

The British Protestant Pioneers and the Establishment of Manly Sports in Manitoba, 1870-1886

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Historians have often noted that, as settlers moved into many different North American frontier regions, they exhibited a desire to re-establish what seemed to be the best elements of the civilization they had left behind. They have shown that the vast majority of pioneers, and especially a "potent minority" of conscientious "culture bearers" among them, hoped to transfer successfully most of their political, economic, religious and social practices and institutions.¹ However, they have been preoccupied with the highly visible efforts to reinstate familiar political institutions, to inaugurate customary legal and economic practices, and to found churches, schools and colleges, newspapers, libraries, theatres and fraternal organizations. The example provided by the British Protestants who settled in Manitoba in the 1870's and 1880's suggests that, when writing about transfers of culture to new environments as when writing about so many other events and phenomena, historians have not noted the significance of sport. In Manitoba at least, the pioneers were only slightly less anxious to reproduce their best sporting traditions than they were to reproduce their best political, economic, legal, educational and religious ones.

In 1869 control of the vast Northwest of the Hudson's Bay Company was transferred by British authorities to the Dominion of Canada. In 1870 most of the remarkably large region became a "territory," designated appropriately as the "North-West Territory"; the relatively small part that corresponded roughly to the already occupied lands along the Red and Assiniboine Rivers became the "Province of Manitoba."²

There were slightly less than 12000 people in the new province. Not quite half

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of them were Protestant, and just more than half were Roman Catholic. There were about 500 Indians, about 1500 whites, and the vast majority—almost 10000—were mixed-bloods.³ Already, however, the demography of Manitoba was changing rapidly. The major cause was those individuals who were in the vanguard of many thousands of British Protestants about to flood into the province. Since the 1850's it had been Protestant Upper Canadians who had shown the most interest in the agricultural and related commercial potentialities of that portion of the Hudson's Bay Company's Northwest that lay to the south of the Precambrian Shield, and for fifteen or twenty years prior to 1870 there had been a small but reasonably steady migration of them to the region. After 1870, and especially after 1875, a much larger number of British Protestants emigrated to Manitoba, mostly from Upper Canada or Ontario as it was by then called, but also from Great Britain and, to a much lesser extent, from the United States. By 1886 almost exactly two-thirds of the province's 108,640 people were of English, Irish or Scottish descent and of the Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian, Congregationalist or Baptist faiths.⁴

These people were members of ethnic and religious communities that, in other parts of the world, were recognizably distinct and even antagonistic. In the Canadian and especially the Western Canadian context, however, there was not a "very meaningful degree of . . . diversity" in their attitudes and values, and one may speak of them as members of an essentially unified culture group.⁵ And while it was true that there were many people from other backgrounds who moved into the province in the 1870's and 1880's, notably the Mennonites, Icelanders and French-Canadians who settled on lands reserved for them by the Government of Canada,⁶ the British Protestants formed a majority. Moreover, they' were a very aggressive and confident one. They came to Manitoba under the impression that they were bringing "progress" to a semi-wilderness. Their task, which from their point of view was a "calling," was to replace the backward ways of life and institutions of an "old order" in the Northwest, based primarily on the fur trade, with the progressive, modern ones they associated with Great Britain and Ontario, a "new order" founded on agriculture.⁷ They felt in duty bound to reproduce on the prairies the best features of British civilization, and this included the best of their familiar sports.

The pioneers were heirs of a sporting tradition that was as rich as any in the history of man. They were acquainted with a wide range of sedentary games of chance and strategy, and with a vast number of contests designed to test physical attributes of human or non-human competitors.⁸ Once settled in Manitoba they quickly began to participate in forms of all their customary games and contests. To a considerable degree, of course, they did so "unconsciously"—that is, they often played familiar games without reflecting upon what they were doing or why, in much the same way as they continued to

shake hands when they met or to discipline naughty children. Nonetheless participants in games very often *did* reflect upon what they were doing and why. It seemed important to do so, because games provided “fun,” and fun was something that made most of them feel uncomfortable.

