

# *Nineteenth Century Sports Tours, State Formation, and Canadian Foreign Policy*

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While it can be asserted that Canada did not explicitly direct its own foreign affairs until the 1920s, it has to be understood that state formation and the invocation of Canadian foreign policies were political, economic, and social processes that were well underway during the last quarter of the nineteenth century and, as such, were not dependent upon overt policy. While not nearly as politically explicit as the state sports developments of the 1960s and 1970s, concentrated efforts at promoting national and international competition were fundamental aspects of state formation in nineteenth-century Canada. Regular sporting exchanges and annual competitions were commonplace between Canada (as well as other colonial countries) and Britain from the 1870s until the turn of the century and beyond.

Macintosh and Hawes appropriately categorised these exchanges as being rather more informal than the state policies that emerged several decades later.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, the governments of the Dominion, the military, and business elites funded and promoted ostensibly international and national cultural initiatives which, at home, had political implications in cementing social relations within the new post-Confederation economic order. These initiatives appealed to popular ideas about patriotism, masculinity, competitiveness, and the place of the new Dominion within international trade, military, and political relations - all selectively positioned under a rubric of 'Canadianness'. On a more local and familiar level, the promotion of competitive sport and leisure within the discourse of the 'national' served to actively construct the *idea* of the state within popular consciousness. In this sense, and as Abrams has suggested, the argument that the idea of the state has a significant political reality even if the state, itself, remains for the most part undiscovered is a valuable point of departure.<sup>2</sup>

Cultural connections between Britain and its colonies have been well documented in an extensive body of literature which aptly describes

sport as a 'cultural bond' and a means for the promotion of imperialism.<sup>3</sup> As Mangan has suggested, these studies sought to establish areas of academic inquiry that were distinct from traditional historical approaches which focused on 'British policies of expansionism and on economic matters'.<sup>4</sup> Consequently, new avenues were opened for understanding the social significance of sport within the processes of imperialism.

To build on these studies, however, it is important to shift from the research problematics which identify imperial and cultural relations in terms of 'transplanting' and 'transmitting' values and ethics, and sport as the bond or 'umbilical cord',<sup>5</sup> to move away from the monolithic reading of sport as being part of a process of 'imperial socialisation'. The use of this framework of imperial socialisation to explain relations of power in terms of dominant ideas, resistance and identity is limited since the issue is more complex: different groups in the colonies experienced various forms of imperialism and responded in different ways. In Canada, for example, there were imperialists, imperial nationalists, nationalists, national imperialists, and those whose identities were more closely tied to regional and ethnic associations.

The differences in methodological approach, then, places sport and other leisure activities within a broader discussion of political economy, in which such cultural forms cannot be divorced from structural forces which are culturally and historically specific. The idea of imperialism, in its many contested forms, was utilised by particular groups in ways that connected familiar and local identifications to political policies with national economic implications. The intent here is to examine, through case studies, the dialectical relationships between structural forces and cultural forms during the processes of state formation, which were undertaken in part through national and international policies.

In the context of nineteenth-century Canadian culture, as it was articulated in foreign policy and in the processes of state formation, one of the specifically positioned focal points which served to sustain the emerging historic bloc was the idea of the 'national'. Even though different and changing concepts of nationalism in the late nineteenth century failed to ossify a nation-wide common identity among Canadians, the idea of the 'national' was ostensibly posed within dialogues of unity which formed the basis of legitimacy for measures conducted under the auspices of the federal state.

The national rifle teams that competed annually at Wimbledon

and Bisley Common and the lacrosse tours of 1876 and 1883 are specific examples of international sporting exchanges which were positioned as signifiers of the 'national' or as representations of Canada's image abroad. The construction of particular images during these international exchanges were more important than the actual outcome of competitions, although victories in international competitions served to invoke specific kinds of nationalism. The messages delivered by participants during public appearances articulated themes of imperialism, patriotism, brands of exemplary masculinity, and drew attention to constructed distinctions between the 'primitive' and the 'modern', the 'cultured' and the 'savage'; though soliciting immigration and business investment or selling opportunities were the basic tenets of early Canadian foreign policy and national policy at home.

Stationing numerous agents of immigration across Europe to disseminate information about Canada was an important aspect of Prime Minister John A MacDonal'd's National Policy in the late nineteenth century. The agents who docked in Liverpool in May of 1883, however, evoked a somewhat more colourful image than was provided by the typical government representatives. They attracted considerable public attention from the British press and populace. Fourteen middle-class amateur lacrosse players from Montreal and Toronto and a team of Caughnawaga Indians embarked upon a 10 000 mile odyssey of lacrosse matches and immigration lectures in 41 different cities in Scotland, England, and Ireland.<sup>6</sup> They personally distributed literature and information at 62 lacrosse matches. The Canadian riflemen, who attended the annual matches from 1871, also advertised the nation, by virtue of their personal appearance, the orderliness of their rifle camps, respectable behaviour, and good shooting.

