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# Canadians Declare “It Isn’t Cricket”: A Century of Rejection of the Imperial Game, 1860-1960\*

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The globalization of sports raises many questions about why certain games become popular in one country but not in another. For example, the presence of Italy in the 1995 rugby World Cup, the United Arab Emirates in cricket’s 1996 World Cup, and Jamaica in the 1998 soccer World Cup focuses attention on why games which apparently have little or no traditions in these countries are now played at such a standard that entry to the highest level of international competition has been achieved.<sup>1</sup> The study of how games develop, sometimes called the ludic diffusion process, is becoming increasingly popular.

Eric Dunning and Kenneth Sheard, William Mandle, Tony Mangan, and Gillian Hibbins have all concentrated on a diffusion process which has been successful.<sup>2</sup> However, the examination of the diffusion process of cricket in North America is different in that it shows successful diffusion followed by retarded development. The demise of cricket in the United States has been well recorded by Melvin Adelman, George Kirsch, and Ian Tyrell; however, the waning of cricket’s popularity in Canada is less well documented.

According to Canadian sport historian Alan Metcalfe, “Cricket reached its heyday in the early 1860’s.” At that time Canadian cricket was on a par with U.S. cricket; Canada and the United States were behind only England and Australia in the game’s development. Since then playing standards have fallen so much that Canada has been relegated to the rank of associate member of the International Cricket Council (ICC). In the meantime South Africa, West Indies, India, New Zealand, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and most recently Zimbabwe have progressed to full members of the ICC. This rating enables these countries to play five day “Test” matches against each other and grants automatic entry to cricket’s World Cup, held every four years.<sup>5</sup>

This article focuses on the development of cricket in Canada from 1860 to 1960. The dates are chosen for specific reasons, 1860 because of its position at

the beginning of the decade when Metcalfe stated that Canadian cricket was in its “heyday,” and 1960 because of the decline of Canadian cricket by that time. Ed Burn, editor of *The Canadian Cricketer*, reported on the gloomy prospects for Canadian cricket,

the need to maintain the structure, but some of the foundations of grounds, new players, junior development, finance, to name but a few, need speedy maintenance or the edifice, even if it does not crumble or collapse, will certainly not be strong enough to bear new additions.<sup>6</sup>

Forces that shaped the game will be examined in an effort to account for the continuing failure of the proselytizers of English imperialism to develop cricket in Canada. English influence on Canadian cricket is shown to have eventually impeded the development of the game, having earlier helped to promote it as “the game of Empire” to be played wherever “Britannia ruled.”

Figure 1 is a reproduction of a greeting card that was sent to the Ontario Cricket Association for the 1934-35 cricket season by the famous Marylebone



Figure 1.

Cricket Club, known universally among cricketers as the MCC. At that time the MCC controlled the cricket world from its headquarters at the Lord's Cricket Ground in London, England. The sentiments of the MCC to all are defined by the words of the "Greetings."

We breathe in the teeth of the north wind,  
 We bask 'neath a Southern Sky,  
 And the bonds that our Empire doth bind  
 Shall never wax old nor die.<sup>7</sup>

The simple illustrations and poem from Mr. W. Findlay, secretary of the MCC, speak volumes, not only about the relationship between the MCC and the dominions that were favoured by its support but also the hierarchy and relationship between cricket and Empire. The lion of England sits proudly next to the kangaroo of Australia and the impala of South Africa. Below them are the coconut trees of the West Indies and the maple leaf of Canada followed by the kiwi of New Zealand, the tiger of India, and the elephant of Africa.

By 1935 the bonds which tied these former dominions to the British Empire were of differing strengths. In some cases they had begun to loosen, but were still quite a long way from breaking completely. In the eyes of the MCC and those who played cricket around the world, the game was still considered "a bond of Empire." The comments at the bottom of the page read: "Imperially the Maple Leaf is the weakest link What can we do to strengthen it?" and appear to be written by R. W. Sharp, Honorary Secretary of the Ontario Cricket Association. Obviously he was very concerned about the international standing of Canadian cricket in 1935.

The first recorded cricket match between two Canadian teams (from Toronto and Guelph) was played in 1834, and the first overseas tour by English cricketers was to Canada and the United States in 1859. Yet despite this long tradition of playing cricket, the game was now nowhere near as popular in Canada in the 1930s as in the other cricketing countries.<sup>8</sup> New Zealand and India, both relative newcomers to this exclusive club, had now easily surpassed Canada in cricket's imperial pecking order and had achieved international status.

It was now abundantly clear that cricket was less popular in Canada than in many Commonwealth countries. Why did cricket fail to excite Canadians as much as it did inhabitants of other dominions who were also subject to cultural imperialism?

A model of the sports diffusion process based on ideas put forward by Australian sports historian Richard Cashman is developed here to help explain the demise of cricket in Canada from 1860 to 1960 in light of the continued success of cricket in other countries. In seeking explanations for the diffusion of cricket in former British colonies such as Australia, the West Indies, and India, Cashman directs attention to the following areas of inquiry: the ideology of nationalism, the pivotal role played by elite groups, the use of cultural explanations for the emergence of other sports, the absence or unavailability of alternative leisure pursuits, and indigenous appropriation or domestication.<sup>9</sup> These headings



countries, it is not as easy to determine why some sports are partially accepted or rejected. When discussing the diffusion process it is easy to attach to games the attributes of human agents, suggesting that they actively contribute to their successful or unsuccessful development. Although the qualities of the game, such as rules and customs, influence popularity, it is not the games themselves which fail or succeed but rather the efforts of the players, spectators, administrators, and promoters. As such the diffusion process should be seen as dynamic and interactive rather than as a unidimensional cultural process because change only occurs as a result of an exchange of ideas among those who play and watch the game.

After transplantation from one society to another, it is important for the continued success of the game that assimilation and adaptation occur to enable cultural transformation to take place, which will lead to acceptance in its new environment. For example playing cricket in the West Indies, Australia, or India is significantly different from playing in England, as anyone who has played in these countries will attest.<sup>14</sup>

Since the middle of the nineteenth century, cricket's diffusion process in Canada, and in other dominions and colonies of the former British Empire, has been significantly influenced by the relationship that existed between Great Britain and her Empire. Allen Guttmann sums it up succinctly by saying, "To the ends of the earth, cricket followed the flag."<sup>15</sup> The famous Indian Prince, Kumar Shri Ranjitsinhji, the Jam Sahib of Nawanagar, who played for Sussex and represented England from 1896 to 1902 rather than his native India, stated that "cricket is certainly amongst the most powerful links that keep our Empire together."<sup>16</sup> It is impossible to study cricket's diffusion process without an understanding of the powerful link which was promoted by supporters of British imperialism with the ideology of cricket.

## Nationalism and Sporting Success

Nelson Mandela's presentation of the William Webb Ellis Trophy to François Pienaar, South Africa's victorious rugby captain in the 1995 World Cup, has been seen as a sporting triumph, which heralded a new era for South Africa. Sporting successes by individuals or teams over the athletes from other countries can precipitate eruptions of nationalistic fervor and give inhabitants of the victorious country a feeling of enhanced self-esteem. Thus the result of the game can assume enormous importance. This has certainly been the case in Australia since the late nineteenth century, when it was striving to forge its own cultural and national identity, Victory over athletes from any other country was cause for celebration, but nationalistic euphoria was reserved for wins against English cricket teams.<sup>17</sup>

In Canada, the international rowing feats of Ned Hanlan made him a national hero. He beat Australian E. A. Trickett to become Canada's first world champion in 1880 and held the title until 1884 with victories over English and American oarsmen.<sup>18</sup> Alan Metcalfe has called Ned Hanlan "a symbol of Canada" and "Canada's first sport hero."<sup>19</sup> His well-reported international successes strengthened feelings of Canadian nationalism both at home and in the countries

where he rowed. At a time when Canada and other colonies were vigorously pursuing expansionist immigration policies in Europe, *The Globe* called him “Canada’s best immigration agent.”<sup>20</sup>

Visits by overseas cricket teams, especially English ones, gave a real boost to colonial cricket in the nineteenth century. They were ideal opportunities for Canadians to get excited about Canada and Canadian cricket. These matches stimulated interest and helped sustain the transplanted game, which needed careful nurturing. In 1872 Secretary of the MCC, R. A. Fitzgerald, brought a team to Canada. In his account of the tour *Wickets in the West*, he describes his players as “the twelve apostles of cricket.”<sup>21</sup>

As cricket became more organized in Australia and to a lesser extent in Canada, these visits took on a greater significance. They were used as a “test” to see how well cricket had developed in these distant dominions. In Australia, victory over any English XI was a focus for emerging nationalism.<sup>22</sup> However, Canadian expectations and hopes were continually raised and always dashed.