Almost all of these people had been influenced by the idea, rooted in Puritanism but by the mid-nineteenth century widely diffused through British and North American Protestantism, that frivolity had to be guarded against very closely.⁹ The basis of this notion was that God frowned upon levity, but its widespread influence probably owed more to a confidence that both national and individual progress resulted from diligence and devotion to duty. The pioneers assumed that British people had become the most prosperous and progressive in the world precisely because they had been more industrious and less inclined to vacuity than others, and that what really separated great men from ordinary or insignificant ones was not “talent” or fortunate circumstances but determination and the willingness to use leisure for self-improvement.¹⁰ A favourite slogan of Manitoba’s new majority equated “time” with “money,” and in a general way they believed that one’s success in this life and fitness for the next depended upon how one “spent” that time.¹¹

The prevalence of these beliefs among them meant that for the pioneers, as for the English Evangelicals of whom Professor Robert W. Malcolmson has so capably written, recreations always had to be “closely scrutinized,” and in order to be truly acceptable they had to provide something more than mere enjoyment.¹² Because they did not seem to do so, some popular amusements, including cock-fighting, dog-fighting, most forms of dances, many card games and even, to a lesser extent, horseracing, were of questionable value. They were transferred to Manitoba of course, but a large number of individuals, especially those who regarded themselves as “respectable,” were not proud of this fact, and those who engaged in or observed these activities must have wondered about the propriety of doing so.¹³ One group of recreations met with nearly universal endorsement however. These were the games that were referred to as “manly.”

Manly games were simply those that seemed to test, and therefore dramatize and inculcate, that quality of character that pioneer Manitobans and other Victorians called “manliness.” None of them bothered to define precisely what was meant by manliness, but as one reads through their speeches and writings on the subject it becomes clear that manliness was the ultimate masculine quality, *the* male attribute incorporating a number of smaller, more particular ones. Manitobans’ ideal was one they shared with most people in the English-speaking world in the latter half of the nineteenth century. A major component of it was what the ancient Greeks had called θυμός, *thymos*— physical energy, vitality and courage. *Thymos* was the opposite of effeminacy; its im-

portance had been emphasized particularly by Charles Kingsley, a mid-nineteenth century English clergyman and novelist.¹⁴ That it was an important part of the Manitoban ideal is revealed by the enthusiastic praise which greeted a sermon preached in 1884 to young men at Winnipeg's Y.M.C.A. by Rev. J.B. Silcox, one of the province's first Congregationalist clergymen. Silcox told his audience that neither he nor God had any use for "soft, pulpy, effeminate" types, and that the "first duty" of each of his listeners was to "make a man" of himself, the type of man that "God approves of in every age and nation," one that was "sturdy, valorous . . . rugged, robust . . . [and] heroic."¹⁵ But Kingsley, Silcox and pioneer Manitobans knew that manliness was more than *thymos*. It also incorporated a large number of desirable mental and moral attributes, things such as decisiveness, mental vigor and clear-headedness, determination, discipline, the spirit of fair play, loyalty and integrity. Above all, it included the mature moral strength that ensured that *thymos* would be used, in the words of the influential English novelist Thomas Hughes, "for the protection of the weak, and the advancement of all righteous causes."¹⁶

Like Hughes, the pioneers believed that certain games both nurtured these manly qualities and symbolically revealed that true success went to those who possessed them. Just which games were the manly ones they did not specify. In fact, had they been asked to draw up a list of such games, different individuals would have included different competitions because, just as certain people emphasized varying components of the total ideal of manliness, so they regarded particular games as more or less manly. Boxing, for example, was probably seen as a manly sport by most people, but its historically close association with brutality and gambling made it suspect among those who emphasized that truly worthwhile competitions should cultivate and reward moral, not just physical, strength.¹⁷ However, if the pioneers did not designate explicitly the competitions they regarded as manly, they did so implicitly, and among those that were silently ruled out were the sedentary games of chance or strategy, including all of the card and board games. This was primarily because, except in a very limited sense, no physical attribute was tested in them. Billiards was also a non-manly sport. Although essentially a test of physical skill, it was not vigorous enough to require *thymos* and, like games of chance, it was regarded as too closely associated with gambling and other vices to be morally constructive.¹⁸