For the most part, in historical analyses, the impetus for these sports tours and competitions has been attributed to imperialistic cultural ties: Canadian patriotism, and the simple process of nation-building within a modernist paradigm.<sup>7</sup> A broader evaluation of extant economic, political, and cultural relations in Canada, however, reveals distinct political processes with more far-reaching implications in the construction of hegemonic constellations, based on state-forming internal or national policies and on international policies. In the post-Confederation period, sport was utilised in concentrated efforts to 'domesticate' national policies which favoured the business sector of central Canada. In this sense

sports, both distinct and contested social processes, were valorised as signifiers of nationhood, invoked as national symbols, and mobilised as part of many ideological projects in the service of the emerging historic bloc.

### **The 'National' - At Home and Abroad**

By the late 1850s, after more than a decade of favourable investment legislation, government patronage and power-broking, central Canadian businessmen emerged as the dominant fundamental group. Confederation was engineered by this group and their network of affiliates in order to secure a national apparatus that would serve their economic interests in trade and commerce, debt, and public property. The British North America (BNA) Act ensured that there would be centralised control over international trade and tariffs on imports, which was fundamental to the expansion of productive forces in the new Dominion. The devolution of powers relating to education, culture, administration of justice, and agriculture to the provinces was crucial in sustaining the intellectual bloc of interests which had supported dominant relations of production before Confederation. The ideological social and cultural terrain that had been essentially British for almost a century, with the exception of French Quebec and resistant pockets of French colonists, was shifted towards a more Canadian 'national idiom', with the clear intention of incorporating Francophone culture. In this sense, the decentralisation of cultural administrative powers was fundamental in the post-Confederation shift to a nationalised economy and in the creation of space for the emergence of a new national culture - a difficult project considering the regional diversity of the colonies, separated by religion, language, and cultural practices. Vital to the hegemony of the bloc was ostensible provincial control over cultural matters, that is to say, a possibility to make sense out of national culture in regional or local terms. Interestingly, fragments of the new business and professional elite were the most active organisers and participants in urban club sports.<sup>8</sup> Recognising the tendencies of countries towards international competitiveness at such events as world expositions and sporting championships, some of these men were strong advocates of sports, which lent themselves to national identifications, like cricket, lacrosse, rowing, and rifle-shooting. The victory of four Canadian rowers over Europe's best at the Paris Exposition of 1867, for example, received more world press attention than Confederation.<sup>9</sup>

While the process of creating a new administrative structure in British North America was facilitated by the Act of 1867, the manifestation of cultural images that represented the interests of all citizens was contested by Canadians in the decades following Confederation. Intellectuals, politicians, and public figures, through a directed process of administrative and ideological 'nation-building', attempted to transcend the differences that obtained across the regions of the Dominion. The new federal government validated particular images of Canada in and through the discourse of administrative processes, appealing to 'common' interests, in an attempt to establish its legitimacy nation-wide. At the same time, however, this strategy was employed in facilitating Canada's relations with other governments. Invoking newly constructed images of Canada was a vital aspect of trade, immigration, and foreign investment policy. MacDonald's National Policy was based upon attracting hard-working, upstanding immigrants who would populate the Canadian West, extract raw materials from the land, and ship them for processing to the industries in central Canada that were protected by trade tariffs. In 1873, Edward Barnard, one of Canada's immigration agents in Europe, lamented the country's weak foreign promotional efforts in comparison to the United States:

A Canadian on the continent finds out very soon how painfully ignorant the population is of everything related to Canada, whilst the United States are considered, by the majority, the most attractive country in the world ... [their] schemes which, sooner or later, secure for them millions of foreign capital in investments of all description, from government bonds, to mortgages on wild lands, in the most distant parts of their unimproved territory; bringing out also streams of men and women, often the strongest, the most energetic and most desirable in the land.<sup>10</sup>