Previous research by David Brown, which examined tours to and from Canada between 1859 and 1891, highlighted the poor standard of Canadian cricket which brought a negative response by the Canadian public.<sup>23</sup> From 1830 to 1920 Canadian teams played 98 games against overseas opposition, losing 72, drawing 16, and recording 10 victories. Of these 10 victories, the first did not occur until 1886 when Hamilton defeated a visiting team from the West Indies. Many of these losses were by a large margin and drew considerable criticism from the media.<sup>24</sup>

In 1878, the first Australian side came to Canada on the way home after a successful tour to England. Ignorant of the improvements made by Australian cricket, the supporters of Canadian cricket, fueled by speculation in the local media, believed that the Canadian team should be able to defeat Australia and takes its place as second only to England. Little attention was paid to the fact that the Australian team had just won nine games against English county sides and had humiliated the MCC at Lord’s with a nine wicket defeat in one day. The Australian team included such famous players as Frederick Spofforth, nicknamed “The Demon Bowler,” Charles Bannerman, the first player to score a century in Australia, England, and Canada, and Tom Horan, Billy Murdoch, and Harry Boyle, who had all performed well in England.<sup>25</sup> The games against XXII of Ontario and XXII of Montreal and District were both lost by Canada, although the Ontario team did bowl Australia out for 123 in their first innings, only to be beaten by 10 wickets.<sup>26</sup> The editor of *The Globe* launched a stinging attack on Canadian cricket:

Whatever may have been the reasons, however, the fact remains that the Canadian XXII were disastrously defeated by their opponents, and it only remains for Canadians either to give up cricket altogether or in the future avoid such lamentable exhibitions.<sup>27</sup>

In 1913 another strong Australian team visited Canada, and a combined Canada/USA team was selected to play them at Toronto Cricket Club on August 12. Great publicity was given to the game, and *The Globe* declared that the result of this game would determine whether cricket’s supremacy was to rest in North

America or Australia.<sup>28</sup> It was a brave but foolish statement considering that Australia was now playing regularly against England and winning. Despite rain shortening the game, Australia comfortably won by an innings and 147 runs. The question of cricket's dominion supremacy had been well and truly answered. Once again the disappointing result meant that any hopes that success on the cricket field might be a source of Canadian nationalism were extinguished. However, this did not stop Canadian cricketers from trying to raise their standards and the profile of the game, or English and Australian teams from trying to promote the game in Canada. Austin Diamond, the Australian captain, remarked on returning home after a five-month combined tour of Canada and the United States:

The Board [the Australian Board of Control] should remember that it was through private tours such as this that international cricket began. Private tours were the genesis of Australian cricket. The Board should encourage cricket in Canada, where there are thousands of Englishmen, because of the strong chance of developing cricket there as it has been in South Africa.<sup>29</sup>

Table 1 shows visits to and from Canada still remained an important part of the cricket scene in the twentieth century. From 1920 to 1960 there were sixteen visits to Canada, nine by English teams (including four by the MCC), three by Australians, three by Bermudans, and one by Pakistanis. Eight Canadian teams visited England; five were senior and three junior. There were 291 games between Canada and overseas opposition, of which 155 were lost and 39 won. The number of visits to England or by English and Australian teams to Canada reflect the encouragement and support that Canadian cricket received from the "Mother Country" and Australia.<sup>30</sup>

These tours helped to sustain the game and brought about an overall improvement in the standard of play. They also served to highlight the encouragement that Canadian cricket received from the MCC. In the early days the support was linked with the "Bonds of Empire," but from the 1930s onwards, it was given in the hope that Canadian cricket would reach "test" status.<sup>31</sup>

The 1930s saw a period of renewed interest in cricket as eight tours were made to Canada by English, Australian, and Bermudan teams, and four visits were made by Canadian teams to England. The excitement caused by the visit of Arthur Mailey's Australian XI in 1932—which included the most famous cricketer of that era, Don Bradman—and the victory by R. C. Matthew's XI over the MCC in 1937 briefly put cricket back into the headlines.<sup>32</sup>

*The Globe* reported the two games between the 1932 Australians and an All-Toronto XI and an Eastern Canada XI in full detail, especially as Bradman was bowled out for only 11 runs. The headlines read, "Australian Cricketers Beat Toronto—Bradman Held to Eleven Runs." However, W.T. Munns, assistant sports editor of *The Globe*, felt the necessity to explain the significance of this event in an editorial:

**Table 1**  
**Visits to Canada and by Canadians Abroad 1920-1960**

Year	Name of Team	Nationality	Destination	No. of Games	W	L	D
1920	Incogniti	English	Canada	1	0	0	1
1922	N.Seagram's XI	Canadian	England	11	0	4	7
1923	Free Foresters	English	Canada	8	0	6	2
1932	A. Mailey's XI	Australian	Canada	34			4
1933	MCC	English	Canada		(a) see below		
1933	Cambridge Univ.	English	Canada	8	1	3	4
1933	Sir J. Cahn's XI	English	Canada	10	0	9	1
1935	Bermuda A.A.	Bermudan	Canada	8	4	3	1
1935	Indep. Schools	Canadian	England	12	1	7	4
1936	R. C. Matthews'	Canadian	England	14	7	1	6
1937	MCC	English	Canada	19	1	12	6
1937	Indep. Schools	Canadian	England	9	3	4	2
1939	Indep. Schools	Canadian	England	11	1	4	6
1939	Public Schools	English	Canada	14			6
1939	Girls' Schools	English	Canada		(b) see below		
1950	Bermuda XI	Bermudan	Canada	11	5	(c) below	
1951	MCC	English	Canada	22	2	18	2
1954	Canada	Canadian	England	18	4	3	11
1957	Bermuda XI	Bermudan	Canada	8	2	4	2
1957	Canadian Sch.	Canadian	England	16	1	7	8
1958	Pakistan	Pakistan	Canada	7	0	5	2
1959	Canadian Sch.	Canadian	England	17	3	8	6
1959	MCC	English	Canada	22	0	18	4
1959	Old Collegians	Australian	Canada	4	1	2	1
1960	Old Collegians	Australian	Canada	7	1	1	5

sources:

C. Whiting, *Cricket in Eastern Canada*

*The Cricketer*, 1933-61

*The Cricketer Annual*, 1951-61

*The Globe*, 1931-1936

*The Globe and Mail*, 1936-7

*The Canadian Cricket Association Annual*, 1959-61

The "W"/"L" columns indicates wins and losses by Canadian teams.

(a) Members of the MCC passed through Toronto on their way home from the 1932-33 tour to Australia to encourage the formation of the Dominion Advisory Cricket Board but did not play any games against Canadian opposition.

(b) The Cricketer Annual, 1939-40 mentions the presence of this team in Canada, but no records of matches have been found.

(c) The rest of the results of this tour are missing.



The 1932 Australian Cricket Team in Canada. Don Bradman is seated second from the left.

If “Babe” Ruth were to be struck out by a Toronto sandlot pitcher, the result would be no more surprising than was the quick dismissal for Bradman yesterday.<sup>35</sup>

Five years later cricket was again making the news in *The Globe and Mail* as “Canadian Eleven Gets 10-wicket Win Over the MCC.” The magnitude of the victory was quite emphatic, with the MCC making only 157 and 137 in their two innings and R. C. Matthews’ XI making 288 in their first innings, which left them only seven runs for victory in the second innings. This time Tommy Munns (then sports editor) praised the efforts of the MCC team in defeat rather than the success of the Canadian team:

As for the vanquished opponents, they deserve many compliments. No finer group of sportsmen has visited Toronto . . . Captain C.G.Sellars and the members of the MCC team played the game magnificently and won the plaudits of a large throng of spectators.<sup>36</sup>

Canadian cricket was enjoying its most successful period since its heyday in the nineteenth century but it did not increase in popularity as a spectator game. The previous year R. C. Matthews had privately financed a Canadian team on a tour of England which culminated in a famous victory against the MCC at Lord’s Cricket Ground in London—“the Home of Cricket.” This feat went virtually unnoticed in the Canadian press at the time.

These successes provided the impetus for an article by J. Lewis Brown in *National Home Monthly* in July 1937 which questioned “Canada’s Place in Cricket” and suggested that cricket in Canada “is paving the way toward a new high as far as cricket is concerned.”<sup>37</sup> The triumphs of Matthews’ teams against the MCC were linked to their fielding prowess to such an extent that English critics were

suggesting that English cricketers should “take a leaf out of the Canadian’s book.”<sup>38</sup>

Although cricket reached a peak during the 1930s, it could not sustain sufficient momentum to challenge baseball as a summer sport. World War II again retarded cricket’s progress and it was 1951 before another MCC tour to Canada rekindled enthusiasm in the diminishing cricket community. However, the results were not so encouraging with 18 defeats out of 22 matches. The good impression created by Canadian cricketers and administrators (as much off the field as on it) led to an invitation from the MCC to tour England in 1954. This Canadian team, led by Oxford Blue Hal Robinson, faced a strong fixture list including games against the MCC at Lord’s, the professional county teams of Essex, Warwickshire, Yorkshire, and Middlesex, and an international “Test” match against Pakistan at Lord’s. The team relied heavily on its immigrant imports from Australia, the West Indies, and Britain and achieved a creditable tour record of only three defeats in eighteen matches and four victories (including over the MCC).<sup>39</sup> In reporting on the successful 1954 Canadian tour, Edmund H. Burn, editor of *The Canadian Cricketer*, stated confidently,

It has strengthened the bonds between the MCC and the Canadian Cricket Association. The MCC by arranging the tour, has placed an investment in Canadian cricket.<sup>40</sup>

Unfortunately the successes and importance of the results of this tour were mostly ignored by Canadian sports’ fans and the media. Unlike the rowing exploits of Ned Hanlan and the Paris Four, there were few international successes on the cricket field that created any public interest. Although some success against the United States was achieved, little importance was attached to the results. Unlike in Australia, Canadian cricket did not benefit from the euphoria of a Test victory over England. Victories over the MCC were encouraging but could not be equated to an Australian victory over a full English Test team. There were no opportunities for cricket to fuel the drive for Canadian nationalism which in turn would have created more support for the game among the general public. Instead, continued poor results contributed to the marginalization of cricket in Canada.<sup>41</sup>