A second class of games straddled the "borderline" between those that were not manly and those that were. These were not associated with moral baseness and were structured so that the outcomes were determined in large part by a physical capability, but they could not claim to require the amount of hardihood implied in the concept of *thymos*. Croquet, which was popular from the earliest days of settlement, and ping-pong, which did not become a favourite

until the turn of the century,¹⁹ evidently stood on the non-manly side of the borderline. Requiring somewhat more vitality than croquet or ping-pong, and therefore regarded as manly when played by those of middle or advanced age, were such recreations as lawn bowling, quoits and tennis, all of which were often played by the pioneers, and golf, which was not really established in the province until the mid- 1890's.²⁰ In a special category here were rifling and trapshooting, which were probably no more physically demanding than other borderline sports, but were viewed as more manly because they tested military skills that, most people agreed, males should possess.²¹

A number of games were invariably cited as manly. One group of them involved a relatively straightforward trial of a physical attribute, such as in swimming, rowing, snowshoeing, and the various competitions included in what we usually call "track and field." A second kind were the most highly regarded of all. These were the vigorous team games played with a ball or ball-type object. The main examples of this latter group were cricket, baseball, football in both the "soccer" and "rugby" forms, lacrosse, and curling, all of which the pioneers were fond, and hockey and basketball, two sports introduced shortly after the early years. Like individual contests, team games were usually strenuous enough to develop "pluck," or at least to give the muscles firmness, and as Thomas Hughes had said, they also seemed to require a sense of "discipline and reliance on one another" not needed in individual sports.²² More importantly, since team games were more than simple tests of such physical attributes as speed, agility or strength, they had complex rule structures, possessed a strategic component, and demanded reaction to a constantly changing situation. They therefore tested not only *thymos* but the mind, the very part of the human organism that seemed to be the source of progress.²³ Not surprisingly, it was team games that were most popular among pioneer Manitobans; they have remained as the most popular among their descendants down to the present day.

Early Manitobans played and promoted manly games, not only because they were certain these activities revealed and nurtured many desirable qualities, but for another reason that was more distinctly Manitoban, though not peculiarly so.²⁴ This was the sense of duty they felt to establish and maintain British culture in their new, still only semi-civilized part of the world. The pioneers identified with a Canada that was an integral part of the British Empire and could not be imagined as separate from it.²⁵ Their empire was at that time reaching the apex of its power and influence, and from their point of view represented "man's highest achievement in the development of governmental and social institutions."²⁶ Therefore those things that were "British" simply had to be transplanted in Manitoban soil.

To them, manly games seemed "British." They were all but oblivious to the

fact that forms of these activities had been played and played well in many parts of the globe, including the region that had become Manitoba, for hundreds and in some cases thousands of years.²⁷ Their awareness that peculiar forms of some games, especially of certain ball games, had evolved among the British people led them to the more general assumptions that Britons, or at most “Anglo-Saxons,”²⁸ loved manly games more and played them with greater skill than others did or ever had. These suppositions were based on partial truths at best, as was their impression that it was in large part through games that Britons had gained the physical, mental and moral strength to acquire and govern their vast Empire. Nevertheless, pioneer Manitobans held them,²⁹ and this meant that their province would not be a truly British one until “British” games had been solidly established.

The major institution through which “British” sports were transferred to Canada’s first Western province was the sports club. This was simply a formal organization founded to enable groups of individuals to regularly participate in a game. By the 1860’s the club was a familiar entity in Great Britain, Upper Canada and the United States,³⁰ and among Manitoba’s pioneers it was regarded as the most desirable agency for the promotion of games and contests.

They were not opposed by any means to such competitions as those arranged for May 24 and July 1 celebrations, to the many ball games played by pick-up teams, or even, providing no significant amounts of money were at stake, to the challenge matches in such things as skating, running or wrist twisting that might arise spontaneously or be set up through a newspaper.³¹ However, activities undertaken through clubs seemed more desirable than these others. Through clubs, sports equipment manufactured outside the province could be purchased, facilities such as curling rinks or tennis courts could be established and maintained, and discipline could be enforced among members.³² For these reasons matches brought about by clubs seemed more likely to be played the way they *should* be, according to rules and conventions that not only called forth the manly qualities appropriate to a particular game, but which were in effect in a recognized “home” of that game. When members of a curling or cricket or lacrosse club decided to play respectively by the rules of the Royal Caledonian Curling Club, the Marylebone Cricket Club or the National Lacrosse Association, they were announcing to themselves, to the people of the province, and to everyone in the Dominion and the Empire that out in the rugged Northwest the best of British sporting practices and traditions were being fostered.³³ They were saying that in sport, as in so many other things, their new province was becoming civilized.