Federal policies directed toward such concerns required a nation, of course, which as a completely new unified and unifying concept was constructed in various ways across the country. World's fairs were one such venue that provided Canada and other participating countries with the medium for the invocation of nationalism through cultural spectacle, providing the opportunity for identification with images of 'country' beyond immediate and local experiences. Individual experience through the 'national' was effectively linked to the process of state formation, as

specific ideologies were shaped and reproduced through visual iconographies in the cause of progress. International image construction was a difficult project as well, since shirking the colonial image was in many respects crucial to Canada's emergence into world trade. The Canadian commissioners for example, were eager to demonstrate the modern products of Dominion manufacturing that advertised Canada as an advanced society capable of providing citizens with all of the luxuries necessary for comfortable living. They wished to supplant the images of backwardness and marginality with images of Canada as a resource rich land in which state-of-the-art technology offered new kinds of opportunities for 'development' and for sophisticated living. Canada's future prosperity has always been seen to depend upon attracting immigrants and investment capital of the right sort; and Canada in the nineteenth century was actively competing with the other Dominions and with America, as well as with the known opportunities of Britain. Here, however, tensions continually surfaced that were based in Canada's status as a colony yet emerging new nation. These tensions articulated with the fragmented cultural dispositions within regions, and it was thus important for competing groups to captivate a more national consensus.

One approach evident in the process of state formation, or more accurately, the solidification of economic, political, and social relations within the bloc, was the mobilisation of regional and cultural loyalties towards articulated national interests, defined in terms of contributions to the 'Dominion' of Canada. This process was particularly evident with respect to the positioning of social meanings about some sport and leisure activities. Indeed, while accommodating and incorporating a variety of interests in the consolidation of a dominant culture, particular forms of leisure were legitimated by formal and informal discourses and encouraged through Federal intervention. In the mobilisation of leisure processes as part of national and international policies, in the post-Confederation period," relations with Britain remained the government's focal point, particularly when immigration and business investment were concerned. Indeed, what were referred to as cultural exchanges, in the form of sporting tours, were common for British and Canadian teams.

### **Competitive Rifle-Shooting - National Policy and Foreign Immigration Policy**

The BNA Act limited Federal Government responsibility in local cultural matters, although there were some forms of leisure and expenditures that

could be categorised in terms of the 'national' interest. Throughout the late nineteenth century, as part of a national policy to strengthen Canada's military foundation and later to present particular images of the Dominion abroad, officers and volunteers of the militia and civilians were mobilised across the country to participate in the sport of rifle-shooting. Unlike other leisure processes that were positioned to serve particular interests, rifle-shooting was validated exclusively by invoking a state-patriotism, while economic interests served by the activity were not readily visible. This competitive form of leisure was circumscribed by a powerful bureaucracy but not necessarily in terms of influence within the state apparatus or the financial resources commanded; rather, it was the conceptualisation of safety and protection of property within popular conventional wisdom in response to the validation of perceived military threats in public discourse throughout the period, that determined the legitimacy and extent of military enterprise. The ideological implications of this legitimising process were not limited to the participants in military exercises; a whole range of public discourses, including newspaper reporting, administrative meetings, and the legal process, provided venues for the validation of military imperatives.

The withdrawal of British garrison troops, political relationships with other countries, administration of a Federal Militia Department, and the establishment of a 'protective' system based on volunteers legitimated military interests within the state and in Canadian communities.<sup>12</sup> Garrison troops had always provided military protection in the colonies but the Crimean War and the financial strain of having permanently stationed troops in Canadian forts provided impetus for their removal. Further, the threat of annexation by the United States, following the Civil War, raised questions about the security of the Canadian provinces. In view of the considerable costs of sustaining a permanent, professional military force in Canada, the idea of a volunteer-based military was attractive to provincial administrators during the 1860s.

Positioned as an integral component of military training for the new volunteers but, more importantly, a crucial strategy for attracting large numbers of participants, rifle-shooting clubs and competitions for prizes were established before Confederation. During the following period, national, provincial, and local administrations were organised to facilitate participation in competitive rifle-shooting in an effort to establish an extensive, competent, volunteer force that could be activated if deemed

necessary.<sup>13</sup> The Dominion of Canada Rifle Association (DRA) was formed in 1868 to promote the use of the rifle in Canada by organising competitions and offering prizes for marksmanship.<sup>14</sup> Targets, equipment, and rifles were distributed to battalions and ammunition for practice was distributed freely or at discounted prices to both battalion and civilian rifle associations. Rifle range facilities were built across the Dominion throughout the period; the costs were absorbed by the Federal Government

Although competitive rifle-shooting, as a leisure process, exhibited characteristic<sup>15</sup> similar to those of cricket, lacrosse, baseball, curling, and other sports, it was not articulated formally as a competitive sporting activity until the latter part of the nineteenth century. By contrast, it was abstracted from the typical social processes, into which other sports were embedded, as a purposive service to the nation. Even civilian clubs, having no affiliation with the militia, were considered integral components of Canada's military foundation. Patriotism, duty, and contributions to the 'nation' articulated as transcending regional interests were the meanings circumscribing this social process. Supporters often appealed to a sense of unity, suffused with patriotic meanings and attention to duty - in concert with distinct notions of progress and the 'prospects' of the new country.

