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Résumé de l'article

Ces dix ou quinze dernières années ont vu la parution d'un nombre considérable de publications consacrées à l'histoire des sports au Canada. La plupart de ces ouvrages sont de piètre qualité, mais un certain nombre d'entre eux devraient constituer une source précieuse de renseignements pour les spécialistes de l'histoire urbaine. L'existence de plusieurs études exemplaires sur l'histoire des sports et des loisirs en Grande-Bretagne et aux États-Unis ainsi que le fait, généralement accepté, semble-t-il, à l'heure actuelle, qu'une bonne histoire des sports peut se doubler d'une bonne histoire socio-culturelle, devraient favoriser la rédaction d'études plus nombreuses et de meilleure qualité consacrées à l'évolution des sports au Canada.

PERSPECTIVES ON SPORTS AND URBAN STUDIES

Canadian Sports History: Some Comments to Urban Historians

Morris Mott

Résumé/Abstract

Ces dix ou quinze dernières années ont vu la parution d'un nombre considérable de publications consacrées à l'histoire des sports au Canada. La plupart de ces ouvrages sont de piètre qualité, mais un certain nombre d'entre eux devraient constituer une source précieuse de renseignements pour les spécialistes de l'histoire urbaine. L'existence de plusieurs études exemplaires sur l'histoire des sports et des loisirs en Grande-Bretagne et aux États-Unis ainsi que le fait, généralement accepté, semble-t-il, à l'heure actuelle, qu'une bonne histoire des sports peut se doubler d'une bonne histoire socio-culturelle, devraient favoriser la rédaction d'études plus nombreuses et de meilleure qualité consacrées à l'évolution des sports au Canada.

In the last ten or fifteen years a considerable number of publications on the history of Canadian sport have appeared. The bulk of these items are of little consequence to serious scholars. A few, however, are useful and informative to urban historians. The existence of several exemplary studies on the history of sport and leisure in Great Britain and the United States, together with the current acceptance of the idea that good sports history can be good social or cultural history, should encourage more and better studies of Canadian sporting developments.

Sports are immensely, almost incredibly popular; day after day, in all seasons of the year, countless hours and a great deal of money are spent playing, organizing, watching and analyzing them. Nor is this a recent phenomenon: most of the people who have resided in the land masses we now know as "Canada" have shared a fondness for activities that we would recognize as sport.¹

Until recently, Canadian historians have neglected sports as a serious part of cultural history. Preoccupied with great men and large events of political, constitutional, economic and military history, previous scholars left sport history to the amateur "buffs." In the past couple of decades, however, historians of Canada, as of other nations, have become more interested in studying and writing about everyday lives of ordinary people — in "social" and "cultural" history. As a result, a large number of them have become aware of the traditional importance of sports among their countrymen, and a few have published articles and books describing the significance or "functions" of these activities in the past.

This latter group have usually been "trained" in one or more of the several graduate schools of History Departments in which an interest in social history has been encouraged. The attempts made by these people to write scholarly sports history have been complemented by other members of the academy, in particular persons associated with one of the Canadian university graduate programmes in Physical Education. A surprising number of items on the

history of Canadian sport have emerged from graduate students and teachers in these physical education departments.²

Most of what has emerged in this new "field" is unsatisfactory. A disproportionate amount of it is awkward and ungrammatical³; much is of value only to antiquarians⁴; and complex subjects are often treated superficially.⁵ Even some of the work which is written in an acceptable style and places sport in a significant social context is marred by other shortcomings. Theses are not developed, trivia dominates the argument, and cause and effect are not analyzed.⁶ Nevertheless, some of these items can be profitably examined by historians. With all its imperfections, this *corpus* of material tells us much about Canada's urban past.⁷

* * *

The best publication in Canadian sports history is *Canada's Sporting Heroes: Their Lives and Times*, by S.F. Wise and Douglas Fisher.⁸ Essentially a collective biography of the most important or most famous members of Canada's Sports Hall of Fame, it provides a brief but reasonably solid overview of the history of sport in Canada. The book does not tell us all we might want to know about the subject, but it always points us in the right direction. Furthermore, it is superbly written, very well illustrated, and keeps the reader aware of the developments in games as they related to developments in other aspects of life. It is superior to other surveys of the history of sports in Canada and, in some ways, more satisfying than several admittedly more detailed volumes on the history of sports in the United States.⁹

Canada's Sporting Heroes contains a wealth of information and insight on athletic activities and the manner in which their histories have related to a variety of themes. Other publications that urbanists may find valuable deal with particular groups or with specific aspects of the history of sport.