Manitoba’s first sports club was the Northwest Cricket Club, formed in 1864 as a result of the efforts of a journalist and businessman named William Coldwell, one of the first of the new majority to arrive. This club was defunct

by 1865.³⁴ Not until 1870 were others established in the region, but from that point on the pioneers founded them with the same kind of enthusiasm and determination they brought to founding churches, schools, lodges and all of their esteemed institutions. Since Winnipeg was not only the economic and political but the social and cultural metropolis of the province, it is not surprising that in almost all sports the first, the most noteworthy and the largest number of clubs were formed there. By 1886 there had been more than a dozen cricket clubs inaugurated in the city, including the Winnipeg Cricket Club founded in 1878, which soon was recognized as the leading such organization in the Northwest.³⁵ A similar number of baseball clubs were installed, along with several lacrosse and football organizations, and one or more curling, rowing, trapshooting, riflmg, snowshoeing, bicycling, tennis, boxing and skating institutions.³⁶ Meanwhile in the rural Manitoban communities clubs were also being created, often with impressive rapidity. For example, the Souris district was first settled in the years 1880-1882; by the latter year the town had a cricket club, and by 1884 snowshoeing, baseball, tennis and lacrosse had been organized.³⁷ Brandon only emerged as a town in 1881-1882 with the coming of the Canadian Pacific Railway; by 1883 it had lacrosse, cricket, riflmg, snowshoeing and curling clubs, and by 1885 it evidently possessed, among a host of sporting organizations, the province's first swimming club.³⁸ By 1886 clubs in several manly sports were present in such towns or villages as Emerson, Portage la Prairie, Stonewall, Stony Mountain, Gladstone, Westbourne, Rapid City, Virden and Selkirk. In a few sports they had even been formed by people identifying with municipalities and school districts.³⁹

The creation of so many clubs required the interest and effort of large numbers of people. Some individuals, however, were particularly tireless in their endeavours; among the officers one finds the same names again and again. It is instructive to look at whom these people were, for by doing so we can see that manly sports were a very important part of the culture being re-established. The most active organizers of sport were prominent, solid citizens of respectable occupations, and were active in many institutions through which British-Canadian civilization was transferred to the Northwest. They were in fact the "potent minority" already referred to, individuals of the type that seem to have been present in nearly every North American frontier society, people who most faithfully and scrupulously attempted to replicate in their new environment the best features of the civilization left behind.

For example, in Winnipeg one of the most indefatigable promoters of sport was Mr. David Young. Young came to the West in 1870 as part of the Wolseley expedition sent out by the Government of Canada to ensure a peaceful transfer of the Hudson's Bay Company territory; he stayed, after his discharge, to become first an employee and then a partner in the prosperous grain

forwarding and dry goods firm known by the late 1870's as Higgins, Jackson and Young. He was an officer of some of the city's first lacrosse, baseball, cricket and curling clubs, as well as of the Dufferin Park Association, the joint-stock company that built the facility that represented the province's first stadium. In other facets of the culture of the new majority, he was a prominent Mason, was at one time Treasurer of the Provincial Agricultural Society, and was an officer of both a Winnipeg dancing club, called the Ariel Club, and the Winnipeg Dramatic and Literary Society formed in 1876.⁴⁰

Similarly active in sport and in other affairs in the city was Col. W.N. Kennedy. Kennedy was prominent in business and military circles, Winnipeg's second Mayor and a member of the first Council of the Northwest Territory. Besides being one of the province's most hard working Masons, he was a high-ranking officer in such organizations as the Winnipeg Philharmonic Society, the Manitoba Bible Society, an early Winnipeg branch of the Y.M.C.A., and the Winnipeg chapter of the Agricultural and Industrial Society of Manitoba. He served on the Board of Management of Wesley College, the Methodist institution incorporated in 1877, and on the Protestant section of the Province's School Board. As a sportsman, he was instrumental in the formation or solidification of the Dufferin Park Association, a couple of cricket clubs, the first curling club in the province and, as one might expect of a Colonel, the Manitoba Rifle Association which was formed in 1872.⁴¹