While appeals to a sense of duty were made by administrators, it was clear that the underlying incentive was provided by monetary awards and prizes.<sup>16</sup> Politicians, wealthy individuals, and businesses were solicited throughout the period to donate prizes and money for provincial and local competitions, while local associations received yearly grants from the Federal Government to help finance their activities. Dominion matches became a matter of local pride, providing incentives for practice and the recruiting of skilled participants.

Articulated as the culmination of success for all Dominion rifle-shooters was selection to a 'national' team of Canadian riflemen with free passage to attend the annual championships held at Wimbledon in England.<sup>17</sup> The emphasis placed on performance at elite competitions, by the DRA executive, was supported in patriotic Parliamentary and public speeches. The purposes served by rifle-shooting remained 'national' and the idea of a military foundation was not completely forfeited; new meanings were added, however, as the Wimbledon team represented other, non-military, 'national' interests, as well.

Canadian teams were first invited to attend the National Rifle

Association championships at Wimbledon in 1861 and were encouraged by British officials throughout the 1860s.<sup>18</sup> A team financed by the provincial government represented Ontario at the prize meeting of 1871.<sup>19</sup> The following year, a Canadian team departed on the steamship *Scandinavian* to attend the Wimbledon match as Canada's first 'national' team. About this team, Major P W Worsely wrote in his report, 'Loud and long continued was the applause as I led forward that plucky little band who had crossed the Atlantic, to wrest from the best shots of the mother country the Kolapore Cup, by the finest display of skill ever seen on Wimbledon Common'.<sup>20</sup> During the rest of the period of analysis, national teams attended the Wimbledon and later, Bisley,<sup>21</sup> matches. These teams were described as symbols of nationhood by members of Parliament,<sup>22</sup> Governors-General, and DRA executives for the next four decades. Lord Aberdeen, at his first meeting with the DRA remarked that rifle-shooting was a 'great national patriotic work' and referred to the national team as an 'embassy of honor'.<sup>23</sup> An article in the *Military Gazette*, published in 1885 claimed that the Wimbledon team was a great inspiration to local militias, contributed to making Canada known abroad, and as such was a 'powerful and popular factor in the development of the Dominion'.<sup>24</sup>

While the participation of the national team served to promote particular images of Canada in Britain, this policy was also validated as contributing to immigration efforts being carried out overseas. Immigration agents were stationed throughout Britain and in many parts of Europe, disseminating information, soliciting immigrants, and reporting on interest towards settlement in Canada.<sup>25</sup> The Bisley team members were viewed as ambassadors who could promote business interests in, and immigration to, Canada.

It was noted during parliamentary debate in 1875 that the Wimbledon team was one of the best means of promoting emigration.<sup>26</sup> Further, in government reports, it was suggested that rifle-shooting 'tended in a remarkable manner to make the Dominion better known throughout the whole world; and as an advertisement for emigrants is of great value'.<sup>27</sup> It was explicit in this kind of public discourse that the right kind of citizen should be attracted to Canada. The *Military Gazette*, commenting on the popularity of the team at Wimbledon suggested that the Canadian shooters appealed to the 'best of every class of our fellow subjects in the mother country'.<sup>28</sup> As much emphasis was placed on the appearance of the Canadian camp, the uniforms, personal appearance,

and friendliness towards spectators and visitors as on the performance of the riflemen. It was the responsibility of the men to politely and enthusiastically answer the questions about Canada posed by visitors at the grounds. Victory at the event, of course, brought immediate press and popularity.

