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Résumé de l'article

Au cours des années 1920 et 1930, l'expansion du sport dans les centres urbains fut à la fois la cause et le résultat de l'accroissement du nombre des installations. Une étude portant sur dix villes de l'Ontario révèle que ces installations furent construites et entretenues en partie grâce aux fonds publics et en partie grâce aux capitaux du secteur privé et des sociétés coopératives. Les moyens employés dans chaque cas dépendaient des dimensions de la ville concernée et de certains facteurs locaux, en particulier de l'attitude des individus et des groupes intéressés.

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Résumé/Abstract

Au cours des années 1920 et 1930, l'expansion du sport dans les centres urbains fut à la fois la cause et le résultat de l'accroissement du nombre des installations. Une étude portant sur dix villes de l'Ontario révèle que ces installations furent construites et entretenues en partie grâce aux fonds publics et en partie grâce aux capitaux du secteur privé et des sociétés coopératives. Les moyens employés dans chaque cas dépendaient des dimensions de la ville concernée et de certains facteurs locaux, en particulier de l'attitude des individus et des groupes intéressés.

In the 1920s and 1930s the growth of sport in urban centres resulted in a significant expansion of recreation facilities. Symbolically, these new facilities resulted in a further expansion of sporting activities. This study of ten Ontario towns/cities indicates that these facilities were provided and maintained in part through public funds and in part through private and co-operative financing. The means adopted in each case varied according to the size of the community, the attitudes of key individuals and groups, and other local idiosyncrasies.

On Wednesday, April 5, 1922 the *Sault Daily Star*, in an editorial entitled "Where are the Games to be Played," raised the question of the provision of grounds for organized sport in the Sault. At one time or another during the 1920s and 1930s the editors of daily newspapers in London, St. Catharines, Kitchener, Waterloo, and North Bay addressed the same issue.¹ The awakening interest in grounds resulted, in part, from an increase in sporting activities which is vividly illustrated in the expansion of ice hockey in Toronto. Although the first organized teams date back to 1890, city-wide organizations did not develop until 1919 when the Toronto Amateur Hockey Association (TAHA) was formed to coordinate amateur hockey in the city. In its inaugural year, the T.A.H.A. boasted a player membership of 3,130. The twenties witnessed an explosion of interest in the game with membership rising to 8,000 in 1932.² This placed pressure on the available facilities which was accentuated by the disappearance of the traditional corner lot which had served many groups prior to the First World War.³ Therefore the combination of physical growth and increased demand created a major problem for the Toronto authorities, one that they, as well as authorities in other centres, responded to in particular ways.

This paper, focuses upon two inter-related concerns. In terms of the history of sport, it deals with the availability of facilities, which is central to the growth of organized sports. It also focuses upon the ways in which urban centres reacted to the new demands for sports facilities, and thus it illuminates the ways in which individuals and groups responded to the urban environment. The degree of emphasis and impor-

tance attached to the provision of recreational facilities will provide some insights into the priorities attached to different aspects of urban life. At the same time my interest is in the urban response in general rather than the history of particular towns. Thus instead of focusing upon one town I have chosen ten Ontario towns/cities in order to differentiate between those responses that were general to urban areas and those that were specific to individual towns. Table I lists the towns/cities and their population size in 1921, 1931, and 1941.⁴ Exeter and Toronto are included primarily as points of reference, Exeter being a rural village and Toronto, an urban giant.

TABLE I
Population of Ten Ontario Towns/Cities, 1921-1941

	1921	1931	1941
Toronto	521,893	631,207	667,457
Hamilton	114,151	115,547	166,337
London	60,959	71,148	78,134
Brantford	29,440	30,107	31,948
Kitchener	21,763	30,793	35,657
Sault Ste. Marie	21,092	23,082	25,794
St. Catharines	19,881	24,753	30,275
North Bay	10,692	15,528	15,599
Waterloo	5,883	8,095	9,025
Exeter	1,442	1,666	1,589

It is important to emphasize the exploratory nature of this paper. Both the focus of the paper and the approach reflect a departure from the traditional approaches of both sport history and urban history.⁵ Thus the paper will be

descriptive rather than analytical, exploratory rather than definitive. Undergirding the paper are certain questions that provide some direction. What facilities were created? Who created them and for whom? And what were the major forces determining whether they should be provided or not? These questions are answered by examining the involvement of various groups representing different interests — private, public, and commercial. In the reality of urban life, however, these groups did not act independently of each other; their complex interactions will be examined through a case study of the provision of ice rinks for Canada's national game.