Another diligent Winnipeg organizer was Gilbert McMicken. McMicken had been a Member of the Canadian Assembly and a relatively prominent Upper Canadian before he was appointed, in 1871, Lands Agent for the Dominion Government in Winnipeg. Later he served in several other capacities for the federal government, and became a Member of the Manitoba Legislative Assembly. He was prominent among the officers of curling, baseball, lacrosse and cricket clubs, and of the Manitoba Rifle Association, as well as being on the Management Committee of the group that in 1875 built the Victoria Skating Rink, the first covered rink in the province to be erected on land rather than on a river. In addition, he was an early official of such organizations as the Manitoba Club and the Manitoba Bible Society, served on the Board of Management of Manitoba College, the Presbyterian college established in 1871, and was active in founding such institutions as the Winnipeg General Hospital and the Winnipeg Ladies' School.⁴²

The energy with which these gentlemen formed clubs and other organizations was matched by other Winnipeggers such as C. S. Sweeney, first manager of the Winnipeg Branch of the Bank of Montreal, A.G.B. Bannatyne, an early free trader in the Red River Settlement who, by the 1870's and 1880's, had become one of the city's leading businessmen, and Dr. George Bryce, the historian who headed Manitoba College, one of several Protestant educational

institutions where the importance of participation in many games was stressed. What characterized the individuals most active in establishing organized sport in Winnipeg was true of those who did so in the rural Manitoban communities—they were prominent citizens who were very active in other cultural affairs and institutions. For example, the President, Vice-President and Secretary of the Morris Baseball Club formed in 1879 were Dr. J. McTavish, Mr. J. Bell and Mr. G.H. Clines, respectively. McTavish was a doctor, Bell a lumber and furniture merchant, and Clines a lands agent, and all were officers of the local Masonic Lodge.⁴³ In Gladstone it was T.L. Morton, a farmer, and especially John Mason, the clerk of the Municipality of Westbourne, who were most responsible for founding that town's early baseball, cricket and curling clubs. Morton was an original school trustee of the District of Livingstone, the first Treasurer of the Council of Westbourne Municipality, and a President of the Marquette West Agricultural Association; Mason was Secretary of both the Agricultural Association and the Gladstone Masonic Lodge.⁴⁴ In Emerson Messrs. F.T. Bradley, T. Carney and George Newcomb were normally among the officers of local curling, cricket and baseball clubs. Bradley was a Collector of Customs, the organizer of the local Masonic Lodge and a director of the Morris Agricultural Society; Carney was a lawyer and businessman, the Mayor of the town for a time, as well as a school trustee and the builder of the Opera House, the site of many local or visiting musical and dramatic productions; Newcomb was the lands agent in Emerson and a President of the Emerson Library Association.⁴⁵

In short, the people primarily responsible for organizing sports clubs in Manitoba were those who both took and were given the lead in founding the many institutions through which members of the British Protestant culture group expressed themselves and conducted their affairs. They were the men who most enthusiastically promoted “progress” in their communities. They most keenly felt the sense of obligation that affected, to some extent, nearly all British Protestant Manitobans, one which dictated that every effort must be made to transfer the best features of a prestigious civilization to a new part of the world.

Among those best features were many sports. Therefore, just as it was important to establish churches, schools, fraternal associations and political institutions, it was important to establish sports clubs. Their existence would ensure that “British” games would be given a strong foothold on the prairies. Once this was accomplished, people in other parts of the Dominion, the Empire and the English-speaking world would know that Manitoba had been civilized; that it was not only a new province of wonderful economic opportunity but one wherein a newcomer could, as the *Manitoba Colonist* put it, “remain a Canadian and an Englishman.”⁴⁶ The same people would also know that, in the future, men reared in the province would possess the physical, mental and

moral strength that would be required to conquer backwardness and to establish progress and British civilization, not only in the rest of the Canadian Northwest but in the world.