## The Pivotal Role Played by Elite Groups

Richard Cashman draws on his own experiences of cricket in India and on Ian Tyrell’s research on the popularity of cricket in Philadelphia in arguing persuasively that the power of influential groups are vital in the diffusion process.<sup>42</sup> In India, where an indigenous social order was already in existence prior to colonial expansion, cricket’s popularity was helped by the powerful Parsis and Indian Princes who were attracted to the game. In Philadelphia from 1842 to 1872, cricket remained a more popular game than baseball because of the support of upper-class Philadelphians who created their own exclusive clubs.<sup>43</sup>

In nineteenth-century Canada, elite groups played an important part in promoting cricket. Vice-Regal patronage by successive Governors-General until 1900 helped establish the game. Early Lieutenant Governors of Upper Canada

Sir John Colborne and Sir Francis Bond Head openly supported the game before 1850. The most lasting symbol of support was the creation of a cricket ground by Sir Charles Stanley, 4th Viscount Monck, within the grounds of the Governor-General's residence at Rideau Hall. Support of local sport by the Governors-Generals spread to other team games, and the Stanley Cup, the Grey Cup, and the Minto Cup became Canadian emblems of excellence in hockey, football, and lacrosse, respectively.<sup>44</sup>

Cricket was the most popular summer game in independent schools which used English public schools as their models and were often predominantly staffed by English teachers. Upper Canada College is a prime example of this tradition where even to this day cricket is played. In the nineteenth century, the strong bond between Upper Canada College and Toronto Cricket Club was established and has now existed for over 150 years. Both institutions have catered to an elite group which have included upper- and middle-class English immigrants and Canadian anglophiles who kept cricket within their own social confines. In the early years this helped sustain the game but in the twentieth century has hindered its domestication.<sup>45</sup>

Many cricket clubs in the nineteenth century copied the trend that had been established in Toronto. Woodstock and Darlington both had cricket clubs which were socially exclusive and were the premier teams in those towns. They were eventually replaced by baseball teams which were open to a wider spectrum of the public.<sup>46</sup>



Canadian Gentlemen in England, 1887.

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, Canadian-born or -educated cricketers began to play a more prominent part in determining the future of the game. They were usually educated in an independent school and came from a select group of male middle- and upper-class Canadians who were either first- or second-generation immigrants from England. They were found mostly in Toronto, Hamilton, Ottawa, and Montreal and were imbued with the Corinthian philosophy of amateurism.<sup>47</sup> Professionalism in late nineteenth-century Canada was frowned upon by “gentlemen” who cherished the very English notion of amateurism in sport. Metcalfe is very clear about the hegemonic control exerted by the elite classes who governed amateur sport and had no need or desire for remuneration.

The ideology and structures of amateur sport . . . were rooted in the ethic of Victorian England—hard work, structured inequality, and obedience to the legally constituted authority.<sup>48</sup>

The years from 1880 to World War I were a time of intense Canadian debate over who was and was not a professional. The Amateur Athletic Association of Canada (AAAC) was formed in 1884 with representatives from many sports including cricket and became the guardians of the Canadian amateur credo. It is interesting to note that cricket teams which came to Canada after this date reflected that tenet as they were now composed of “gentlemen” or amateurs, whereas previous tours had been made by professional English cricketers.<sup>49</sup>

Such was the strength of opposition to any team or individual that may have been considered “professional” under the rules of the AAAC, that even the visiting 1905 MCC team, comprising strictly amateurs, was asked to prove that their players were not being financially rewarded for the tour. John Hall, Secretary of the Canadian Cricket Association, publicly stated in *The Globe* that only their legitimate traveling and hotel expenses were being covered.<sup>50</sup> Canadian views on the status of amateurs and professionals were more draconian than in England, where professional cricketers had been grudgingly tolerated, and in Australia, where the distinction between the two classes had been blurred in that the payment of players had been accepted.<sup>51</sup>

In 1910 Canadian cricket’s strict adherence to amateurism encouraged John Ross Robertson, a graduate of Upper Canada College, founder of the Toronto Hospital for Sick Children in 1875, and one of Toronto’s leading philanthropists, to donate a trophy to cricket. In 1876 he founded the Toronto *Evening Telegram* which laid the foundations of his vast family fortune. He was a leading proponent of the amateur cause and as such it is not surprising that he chose to support Canadian cricket, which had steadfastly shunned professionalism. The John Ross Robertson Trophy became the Canadian Club Championship and “the symbol of cricket supremacy in Canada.”<sup>52</sup>

The insistence of Canadian cricketers and administrators on ignoring the talents of English professional cricketers and coaches was a major factor in severely retarding the development of the game. It denied Canadian players the chance to play against better cricketers and, more importantly, to benefit from their coaching experience. Cricket in the United States and Australia had reaped enormous

rewards from regular visits by English professional coaches. Keith Sandiford praises the efforts of English professional cricketers Charles Lawrence, William Caffyn, and Jesse Hide, who stayed on after they had toured Australia with England XI's in 1861-62 and 1863-64 and improved both the standard of players and pitches.<sup>53</sup> The work of Arthur Wood, who played briefly for Derbyshire before going to the Belmont Cricket Club of Philadelphia as their professional coach and player in 1879, coincided with a period when the standard of Philadelphian cricket was only surpassed by England and Australia.<sup>54</sup>

In the absence of professional cricketers to enrich the game in Canada, it fell to British military and naval officers to help promote cricket in the nineteenth century. Their influential role has been well documented by Peter Lindsay, Robert Day, Bernard Booth, and John Batts as playing an important part in the development of Canadian sport.<sup>55</sup> The activities of this elite group of aristocratic gentlemen indulging in one of their favorite pastimes helped promote the game. Often the match between the town team and the garrison was the highlight of the social and sporting calendar. However, when many British troops were recalled to Europe in the 1870s, an important source of support and stimulation went with them.

The shortening of the summer term at the University of Toronto in the early 1900s due to earlier examinations was a factor in the disappearance of cricket from the school, along with the changing demographics which saw more and more students leaving the city for the summer. Cricket had been played at the University since 1869, and strong links had been established with both Upper Canada College and Toronto Cricket Club. The Varsity Cricket Club enjoyed its best period from 1897 to 1908 when 10 students represented Canada and the Athletic Directorate decided to grant Colours in recognition of their outstanding achievements. The subsequent disappearance of cricket from college sports was an important setback in the development of the game. As varsity athletics became an important feature of the Canadian sport scene, it did so without cricket. This decreased cricket's prominence and also robbed those university cricketers of the opportunity to play.<sup>56</sup>

Later in the twentieth century, cricket enjoyed the support of two prominent Canadian citizens who invested their personal wealth in promoting Canadian teams both at home and abroad. Norman Seagram, who was born in 1879 in Waterloo and was part of the Seagram family empire built on distilling and horse racing, financed a private cricket tour to England in 1922. They were called the Norman Seagram XI and were a team of experienced Canadian players. Although they did not win a game, they continued the tradition of being fine Canadian gentlemen and were granted the ultimate cricket honor: a game against the MCC at Lord's.<sup>57</sup>

The second Canadian to play a significant part in the game's development was the Honorable Robert Charles Matthews, born in Lindsay in 1871. A very successful investor, he entered politics in 1930 as parliamentary candidate for Toronto East. His business talents were quickly noted, and he became Minister of National Revenue in the Bennett cabinet in 1933. An ardent cricket enthusiast,

he devoted both time and money to promoting the game. He realized that for the game to grow it had to reach a wider and younger section of Canadian society and was instrumental in organizing boys' cricket leagues in Toronto from 1932 by providing them equipment. Cricket has rarely featured in the public school curriculum, and many of these boys would not have been able to afford their own bat without Matthews' assistance.<sup>58</sup>

In 1936 he introduced an Ontario County Cricket Championship for the R. C. Matthews' Trophy and in the same year financed a tour to England. The team was drawn almost exclusively from young men who had learned to play at independent schools in Canada and included the brothers Philip Seagram and Campbell Seagram, nephews of Norman Seagram. A glance at the itinerary shows the illustrious cricketing and social company which the team enjoyed and the amount of influence Matthews had on both sides of the Atlantic. Matches were played against England's leading independent schools: Rugby, Eton, and Harrow and dinner and luncheon engagements were held at Lord's with the MCC and at the House of Commons. The Earl of Bessborough, who had been a keen supporter of cricket when he was Governor-General of Canada, also entertained the team with a match and dinner as well. The team did remarkably well and achieved the best record of any Canadian team that visited England with seven wins, including a victory against the MCC at Lord's, six drawn games, and only one defeat.<sup>59</sup>

Such was the impression made by these fine young Canadian gentlemen and cricketers that the MCC organized a tour to Canada the following year, when the hospitality was reciprocated. In addition to making the headlines, the team also made the society page of *The Globe and Mail*: "Lieutenant-Governor and Mrs. Bruce to Attend Cricket Matches Today."<sup>60</sup> A dinner was hosted in honor of the MCC and the All-Canada team by Clarence Bogert, Chairman of the Board of the Dominion Bank of Toronto, with the Honorable R. C. Matthews and Norman Seagram among the guests.<sup>61</sup>

