

# Canadian Sport History: A Critical Essay

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This paper is intended to be a critical essay that examines and analyzes published material pertaining to Canadian sport history in terms of major topics of research concern, chronological focus and methodology. In essence, the paper discusses the direction(s) that Canadian sport history has taken over the past decade, 1972-1982. A survey of all of the literature pertaining to Canadian sport history is broader than, and beyond the scope of, this analysis. It is hoped that readers will perceive the essay as a "state of the art" comment upon a relatively new area of research investigation rather than as any extolment or indictment of either the disciplinary area or its researchers. The integrity of any area of research is dependent upon regular reflections of the area in its entirety.

At the outset it is necessary to establish the boundaries of the area under examination as well as to state explicitly the assumptions made by the author in doing this analysis. With respect to the former, Canadian sport history as a research area received its impetus in the late 1960s through the graduate program established by Dr. Maxwell Howell at the University of Alberta. As a result, the early impact of that program combined with the first publication of the *Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education* in May, 1970 must be considered despite their realization prior to 1972. Published, and in most cases refereed materials only, will be considered for analysis. Exceptions to this general rule pertain to significant research effects prompted by theses and dissertations and the research thrust of individual historians. The final prerequisite for inclusion in this analysis was that only historical research pertaining to Canadian sport was examined. There are historians in Canada doing research pertaining to ancient, preliterate and/or American sport history. My major assumption in beginning to do the research for this essay was that the area of Canadian sport history is viable, but fragmented. Specifically, it was believed that there were/are pockets of research being done in Canadian sport history. Within the boundaries of editorial standards, historians of sport are free to wander in any topical direction.<sup>1</sup> Thus, the aforementioned assumption appears logically derived.

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1. There is a recognized, if arguable difference between sport historians and historians of sports in that the former might be viewed as social historians analyzing sport within the context of history while the latter are

Secondly, the author assumes that Canadian sport history shows healthy indices. The continuous publication of the *Canadian Journal of History of Sport* for 13 years, the role played by Canadian sport historians within and consistent growth of the North American Society for Sports History and its organ, the *Journal of Sport History*, combined with the staging of five successful Canadian symposia on the history of sport and physical education between 1970 and 1982,<sup>2</sup> and the production of two sport history research methods workshops in 1980 and 1981,<sup>3</sup> all exemplify signs of active research interest and consistent development. Finally, the bias(es) of the author as a Canadian physical educator teaching and doing Canadian sport history must be acknowledged.

### *Prelude to 1972*

Significant events in the development of sport history in North America in general have been chronicled elsewhere.<sup>4</sup> In Canada, the earliest forms of sport history emanated from three sources. In 1934 William Perkins Bull published *From Rattlesnake Hunt to Hockey: The Story of Sports and the Sportsmen of the County of Peel*.<sup>5</sup> Limited to an edition of 1000 copies, the book remains a significant source for sport in Toronto. Seventeen years later Steward Davidson completed the first dissertation pertaining to Canadian sport history. Inspired by the archival collection of and verbal encouragement given by A. S. Lamb, Davidson wrote "A History of Sports and Games in Eastern Canada Prior to World War I."<sup>6</sup> During the late 1950s and 1960s, a sportswriter, Henry Roxborough wrote four books pertaining to different aspects of Canada's historical involvement in sport: *One Hundred—Not Out—The Story of Nineteenth Century Canadian Sport*; *Great Days in Canadian Sport*; *The Stanley Cup Story*; and *Canada at the Olympics*.<sup>7</sup> Bull's, Davidson's and Roxborough's works represent early and important landmarks of Canadian sport history. Yet these authors worked in relative isolation at topics ignored in Canadian history at any level.<sup>8</sup>

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perceived as chroniclers of sport stripped of its social and/or historical context. The term is used here to connote researchers in the area of sport history.

2. Proceedings were published for each of the symposia held at Edmonton in 1970, Windsor in 1972, Halifax in 1974, Vancouver in 1979 and Toronto in 1982.

3. The first was held at The University of Alberta, Edmonton and the second was hosted by The University of Western Ontario, London. Most of the presentations made at the Edmonton workshop were published as *Sport History Research Methodology*, Proceedings of a Workshop held at the University of Alberta, May 28-June 1, 1980 (edited by Robert Day and Peter Lindsay).

4. J. W. Beryman, "Sport History as Social History?," *Quest*, 20 (Spring, 1973), 65-72.

5. William Perkins Bull, *From Rattlesnake Hunt to Hockey: The Story of Sports and Sportsmen of the County of Peel*. (Toronto: George J. McLeod Ltd., 1934). This book was part of a series of works pertaining to the county (Peel) which Bull had contributed to in large fashion. Other titles in the series reflect the creativity and the scope of Bull's fact-gathering: *From Medicine Man to Medical Man*; *From Paganism to Davenport United*; *From Humming Bird to Eagle*.