Notes

1. Louis B. Wright, *Culture on the Moving Frontier* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1961) pp. 20-21. Dr. Wright has been a most articulate spokesman of the point of view given here. Besides *Culture on the Moving Frontier*, see his *Life on the American Frontier* (New York: Capricorn Books, 1971), especially p. 235. Wright's thesis has been supported in many articles and books. See, for example, the following: Michael S. Cross, "The Age of Gentility: The Formation of an Aristocracy in the Ottawa Valley," in J.K. Johnson (ed.), *Historical Essays on Upper Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1975), especially p. 227; Ray Allen Billington, *America's Frontier Heritage* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), chapters 4-7, passim, especially pp. 73-75; Reginald Horsman, *The Frontier in the Formative Years, 1783-1815* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970), especially pp. 102, 146-147; Lewis G. Thomas, "Introduction," in Thomas (ed.), *The Prairie West to 1905* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1975), especially p. 1.
2. W.L. Morton, *Manitoba: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), chapters 5-6.
3. Alexander Begg, *History of the North-West*, vol. 2 (Toronto: Hunter, Rose and Company, 1894), p. 31.
4. *Census of Manitoba, 1885-86*, pp. 14-15, 22-23, 30-31. It should be mentioned that the province's boundaries had been extended in 1881.
5. Allan Smith, "Metaphor and Nationality in North America," *Canadian Historical Review*, 51 (1970), p. 262. Smith's view is supported by Alan F.J. Artibise in "Divided City: The Immigrant in Winnipeg Society, 1874-1921," in Gilbert A. Stelter and Artibise (eds.), *The Canadian City: Essays in Urban History* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1977), pp. 306-307; by Lewis G. Thomas in the "Introduction" to his *The Prairie West to 1905*, passim; and by R. Turner in "Scottish Settlement of the West," in W. Stanford Reid (ed.), *The Scottish Tradition in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1976), p. 88.
6. A.S. Morton, *History of Prairie Settlement* (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd., 1938), pp. 54-56.
7. Doug Owsram, *Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West, 1856-1900* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), chapter 6.
8. Some idea of the many games and contests with which a British Protestant immigrant to Manitoba would have been familiar can be gained from the following: Joseph Strutt, *The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England, etc.* (New York: Augustus M. Kelly, 1970); Robert Scott Fittis, *Sports and Pastimes of Scotland* (East Ardsley, Wakefield, England: EP Publishing Ltd., 1975); Robert W. Malcolmson, *Popular Recreations in English Society, 1700-1850* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1973), especially chapter 3; Peter Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England, Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830-1885* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), especially chapter 1; Edwin C. Guillet, *Early Life in Upper Canada* (Toronto: The Ontario Publishing Co. Ltd., 1933), especially chapters 8-11; Nancy Howell and Maxwell L. Howell, *Sports and Games in Canadian Life, 1700 to the Present* (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd., 1969), parts 1 and 2.
9. Dennis Brailsford, *Sport and Society, Elizabeth to Anne* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), chapter 4, especially p. 126; Goldwin French, "The Evangelical Creed in Canada," in W.L. Morton (ed.), *The Shield of Achilles* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1968), pp. 16-21; Malcolmson, *Popular Recreations in English Society*, pp. 105-107; E.P. Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline and Industrial Capitalism," in M.W. Flinn and T.C. Smout (eds.), *Essays in Social History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 63.
10. See especially Samuel Smiles, *Self-Help, with illustrations of Character and Conduct* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1861). See also several articles in *The Journal of Education for Upper Canada* in the 1840's and 1850's, notably, "To Young Men," 1 (Jan. 1848), p. 32; "The Importance of Resolution," 1 (Feb. 1848), p. 64; "The Reward of Diligence," 6 (Jan. 1853), p. 13; "The Young Man's Leisure," 6 (Jan. 1853), p. 28.
11. *Manitoba Free Press* (hereafter referred to as *MFP*), June 8, 1875.
12. Malcolmson, *Popular Recreations in English Society*, p. 102.
13. *MFP*: April 18, 1877; Feb. 8, 1881; Public Archives of Manitoba, Gerald Panting Collection, "Regional History Survey: Questionnaires and Interviews with Early Settlers of southern Manitoba, 1953," interview with and questionnaire answered by Mr. J.A.F. Hill of Manitou, p. 4; Nellie McClung, *Clearing in the West, My Own Story* (Toronto: Thomas Allen Ltd., 1935), p. 110.