One such publication discusses the history of female participation in what traditionally has been regarded as a male dominated activity. *Women in Canadian Sports*, by Jean Cochrane, Abby Hoffman and Pat Kincaid, is an historical survey of the subject, and is especially informative on developments since World War I. The book seems to have been written primarily for high school students, but most readers will profit from the information it provides.¹⁰ Although *Sport and Ethnic Groups in Canada*, by Gerald Redmond, is aimed principally at sociologists, historians will find that it draws on a number of published and unpublished historical studies. Redmond's conclusions will not be surprising to those who have read a certain amount of "ethnic" history: sports have been popular among many groups; traditional game-forms have repeatedly been enthusiastically transferred from a homeland to Canada; sports have frequently facilitated ethnic solidarity but, they have also abetted cultural assimilation.¹¹

The historical relationship between sports and social class has also drawn scholarly attention. Sid Wise, in "Sport and Class Values in Old Ontario and Quebec," outlines a variety of activities in the last four decades of the nineteenth century popular among different ethnic groups and classes in central Canada. He identifies the values the "solidly respectable business middle class and its allies in the professions, the universities and the military" attached to their favourite games.¹² Alan Metcalfe supports Wise's position on Ontario and Quebec in his articles on sport in Montreal in the last half of the nineteenth century and offers evidence to substantiate the suggestion, explored only briefly by Wise, that as the century drew to a close many sports were being "democratized."¹³ Barbara Schrodt in an article entitled "Sabbatarianism and Sport in Canadian Society" suggests that the long Canadian controversy over whether sports should or should not be played on Sundays, reflects a struggle between the working class and *some* sections of the middle class. A recent article by Gene Howard Homel on the Sunday tobogganing controversy in Toronto sustains her arguments.¹⁴ Finally, Robert Moss has written a rather interesting article on cricket among what might be called the "respectable" class in Halifax in the nineteenth century.¹⁵

As yet scholars identifying with "Canadian sports history" have not adequately contributed well researched articles on the history and meaning of sport among the urban working classes. Fortunately, a number of individuals who are often referred to as "new labour" historians seem interested in and conscious of these themes.¹⁶ Their work leads to three major conclusions. One conclusion is that through-

out our history, sporting activities have been very popular among urban workers, as they have among "common" people. A second is that, in part through sport, working people have revealed and created a sense of identity based on occupation and sometimes class. It must be mentioned that, the new labour historians have not shown that the working class revealed or created through sport or anything else, an autonomous or peculiar culture.¹⁷ Finally, these historians have shown that sport was often used, by the middle and upper classes, to make contact with workers and to influence the ways in which they viewed the world. It should be added that workers themselves often welcomed and sought out the contacts they made through sport, and that they, too, were vaguely aware of games as a medium through which attitudes and values were proclaimed and learned.

Urban historians may be particularly interested in studies of sport in specific cities. Unfortunately, "Sport and Economic Growth in the Windsor Area, 1919 to 1939," by George D. Short is of limited value except perhaps in the hints it provides on the ways in which the Great Depression affected urban sport.¹⁸ Another article on the same city and region, Ted Laurendeau's "Sport and Canadian Culture in the Border Cities, 1867-1929," suggests the gradual "Americanization" or "internationalization" and "modernization" of Canadian sport.¹⁹ Alan Metcalfe's "The Evolution of Organized Physical Recreation in Montreal, 1840-1895," is instructive on how and why *organized* sport grew so rapidly in the last half of the nineteenth century, and stimulating on several themes if read in conjunction with Don Morrow's *ITA Sporting Evolution: The Montreal Amateur Athletic Association, 1881-1981*, and Peter DeLottinville's "Joe Beef of Montreal."²⁰ From Carl Betke's "The Social Significance of Sport in the City: Edmonton in the 1920s," an historian may very well conclude, that the study of sport provides one means of bringing into focus the myriad of small, fluctuating communities that always makes up a large city. The real purposes of this article, however, are to indicate the prevalence of sport in Edmonton, to describe what the sporting culture of that city looked like in the 1920s, and to suggest that athletic activities were among the few things that contributed to civic unity and social order. To a reasonable degree, these purposes are realized.²¹