6. S. A. Davidson "A History of Sports and Games in Eastern Canada Prior to World War I," (Unpublished Ed.D dissertation: Columbia University, 1951).

7. H. H. Roxborough, *Great Days in Canadian Sport* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1957); *Canada at the Olympics* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1963); *The Stanley Cup Story* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1964); *One Hundred-Not Out: The Story of Nineteenth Century Canadian Sport* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1966).

8. One other piece of written research warrants specific mention within the framework of early Canadian sport history: Mary E. Keyes, "John Howard Crocker LL.D., 1870-1959," (Unpublished M.A. thesis: Univer-

Without question, the impetus for Canadian sport history came from The University of Alberta, the first university in the country to establish a Ph.D. program in physical education. More specifically it was Maxwell L. Howell, an Australian, who prompted graduate work in Canadian sport history. The precedent for Australian leadership in Canadian sport and physical education can be traced to the "father" of Canadian physical education, Dr. Arthur S. Lamb.<sup>9</sup> Further, the first two Canadian university-granted Ph.D.'s in physical education were awarded in 1969 to Australian students recruited by Dr. Howell. Taken by itself, it really does not matter which citizens of which country initiated Canadian sport history, but it is revealing and symptomatic of a longstanding historical apathy on the part of Canadians for their own culture.<sup>10</sup>

The nature of the earliest products of Howell's own research and that of his student warrants examination because of its influence on other scholars and on Canadian sport history over the past decade. *Sports and Games in Canadian Life: 1700 to the Present*,<sup>11</sup> written by Maxwell and Nancy Howell, plus the first three dissertations completed at the University of Alberta by Lindsay, Cox and Jones,<sup>12</sup> were all compiled sport by sport. Justified on the basis of a dearth of Canadian historical (sporting) evidence,<sup>13</sup> these research efforts fall into the genre of "one damn fact after another" history. None of the richness of sport history can be gleaned from a series of descriptive chronologies piled one on top of the other and very little insight into the relationship between sport and society was revealed. At the same time, it was method, a base-of-the-pyramid attempt at ferreting out historical documents and important sources for further research. Furthermore these early efforts at The University of Alberta corresponded with an international thrust to sport history provided by the First International Seminar on the History of Physical Education and Sport held in Israel.<sup>14</sup> Graduate work and research in general in Canadian sport history escalated during the 1970s with M.A. and Ph.D. students at The University of Alberta in the foreground in terms of quantity of research.

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sity of Western Ontario, 1965). To the author's knowledge, this thesis was the first graduate thesis pertaining to Canadian sport history written by a female researcher and completed at a Canadian university. This thesis was published as "John Howard Crocker LL. D." in *Western Ontario's History Nuggets* (No. 32, March 1966), 96 pages.

9. See J. D. Eaton "The Life and Professional Contributions of Arthur Stanley Lamb. M. D., to Physical Education in Canada." (Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation: Ohio State University, 1964).

10. Consentino, uses the term "cultural amnesia" to refer, somewhat more diplomatically, to the nation's lack of attention or interest in its heritage and by extension its sporting heritage. Yet amnesia suggests something once remembered, presently forgotten. Cultural ignorance or apathy seems more apropos than amnesia. Interesting also is the fact that sport history is now being used in at least two provinces, British Columbia and Nova Scotia, to infuse interest in Canadian history and culture.

11. Maxwell L. Howell and Nancy Howell, *Sports and Games in Canadian Life: 1700 to the Present* (Toronto: McMillan Company of Canada, 1969).

12. P. L. Lindsay, "A History of Sport in Canada, 1807-1867," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation University of Alberta, 1969); A E. Cox, "A History of Sport in Canada, 1868-1900," (Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation: University of Alberta, 1969); K. G. Jones, "Sport in Canada 1900-1920," (Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation; University of Alberta, 1970).

13. For example, Lindsay labelled the early dissertations as first stage studies. See Lindsay, "Epilogue" in "A History of Sport in Canada, 1807-1867," p. 398.

14. *Proceedings of the First International Seminar on the History of Physical Education and Sport*, Netanya, Israel, April 9-11, 1968.