14. David Newsome, *Godliness and Good Learning, Four Studies on a Victorian Ideal* (London: John Murray, 1961), pp. 207-211; Robert Bernard Martin, *The Dust of Combat, A Life of Charles Kingsley* (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1959) pp. 219-220.
15. *MFP*, Nov. 17, 1884.
16. Thomas Hughes, *Tom Brown at Oxford* (New York: A.L. Burt, n.d.), p. 112. See also Norman Vance, "The Ideal of Manliness," in Brian Simon and Ian Bradley (eds.), *The Victorian Public School, Studies in the Development of an Educational Institution* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan Ltd., 1975), pp. 115-117. Manliness as a theme in the writings of Hughes, Kingsley and several other nineteenth century English authors is examined in Bruce E. Haley, "The Cult of Manliness in English Literature: A Victorian Controversy, 1857-1880" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Illinois, 1965). Dr. Haley's dissertation has been altered and improved into *The Healthy Body and Victorian Culture* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978). As the title indicates, however, in the book there is less consistent emphasis placed on the theme of manliness than in the dissertation.
17. See *St. John's College Magazine*, 3 (Oct. 1887), p. 108.
18. *MFP*: March 25, 1878; Dec. 24, 1898.
19. *Ibid.*: June 28, 1873; March 28, 1902; March 29, 1902.
20. See the remarks on golf in *ibid.*: May 24, 1889; June 6, 1903.
21. See the remarks on rifling in *ibid.*: March 14, 1900.
22. Thomas Hughes, *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (Markham, Ontario: Penguin Books of Canada Ltd., 1971), p. 271. *Schooldays* was originally published in 1857. See also *MFP*: Jan 18, 1873; June 9, 1876; *Journal of Education for Upper Canada*, 12 (Sept. 1859), p. 140.
23. On the association of progress with the application of the mind to the material world, see "Science and Social Progress. A Noble Speech by Prince Albert," *Journal of Education for Upper Canada*, 9 (Jan. 1856), pp. 12-13. See also Walter E. Houghton, *The Victorian Frame of Mind, 1830-1870* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1957), p. 40.
24. In his article "Games People Played: Cricket and Football in England and Victoria in the late Nineteenth Century," *Historical Studies*, 15 (1973), p. 527, W.F. Mandle suggests that what is about to be said about Manitobans also applied to some Australians.
25. Owram, *Promise of Eden*, pp. 125-128; Barry Potyondi, "Country Town: The History of Minnedosa, Manitoba 1879-1922" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1978), p. 44.
26. Owram, *Promise of Eden*, p. 126.
27. They seem to have assumed that the only people in history to have shown anything approaching the British enthusiasm for manly games were the ancient Greeks. In this, as in so many things, the Greeks seemed to provide models that British people should and did emulate. See *MFP*, April 14, 1884; J.R. de S. Honey, *Tom Brown's Universe, The Development of the English Public School in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Quadrangle/The New York Times Book Co., Inc., 1977), pp. 130-131.
28. When Manitobans spoke of "Anglo-Saxons" they had no genetically distinct race in mind. The term was used, in the words of Carl Berger, as a "synonym for a total culture," one that was understood to be the product of history and environment as well as of genes, and which was most certainly seen as shared by many Celts. Normally, when Manitobans referred to "Anglo-Saxons" they did so in order to include the Americans in the laudatory remarks they were making, or about to make, about "British" people. See Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power, Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), p. 117; *MFP*, July 16, 1887; *Winnipeg Tribune*, Feb. 17, 1893.
29. See *MFP*: Jan. 18, 1873; Jan. 28, 1892; *MFP Weekly*, July 15, 1876.
30. This can be seen as one glances through the following: H.A. Harris, *Sport in Britain, Its Origin and Development* (London: Stanley Paul and Co. Ltd., 1975); John Rickards Betts, *America's Sporting Heritage: 1850-1950* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1974), especially pp. 41, 98; P.L. Lindsay, "A History of Sport in Canada, 1807-1867" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Alberta, 1969); Allan E. Cox, "A History of Sports in Canada, 1868-1900" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Alberta, 1969).
31. Reports of these kinds of events can be seen in the following: *MFP*: Jan. 18, 1873; April 25, 1874; Dec. 17, 1877; July 15, 1878; May 11, 1880; July 2, 1880; *Minnedosa Tribune*, July 18, 1884; *Winnipeg Standard*, Dec. 26, 1874.
32. See the remarks on the formation of rowing and bicycle clubs respectively in *MFP*: April 6, 1881; March 19, 1883.
33. See *MFP*: Nov. 9, 1876; March 14, 1876; April 29, 1884; *Brandon Sun*, May 27, 1886. The clubs or associations that Manitobans looked to for models of how manly games should be played were all located in Great Britain or Eastern Canada, except in the case of baseball, where the United States provided the standards.