There are no detailed studies in Canadian sports history on the ways in which urban boosters used sports, especially professional and high-caliber amateur sports, to promote and advertise their cities. That they did so is beyond doubt²²; how they did so, and with what consequences, is suggested in a recent article on boosters and sport in Los Angeles in the late 1920s and the 1930s²³ and that they were motivated by more than materialistic concerns is shown in my article on the Manitoba town of Souris and its lacrosse club in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.²⁴

* * *

It cannot be said, then, that sports historians in Canada have published very much that is both impressive and related, in some reasonably significant way, to urban studies. With the possible exception of Wise and Fisher, none of them have captured the “feel” of sport, in any era, in either the country as a whole or any of its cities, with the same degree of success that some of our better journalists have enjoyed while writing “non-academic,” but still very valuable, history.²⁶ Furthermore, in Great Britain and the United States, the two nations whose sporting culture has most influenced our own, there are a number of studies on important themes that simply cannot be matched in the Canadian literature. There is nothing, for example, on sporting activities in pre-industrial or early industrial Canada that even remotely compares to the volumes by Dennis Brailsford and Robert W. Malcolmson on the same periods in England.²⁶ The relationship between social class and sport in Canada has never been as skillfully studied as it is, for example, in the pages of Peter Bailey’s *Leisure and Class in Victorian England* and H.E. Meller’s *Leisure and the Changing City, 1870-1940*, or in a recently published article by Anthony Delves dealing primarily with football and horse-racing in early nineteenth century Derby.²⁷ There are no volumes on the Canadian history of a specific game, over a relatively long period of time, that are half as satisfying as, for example, the one by Tony Mason on association football in England, or those by David Q. Voigt and Steven Riess on American baseball.²⁸ Finally, no one has surveyed sporting developments in a specific Canadian city, over several decades, with the same skill and thoroughness that Dale A. Somers has exhibited in his *The Rise of Sport in New Orleans, 1850-1900*.²⁹

In other words, a large number of themes in the history of sporting activities in Canada, especially in urban Canada, remain to be explored and capably discussed. As historians begin to investigate them, they should be encouraged by the knowledge that they have an audience that is both interested in and appreciative of sports history, written as social or cultural history. For although it may be true that in years gone by historians tended to regard the study of sport as a frivolous, unworthy pursuit, it seems certain that today they generally agree that through a competent examination of our sporting heritage, we can learn something interesting and significant about both our own generation and previous ones.

The editorial board’s faith in the verity of this last statement has led to this special theme issue of the *Urban History Review*. Three of the items contained in it — the articles by Carl Betke, Alan Metcalfe and myself — deal with aspects of the history of sport in particular Canadian cities. The main arguments of each of them are outlined in the individual Abstracts. Suffice it to say here, that all of them not only indicate the popularity of sports among Canadians in the past but, through the study of these activities, also suggest a good deal about how Canadian urban dwellers have lived, about what their problems and satisfactions have been, and

about how their physical and social environments have been created. In doing so, all of them make a valuable contribution.

However, although they hold this virtue in common, they also exhibit the same shortcoming, one that is suggested by Peter Bailey’s book review essay in this issue, a review of several recent publications on “Sport and the Victorian City.” Professor Bailey observes that “class, culture and capitalism” have been the “primary explanatory categories” in the work that has been done on leisure in general and sport in particular in Victorian Britain. He indicates that this is understandable and probably justifiable, but that it has unfortunately led to the neglect or at least the concealment of the fact that the Victorian city was a “significant structural parameter” that helped “pattern” sport as it did all cultural phenomena. In other words, the urban “terrain” was not only a manifestation of culture but an important determinant of culture. The significance of this truism for sport has not been investigated thoroughly by students of the history of leisure in Britain. It has certainly not been explored sufficiently, either in the articles contained in this issue or elsewhere, by sports historians in Canada. To quote from Professor Bailey’s last sentence, this is something that “not only awaits but demands attention.”