*Published Material and Canadian Content*

With the exception of books, journals provide the most viable publishing outlet for researchers doing Canadian sport history. Two journals in particular will be examined for quantity of Canadian sport history articles, major topics of research concern, chronological focus, and methodology. These are the *Canadian Journal of History of Sport*<sup>15</sup> and the *Journal of Sport History*.<sup>16</sup> Table 1 depicts a breakdown of the number and percentage of articles devoted to Canadian sport, American sport, ancient, medieval and preliterate sport and other in the two journals.

Table 1

Number and Percent of Articles Published in the *Canadian Journal of Sport History* and the *Journal of Sport History* (by general topic heading)

	Canadian Sport N/%	American Sport N/%	Ancient, Medieval and Preliterate Sport N/%	Other N/%
Canadian Journal of History of Sport	31/23.1	28/20.9	28/20.9	47/35.1
Journal of Sport History	7/8.5	34/41.5	5/6.1	36/43.9

The "Other" category refers to articles pertaining to such topics as research methods, play, recreation, physical education, international (non North American) sport and historical issues.

Because the area of Canadian sport history is so new, it is not surprising that articles pertaining to that category are in the minority. Foundations or core courses in sport history are more likely to be devoted primarily to Greek, Roman and Medieval sport history. Although only some twenty-three per cent of the articles in the *Canadian Journal* (CJ) deal with Canadian sport history, a plurality (37 per cent) of the articles were written by researchers living in Canada at the time of publication. While there is a temptation to infer that researchers in sport history in Canada should devote more time to Canadian topics, academic freedom, research, and teaching interests dictate open area research endeavours. Clearly the *Canadian Journal* is oriented to sport history in general and would not survive on articles pertaining to Canadian sport history alone. It is of interest but outside the scope of this essay that in both journals, the bulk of the research is clustered in the "Other" category.

With respect to the *Journal of Sport History* (JSH), only 7 out of 82 (8.5%) articles pertain to Canadian sport history. A total of 9 articles in JSH were written by researchers living in Canada. Despite the greater number of Americans within the North American Society for Sport History, it is astonishing

15. From May, 1970 to December 1980 this journal was entitled the *Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education*. From May, 1981 to the present, the title reads *Canadian Journal of History of Sport/Revue Canadienne De l'Historie des Sports*. Twenty-five issues were examined in this analysis.

16. Twenty-five issues of the *Journal of Sports History* were published between 1974 and 1982 inclusive.

that so few research articles on Canadian sport history have appeared in JSH. Of even great surprise is that only one researcher in the 7 was a doctoral student under Dr. Howell. The pattern of minimal publication in the area is repeated in the journal of the national professional body, the Canadian Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation. Between 1972 and 1982 only 6 articles out of a total of 200 articles (conservative estimate of the total) pertain to Canadian sport history. During those ten years there was an active History Committee within C.A.H.P.E.R. Quantitatively the statistics improve when it is noted that the published proceedings of the first four Canadian symposia reveal that 41 out of 110 articles printed (37.5%) pertain to Canadian sport history. These articles, however, were not edited.<sup>17</sup> Within 11 issues of *Stadion* (1975-1981), the Journal of the International Association for the History of Physical Education and Sport (H.I.S.P.A.), there is not one article devoted to Canadian sport history although 3 researchers living in Canada have published in *Stadion*. Refereed publishing, then, pertaining to Canadian sport history is proportionately minimal and confined to JSH and CJ.

### *Research Topics*

What are the topics of research within these two journals and what methodology is used to analyze Canadian sport history over the past decade? Within the *Canadian Journal and the Journal of Sport History*, four broad topical headings emerge: government involvement in sport; single sport studies; issues, institutions and influences (for example, professionalism, religion, technology); facilitators and biographical studies. Five of the seven articles in JSH fall into the category of issues, institutions and influences, one into biographical studies and one into single sport studies. The same categorical hierarchy exists in CJ with institutions, issues and influences containing the greatest number of articles and the other three categories showing approximately the same number of articles.<sup>18</sup> Therefore, there is a concentration of research topics, a fact which might well indicate commonality of research focus in contrast to the fragmented state of research assumed by the author.

Without question, there is a common basis of methodology in both journals, namely, narrative-descriptive history. Only two authors (Metcalf and Duperreault) have attempted to use theory or some system of analysis to interpret their data. The status quo in Canadian sport history research has progressed from the "first stage," one damn fact after another genre of descriptive history to thematic-descriptive history. That is, researchers amass their data to some perceived level of saturation and then organize it around a theme. I do not believe the theme or anything approaching a theoretical base comes first in any of the articles aside from the two authors noted above. Instead of narrating what happened historically in Canadian sport as had been

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17. 14.5% (16) were devoted to American sport history, 9% (10) to ancient, medieval and preliterate sport history and 39% (43) to other. Again, the attention to the "Other" category is distinctive.