34. *Nor'Wester*: Oct. 1, 1864; July 4, 1865, J.J. Hargrave, *Red River* (Montreal: John Lovell, 1871), pp. 341-342.
35. *MFP*: April 10, 1878; Jan. 28, 1892.
36. This information has been gleaned from thorough research in the *Manitoba Free Press* as well as such less permanent newspapers as the *Manitoban*, *The Manitoba Gazette*, the *Standard*, the *Manitoba Herald*, *Quiz*, *Manitoba News-Letter*, *Red River Pioneer* and the *New Nation*, and from more sporadic research in the *Winnipeg Times*.
37. *Souris Plaindealer*, "Special Historical Edition," July 15, 1931; *Brandon Sun*, July 3, 1884; *MFP*, Nov. 28, 1883.
38. W.L. Morton, *Manitoba*, p. 201; *Brandon Mail*: May 9, 1883; May 19, 1883; May 30, 1883; June 13, 1883; Nov. 2, 1883; *Brandon Sun*, Aug. 6, 1885; *MFP*, Nov. 28, 1883.
39. This information comes from research in the *MFP*, which gave reasonably extensive coverage of developments around the province, and in several weekly newspapers, notably the *Gladstone Age*, *Minnedosa Tribune*, *Virden Advance*, *Brandon Sun*, *Brandon Mail*, and the *Manitoba News*, the last named published in Morden.
40. *Henderson's Directory* (1876-77 to 1887), especially the "Miscellaneous" sections: Provincial Library of Manitoba, "Manitoba Biographies," B1, p. 41; Alexander Begg and W. R. Nursey, *Ten Years In Winnipeg. A Narrative of the Principal Events in the History of the City of Winnipeg from the Year A.D. 1870 to the year 1879, Inclusive* (Winnipeg: Begg and Nursey, 1879), p. 140; *MFP*: March 21, 1874; April 26, 1876; April 10, 1878; April 12, 1878; Nov. 7, 1878; April 30, 1879; June 19, 1879.
41. *Henderson's Directory* (1876-77 to 1887), especially the "Miscellaneous" sections: "Winnipeg Elite Project" under the direction of Dr. G.A. Friesen, University of Manitoba, file on W.N. Kennedy; *Manitoban*, Aug. 10, 1872; *MFP*: Jan. 12, 1876; Nov. 9, 1876; April 17, 1879; April 20, 1879; April 2, 1881; Nov. 1, 1881.
42. *Henderson's Directory* (1876-77 to 1887), especially the "Miscellaneous" sections; Provincial Library of Manitoba, "Manitoba Biographies," B1, p. 74; W. Stewart Wallace (ed.), *The Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, fourth edition (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd., 1978), p. 540; *MFP*: March 21, 1874; Jan. 13, 1875; Oct. 14, 1875; Nov. 9, 1876; May 29, 1880.
43. *Henderson's Directory* (1880), p. 184; *ibid.* (1881), "Manitoba Municipalities Directory"; *MFP*, May 26, 1879.
44. *Henderson's Directory* (1880), pp. 185- 189; *ibid.* (1881), "Manitoba Municipalities Directory"; *MFP*: May 29, 1876; March 3, 1883; Margaret Morton Fahrni and W.L. Morton, *Third Crossing: A History of the First Quarter Century of the Town and District of Gladstone in the Province of Manitoba* (Winnipeg: W.L. Morton 1946), pp. 37, 47, 81.
45. *Henderson's Directory* (1880), pp. 117, 119, 184, 190; *ibid.* (1881), p. 258; *MFP*: April 16, 1878; June 14, 1879; Jan. 29, 1883; James McClelland and Dan Lewis, *Emerson 1875-1975. A Centennial History* (Emerson: Emerson Chamber of Commerce, 1975), pp. 14- 15, 20.
46. *Manitoba Colonist*, 3 (Jan. 1889), p. 349.