In 1895, Private T H Hayhurst's winning of the coveted Queen's Prize was welcomed in Canada with victory celebrations in Montreal, Toronto, and Hamilton;<sup>29</sup> special congratulations were issued in Parliament and the value of the championship was expressed in terms of its direct contribution to advertising Canada to the world. Further, it was suggested that the victory was far more successful in attracting attention to the Dominion than the 'ordinary' government promotional programs.<sup>30</sup> The sentiment expressed here was that winning an international sport championship superseded all other conventional means of attracting attention toward Canada. In many regards, Hayhurst's win was positioned as an epochal moment which fused together the political and social meanings that had been invoked, culturally, through the National Policy and through numerous other ideological projects at home and abroad. Yet, in spite of these invoked representations of 'Canadianness', the economic and cultural connections to Britain remained fundamental. Members of parliament were informed that the victory was very popular in England, 'the mother of nations' and 'shrine of manly sport and fair play'.<sup>31</sup> Of Hayhurst's win, Col. Mackinnon, the secretary of the National Rifle Association of England, suggested that 'the triumph of the Canadian rifleman is one of those events which have consequences more far-reaching and more important than appear on the surface, for they tend to knit the bonds of union more closely than ever'.<sup>32</sup> English pride was celebrated because Hayhurst was originally a citizen of Manchester (and was not a Scot) and had only been in Canada for three years. In Canada, the *Military Gazette* noted that:

the men who have so long toiled and striven to keep up the enthusiasm in rifle shooting in Canada must have felt amply repaid for all their time, trouble and expense. Political cheese-parers may be expected to be silent about the expense of the Bisley team for a few years now.<sup>33</sup>

So important was the image of Canadian riflemen at Bisley that the federal government expended \$5000 to construct permanent 'Bisley Quarters' made from Canadian logs. The expenditure was later legitimised

with claims that the building was ‘a very fine advertisement for the Dominion of Canada and was seen by thousands’.<sup>34</sup> By the turn of the century, Canada had sent several hundred riflemen to Britain and spent over one million dollars to promote the sport of rifle-shooting.<sup>35</sup> At home, rifle-shooting competitions, as part of broader cultural processes, served to make sense out of emerging national infrastructures, institutions, and the nationalised economy, in part, by bringing citizens into national political life and also in the construction of national symbols. Much like Canada’s participation in world’s fairs and expositions,<sup>36</sup> the Bisley riflemen implicitly promoted Canadian foreign policy in Britain to would-be emigrants and investors. In this regard, rifle-shooting was not unique. Throughout the period, other leisure processes obtained as ‘national’ symbols and were utilised to facilitate particular policies that were immediately contingent upon international relations.

### **Lacrosse — Immigration**

*Baggataway* or *tewaaathon* was, in part, a religious ritual for many tribes of Natives in British North America. The French knew the game as ‘lacrosse’ and, later, British garrison officers appropriated it from the Natives and established their own rules. It was popularised as a club sport, particularly in Montreal and Toronto by middle-class business and professional men in the 1850s and 1860s. W George Beers, a Montreal dentist, published a set of rules and promoted it as the national game of Canada — a cultural signifier invoked in the political campaigns waged during pre- and post-Confederation. Intending to capitalise financially on the excitement created by Confederation, a promoter organised a tour of Britain by white players from the Montreal Lacrosse Club and a team of Natives from the Caughnawaga tribe near Montreal in 1867, to demonstrate to English school children what being Canadian was all about.<sup>37</sup>

Beers continued to promote the sport in Canada, positioning it as the national sport. He arranged for a similar promotional trip to Britain in 1876. A Native team was included once again for the purpose of attracting crowds to the matches played in England, Scotland, and Ireland. An important subtext was being communicated here in the positioning of contrast and distinction between the ‘savages’ of the wildlands of Canada and their ‘masters’, a team of amateur, rule-abiding, honourable, white gentlemen. Similar to the projected images of many of the Canadian

exhibits at world's fairs at this time, the Native athletes represented an earlier, more uncivilised era, while the white teams signified the march of progress, rationality, and a modern social order. The Natives wore decorated and beaded uniforms, war paint, and were solicited to stage 'war' dances and pow wows between games. As Morrow reported, on the day after a match was played, for example, the Newcastle *Daily Journal* heralded that the 'moltifying influence of civilisation upon savage and warlike races was strikingly illustrated'.<sup>38</sup> As part of the image production scheme, it was evident that the outcomes of most of the matches were fixed. The idea of free-running savages would not be attractive to prospective colonists. The tour was successful in generating a great deal of public attention in Britain, culminating in a private match played at Windsor Castle that was personally requested by Queen Victoria.<sup>39</sup>

Recognising that the political underpinnings of these projected images in Britain were just as valuable at home, where the idea of nation was being defined and contested at other levels, the MacDonald Conservative Government capitalised on the success of the 1876 tour by initiating a more explicitly political exchange seven years later. Thus, the lacrosse tour of 1883 was once again led by Beers, who viewed his efforts to be as significant as those of the Wimbledon shooters in promoting nationalism at home and representing Canada in Britain.<sup>40</sup> He selected middle-class club members from Montreal and Toronto and, of course, a team of Caughnawaga Indians. The 1883 excursion was similar to the other tours in its image construction but the purposes of this trip were inherently linked to Dominion immigration efforts.