18. Only issues between 1972 and 1982 were examined in the *Canadian Journal* for this portion of the analysis.

done by Howell, Lindsay, Cox and Jones, etc., at The University of Alberta prior to 1972, researchers in the past decade have moved up one rung on the ladder of method to examine the influence of 'x' (professionalism, sabattarianism, manliness, politics, individuals such as Ned Hanlan, Lord Strathcona or Lionel Conacher, trains, femininity, etc.) on Canadian sport. Consider the criticism of Adelman levelled at American sport historians in 1973:

Those who have specifically dealt with sport in America have followed common themes. Concerned mainly with the middle class, they emphasized the increase in mass participation, the rise of spectator and professional sports, the democratic nature of athletics, and the benefits of sport for American society and morale. Characterized by a chronicling of events, these investigations have scantily explored the relationship between sport and society. Therefore, their historical inquiries have established only limited generalizations concerning the development of sport.<sup>19</sup>

Perhaps Canadian sport historians as a group are at this middle class level of analysis, only somewhat removed from chronicling. The critical element in history is contained in the last sentence of the above quotation viz. history must be generalizable. The reason, I suggest, that Canadian historians dealing with sport do not publish internationally (outside of North America) is that we are at a very insular stage of research. It is not that Canadian sport history is any more or less important than the sport history of any other country or at any other time period, it is that Canadian sport history is not generalizable to history as a discipline.

Is descriptive-narrative or descriptive-thematic history low brow or inferior history? From this writer's viewpoint, definitely not. One of the finest pieces of descriptive history in *CJ*, Cosentino's "Ned Hanlan—Canada's Premier Oarsman, A Case Study in 19th Century Professionalism" (December, 1974) has had a tremendous impact, to the point of being published in a well respected disciplinary journal, *Ontario History*.<sup>20</sup> The societal significance of one athlete is clearly demonstrated in Cosentino's article and is echoed by Andrea Brown, "Edward Hanlan, The World Sculling Champion, Visits Australia"<sup>21</sup> in a 1980 issue of *CJ*. However, if one reads the two articles, Hanlan's image is Jekyll-and-Hyde from one article to the other. Cosentino's implicit bias in using Hanlan as a case study is to demonstrate the quality of the professional athlete in terms of integrity. Juxtaposed with a societal view of the professional as a prostitute or shamateur selling his talents to the highest bidder,<sup>22</sup> Cosentino's article colours over the nefarious aspects of Hanlan's career in order to recapture the heroic appeal of the oarsman. If we accept the

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19. Melvin L. Adelman, "Academics and Athletics: Historians' Views of American Sport," *The Maryland Historian* 4:2 (Fall, 1973), 123.

20. F. Cosentino, "Ned Hanlan—Canada's Premier Oarsman: A Case Study in 19th Century Professionalism," *Ontario History*, 66:4 (December, 1974), 241-250.

21. Andrea Brown, "Edward Hanlan, The World Sculling Champion, Visits Australia" *Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education*, 11:2 (December, 1980), 1-44.

22. See H. Roxborough, *One Hundred—Not Out*, pp. 201-207 and Keith L. Lanshey, "The Amateur Athletic Union of Canada and Changing Concepts of Amateurism," (Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation: University of Alberta, 1971), pp. 11-79.

view that history is historiography,<sup>23</sup> then Cosentino's article is good. The methodology, assumptions and theory behind the published article are not made explicit, but it was an innovative approach that made historians acutely aware of Hanlan's significance.

There are other examples, from both journals, of good writing. Redmond's article, "Apart From the Trust Fund: Some Other Contributions of Lord Strathcona to Canadian Recreation and Sport" (*CJ*, December, 1973) demonstrates, in characteristic fashion for this particular author, meticulous research and considerable literary skill. [As an aside, I have to question the reason that an historian of Redmond's calibre does not contribute more to the two main sport history journals on this continent.]<sup>24</sup> Similarly, articles such as "The British Protestant Pioneers and the Establishment of Manly Sports in Manitoba,"<sup>25</sup> "Sports and Athletics: A Case Study of Lacrosse in Canada. 1840-1889,"<sup>26</sup> "Lionel Pretoria Conacher,"<sup>27</sup> "Canadian Opposition to the 1936 Olympics in Germany,"<sup>28</sup> and "Femininity First, Sport and Physical Education for Ontario Girls, 1890-1930,"<sup>29</sup> demonstrate extensive research and literary merit. The quality of the article, as a general rule, improves as one compares the publications between *CJ* and *JSH* with the latter containing superior articles. The editorial standards and expressed purpose of the *JSH* and the *CJ* dictate that this should be the case. My major point of interpretation from all of this is that Canadian sport history is still at a descriptive stage of research and, moreover, with very few exceptions, I do not foresee any change in the next decade.