Once again a team selected by R. C. Matthews defeated the MCC, this time by the very large margin of 10 wickets. This time, however, Matthews moved outside his original selection policy to include E. A. Jemmott, a West Indian fast bowler from Montreal who had match-winning figures of eight wickets for 96 runs.<sup>62</sup> Despite the inclusion of Jemmott, clearly the policy of developing Canadian cricketers was gathering momentum. Three Canadian schoolboy teams drawn from cricket-playing private schools, initially in Ontario but later from across Canada, visited England in 1935, 1937, and 1939. A team selected from English public schools also toured Canada in 1939.<sup>63</sup>

In 1938 Matthews was back in England again lobbying for the cause of Canadian cricket among the political and business communities. *The Cricketer* reported his statements:

Canada should make use of the game to further the Dominion's trade with Britain . . . the way to win an Englishman's heart and head and incidentally his interest in your goods is to send over a first class cricket team to win, lose or draw in a series of matches up and down the country.<sup>64</sup>

Such was the momentum brought about by Matthews' considerable lobbying, the exchange of schoolboy teams, and the success of Canadian teams against the MCC in 1936 and 1937 that Canadian cricket appeared poised to re-emerge from the shadows where it had been for the previous 60 years. Unfortunately, the outbreak of World War II ruined all these aspirations.

The involvement of newspaper magnate John Ross Robertson, the powerful Seagram family, and R. C. Matthews certainly gave Canadian cricket a much-needed boost during the twentieth century. It once again shows the importance of the support or patronage of elite individuals or groups. Despite considerable attempts to establish the game in Canada's public school curriculum in the 1930s, exclusive independent schools such as Upper Canada College and Ridley College remained the main suppliers of young cricketers. Canadian cricket remained a game of the elites in the twentieth century, just as it had been in the nineteenth century, and never gained wider recognition, support, or popularity.

## Alternatives to Cricket

One of the reasons for the growth of cricket in Australia was that there were few other games to compete for players, spectators, facilities, and media attention. Baseball was introduced in 1882 but was played in the mild winter so as not to clash with cricket. Australian Rules Football, which has subsequently become a very popular Australian game, was introduced as something for cricketers to do in the winter.<sup>65</sup>

In Canada the situation was very different. In 1867 Montreal's George Beers promoted lacrosse as Canada's national game to coincide with Confederation. By the mid 1880s, according to Don Morrow, lacrosse had become the major team game.<sup>66</sup> In the 1860s baseball increased rapidly in popularity, initially in Southern Ontario but soon across Canada. Proximity to the United States and improved communication and transport hastened its rise. It had fewer class barriers than cricket and allowed professionalism, which led to the concept of baseball as a spectator sport. Often towns which had cricket teams saw them replaced by successful baseball teams.<sup>67</sup> William Humber in *Diamonds of the North* contrasts the fall of Ontario's Darlington Cricket Club with the rise of the nearby Bowmanville Royal Oaks baseball team in the 1870s. He concludes:

As for cricket it had become a game with no remaining connections to the everyday life of Ontarians. For a few it served as symbolic reminder of a British past and had a specialized function as the property of a social elite. In other parts of Ontario prominent citizens joined cricket clubs in their later years as a means of stating their social success.<sup>68</sup>

The changing face of Canadian society in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century due to industrialization led to increased leisure time and spending power. Baseball's administrators took full advantage of this by adapting the rules to suit the paying customer and so reduced the length of time it took to complete a game. Cricketers steadfastly refused to make such changes, and the game diminished as a spectator sport.

The nature of cricket is one of extended playing time. International matches are scheduled for five days involving approximately seven hours playing time per day; most other professional “first class” cricket matches last either three or four days. Cricket administrators in England in the 1960s introduced the novel idea of “one-day cricket” with the advent of the Gillette limited over tournament. Such was the instant success among cricket supporters of this type of game, which guarantees a result in one day, that the “one-day game” has now challenged all other forms of cricket. There are now a plethora of different international tournaments culminating in the playing of the World Cup every four years.<sup>69</sup>

Until 1960 most important games in Canada, such as those against the visiting MCC, were played over two days, while club cricket was played usually within a six- or seven-hour time limit. The pace of the game was leisurely, and to the uninitiated there could be long periods of play when little was happening. As such, the game was hardly an exciting spectacle when compared with the faster-moving game of baseball. In the 1930s the British Columbia Mainland League, mindful of the apparent slowness of the game which enabled a “draw” or no result to be declared at the end of a game, introduced the concept of a “limited time” game. Each team could only bat for two and a half hours, and the team who scored the most runs was declared the winner. Although it gave local cricket a boost, it did not increase its spectator appeal as the game continued to fall behind baseball in popularity.<sup>70</sup>

Finally the harsh Canadian winters (with the exception of British Columbia) meant that all outdoor sport was concentrated in a very short summer season. Games such as soccer and rugby, which had their own separate playing season in other countries, were played at the same time as cricket. There were many alternatives to playing cricket, such as golf, tennis, cycling, and baseball. Cricketers in Australia and other parts of the world did not face these restrictions.

## The Domestication of Cricket

Although the game of cricket was transplanted to Australia by English immigrants, it was soon played by second- and third-generation Australians. The game was domesticated by those who played the game in such a way that it reflected an Australian approach rather than the English way it had been introduced. The tradition of “barracking”—verbal abuse of opposing players by spectators—became an accepted trademark of the influence of Australian crowds.<sup>71</sup> Class barriers, which were so much a part of English (and Canadian) cricket, drew a clear distinction between amateurs, called “gentlemen,” and professionals, known as “players.” This labeling of cricketers according to their status was never established in Australia and helped democratize the game there.<sup>72</sup>

In Canada the game reflected the “Englishness” of those who had introduced cricket. The game as played by Upper Canada College and other private schools was modeled on the English public school tradition. Many club cricket teams were often full of English immigrants. The growth of cricket between 1830 and 1894 in Ontario is shown in Tables 2 and 3.

Table 2  
Growth of cricket clubs in Ontario 1830-1870

1830-40 (9 teams)	1841-50 (21 teams)	1851-60 (37 teams)	1861-70 (22 teams)
Toronto			
Guelph			
Kingston			
Garrison			
Woodstock			
Hamilton			
Upper Canada College			
Brantford			
85th/43rd Officer			
	Carleton		
	Cobourg		
	University of Toronto		
	43rd Light Infantry		
	Toronto Garrison		
	Belleville		
	82nd Regiment		
	Yonge St.		
	52nd Regiment		
	Darlington		
	Port Hope		
	Dundas		
	Flamborough West		
	Paris		
		Ottawa	
		Prescott	
		London	
		Lincoln/Wellington	
		St. Catharines	
		Niagara	
		Galt	
		Trinity College	
		Brockville	
		Whitby	
		Ingersoll	
		Napanee	
		Sarnia	
		Mooretown	
		Arkona	
		Strathroy	
		Wallaceburg	
		Dawn Mills	
		Florence	
		Oil Springs	
		Wyoming	
		Watford	
			Lindsay
			16th Regiment
			13th Hussars

Sources:  
J. E. Hall and R. O. McCulloch,  
*Sixty Years of Canadian Cricket*  
A. Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play*

Table 3  
Growth of Cricket Clubs in Ontario 1870-1894

1871-80 (31 teams)	1881-90 (38 teams)	1891-94 (25 teams)
Toronto		
Guelph		
Kingston		
Woodstock		
Hamilton		
Upper Canada College		
Brantford		
Cobourg		
University of Toronto		
Port Hope		
Paris		
Ottawa		
London		
St.Catharine's		
Galt		
Trinity College		
Whitby		
Napanee		
Stratford		
Collingwood		
Colborne		
Chatham		
Peterborough		
Berlin		
St.Mary's		
Middlesex County		
Barrie		
Simcoe		
Leamington		
Blytheswood		
Trinity College School		
	Welland	
	Listowel	
	Bankers of Ontario	
	Sawbones	
	London Asylum	
	Orillia	
	Windsor	
	Aurora	
	Uxbridge	
	Parkdale	
	Rosedale	
	Amherstburg	
	Bracebridge	
Sources:		Oakville
J. E .Hall and R. O. McCulloch,		East Toronto
<i>Sixty Years of Canadian Cricket</i>		Toronto Junction
A. Metcalfe, <i>Canada Learns to Play</i>		W. A. Murray & Co.