Member of Parliament, Dr C E Hickey and Revs D V Lucas and Gavin Laing<sup>41</sup> accompanied the teams on this tour which was noted as 'enthusiastically' assisted by the Marquis of Lome.<sup>42</sup> In the newspapers, the tour was positioned as a great patriotic exercise. Conservative economic policy and support for the new national order, however, were clearly evident. One newspaper suggested that:

The trip thus carried out, will accomplish an end which should be at the heart of all Canadians, and this end will be attained if possible by work which will be more than laudable if it accomplishes what every well-wisher of the Dominion should desire —the turn of the tide of emigration to our North-West and the settlement of tenant farmers on the cleared and improved farms of the older Provinces.<sup>43</sup>

The excursion was very well orchestrated and publicised, as the teams were met by 80 different immigration agents stationed in Scotland, England, and Ireland. Spectator turnouts ranged from a few thousand to as many as 8000. As in previous tours, to arouse the interest of the spectators, the sub-texts of the ceremonies invoked the typical images of the savage versus the civilised man. The Times of London reported that, ‘Scattered Branches, better known as Big John, acted as field captain for the Indians and formed a most picturesque figure in his enormous headdress of feathers’.<sup>44</sup> In addition to the usual ceremonies, pageantry, and Native demonstrations, immigration lectures were delivered and the players themselves distributed immigration pamphlets and information about Canada. The players handed out a total of 150 000 leaflets supplied by the Department of Agriculture, containing copies of the *Dominion Illustrated News* which described the resources of Canada.<sup>45</sup>

Other than their athletic and theatrical performances on the sport fields, there was little difference in the tasks performed by the lacrosse players on this tour and the numerous immigration agents stationed in Europe. The teams’ transportation costs and work in disseminating leaflets and information, however, were not financed by the Federal Government; neither did the players receive pay for their efforts, and costs for travel had to be supplemented by gate receipts.<sup>46</sup> It is unlikely that players were as motivated as Beers in serving the interests of federal policies towards immigration. In fact the sporting experience of the players was at best incidental to the designs of the laborious excursion. Morrow quotes the sentiments of one of the players:

The lacrosse trip has helped migration more than it is possible to estimate, but the emigration part of the trip has not helped lacrosse, and I should say that our receipts are a good many thousand dollars smaller on account of it.<sup>47</sup>

For the players, the rather intangible measure of reward consisted of their patriotic contributions to the prominence of the nation; ostensibly categorised as athletes, there was no reference in government reports to their mission as agents of immigration. In the annual report of the Department of Agriculture, brief mention of the trip was expressed as follows:

Now it is difficult for anyone to for anyone to make any statement in the press, of an unreliable character, without its being immediately

challenged and I am told that Canadians, while in Great Britain, are everywhere pressed to supply information and particulars to persons who desire to know more of the advantages the country offers. A mention of this subject would not be complete without referring to the valuable work performed by the Canadian Lacrosse Team, during its recent visit. They travelled in every part of the United Kingdom, and played their interesting game at nearly all the principal cities. They took the opportunity not only of conversing with the people they met, who desired to have the advantages of a personal conversation, but distributed an immense quantity of valuable printed matter, and conducted a large correspondence, which must redound to the advantage of the Dominion. Dr Beers and other gentlemen connected with the matter, were indefatigable in their exertions to make a success, not only the athletic portion of their mission, but also of that patriotic idea with which the whole team were imbued, of helping to bring the country into prominence.<sup>48</sup>

The social meanings constructed abroad were the same as those being constructed at home: the Dominion represented a resource-rich, conquered wildland, in the control of competent gentlemen, offering advantages to all who chose to emigrate or to conduct business. Canadians and potential immigrants were encouraged to believe that economic, trade, and political policies were implemented to serve the best interests of the growing nation - in other words, the National Policy, and the accompanying foreign policies were the right sort of measures for the success of the Dominion.

### **Conclusions**

Given Canada's colonial status, the economic, political, and cultural connections with Britain were deeply embedded in Canadian society. The sporting ties between the two nations facilitated through emigration the military garrisons, sporting exchanges and competitions, and through the establishment of similar institutions have been well-documented. Indeed, the ideas of imperialism and cultural transfer have been the focus of sports history literature for several decades. What remains problematic with the types of questions being raised, however, is the place of sport as a social process within broader relations of power and, further, how these processes constitute, and are constituted by, relations within emerging historic blocs.