By far the majority of the authors writing in the two journals are trained in physical education, not history. They are sport historians or historians of sport with greater training in physical education than in the discipline of history. We do sport history because historians, for whatever reason, choose not to do sport history. Thus, when it comes to methodology or method in Canadian sport history, I suggest most research in the two journals demonstrates the following methodological sequence:

23. Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., *A Behavioural Approach to Historical Analysis* (New York: The Free Press, 1969), p. 12.

24. Redmond has served on the editorial review board of both Journals and does present papers extensively at learned societies, is active in leadership position in H.I.S.P.A. and has published extensively. Certainly any researcher has the right to choose his avenues for publication, however, in his capacity as advisor to doctoral students in Canadian sport history, an office shared by no other academician in this country, it is curious that he has published only one article between the two journals.

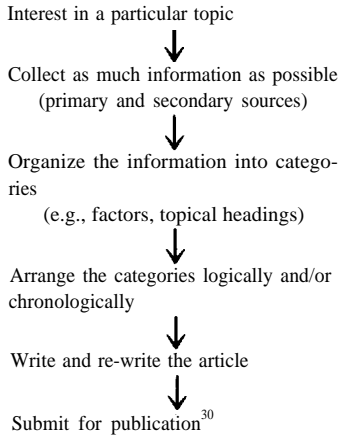
25. *JSH*, 7.3 (Winter, 1980), 25-36.

26. *JSH*, 3.1 (Spring, 1976), 1-19.

27. *JSH*, 6.1 (Spring, 1979), 5-37 It is presumptuous to cite one's own research and I recognize the difficulty of being objective in that regard. All that is being claimed is that the article shows good literary merit.

28. *CJ*, 9:2 (December, 1978), 20-40.

29. *CJ*, 13:2 (December, 1982), 4-17.



In short, the above demonstrates a negation of method. Individual researchers may have a purpose or goal in their research, for example, Cosentino's concern for the image of the professional athlete in Canadian sport, but I do not believe method can be extracted in any but one author's case.

From my viewpoint, the only researcher doing Canadian sport history who has demonstrated a clear understanding of, and ability to use method, is Metcalfe. There is no one else who uses social theory, who uses social scientific method, who asks questions of his data, who makes his assumptions explicit, who uses sampling techniques to cover vast amounts of data and whose work is generalizable. Two examples, one from each of the journals, can be examined to support the above claim, one that will not be accepted readily by other researchers. Of all of the articles published in the *Canadian Journal* pertaining to Canadian sport history, the most useful and comprehensive is "Some Background Influences on Nineteenth Century Canadian Sport and Physical Education"<sup>31</sup> written by Metcalfe. The article provides a sound framework for understanding sport (and physical education) in the nineteenth century by relating sport to four significant social forces or clusters of ideas. Without comprehending middle class values, or the social forces of Darwinism, Liberalism and Christianity, it is difficult to analyze any aspect of nineteenth century Canadian sport history. "Sport and Athletics: A Case Study of Lacrosse in Canada, 1840-1889"<sup>32</sup> is generalizable since it uses a case study to examine a universally recognized problem in sport history (sport and athletics as behavioural categories) and it uses existing literature, new data and sound theory to explain a particular facet of sporting behaviour.

Metcalfe's fact-gathering is as extensive as any researcher publishing in the two journals, in most cases it is more so. His work has reached the level of

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30. The author of this essay has published two articles in each of *CJ* and *JSH* and can confirm that this is/was precisely the method underlying the four articles.

31. *CJ*, 5:1 (May, 1974), 62-73.

32. *JSH*, 3:1 (Spring, 1976), 1-19.