NOTES

1. I am aware that a number of students of sport claim that, by definition, “sport” is “organized,” even “institutionalized.” This means that, historically, “sport” is a phenomenon associated with “modern” societies. I do not find that this notion can be recommended. Historians in particular will want to define “sport” in such a way that similarities between cultures, and continuities in our own, are not purposely masked or perhaps even obliterated. A “sport,” it seems to me, is most usefully defined as a “game” that tests, to a significant degree, physical attributes. If I were asked to define a “game,” I would first invite the person making the request to read Bernard Suits’ *The Grasshopper: Games, Life and Utopia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), and then say that I am reasonably happy with the idea that a game is an activity in which there is a “voluntary attempt to overcome unnecessary obstacles.”
2. These include several books and a considerable number of articles. Two journals have been particularly important avenues of publication. They are the *Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education*, recently re-named *Canadian Journal of History of Sport/Revue canadienne de l’histoire des sports* (1970 -), published at the University of Windsor, and the *Journal of Sport History* (1974 -), published by the North American Society for Sport History, edited and printed at the University of Washington, Seattle.
3. For specific examples of faulty and clumsy writing, see the opening paragraph of the “Introduction” to Gerald Redmond, *Sport and Ethnic Groups in Canada* (Ottawa: Canadian Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation, 1978), 1, and the first two paragraphs of Danny Rosenberg, Don Morrow and Alexander J. Young, “A Quiet Contribution: Louis Rubenstein,” *Canadian Journal of History of Sport/Revue canadienne de l’histoire des sports*, Vol. 13 (May 1982): 1-2.
4. That is, of value only to individuals who are essentially interested in developments within sports, as opposed to the ways in which these relate to important facts or themes in social or cultural history. The best — or worst — example is Nancy Howell and Maxwell L. How-