The processes of imperialism may have in a narrow sense

represented some sort of ‘transmission’ of sporting values or a ‘cord’ between countries; but the symbolic value of sport to imperial connections must be understood within the context of political economy, demonstrating how sport, grounded in everyday experiences, was positioned within a dialectic of structural and cultural forces. Sport became one of the many sites of contestation over the establishment of a new political and economic order. Imperialism, nationalism and their points of articulation were valorised multi-dimensionally by groups competing to define the ‘national’ in the Dominion and abroad. Through the construction of particular national identifications at the expense of others, cultural forms such as sport were utilised to encourage participation in new political arrangements that were unique and historically specific.

At one level of analysis, this article has explored how various aspects of particular sports have been valorised as cultural signifiers in the process of constructing the idea of the ‘national’ in Canada in the late nineteenth century; another point of departure suggested that these signifiers have been utilised in positioning specific representations of Canada and being Canadian, internationally. As such, the invocation of particular aspects of sporting relations has been an integral part of Canadian foreign policy since the immediate post-Confederation period. In the process of state formation in Canada at local, regional, and national levels, social relations with respect to sport have always been deeply politicised.

### Notes:

- 1 D Macintosh and M Hawes, *Sport and Canadian Diplomacy*, McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal and Kingston, 1994, p. 4.
- 2 P Abrams, ‘Notes on the Difficulty of Studying the State’, *Journal of Historical Sociology*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1977, p. 68. In the Canadian contest, see K B Wamsley, ‘Sport, Leisure and the Construction of the State in Late 19th Century Canada’, unpub. paper, NASSS, Ottawa, 1993.
- 3 See, for example, J A Mangan, ed., *The Cultural Bond: Sport, Empire and Society*, Cass, London, 1992.
- 4 Mangan, *The Cultural Bond*, p. 3.
- 5 Mangan, *The Cultural Bond*, p. 6.
- 6 For the most extensive analysis on the lacrosse tours see D Morrow, ‘The Canadian Image Abroad: The Great Lacrosse Tours of 1876 and 1883’, *Proceedings of the Fifth Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport*, Toronto, 1982, pp. 11 - 23.
- 7 See, for example, D Brown, ‘Canadian Imperialism and Sporting Exchanges: The Nineteenth Century Cultural Experiences of Cricket and Lacrosse’, *Canadian Journal of History of Sport*, vol. 16, no. 1, 1987, pp. 55-66. For a perspective of the meanings constructed on British sports tours see J Nauright, ‘Sport and the Image of Colonial Manhood in the British Mind: British Physical Deterioration Debates and

- Colonial Sporting Tours, 1878- 1906', *Canadian Journal of History of Sport*, vol. 23, no. 2, 1992, pp. 54-71.
- 8 See A Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play: The Emergence of Organized Sport 1807-1914*, McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, 1987; W Simpson, 'The Elite and Sport Membership in Toronto 1827-1881', unpub. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1987.
  - 9 See S F Wise and D Fisher, *Canada's Sporting Heroes*, General Publishing, Don Mills, Ontario, 1974, pp. 112-3; B Shrodt, G Redmond and R Baka, *Sport Canadiana*, Executive Sport Publications, Edmonton.
  - 10 *Sessional Papers, 1873, no. 26*, p. 109.
  - 11 On popular leisure activities and resistance to dominant cultural values, see, for example, P DeLottinville, 'Joe Beef of Montreal: Working-class Culture and the Tavern, 1869-1889', *Labour/Le Travailleur*, vol. 8/9, 1981/82, pp. 9-40. G S Kealey, *Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1980; B D Palmer, *A Culture in Conflict-Skilled Workers and industrial Capitalism, in Hamilton, Ontario, 1860-1914*, McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal, 1979, and *Working-class Experience: The Rise and Reconstitution of Canadian Labour, 1800- 1980*, Butterworth, Toronto, 1983.
  - 12 See D Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, Hurtig, Edmonton, 1990; R A Preston, *Canadian Defence Policy and the Development of the Canadian Nation 1867-1917*, Canadian Historical Association, 1970; Col. C P Stacey, *Introduction to the Study of Military History for Canadian Students*, Canadian Forces, Ottawa, 1973; C Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism 1867- 1914*, University of Toronto Press, 1970, pp. 233-58.
  - 13 These associations, although closely affiliated with the Department of Militia and operated for the most part by military officers, were external to the military institutions of the apparatus.
  - 14 *Dominion of Canada Rifle Association Constitution and By-Laws*, Ball and Woodham, Ottawa, 1870 (adopted 3 Apr. 1868).
  - 15 Only in the sense that there were rules of competition, a goal to be achieved in the exercise, physical dexterity was required of the participants, and trophies were awarded to the winners of matches.
  - 16 The following amounts of prize money were distributed during the 1871 competitive season: District 1, \$560; 2, \$625; 3, \$320; 4, \$315; 5, \$200; 6, \$100; 7, \$555; 8, \$305; 9, \$131. *Sessional Papers*, Canada, 1872, no. 8.
  - 17 A 'national' artillery team was also sponsored to competition at Shoeburyness in England. The Dominion Artillery Association, similar to the DRA, received government grants through the latter part of the period.
  - 18 See S Cornfield, *The Queen's Prize - The Story of the National Rifle Association*, Pelham, London, 1987; Lord A Russell, *Illustrated Hand Book of Rifle Shooting*, Hunter Rose & Co., Toronto, 1869.
  - 19 The sum appropriated for the excursion was \$1000. *Statutes of Ontario*, 34 Vic. cap. 1.
  - 20 *Sessional Papers, 1873, no. 9*.
  - 21 The championships were held at Bisley after 1890. The property to the rear of the Wimbledon range belonged to the Duke of Cambridge; stray bullets made his tenants rather uncomfortable. *Canadian Military Gazette*, 31 Mar. 1887.
  - 22 See *Debates of the House of Commons, Canada*, 1875, 26 Feb. 1879, and 27 Mar. 1884.
  - 23 *Canadian Military Gazette*, 1 Apr. 1894.
  - 24 *Canadian Military Gazette*, 1 Sept. 1885.
  - 25 For yearly reports and letters of agents describing their activities see *Sessional Papers*, Canada, 1868-1909, Agriculture and Immigration Reports. For analysis of immigration policies as they relate to the Conservative 'National Policy' see