being published in the well respected *Histoire Sociale—Social History*.<sup>33</sup> The article in question, “The Evolution of Organized Physical Recreation in Montreal, 1840- 1895,” shows meticulous and extensive research and it offers considerable insight into the urban process during the nineteenth century. However, the article is complex, difficult to read because of the nature of the data and the subject matter and it is at the other end of the spectrum from descriptive-narrative or descriptive-thematic research. In fact, it is beyond the comprehension of all but a very small group of historians because of the lack of an intermediate stage of research between the two extremes.<sup>34</sup> An even more distinctive example of the historical niche occupied solely by Metcalfe is an unpublished piece of work, “Sport and Social Stratification in Toronto, Canada, 1860 to 1920.”<sup>35</sup> Despite some internally inconsistent conclusions, the article analyzes, with the use of a simple statistical tool, 760 eminent Torontonians to demonstrate that sport club affiliation was stratified even within a select group of Toronto society. A tremendous amount of data is used to support a specific hypothesis about the nature of sport participation and the conclusion forces the reader to re-think our stereotypically purist vision of Canadian history. Overall, I suggest, Metcalfe puts more history (and historical method) into his research while most Canadian sport historians put more sport into their research and writing. This is not to place Metcalfe as the sine qua non of Canadian sport history over the past decade. His writing style, for example, is not as demonstrably good as others in his field, he shuns description when description is warranted and necessary and he operates with a universal, timeless bias toward the expected right of every person to have equal opportunity in society with every other person.<sup>36</sup> The latter belief colours his analysis and interpretation tremendously. What is important about Metcalfe’s research is the clear and distinctive use of a method beyond fact gathering followed by immaculate perception. His data can be validated and his work is generalizable to history (as opposed to confinement to Canadian sport history).

### *Time Frames*

As to chronological focus exemplified by articles pertaining to Canadian sport history in the two journals, research, with few exceptions, is directed at the period between 1850 and 1950. In short, researchers have examined mod-

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33. Alan Metcalfe, “The Evolution of Organized Physical Recreation in Montreal, 1840-1895” *Histoire Sociale—Social History*, 11:2 (May, 1978), 144-166.

34. The article is published in a Canadian sport sociology text, with minor variations, and is completely beyond the grasp as written, of undergraduate students in either sport sociology or sport history. One of the most fascinating aspects of scholarship is the ability of academics to recognize outstanding research without being capable of comprehending the article in its entirety. See A. Metcalfe, “Organized Sport and Social Stratification in Montreal,” in *Canadian Sport: Sociological Perspectives*, Ed. by R.S. Grunudeau and J. G. Albinson (Don Mills: Addison-Wesley (Canada) Ltd., 1976), pp. 77-101.

35. Alan Metcalfe, “Sport and Social Stratification in Toronto, Canada, 1860-1920.” Paper presented at New Orleans, August 28, 1972, 14 pages. Metcalfe will be published in the prestigious *Journal of Victorian Studies*, yet another Indicator of his level of expertise.

36. Colleagues have labelled his bias as Marxist, that catch-all adjective used by social scientists to pigeon-hole certain social beliefs, attitudes, or values. In my sociological naivety, I think his belief is more fundamentally humanistic than Marxist.

em, industrial sport.<sup>37</sup> In some cases, for example, two articles on federal government involvement in sport,<sup>38</sup> the period of time under discussion has been too recent to warrant legitimate historical analysis (although "involvement" of the federal government in sport was adequately described). The chronology of Canadian sport has been artificially divided from Howell's influence (1807-1867; 1868-1900 or 1900-1920) by convenience and remains segmented without analytical justification.<sup>39</sup> When, for example, did industrialism commence in Canada? Most researchers tend to treat sport as a static behavior that has survived and progressed without considering its pre-industrial or post industrial nature and function. Surely we cannot assume that 1867 (Canadian Confederation) or 1900 were transitional or pivotal years in Canadian sport. Biographical studies are the most inviolate of the use of time in historical analysis since the actor is the focus and central feature in the passage of time. Much better chronological focus is given in "L'Affaire Richard: A Situational Analysis of the Montreal Hockey Riot of 1955"<sup>40</sup> than in "A Quiet Contribution: Louis Rubenstein"<sup>41</sup> (Canadian sport historians lack the pervasiveness of a "bellum influence" such as their American counterparts). There is a need to determine precise periods in which to analyze Canadian sport history in general as well as a need to do more synchronistic (time 'x' in detail) analyses of sport as compared to the typical diachronic description (everything that happened between time x and time y pertinent to the topic under discussion).

### *Theses and Books*

Two other categories of research warrant examination in assessing Canadian sport history during the past ten years—theses and books. Since this essay concentrates on published research and because of the lack of availability of all theses, only brief mention will be made to them. To the best of the writer's knowledge, only four universities in the country have consistently produced graduate theses in Canadian sport history between 1972 and 1982: University of Alberta, University of Windsor, Dalhousie University (Halifax, Nova Scotia) and University of Western Ontario (London, Ontario). The University of Alberta is the only institution that has produced Ph.D. dissertations. For the most part, the research exemplified in the completed theses reflects the leadership at the various institutions. Therefore, theses produced at the University of Windsor tend to be interpretive with some form of method or model used for analysis. "The Edmonton Grads: Canada's Most Successful Team,

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37. Massicotte, Lessard, Metcalfe and Salter have examined earlier periods and topics. In the case of research being done on French Canada, I have not included articles written in French for specific comment because of the relative paucity of written research in the two journals and an inability to be critical of the research that has been done.

