson	1905-08	•	•	•	•	Secretary
F.S.B. Heward	1905-08	•	•	•	•	Secretary
S.B. Lindsay	1905-07		•			
H.A. Peck	1905-07		•			Secretary
J.B. Hebden	1905-1906	•	•			Bus./Fin.
W.R. McLaren	1905-06		•			Sports
F.A. Stanton	1905-06		•			Sports
M.O. Haskell	1905-08	•	•	•		
B. French	1905-08	•	•	•		Bus./Fin./Sec.
E.T. Cleghorn	1905-07	•	•			
A.G. Cleghorn	1905-08		•		•	
H.O. Young	1906-09	•	•		•	Fin./Sec.
B.A. Peck	1907-09	•	•	•	•	

PREFECTS	SINGLE AFFILIATION	DOUBLE AFFILIATION	DOUBLE AFFILIATION
HOCKEY (H)	11 (68.75%)	10 (62.5%) (F) and (H)	5 (31.25%) (H) and (T)
FOOTBALL (F)	15 (93.75%)	5 (31.25%) (F) and (C)	6 (37.5%) (H) and (M)
CRICKET (C)	6 (37.5%)	5 (31.25) (F) and (T)	4 (25%) (C) and (T)
TRACK (T)	6 (37.5%)	8 (50%) (F) and (M)	4 (25%) (C) and (M)
MAGAZINE (M)	9 (56.25%)	6 (37.5%) (H) and (C)	4 (25%) (T) and (M)

D. APPENDIX IV: THE TROPHIES OF UNIVERSITY SCHOOL.

OUR TROPHIES.[2]

The number and scope of our school activities has become so great that the system recording individual honours has grown proportionately more complicated. Accordingly, for the benefit of the new boys, as well as the old boys who may, and we hope often will, revisit the School, it may be useful to set down briefly how we keep these records, and what the decorations mean that adorn our walls.

I confine myself to records of individual achievements.

1-The Honour Boards. These display in gold letters on black (1) the name of the Head Boy of each year, and (2) the scholastic honours won by boys of the School.

2-The Captains' Shields. These three recount, in lettering of red and gold on a plain oak background, the names of the Captain of Cricket, the Captain of Football, and the Officer commanding the Cadet Corps.

3-The Team Shields. These will shortly be put up in the Gymnasium, and give in plain black letters on oak the names of all the members of the Cricket eleven, the Football fifteen, and the Rifle ten for each year.

4-The Chipman Shield. This is silver on ebony, and shows the name of the Senior Athletic Champion of each year. Below hangs a pennant of the town or district from which he comes.

5-The Nelson Shield. Copper on oak, derived from Nelson's ships the Victory and Foudroyant, and presented by Lord Strathcona. This gives the name the Best Shot for the year, and also has a pennant beneath.

6-The Tolmie Shield. Presented by Mr. John Tolmie for miniature shooting. Though really a team trophy, it bears the name of the captain of the winning team, and carries a similar pennant for twelve months.

7-The Croft Cup. Presented by Mrs Henry Croft. Has the name of the Gymnastic Champion, who receives a small replica for himself.

8-The Sixth Form Shields. We give in this issue an illustration of five of these records of old boys. They are covered with heraldic designs by Mr. Harvey in gold, silver, red, blue, green and black, with above the name of the boy, and the dates of his entering and leaving school.

Prefects have a checkered board of red and silver, Monitors a wide blue boarder. Other honours are indicated by various "charges" on the shield as follows:

A School Prize (an open book); when on a small shield, means Head of the School.

Rank in Cadet Corps (stars or chevrons); the O.C. has a crown on a small shield.

Cricket Eleven (a bat): the captain, a bat on a shield.

Hockey Eleven (crossed sticks).

Football Fifteen (a football).

Rifle Team (crossed rifles); all captains have the badge on a small shield, and the best in the school has a small star above the badge.

Gym Eight (crossed swords).

Athletic Champion (a silver cup on a shield).

First Class Scout (the fleur-de-lis badge).

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[2]Excerpt from *The Black and Red*, 3:16, March 1913, pp.18-19.

E. APPENDIX V: FIXTURE LISTS FOR UNIVERSITY SCHOOL AND LOWER CANADA COLLEGE.

While the renowned private schools of Ontario competed against each other in athletic contests, the other schools across the country relied on local competition from neighbouring high schools and sports clubs. Listed below are the fixture lists for the University School cricket team in 1912 and the Lower Canada College football team in 1914.

UNIVERSITY SCHOOL CRICKET LIST, 1912:

MAY 13	VICTORIA JUNIORS
MAY 22	ALBION CRICKET CLUB (SCHOOL AND MASTERS)
MAY 25	VANCOUVER CRICKET CLUB (SCHOOL AND MASTERS)
JUNE 1	VICTORIA CRICKET CLUB (SCHOOL AND MASTERS)
JUNE 5	COWICHAN CRICKET CLUB (SCHOOL AND MASTERS)
JUNE 8	OAK BAY CRICKET CLUB 2nd XI
JUNE 12	NAVY CRICKET CLUB (SCHOOL AND MASTERS)
JUNE 22	BURRARD 2nd XI
JUNE 26	ALBION CRICKET CLUB (SCHOOL AND MASTERS)
JUNE 28	COWICHAN CRICKET CLUB
JULY 10	PARENTS

It was not unusual for staff members to participate in games against higher calibre 'foreign' opposition such as that provided by community cricket clubs. The teams at King's School in Nova Scotia competed in a similar manner and also played against high schools in the area and Rothesay Collegiate School, its nearest private school counterpart. Lower Canada College's list included both private, Ashbury and St. Albans, and public school opposition on a home and away basis.

LOWER CANADA COLLEGE FOOTBALL FIXTURES, 1914:

OCTOBER 3	ST. ALBANS
OCTOBER 7	WESTMOUNT HIGH SCHOOL
OCTOBER 10	ASHBURY
OCTOBER 14	MONTREAL HIGH SCHOOL
OCTOBER 21	MONTREAL HIGH SCHOOL
OCTOBER 24	ST. ALBANS
OCTOBER 28	WESTMOUNT HIGH SCHOOL
OCTOBER 31	ASHBURY