- C Brown, 'The Nationalism of the National Policy', in R D Douglas, D B Smith, *Readings in Canadian History: Post Confederation*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Canada, 2nd ed., 1986, pp. 46-51; *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 1979, 12 (issue on National Policy); and C P Stacey, *Canada and the Age of Conflict, vol. 1, 1867-1921*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1984, pp. 17-51.
- 26 *Debates of the House of Commons, Canada*, 1875, 26 Feb. 1879.
- 27 *Sessional Papers, 1873*, no. 7.
- 28 *Canadian Military Gazette*, 23 Feb. 1888,
- 29 Cornfield, *The Queen's Prize*, p. 81.
- 30 *Debates of the House of Commons, Canada*, 22 July 1895.
- 31 *Canadian Military Gazette*, 1 Aug. 1895.
- 32 *London Times*, 22 July 1895.
- 33 *Canadian Military Gazette*, 1 Aug. 1895.
- 34 *Canadian Military Gazette*, 8 June 1898. For expenditure statement see *Sessional Papers, Canada*, 1898, no. 1.
- 35 K B Wamsley, 'Legislation and Leisure in 19th Century Canada', unpub. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1992, p. 267.
- 36 Wamsley, 'Legislation and Leisure', pp. 272-8; K B Wamsley and David Whitson, 'Representations and Competitiveness: International Expositions and Sport Festivals in the Publication of National identity', unpub. paper, NASSH, Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1993.
- 37 For a more extensive examination of the lacrosse tours see Morrow, 'The Canadian Image Abroad', pp. 11-23.
- 38 Morrow, 'Lacrosse Tours' citing the Newcastle *Daily Journal*.
- 39 Morrow, 'Lacrosse Tours', p. 11.
- 40 Morrow, 'Lacrosse Tours', p. 13.
- 41 Morrow, 'Lacrosse Tours', p. 15.
- 42 G Redmond, 'Imperial Viceregal Patronage: The Governors-General of Canada and Sport in the Dominion 1867 - 1909', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, vol. 6, no. 2, 1989, p. 203.
- 43 Sir John A MacDonald *Papers*, vol. 392.
- 44 4 June 1883.
- 45 Morrow, 'Lacrosse Tours', p. 19. The only federal expense referring specifically to the trip was a \$500 reimbursement to the Rev. D V Lucas for 5000 copies of 'All About Canada', *Sessional Papers*, 1884, no. 2.
- 46 This was concluded after an extensive search of *Sessional Papers* and the Auditor-General's *Reports*.
- 47 Morrow, 'Lacrosse Tours', p. 19 quoted from the *Globe*, 18 Aug. 1883.
- 48 *Sessional Papers, Canada*, 1884, no. 8.