38. P. J. Galasso, "The Involvement of the Canadian Federal Government in Sport and Fitness," *CJ*, 3:2 (December, 1972), 42-61 and J. Thomas West, "Physical Fitness, Sport and the Federal Government 1909 to 1954," *CJ*, 4:2 (December, 1973), 26-42.

39. See, for example, Ronald S. Lappage, "Sport as an Expression of Western and Maritime Discontent in Canada Between the Wars," *CJ*, 8:1 (May, 1977), 50-71.

40. Jean R. Duperreault, *CJ*, 12:1 (May, 1981), 66-83.

41. D. Rosenberg, et al., *CJ*, 13:1 (May, 1982), 1-17.

A History and Analysis of Their Success"<sup>42</sup> is a good example as is "The Organizational Development of Women's Competitive Sport in Canada in the 1920's,"<sup>43</sup> The products reflect not so much factual occurrence as disciplined, rigorous explanation. The other three institutions have concentrated on descriptive sport history in graduate research. A recent Ph.D. dissertation from the University of Alberta, "A History of Provincial Government Involvement in Sport in Western Canada,"<sup>44</sup> is Howelian in its descriptive approach to sport history. Master of Arts theses at the University of Western Ontario are equally descriptive: "The Life and Professional Contributions of Ethel Mary Cartwright (1880-1955)" and "The Influences of The Montreal Curling Club on the Development of Curling in the Canadas, 1807-1857"<sup>45</sup> are two examples although there is a trend toward more disciplined methodology with "A Content Analysis of the Sport Section in Selected Canadian Newspapers, 1927 to 1935" and "Social Class and Organized Sport in Nineteenth Century Ontario: A Case Study of Sport in a Small Town—Ingersoll. Ontario, 1860-1894,"<sup>46</sup> Theses completed at Dalhousie University are descriptive, but unique collectively in that they reflect Dr. Alexander Young's focus upon Nova Scotian sport heritage. "Canadian Schooner *Bluenose*"<sup>47</sup> is a typical example. For whatever reason, the Canadian sport history research being done at Dalhousie by graduate students is the only graduate research with a consistent topical thread. Canadian sport historians, for the most part, then, are being trained in descriptive research.

While books are not subject to the same academically-oriented editorial review process, it is worth commenting about scholarly works published and/or books published by scholars. The decade between 1972 and 1982 began with an insightful, if biased examination of hockey with Kidd and Macfarlane's *The Death of Hockey*.<sup>48</sup> The graphic illustration on the jacket cover of blood being squeezed from a hockey puck symbolizes the theme of the book and portends interpretation within a quasi-historical, mostly contemporaneous work. The decade has ended with the How-wheel coming full circle following the release of Howell and Howell's *History of Sport in Canada*.<sup>49</sup> For the

42. Cathy Macdonald. "The Edmonton Grads," (Unpublished M.H.K. thesis: University of Windsor, 1976).

43. Sheila L. Michell, "The Organizational Development of Women's Competitive Sport in Canada in the 1920s." (Unpublished M.H.K. thesis: University of Windsor, 1976).

44. Richard S. P. Baka, "A History of Provincial Government Involvement in Sport in Western Canada," (Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation: University of Alberta, 1978), 632 pages.

45. Yvette M. Walton. "The Life and Professional Contributions of Ethel Mary Cartwright (1880-1955)," (Unpublished M. A. thesis: University of Western Ontario, 1976) and R. Wayne Simpson, "The Influences of The Montreal Curling Club on the Development of Curling in the Canadas 1807-1857," (Unpublished M.A. thesis: University of Western Ontario, 1980).

46. E. Janice Waters, "A Content Analysis of the Sport Section in Selected Canadian Newspapers, 1927 to 1935." (Unpublished M.A. thesis: University of Western Ontario, 1981) and Nancy B. Bouchier, "Social Class and Organized Sport in Nineteenth Century Ontario: A Case Study of Sport in a Small Town—Ingersoll, Ontario, 1860-1894." (Unpublished M. A. thesis: University of Western Ontario, 1982). Both these employed content analysis as a research or methodological tool.