Between 1850 and 1900 cricket also flourished in British Columbia, the Prairies, the Maritimes, and Quebec. In 1896 the Victoria Cricket Club fixture card included matches against Navy, R.M.A., Vancouver, 5th Regiment, Albions, and Nanaimo. The schedule was rounded out with inter-club matches—Married vs. Single, President's XI vs. Vice-President's XI, and Modern vs. Ancient—and lasted from May to September.<sup>73</sup> In Vancouver, apart from matches against New Westminster, it was often easier to travel south than east to find teams to play, given the closeness to the United States. By 1914 enough teams were playing in Vancouver that the British Columbia Mainland Cricket League was founded.<sup>74</sup>

Cricket in the Prairie provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta received a tremendous boost from increased British immigration and the creation of the North West Mounted Police in 1873 who were stationed in Fort Garry. Staffed initially by British army and police recruits, the Mounties continued the previous tradition, established by the military, of organizing challenge cricket matches against the pioneer towns and villages that were springing up as the prairies and western Canada were developed. In Manitoba places such as Portage La Prairie, Morden, Fort Qu'Appelle, Assinboia, Brandon, and Moosomin are recorded as having teams. Saskatchewan, Regina, and Fort Garry soon had enough interest to field cricket teams. As a growing town, Winnipeg benefited from increased urbanization to the extent that by 1890, its cricket team were confident enough to undertake a tour of Ontario, Quebec, and eastern America. The North West Cricket League was formed in 1906 and included clubs in Alberta and Saskatchewan.<sup>75</sup>

St. John, New Brunswick, boasted Canada's oldest cricket club, which was established in 1828; despite this, cricket in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick struggled to survive after the British army and navy were recalled to Europe in the 1880s. Prior to this, Nova Scotia's two leading clubs—Halifax and Halifax Wanderers—enjoyed regular competition against the Halifax Garrison, combined Army and Navy teams, the Royal Blues, the 62nd Regiment, and the Royal Artillery. Such was the interest in cricket in the Maritimes that a tournament was played in Halifax in 1874 involving a Canadian team, an English team composed of military officers, and an American team—the first unofficial international triangular cricket series.<sup>76</sup>

Although the Francophone population of Quebec was not attracted to cricket, the English immigrant community, especially in Montreal, was large enough to ensure the survival of the game. If the Toronto Cricket Club was the leader of cricket in Ontario, then the Montreal Cricket Club, established in 1845, assumed that position in Quebec. From about 1845 to 1870, Montreal looked to Ottawa and Toronto for opponents, but in the 1870s new teams were established in Montreal and the surrounding area. Clubs that played in the 1890s were Lennoxville, Westmount, Point St. Charles, and McGill University. They were joined after 1900 by Valleyfield, Longueuil, Victoria, Montreal Woollen Mills, St. Lambert, Mount Royal, St. John's, Victoria-Annex, Lachine, Osborne, Verdun, and the Montreal Amateur Athletic Association.<sup>77</sup>

The popularity of cricket in the nineteenth century was due to continued immigration from Britain and the way the game was played by Canadian “gentlemen.” They did not seek adaptation or assimilation but preferred to keep it as English as possible, right down to the breaks for afternoon tea. By the outbreak of World War I, cricket was still one of the more popular summer games for participants, but not for spectators. Despite advances made by baseball, the game had consolidated its position in the larger towns and cities but had almost disappeared from rural communities. Cricket teams still relied heavily on English immigration or players who had English ancestry. The populations of Ontario and British Columbia, which were strongholds of cricket, had a large percentage of British immigrants. In 1931 a survey in *The Globe* recorded that of the 503 cricketers in Toronto, 402 of them were born in Britain.<sup>78</sup>

The change to league play has been described by Alan Metcalfe as an attempt “to step outside the model of English cricket.”<sup>79</sup> Leagues in the north of England were already firmly established by the start of the twentieth century, but were less popular in the south where games remained as exhibition or “friendly.” Changes in Canadian cricket occurred to keep pace with the changes that were taking place in other sports that proclaimed a local, provincial, or national champion at the end of the season. Canadian cricket may have been adapted, perhaps even domesticated, but it was certainly not assimilated. It still remained reminiscent in conduct, atmosphere, and ambiance of cricket in England.

The ideology of “Muscular Christianity,” which had found favor among the private schools, now branched out into the wider reaches of society.<sup>80</sup> In the last years of the twentieth century, the interest which linked religion to healthy sport fostered the growth of associations such as the Young Men’s and Women’s Christian Associations (YMCA and YWCA). Cricket, not surprisingly, did not feature as one of the games which these institutions played, as they catered to the middle and lower classes. New sports that were open to both men and women such as basketball and volleyball became very popular along with baseball. Not to be left out, especially in Toronto, the Anglican churches organized their own teams to play in the newly formed Church and Mercantile League on Saturdays. Table 4 lists the teams involved in Toronto’s Church and Mercantile League from 1905 to 1913. The church teams originated from Anglican churches.

Table 4  
Toronto’s Church and Mercantile League 1905-1913

Church teams	Business teams	Club teams
St. Barnabas	Gordon McKay	Toronto C.C.
St. Cyprian’s	Mimico Asylum	Rosedale CC.
St. Alban’s	Ontario Accident	Parkdale C.C.
St. Mark’s	Yorkshire Society	Deer Park C.C.
St. George’s	Island Aquatic Association	Dovercourt C.C.
St. Clement’s	Eaton’s	Messiah C.C.
St. Simon’s		
Grace Church		

Source: *The Globe*, July and August 1905, 1910, and 1913.

Toronto was not alone in having organized league play. The Western Ontario League consisted of teams from Guelph, Brantford, Stratford, Waterloo/Berlin (later called Twin Cities), Woodstock, Galt, and London Asylum. Teams such as Hamilton, Niagara Falls, Grimsby, and St. Catharine's played each other on a regular basis. Metcalfe records that by 1905 leagues were in existence in Montreal, Winnipeg, and Toronto, and by 1911 there were leagues in seven of the larger Canadian cities.<sup>81</sup> The organization of leagues was the forerunner to the development of provincial associations.

The period from 1900 to 1920 saw the establishment of two provincial cricket associations, one in British Columbia in 1912 and the other in Manitoba in 1905 to replace the disbanded Northwestern Cricket Association. The Northwest Cricket Association had been functioning since 1896 and included clubs from Manitoba, Alberta, and Saskatchewan. The creation of these associations followed the lead of Ontario's cricketers who had formed the Ontario Cricket Association in 1880. In 1892 the Canadian Cricket Association was formed, but it only really represented cricketers in Ontario and Quebec and soon fell dormant. The desire to create formal organizations was an indication of the continued interest in cricket throughout Canada and a reflection of a general trend in Canadian sports to form associations to administer amateur sport. Like many cricket teams, these associations proved to be only temporary and did not meet on any regular basis. In 1908 *The Globe* reported yet another attempt by the Ontario Cricket Association to facilitate games between clubs. Representatives from 11 clubs—Mimico, Hamilton, Brantford, two from Toronto, Chatham, Galt, Guelph, St. Alban's, Peterborough, and Schomberg—met in an attempt to organize a new district competition throughout the province so that out-of-town clubs could enjoy competitive matches against city clubs.<sup>82</sup>

The increasing number of league and cup competitions also gave impetus to the need for a national cricket association. The administration of the John Ross Robertson Trophy for the top Canadian cricket club required that the winners of western Canada and eastern Canada meet to determine a national champion. Often the arrangement of this game proved problematic as administrators from Ontario and Quebec in the east and British Columbia in the west found consensus hard to achieve, as they did on many matters.

Leagues and provincial associations that had begun prior to the World War I now expanded in the period from 1918 to 1960. Communication between Western and Eastern Canada continued to be a problem, which meant that the various attempts to form a cohesive national association foundered until 1934. The creation of the Dominion Cricket Advisory board in 1934 was in large part due to the encouragement and demands of the MCC. In 1932 the MCC made it known that they would only communicate in future with a body that truly represented the whole dominion rather than parts of it. As such, the creation of an association or board that represented all the cricket-playing provinces of Canada was necessary before the MCC or other countries would contemplate tours that would include traveling across Canada. Although several previous attempts had failed, confidence was high amongst Canadian cricketers that this would succeed,

possibly because it had been decreed from the highest authority—the MCC.<sup>83</sup> The Dominion Cricket Advisory Board functioned effectively under the chairmanship of the Honorable R. C. Matthews until 1940, when it was replaced by the Canadian Cricket Association

Cricket followed the rest of Canadian sport with its increased emphasis on league play and winning trophies. Between 1954 and 1960, 37 trophies were awarded for winning local, provincial, or national league or cup competitions as shown in Table 5. Table 6 shows the number of provincial leagues and teams. These changes can be seen as evidence of domestication, and although it did not result in any increase in interest from the wider Canadian sporting public, it ensured cricket's survival among its own supporters.