- ell, *Sports and Games in Canadian Life: 1700 to the Present* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada Limited, 1969).
5. See, for instance, Frank Cosentino's "A History of the Concept of Professionalism in Canadian Sport," *Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education*, Vol. 6 (December 1975): 75-81.
 6. For examples of each of these problems respectively, see Frank Cosentino, "Ned Hanlan — Canada's Premier Oarsmen, A Case Study in 19th Century Professionalism," *Ontario History*, Vol. 66 (1974): 241-250, and my "One Town's Team: Souris and its Lacrosse Club, 1887 - 1906," *Manitoba History*, Vol. 1 (1980): 10-16. Cosentino loses track of the fact that what he presumably wants to show (see p. 242) is that "by the end of the nineteenth century there was a greater acceptance of the professional athlete" than before, and that the career and personality of Ned Hanlan were instrumental in effecting this change in attitude. In my own article, the argument would have been crystallized had I used the words "dramatize" and "dramatization" frequently, but in fact I did not use them at all. Ian F. Jobling begins his article "Urbanization and Sports in Canada, 1867 - 1900," in *Canadian Sport: Sociological Perspectives*, ed. Richard S. Gruneau and John G. Albinson (Don Mills, Ont.: Addison-Wesley (Canada) Limited, 1976), 64-77, with the assertion that "urbanization . . . influenced the development of sport in Canada" in the last third of the nineteenth century (p. 64). In fact, he does not and cannot point to one development that "urbanization" influenced. The changes in sport that he goes on to describe can more accurately be attributed to the decisions of thousands of individuals to use recent technological innovations, as well as the time and space available to them, to play new games, or old games in new ways. Alan Metcalfe, in his "Organized Sport and Social Stratification in Montreal: 1840 - 1901," in *Canadian Sport*, ed. Gruneau and Albinson, 77-101, seems to say that Montreal is an ideal city for a "case study of Canadian sport and society" (see p. 78). Presumably, this means that we can conclude that developments in Montreal, which he describes, occurred generally in Canadian cities in the last half of the nineteenth century. His opinion may be confirmed by studies of sport in other cities once these are completed, but I would think that the peculiar ethnic "mix" of the Montreal population, together with certain unique aspects of that city's development would mean that the sporting culture of Montreal would be, in many ways, atypical. Oddly enough, Metcalfe mentions several of the ways in which Montreal was an abnormal Canadian city, and does so in the very same paragraph in which he tells us that his is a "case study."
 7. This review is confined to published items in English. There are a large number of unpublished theses in this field. In general, they are of poor quality. A list of the theses completed by 1980 is given in Brian T. Mutimer, *Canadian Graduate Essays, Theses and Dissertations Relating to the History and Philosophy of Sport, Physical Education and Recreation* (Ottawa: Canadian Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation, 1980 edition). There are a few publications in French in Canadian sports history; most of them, as one might expect, deal with Quebec or French Canadians. I think I have read most of them, but have refrained from assessing them here because, in order to do so competently, I would have to be much more familiar with the literature on the general social and cultural history of French Canada than I am at present.
 8. S.F. Wise and Douglas Fisher, *Canada's Sporting Heroes: Their Lives and Times* (Don Mills, Ont.: General Publishing Co. Ltd. and Canada's Sports Hall of Fame, 1974).
 9. See Howell and Howell, *Sports and Games in Canadian Life*; Maxwell L. Howell and Reet A. Howell, eds., *History of Sport in Canada* (Champaign, Illinois: Stipes Publishing Company, 1981); John R. Betts, *America's Sporting Heritage: 1850 - 1950* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1974); Betty Spears and Richard A. Swanson, *History of Sport and Physical Activity in the United States* (Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Company, 1978); John A. Lucas and Ronald A. Smith, *Saga of American Sport* (Philadelphia: Lea and Febiger, 1978).
 10. Jean Cochrane, Abby Hoffman and Pat Kincaid, *Women in Canadian Sports* (Toronto: Fitzhenry and Whiteside Limited, 1978). On women's sport in Canada before 1914, a valuable article that anticipates most of what *Women in Canadian Sports* has to say on the period up to World War I is M. Ann Hall, "Women's Sport in Canada Prior to 1914," in *Proceedings of the First Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, May 13-16, 1970* (Ottawa: Fitness and Amateur Sport Directorate, Department of National Health and Welfare, c. 1970), 71-89.
 11. Gerald Redmond, *Sport and Ethnic Groups in Canada*, especially 28-30. See also Grace M. Anderson and David Higgs, *A Future to Inherit, The Portuguese Communities of Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., and Minister of Supply and Services, 1976), especially 182-183; Bahu Abu-Laban, *An Olive Branch on the Family Tree, The Arabs in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., and Minister of Supply and Services, 1980), especially 217; and four articles in W. Stanford Reid, ed., *The Scottish Tradition in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., and Minister of Supply and Services, 1976), namely: Alan R. Turner, "Scottish Settlement of the West," 88; R. MacLean, "The Highland Catholic Tradition in Canada," 110-111; George S. Emmerson, "The Gaelic Tradition in Canadian Culture," 239, 244-246; W. Stanford Reid, "The Scot and Canadian Identity," 304. I have not yet seen a new book by Gerald Redmond, *The Sporting Scots of Nineteenth-Century Canada* (Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1981). It seems likely that the volume is based upon Redmond's Ph.D. dissertation, "The Scots and Sport in Nineteenth Century Canada" (University of Alberta, 1972). If so, it will be well worth reading.
 12. S.F. Wise, "Sport and Class Values in Old Ontario and Quebec," in *This Own Man: Essays in Honour of Arthur Reginald Marsden Lower*, ed. W.H. Heick and Roger Graham (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1974) 93-117. The passage quoted appears on p. 101.
 13. Alan Metcalfe, "The Evolution of Organized Physical Recreation in Montreal, 1840-1895," *Histoire sociale/Social History*, Vol. 11 (May 1978): 144-166; Alan Metcalfe, "Sport and Social Stratification in Montreal, 1840 - 1901."
 14. Barbara Schrodt, "Sabbatarianism and Sport in Canadian Society," *Journal of Sport History*, Vol. 4 (Spring 1977): 22-33; Gene Howard Homel, "Sliders and Backsliders: Toronto's Sunday Tobogganing Controversy of 1912," *Urban History Review*, Vol. X, No. 2 (October 1981): 25-34.
 15. Robert Moss, "Cricket in Nova Scotia during the Nineteenth Century," *Canadian Journal of the History of Sport and Physical Education*, Vol. 9 (December 1978): 58-75.
 16. See Bryan D. Palmer, *A Culture in Conflict: Skilled Workers and Industrial Capitalism in Hamilton, Ontario, 1860-1914* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979), 52-54, 58-59, 241; Doug Baldwin, "A Study in Social Control: The Life of the Silver Miner in Northern Ontario," *Labour/Le Travailleur*, Vol. 2 (1977): 99-100, 106; Wayne Roberts, "Toronto Metal Workers and the Second Industrial Revolution, 1889-1914," *Labour/Le Travailleur*, Vol. 6 (1980): 54; Peter DeLottinville, "Joe Beef of Montreal: Working Class Culture and the Tavern, 1869-1889," *Labour/Le Travailleur*, Vols. 8/9 (1981-82): 14-15, 34-35, 38-39.
 17. Of course it is difficult to say just how peculiar or how autonomous these historians believe working class "culture" was. On this and other shortcomings in the work of this highly productive and stimulating group of scholars, see the very suggestive recent article by Ian McKay, "History, Anthropology, and the Concept of Culture," *Labour/Le Travailleur*, Vols. 8/9 (1981-82): 220-224.
 18. George D. Short, "Sport and Economic Growth in the Windsor Area, 1919 - 1939," in *Proceedings from the Third Canadian Symposium on History of Sport and Physical Education, August 18-21, 1974, Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia* (Halifax, N.S.: Sport Nova Scotia and others, no date), no pagination.