47. Michael C. Sultzbach, "Canadian Schooner *Bluenose*," (Unpublished M. Sc. thesis: Dalhousie University, 1978).

48. Bruce Kidd and John Macfarlane, *The Death of Hockey* (Toronto: New Press, 1972).

49. Maxwell L. Howell and Reet A. Howell, *History of Sport in Canada* (Champaign: Stipes Publishing Company, 1981).

most part,<sup>50</sup> the book is a loosely-fragmented re-hash of *Sports and Games in Canadian Life*. One of the finest pieces of published research in book form is the recently published *The Sporting Scots of Nineteenth Century Canada*<sup>51</sup> by Redmond. It is a Ph.D. dissertation published almost verbatim, but it is scholarly work and well written descriptive research. In between the boundary years are an abundance of mass market hockey histories such as *The Mad Men of Hockey*<sup>52</sup> and *The Leafs in Autumn*<sup>53</sup> but the only one exemplifying careful research that could be classed as history is *Cyclone Taylor: A Hockey Legend*.<sup>54</sup>

Most research published in book form is biographical. *Olympic Gold*,<sup>55</sup> *Canada's Sporting Heroes*,<sup>56</sup> *Ned Hanlan*,<sup>57</sup> *Tom Longboat*<sup>58</sup> and *Lionel Conacher*<sup>59</sup> attest to this primarily descriptive, biographical nature of book-published research. Of these five, the last three were segmented to and written for a teen-age market audience, although in each case the material is based on published research. If we are to interest young scholars in Canadian sport history, a great deal more sport history needs to be written toward specific target audiences. These three works embellish the heroic aspects of specific sporting personalities. *Olympic Gold* and *Canada's Sporting Heroes* offer scenarios of Canadian athletes, sport promoters, journalists and entrepreneurs.<sup>60</sup> In essence, all books pertaining to Canadian sport history are descriptive in nature and often biographical in format. To date, there is no published, single, comprehensive analysis of Canadian sport history. Roxborough's *One Hundred-Not Out* remains the best single work in my opinion.

### Conclusions

It is exceedingly difficult to examine such a topic with any degree of objectivity. It seems as though Canadian sport history, as a research area, defies unity. In general, the area is not as fragmented as the author had assumed. That is, the methodology in use is almost universally descriptive-narrative to descriptive-thematic and topics can be broadly classified into four major headings as discussed previously. Similarly, graduate students as future scholars are being trained in the descriptive mold. Descriptive research writing is valuable and necessary in my view and it reflects the training of Canadian sport

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50. Chapters II and VI are well written and provide new material and/or insight.

51. Gerald Redmond, *The Sporting Scots of Nineteenth Century Canada* (Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1982).

52. Trent Frayne, *The Mad Men of Hockey* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1974).

53. Jack Batten, *The Leafs in Autumn* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1975).

54. Eric Whitehead, *Cyclone Taylor: A Hockey Legend* (Toronto: Doubleday Company Ltd., 1977). See *CJ*, 12:1 (May, 1981), 84-86 for a review of the work by this writer.

55. Frank Cosentino and Glynn Leyshon, *Olympic Gold: Canadian Winners of the Summer Games* (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1975).

56. S. F. Wise and Douglas Fisher, *Canada's Sporting Heroes: Their Lives and Times* (Toronto: General Publishing Co. Ltd, 1974).

57. Frank Cosentino, *Ned Hanlan* (Toronto: Fitzhenry and Whiteside Ltd., 1978).

58. Bruce Kidd, *Tom Longboat* (Toronto: Fitzhenry and Whiteside Ltd., 1980).

59. Frank Cosentino and Don Morrow, *Lionel Conacher* (Toronto: Fitzhenry and Whiteside Ltd., 1981).

60. *Canada's Sporting Heroes* is written by two historians and contains some very fine history. See the book review in *CJ*, 6:2 (December, 1975), 87-89.

historians. Methods sessions at conferences and research methods workshops are needed. Progression in this area must move more toward history and away from purely sport history. It is the era of computer retrieval and storage systems; sampling procedures that can cut away vast amounts of time previously spent pouring over every article and game description in researching a particular topic; quantitative and qualitative assessments of historical issues that need to be understood, faced and used in order to approach sport history from a wide variety of perspectives—we need better theory not better evidence.

Canadian sport history is a very small research area with only a core of individuals consistently producing research. Of the early Alberta doctoral graduates, only Jones has regularly produced articles on Canadian sport history following graduation. The area needs commitment and it needs researchers with more historical training. Internationally, Canadian sport history will not be recognized unless, logically, an effort is made to publish history that is beyond the level of Canadian heritage. Similarly, more contact with and publishing in the parent discipline is warranted as is more reading of historical journals. Granting agencies are virtually un-tapped by Canadian sport historians and cooperative research is viewed as an infringement of personal rights. The years from 1972 to 1982 have represented a decade of establishment of Canadian sport history as a viable research area; the next decade must be one of concentrated and focused development.