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Table 5  
Trophies Awarded in Canadian Cricket 1954-60

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<b>Alberta</b>	
Calgary :	Hingston Cup Nolan Trophy
Edmonton :	Press cup Howe Cup
Inter-city—Calgary v. Edmonton :	Colonel Weaver Trophy
Inter-city Juniors :	Inter-city Shield
<b>British Columbia</b>	
Vancouver :	Coronation Shield Fyfe-Smith Shield Tomalin Cup Gardner-Johnson Shield
Victoria :	League, Cup and 6 A-side championships
Inter-city—Vancouver v. Victoria :	Tomkin Cup
Inter-city Juniors :	John Virtue Cup Jack Kyle Trophy
<b>Manitoba</b>	
Winnipeg :	McLimont Trophy Fort Garry Cup
<b>Quebec</b>	
Montreal :	Davidson Cup Rubenstein Cup
Inter-city—Montreal v. Ottawa :	Confederation Cup
Inter-provincial—Quebec v. Ontario :	Lord Athelston Trophy
<b>Ontario</b>	
Toronto :	Continental Life Cup Rawlinson Cup G. B. Woods Memorial Trophy
Ottawa :	Challenge Cup
Hamilton :	League Cup
Inter-city—Hamilton v. Toronto :	Albany Cup Centennial Shield
South Western League :	Enterprise Cup

Western League :	Grafton Shield Seagram Trophy
Inter-county :	R. C. Matthews Trophy
National Club Championship :	John Ross Robertson Trophy
National Provincial Championship :	Hiram Walker Trophy
National Junior Championship :	Bob Quinn Trophy

Sources:

Colin Whiting, *Cricket in Eastern Canada*

Canadian Cricket Association Annuals, 1959-61

Table 6

## Provincial Leagues in 1960

<b>Ontario</b>		
Toronto and District Council—Continental Life Division		9 teams
	Godin Division	8 teams
	Rawlinson Division	6 teams
	South Western Cricket League	8 teams
	Ottawa Valley Cricket Council	5 teams
	Hamilton and District Cricket League	8 teams
	Western Ontario Cricket League	5 teams
<b>Manitoba</b>		
	Manitoba Cricket Association—	7 teams
<b>British Columbia</b>		
	The British Columbia Mainland Cricket League	“A” Division 10 teams “B” Division 16 teams
	Victoria and District Cricket Association	7 teams
<b>Alberta</b>		
	Calgary and District Cricket League	8 teams
	Edmonton and District Cricket League	6 teams
<b>Quebec</b>		
	Montreal and District Amateur Cricket League	“A” Division 8 teams “B” Division 10 teams
<b>Saskatchewan</b>		
	Saskatoon Cricket Association	4 teams

Source:

Canadian Cricket Association Annual, 1961

Despite the growth of league cricket, Canadian cricket was as much influenced by English cricket traditions and leadership in 1960 as it was in 1830. Cricket became the most popular game in Australia, India, and the West Indies for a variety of different reasons, but in each case adaptation and assimilation occurred. The game that had been transplanted by imperial proselytizers had been, according to Cashman, “indigenously subverted.”<sup>84</sup> In Canada, the game of the “imperial proselytizers” was not subverted. It was initially copied without adaptation and protected. Minor adaptations were attempted in the twentieth century but were ineffectual because the wider Canadian society chose not to assimilate a game which still had its roots firmly fixed in the imperial proselytization process.

Therefore, Canadian cricket from 1860 to 1960, as shown in Figure 3, can be placed at the partial rejection end of the acceptance/rejection continuum.

Cashman has suggested that the popularization of cricket and hence the successful completion of the diffusion process depended on the application of at least one of the categories introduced earlier in this article. The ideology of nationalism, which was important in the development of cricket in Australia and the West Indies, was not a driving force in Canada. The simple reason for this was the very poor win/loss record against overseas teams. Only one win in 41 attempts between 1859 and 1899 gave no one any opportunities to get excited about Canadian cricket at a time when nationalistic pride achieved through international sporting success was increasing due to the exploits of rower Ned Hanlan. Although results between 1900 and 1960 improved marginally (39 wins from 291 games) with victories against the MCC in 1936, 1937, and 1954 and better performances against Australia in 1932 and on the Canadian tour to England in 1954 (which included an “unofficial Test Match” against Pakistan at Lord’s), no national enthusiasm was aroused.

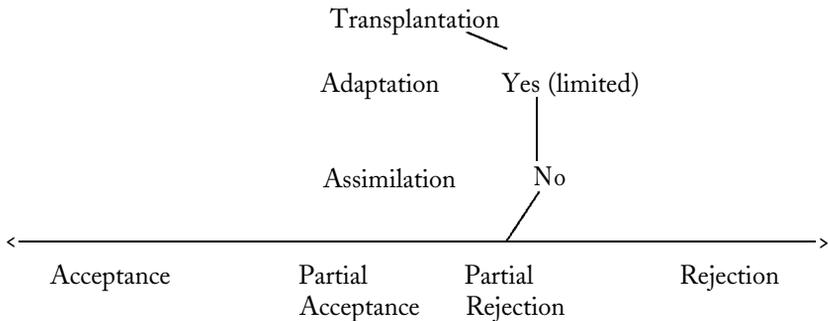


Figure 3. Cricket in Canada 1860-1960

The pivotal role of elite groups in promoting cricket was one of the reasons for the success of cricket in India. Initially the wealthy Parsis and later the ruling Princes promoted the game to the masses and so increased the participant and spectator base. In Canada the elites who had been so successful in introducing the game chose to jealously guard it from reaching the lower classes, youth (with the exception of Matthews’ attempts in the 1930s), and women.<sup>85</sup> Cricket remained an exclusive game and culture for upper-class male English immigrants and their Canadian anglophile friends, but it was a “hot house flower which did not put down any roots in the mixed social and cultural pot.”<sup>86</sup>

The emergence of Canadian baseball and lacrosse from 1870 onwards certainly affected the development of cricket. Lacrosse was only a passing threat borne on the euphoria of Confederation, but baseball, with considerably less class and gender prejudice, provided far more serious and longlasting competition. By 1915 baseball had eclipsed cricket as the major summer game.<sup>87</sup>

Although Cashman warns researchers to beware of using cultural explanations as reasons for acceptance or rejection of sports, they would appear to be applicable in this case. No evidence of francophones playing cricket in Quebec was found despite the strong presence of the game in Montreal. The influence of American culture, which ignored cricket completely, in twentieth-century Canada cannot be denied. Cricket, for all intents and purposes, had become even more marginal in the United States than in Canada.

Cashman believes that it is important to identify the differences between those who promoted the game and those who were the recipients of this proselytizing. Previous diffusion studies have concentrated more on the “agents of proselytism” but Cashman argues that it is the process of adaptation and assimilation by the recipients which ultimately ensures that the diffusion process is successful. The recipients are those who played, watched, or administered the game. What did they do to make the game their own? What changes did they make to suit it to their culture?

In Canada, cricket did not become part of the culture. The game reflected the “Englishness” of its tradition and those who played the game. Canadian cricketers and administrators consistently looked to England, in particular the MCC, for approval and support. Minor adaptations were tried but not to the same extent as in Australia, the West Indies, and India, where the game was adapted to reflect their cultures, which brought about the popularization of the game. In Canada, at least until 1960, it remained an “English” game.

Cashman’s categories have helped identify the reasons for the decline of cricket but do not tell the whole story. Just as continued immigration from England helped sustain the game, increased immigration from many noncricket-playing countries in the twentieth century did not produce any new players. By 1960 there was a small but steady stream of players from the Caribbean which was slowly increasing the number of teams; both Toronto and Montreal had teams which were made up exclusively of West Indian immigrants.<sup>88</sup>

The playing record of Canadian teams against overseas opposition from 1859 to 1960 was very poor: played 389, won 49, lost 227. Why was this so? The answer is very simple. The playing ability of the Canadian or English immigrant cricketer was well below that of their opponents. Meanwhile, the standards of Australian cricketers improved rapidly in the second half of the nineteenth century. On August 29, 1882, the legendary “Ashes” series between England and Australia was born following the surprise Australian victory at the Oval. This victory had its roots in the earlier efforts of English professional coaches Charles Lawrence and William Caffyn, who raised the standard of performance of Australian players between 1860 and 1880.<sup>89</sup> In Canada, professionals were seen as outcasts by those who were involved in the organization of amateur sport. Canadian cricketers and administrators were some of the most ardent supporters of the amateur philosophy, even though it was to the detriment of their own sport.<sup>90</sup>

The Canadian climate also hindered the development of the game. The timing and shortness of the playing season retarded progress. The Canadian cricket season from late May to early September coincided almost exactly with the English

season. In Australia, New Zealand, West Indies, South Africa, India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and Zimbabwe, the cricket season has traditionally been scheduled to avoid the English cricket season. The timing of the cricket season has allowed these international teams to regularly tour England without disrupting their own season, so that players from these countries can play in England and English players and coaches can visit these countries. The changing of the University of Toronto spring term to allow for earlier examinations contributed to the end of varsity cricket. As university and college sport became an important tier in the Canadian sports' hierarchy, it did so without cricket. Consequently students who may have learned the game at school later found no opportunity to play and gave up the game.

There are many reasons for the decline of cricket from approximately 1860 to 1960. It is tempting to elevate one reason above all the others for cricket's partial rejection in Canada. For example, Alan Metcalfe prefers to concentrate on cricket's class-structured English ethnocentricity in his research up to 1914,<sup>91</sup> and Allen Guttmann would have us believe that "the cultural influence of the United States was too powerful to resist."<sup>92</sup> However, Derek Birley thinks that Canada being the "oldest (colony) and therefore ripest for independent thinking"<sup>93</sup> was "culturally as well as racially confused."<sup>94</sup> Keith Sandiford agrees both with Guttmann's view of unstoppable American influence and with Birley's cultural confusion:

The Canadian culture which emerged from this melting pot was consequently much less Anglo-Saxon than it was destined to remain in places like Australia and New Zealand.<sup>95</sup>

Just as the larger issues of cultural and social influences are vital in the understanding of why cricket was not as popular in Canada as in other dominions, so are some of the smaller issues, such as poor performances on the field, the lack of professional coaching, and the timing of the playing season. The decline of cricket in Canada has been due to a combination of factors.

However, it would be wrong to dismiss the efforts to promote Canadian cricket in the twentieth century. Previous attention has been focused on the failure of cricket to become a more popular Canadian game during the nineteenth century, but it is more accurate to say that there was a continuing rejection of cricket from 1860 to 1960, rather than to confine its demise to the late nineteenth century.