19. Ted Laurendeau, "Sport and Canadian Culture in the Border Cities, 1867 - 1929," in *Proceedings of the Second Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education, University of Windsor, Windsor, Ontario, May 1-3, 1972* (Ottawa: Sport Canada Directorate, Department of Health and Welfare, c. 1972), 198-231.
20. Don Morrow, *A Sporting Evolution: The Montreal Amateur Athletic Association, 1881 - 1981* (Montreal: The Montreal Amateur Athletic Association and Don Morrow, 1981); DeLottinville, "Joe Beef of Montreal."
21. Carl Betke, "The Social Significance of Sport in the City: Edmonton in the 1920s," in *Cities in the West: Papers of the Western Canada Urban History Conference-University of Winnipeg, October 1974*, ed. A.R. McCormack and Ian MacPherson (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1975), 211-235.
22. See Patricia E. Roy, *Vancouver An Illustrated History* (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company and National Museums of Canada, 1980), 162; Carl Betke, "The Original City of Edmonton: A Derivative Prairie Community," in *Town and City: Aspects of Western Canadian Urban Development*, ed. Alan F.J. Artibise (Regina: University of Regina, Canadian Plains Research Center, 1981), 340, 342; Paul Voisey, "Boosting the Small Prairie Town, 1904 - 1931: An Example from Southern Alberta," in *Town and City*, Artibise, 155.
23. Steven A. Riess, "Power Without Authority: Los Angeles' Elites and the Construction of the Coliseum," *Journal of Sport History*, Vol. 8 (Spring 1981): 50-65. See also Janet A. Northam and Jack W. Berryman, "Sport and Urban Boosterism in the Pacific Northwest: Seattle's Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition, 1909," *Journal of the West*, Vol. 17 (July 1978): 53-60.
24. Mott, "One Town's Team."
25. I am particularly fond of the following: Jim Coleman, *A Hoofprint On My Heart* (Toronto: McClelland Stewart Limited, 1971); Trent Frayne, *The Mad Men of Hockey* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1974); Eric Whitehead, *Cyclone Taylor: A Hockey Legend* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada Limited, 1977); Eric Whitehead, *The Patricks: Hockey's Royal Family* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada Limited, 1980).
26. Dennis Brailsford, *Sport and Society: Elizabeth to Anne* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969); Robert W. Malcolmson, *Popular Recreations in English Society, 1700 - 1850* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1973).
27. 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 6; H.E. Meller, *Leisure and the Changing City, 1870 - 1914* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1976), 224-236; Anthony Delves, "Popular Recreation and Social Conflict in Derby, 1800 - 1850," in *Popular Culture and Class Conflict 1590 - 1914: Explorations in the History of Labour and Leisure*, ed. Eileen Yeo and Stephen Yeo (Brighton, Sussex: The Harvester Press Limited, 1981), 89-127.
28. Tony Mason, *Association Football and English Society, 1863 - 1915* (Brighton, Sussex: The Harvester Press Limited, 1980); David Quentin Voigt, *American Baseball*, 2 vols., (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966 and 1970); Steven A. Riess, *Touching Base: Professional Baseball and American Culture in the Progressive Era* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1980). Even these histories are incomplete, of course, in that they concentrate almost exclusively on professional soccer or baseball. But they are very much better than even the best history of a sport in Canada, which is Frank Cosentino's *Canadian Football: The Grey Cup Years* (Toronto: The Musson Book Company Limited, 1969). Mention should be made here of Neil D. Isaacs, *Checking Back: A History of the National Hockey League* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1977). This is really the best history of a "Canadian" game, as played at the highest levels, that has yet been published. The only problem with it, from the point of view of Canadians, is that because it is primarily a history of hockey in the National Hockey League, it necessarily deals principally with the sport in American cities.
29. Dale A. Somers, *The Rise of Sport in New Orleans, 1850 - 1900* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1972).