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*\*The words "declare," "century," and the phrase "it isn't cricket" in the title have been used intentionally because of their association with the game of cricket. Unlike in baseball, an innings in cricket can be declared closed by the batting side when they believe they have enough runs to win. A century in cricket is 100 runs scored by an individual batter and is cause for celebration. The phrase "it isn't cricket" has been used to describe something that is not fair or honest due to the traditional belief that the*

*game of cricket embodies such characteristics as fair play and honesty—an indication of bow cricket has been assimilated into British culture.*

1. Italian rugby has improved in the past five years thanks to the efforts of overseas coaches and players such as Australian international David Campese. Recently they have lobbied strongly to be included in the International Five Nation Championships, which involve England, France, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. Cricket in the United Arab Emirates is firmly based on cricket-playing immigrants from India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. Sharjah has regularly hosted an international tournament involving all the major Test playing countries in the past 10 years. Jamaica has been more associated with success on the cricket field and in track and field than in soccer. In an attempt to reach the 1998 Soccer World Cup Finals, they sought players with Jamaican reinstatement qualifications from the English professional leagues.
2. Eric G. Dunning and Kenneth Sheard, *Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players: A Sociological Study of the Development of Rugby Football* (Oxford: Martin Robertson, 1979); William F. Mandle, "Cricket and Australian Nationalism in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, LIX, (December 1973): 225-46; J. A. Mangan, "Eton in India: The Imperial Diffusion of a Victorian Educational Ethic," *History of Education*, VII, (1978): 105-118 and Gillian M. Hibbins, "The Cambridge Connection: The English Origins of Australian Rules Football," in J. A. Mangan (Ed.), *The Cultural Bond Sport, Empire and Society* (London: Frank Cass, 1992), pp.108-128.
3. Melvin L. Adelman, *A Sporting Time* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), pp.97-120; George B. Kirsch, *The Creation of American Team Sports* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986) and Ian Tyrell, "The Emergence of Modern American Baseball c.1850-80," in Richard Cashman and Michael Mckernan (Eds.), *Sport in History* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1979), pp. 205-226.
4. Alan Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987), p. 18.
5. The International Cricket Council (ICC) is the governing body of world cricket. Founded in 1909, it was called the Imperial Cricket Conference with England, Australia, and South Africa as its original members. Since then the number of full members has grown to nine: India, New Zealand, and the West Indies were added in 1926, Pakistan in 1952, Sri Lanka in 1981, and Zimbabwe in 1992. South Africa ceased to be a member in 1961 but was re-elected in 1991. In 1965 the organization was renamed the International Cricket Conference and expanded to include many new associate members. The associate members are Canada, United States, Bangladesh, Denmark, Holland, Kenya, United Arab Emirates, Argentina, Bermuda, Fiji, Papua New Guinea, Malaysia, Israel, Scotland, Ireland, Hong Kong, Namibia, Gibraltar, Singapore, Nepal, East and Central Africa, and West Africa. In 1989 the name was changed to the International Cricket Council. In 1993 the ICC became the world governing body of cricket and separated from the Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC), signaling the end of almost 150 years of the global proselytization of cricket. However, the offices of the ICC remain symbolically at the Lord's Cricket Ground in London, England—the home of the MCC. "Full ICC members are those listed above along with England and Australia. These 10 countries are the main cricket playing countries in the world."
6. Edmund H. Burn, *The Cricketer Annual*, 1960-61, p. 486.
7. The Ontario Cricket Association, Minutes of the Annual General Meeting held in Toronto, 1935.
8. The first record of an organized cricket match in Canada occurred in Hamilton in 1834. George Parr's English XI visited Canada in 1859, two years before going to Australia. See John E. Hall and Robert O. McCulloch, *Sixty Years of Canadian Cricket* (Toronto: Bryant, 1895), pp. 1-4; 56-63.
9. This article, which is a synopsis of my unpublished 1996 M.Sc. thesis from the University of Toronto titled "Canadians Declare, 'It Isn't Cricket!': A Colonial Rejection of the Imperial Game," was inspired by a chapter written by Australian historian Richard

- Cashman called "Cricket and Colonialism: Colonial Hegemony and Indigenous Subversion," in J. A. Mangan (Ed.), *Pleasure, Profit, Proselytism: British Culture and Sport at Home and Abroad 1700-1914* (London: Frank Cass, 1988), pp. 258-272. Henceforth references to this article will simply be stated in the text as Cricket and Colonialism.
10. Eric G. Dunning, Joe A. Maguire, and Robert E. Pearton, *The Sports Process* (Champaign, Illinois: Human Kinetics, 1993), p. 115.
  11. J. A. Mangan, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1986); Brian Stoddart, "Cricket and Colonialism in the English-Speaking Caribbean to 1914: Toward a Cultural Analysis," in Mangan (Ed.), *Pleasure, Profit, Proselytism*, pp. 231-257; Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play*. All of these scholars have written extensively on the diffusion of sport highlighting the importance of imperial hegemony.
  12. John Bale, *Sports Geography* (London: F. Spon, 1989).
  13. Joe Maguire, "More than a Sporting Touchdown: The Making of American Football in England, 1982-1990," *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 7 (September 1990): 213-37; Donald Roden, "Baseball and the Quest for National Dignity in Meiji, Japan," *American Historical Review*, 85 (June 1980): 511-34; Jay R. and Joan D. Mandle, *Grass Roots Commitment: Basketball and Society in Trinidad and Tobago* (Parkersburg, Iowa: Caribbean Books, 1988). For an overview on the diffusion of games around the world see Allen Guttmann, *Games and Empires* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994).
  14. From the author's experiences of playing cricket in Trinidad in 1978 as a member of an English touring team. Differences are also well documented by Richard D. E. Burton, "Cricket, Carnival and Street Culture in the Caribbean," in Grant Jarvie (Ed.), *Sport, Racism and Ethnicity* (London: Falmer Press, 1991), pp. 7-29.
  15. Guttmann, *Games and Empires*, p. 18.
  16. C.H.B. Pridham, *The Charm of Cricket Past and Present* (Herbert Jenkins, 1949).
  17. Mandle, "Cricket and Australian Nationalism"; Keith S. Inglis, "Imperial Cricket: Test Matches between Australia and England 1877-1900," in Cashman and McKernan (Eds.), *Sport in History*, pp. 148-179.
  18. Don Morrow, Mary Keyes, Wayne Simpson, Frank Cosentino, and Ron Lappage, *A Concise History of Sport in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 31-40.
  19. Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play*, p.176.
  20. *The Globe*, April 28, 1883, and Bruce Kidd, "Ned Hanlan," *The Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. XIII (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), p. 439.
  21. R. A. Fitzgerald, *Wickets in the West; Or the Twelve in America* (Tinsley, 1873).
  22. Mandle, "Cricket and Australian Nationalism"; Inglis, "Imperial Cricket."
  23. David Brown, "Canadian Imperialism and Sporting Exchanges: The Nineteenth-Century Cultural Experience of Cricket and Lacrosse," *Canadian Journal of History of Sport*, 18, (May 1987): 55-66.
  24. *The Globe*, October 9, 1878.
  25. Chris Harte, *A History of Australian Cricket* (London: Deutsch, 1993), pp. 105-6.
  26. Hall and McCulloch, *Sixty Years of Canadian Cricket*, pp. 342-4. In an attempt to make the game more interesting in the nineteenth century, it was commonplace for English and Australian touring teams to play against more than 11 players.
  27. See note 24.
  28. *The Globe*, August 20, 1913.
  29. Harte, *A History of Australian Cricket*, p. 259
  30. Cohn Whiting, *Cricket in Eastern Canada* (Montreal: Colmur, 1963); *The Cricketer*, 1933, XIV (16); 1934, XV (2); 1935, XVI (4); 1936, XVII (8, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18); 1937, XVIII (7, 11, 16, 17, 20); 1939, XX (1, 12, 13, 14, 15); 1954, XXXV (8, 9, 10); *The Cricketer*

- Annual*, 1939-40; 1951-2; 1954-5; 1959-60; *The Cricketer Spring Annual*, 1954; 1955; *The Globe*, March 14, 1931; July 1, 2, 4, 1932; August 25, 1933; October 13, 1934; *The Globe and Mail*, August 3, 7, 9, 1937; *The Canadian Cricket Association Annual*, 1959; 1960; 1961.
31. Burn, *The Cricketer Annual*, 1954-5, p. 512.
  32. *The Globe*, July 1, 2, 4, 1932; *The Globe and Mail*, 3, 7, 9, August 1937. *The Globe and Mail* came into existence on November 23, 1936, with the merger of *The Globe* and *The Mail and Empire*.
  33. *The Globe*, October 13, 1934.
  34. *The Cricketer Annual*, 1939-40.
  35. *The Globe*, July 1, 1932.
  36. *The Globe and Mail*, August 9, 1937.
  37. John L. Brown, "Canada's Place in Cricket," *National Home Monthly*, (July 1937): 22.
  38. Ibid.
  39. Full scorecards and reports of matches of the MCC's 1951 tour to Canada can be found in *The Cricketer Annual*, 1951-2, pp.535-540, and for Canada's 1954 tour to England in *The Cricketer Spring Annual*, 1954, p. 40; *The Cricketer*, 1954, XXXV (8): 359-60, (9): 396, (10): 438-40, and includes a report of Canada's only "test" match against Pakistan, which was played at Lord's.
  40. Burn, *The Cricketer Annual*, 1954-5, p. 512.
  41. For a more detailed account of visits to and from Canada from 1918 to 1960, see David B. Cooper, "Canadians Declare, 'It Isn't Cricket'" (Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Toronto, 1996), pp. 211-218.
  42. Richard Cashman, "The Phenomenon of Indian Cricket," in Cashman and McKernan (Eds.), *Sport in History*, pp. 180-204; Tyrell, "The Emergence of Modern American Baseball c.1850-80," in Cashman and McKernan (Eds.), *Sport in History*, pp. 205-226.
  43. John T. Jable, "Latter-Day Culture Imperialists: The British Influence on the Establishment of Cricket in Philadelphia, 1842-72," in Mangan (Ed.), *Pleasure, Profit, Proselytism*, pp. 175-192.
  44. Gerald Redmond, "Imperial Vice-Regal Patronage: The Governors-General of Canada and Sport in the Dominion, 1867-1909," *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 6, (September 1989): 193-217.
  45. Graham G. Watson, "Sport in Ontario's Private Schools, 1830-1930," (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1970).
  46. Nancy Bouchier, "Aristocrats and their Noble Sport: Woodstock Officers and Cricket During the Rebellion Era," *Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education*, 20, (1989):16-31; William Humber, *Diamonds of the North: A Concise History of Baseball in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 130-4.
  47. Cooper, "Canadians Declare, 'It Isn't Cricket,'" p. 112; Derek Birley, *Land of Sport and Glory: Sport and British Society, 1887-1910* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), pp. 238-239. Derek Birley argues that the Corinthian attitude to sport comes from the manner in which the Corinthian Football Club approached the game. Graduates of English public schools and Cambridge and Oxford Universities, they were strictly amateurs in a sporting world that was becoming increasingly professional.
  48. Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play*, p. 46.
  49. The first English tour to Canada was by George Parr's XI in 1859, followed by R. A. Fitzgerald's team in 1872 which included the legendary W. G. Grace. Richard Daff's team of English cricketers arrived in 1879. All three teams included professional cricketers. In 1885 and 1886 two teams of English "gentlemen" came to Canada, followed by Lord Hawke's amateur XI in 1891.
  50. *The Globe*, August 8, 1905.

51. James Bradley, "Inventing Australians and Constructing Englishness: Cricket and the Creation of a National Consciousness, 1860-1914," *Sporting Traditions*, 11 (May 1995): 35-60; Harte, *A History of Australian Cricket*.
52. Kevin E. Boller, "John Ross Robertson Trophy: Symbol of Cricket," *The Canadian Cricketer*, 22 (1994): 22.
53. Keith Sandiford, *Cricket and the Victorians* (Aldershot, England: Scolar Press, 1994), p. 151.
54. John I. Marder, *The International Series* (London: Adlard, 1968), pp. 155-6.
55. Peter Lindsay, "The Impact of Military Garrisons on the Development of Sport in British North America," *Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education*, 1 (May, 1970): 33-43; Robert Day, "The British Garrison at Halifax: Its Contribution to the Development of Sport in the Community," in Morris Mott (Ed.), *Sports in Canada* (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1989), pp. 28-31 and Bernard F. Booth and John S. Batts, "Cricket and the British Sporting Ethic of Victorian Canada," in H.I.S.P.A. Vth International Congress, International Association for History of Physical Education and Sport, Dartford, England 11-16 April, 1977, (Dartford College of Education, 1977), pp. 25-39.
56. T. A. Reed, *The Blue and White: A Record of Fifty Years of Athletic Endeavour at the University of Toronto* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1944), p. 267.
57. Whiting, *Cricket in Eastern Canada*, p.145.
58. *The Globe and Mail*, February 6, 1937.
59. *The Cricketer*, 1936, XVII (8): 237—Team list and itinerary; (12): 359-69—photo of R. C. Matthew's Canadian Cricket team and scorecard of the game against Rugby; (13): 388 -398—report of a dinner held in the team's honor by the Merchant Taylor's Company and scorecard of the game against Harrow Wanderers; (14): 433—scorecard of the victory by the Canadians against the MCC at Lord's, Canadians 171 (L. A. Percival 45, R. C. Ripley 32), MCC 95 (E. Carlton 5-32). Canadians won by 76 runs. The MCC team included the former English Test captain Percy Fender; (17): 533—photo of the team, scorecards of games against Grasshoppers and the Royal Engineers and final playing statistics—played 17, won seven, lost one, drawn six, abandoned one. Batting honors went to L.C. Bell (446 runs) and W. E. N. Bell (518 runs), while bowling honors went to E. Carlton (62 wickets) and E. F. Loney (47 wickets). The outstanding all-rounder was W. G. Scott with 337 runs and 25 wickets; (18): 563—scorecard of the last match against Incogniti.
60. *The Globe and Mail*, August 7, 1937.
61. *Ibid.*
62. *The Globe and Mail*, August 9, 1937.
63. The 1935, 1937, and 1939 Canadian Schools Tours to England were organized by the Overseas Education League and played against various English public schools, *The Cricketer*, XVI (4): 100. The 1939 Canadian Schools team lost a close game against England Schools at Lord's by three wickets—Canadian schoolboys 179 England schoolboys 181-7, *The Cricketer*, 1939, XX (13): 394; (14): 436; (15): 464, Later the same year a team selected from English public schools toured Canada thanks again to the efforts of the Overseas Education League and ably assisted by the Canadian Pacific Railway company. The team played a mixture of schoolboy and adult cricket teams from Montreal, Ottawa, Winnipeg, and Toronto before moving on to New York and Buffalo. Their return voyage was delayed for three weeks due to the danger to ships in the North Atlantic from German U-boats after the start of World War II, *The Cricketer Annual*, 1939- 40, pp. 54-56.
64. *The Cricketer*, 1938, XIX (17): 516-517.
65. See Hibbins, "The Cambridge Connection: The English Origins of Australian Rules Football."
66. Morrow, Keyes, Simpson, Cosentino, and Lappage, *A Concise History of Sport in Canada*, pp. 45-68.
67. Humber, *Diamonds of the North*, pp. 130-4, and Bouchier, "Aristocrats and Their Noble Sport," pp. 16-31, chronicle the rise of baseball against the decline of cricket in Darlington and Woodstock in the late nineteenth century in southern Ontario.

68. Humber, *Diamonds of the North*, p. 138.
69. Recently there has been much concern over the amount of international one-day cricket now being played. The International Cricket Council met at Lord's June 18-21, 1997, and discussed the possibility of introducing a world championship for the traditional five-day Test match in an attempt to raise the profile of Test cricket in the light of continuing success of the one-day game.
70. British Columbia Mainland League, *100 Years of Cricket in Vancouver: British Columbia, Canada 1889-1988* (B.C.M.L.: Vancouver, 1988).
71. See Richard Cashman, *Ave a Go, Yer Mug! Australian Cricket Crowds from Larrikin to Ocker* (Sydney: Collins, 1984).
72. Bradley, "Inventing Australians and Constructing Englishness," p. 35-60.
73. Victoria Cricket Club, 1896 Fixture Card.
74. British Columbia Mainland League, *100 Years of Cricket in Vancouver*.
75. Cooper, "Canadians Declare, 'It Isn't Cricket,'" pp. 156-157.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 157.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 158.
78. *The Globe*, March 14, 1931.
79. Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play*, p. 84.
80. For a more detailed look at "Muscular Christianity" in Canada see J. A. Mangan, "Discipline in the Dominion: The Canuck and the Cult of Manliness," in *The Games Ethic and Imperialism*, pp. 142-167.
81. Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play*, p. 84.
82. *The Globe*, June 30, 1908.
83. *Ibid.*, October 13, 1934.
84. Cashman, *Cricket and Colonialism*, pp. 258-272.
85. Peter Donnelly's work on democratization is of particular relevance, see "Subcultures in Sport," in Alan G. Ingham and John W. Loy (Eds.), *Sport and Social Development* (Champaign, Illinois: Human Kinetics, 1993), pp. 119-145.
86. Terms used by Bruce Kidd, Canadian sport's historian and supervisor of my M.Sc. thesis at the University of Toronto, March 1995, during discussions describing efforts made to establish the game in Canada.
87. Humber, *Diamonds of the North*, pp. 8-9.
88. Both Toronto and Montreal had teams consisting exclusively of West Indian cricketers from the 1930s onwards. See Cooper, "Canadians Declare, 'It Isn't Cricket,'" pp. 170-173.
89. Harte, *A History of Australian Cricket*, pp. 74-76.
90. Dyce Saunders, "Canadian Gentlemen in England, 1887," reported in Hall and McCulloch, *Sixty Years of Canadian Cricket*, p. 447, makes reference to the team selected to go to England: "The team—although a stronger might have been chosen—was fairly representative, all its members were born on Canadian soil, and were distinctly amateurs." Metcalfe in *Canada Learns to Play* explores the struggle that took place between the amateur and professional in the development of Canadian sport.
91. Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play*, pp. 20; 80-4.
92. Guttman, *Games and Empires*, p. 23.
93. Birley, *Land of Sport and Glory*, p. 158.
94. Derek Birley, *The Willow Wand: Some Cricket Myths Explored* (London: Queen Anne Press, 1979), p. 67.
95. Sandiford, *Cricket and the Victorians*, p. 148.