Private Facilities

Privately owned social sporting facilities were not a creation of the post World War I era. Except for Exeter the foundations had been laid prior to 1914. In the case of the larger towns the origins of these facilities can be traced back into the nineteenth century; for example the Royal Canadian Yacht Club in Toronto was founded in 1854 and the London Curling Club in 1879. By 1919 the larger towns all contained an extensive system of private clubs that possessed facilities — Hamilton had at least seven; Toronto, twenty-one golf clubs alone; and London, seven curling, lawn bowling and golf clubs. Even the smaller towns contained at least one club that pre-dated World War I: Kitchener had the Grand River Golf and Country Club (1909); North Bay, the Ezylyfe Canoe Club (1912); Sault Ste. Marie, the St. Mary's River Boat Club (1903); and St. Catharines, the St. Catharines Golf Club.⁶ The decades of the 1920s and 1930s however, witnessed an expansion in the number of clubs and an improvement in the facilities they used. The memberships embarked upon a programme of land acquisition, expansion of existing facilities, and creation of new clubs.

Common to all the towns were golf clubs. Every town except North Bay could boast at least one in 1919. In that year the North Bay Golf and Country Club acquired land and in 1921 opened a nine hole course and a club house. Moreover, the number of clubs increased in the ensuing twenty years as the middle classes organized their leisure time (Table II).⁷ For the most part, these clubs were located on the outskirts of the towns/cities. The new clubs were established close to the residential areas and the old clubs moved from expensive downtown locations to more suitable ones. In 1922, the Hamilton Golf and Country Club sold its downtown location to the city and moved to its present site in Ancaster.⁸ The Grand River Golf and Country Club of Kitchener purchased an area for eighteen holes in 1929 and changed its name to the Westmount Golf and Country Club.⁹ Brantford Golf and Country Club purchased a new 68½ acre site in 1919.¹⁰

TABLE II
Golf Clubs in Selected Ontario Towns
and Cities, 1920 and 1939⁷

Town/City	1920	1939
Hamilton	1	6
London	1	5
Kitchener	1	3
Waterloo		
Brantford	1	2
Sault Ste. Marie	1	3
St. Catharines	1	2
North Bay	1	1
Total	7	22

The golf clubs were supported by a system of clubs whose focus tended to be more sporting than social. All towns/cities contained a mix of curling, lawn bowling and tennis clubs whose social facilities were generally not as extensive as those of the golf clubs. The numbers of clubs varied with the size of the community. For example, in 1921, Hamilton boasted seven lawn bowling clubs and two curling clubs. At the other extreme, in 1934 Sault Ste. Marie had a curling club and lawn bowling club. Every urban area contained a system of social clubs available only to a certain segment of the population.

In addition to the increase in the number of private clubs, the members of established clubs invested considerable sums of money to improve already existing facilities. A few examples will suffice to illustrate the nature and extent of the investment. In 1922 the Sault Golf and Country Club spent \$6,000 to extend the course to 3,000 yards. The 294 members of the Granite Curling Club of Kitchener, in 1927, invested \$170,000 to build a new club house and install artificial ice.¹¹ In North Bay, after their facility burned down in 1928, the curling fraternity formed the North Bay Curling and Athletic Co. Ltd. with a capitalization of \$40,000 in \$1,000-\$25.00 shares.¹² This movement was not retarded by the Depression as groups continued to invest substantial sums of money for their own sporting and social activities.

While the expansion of facilities and the investment of capital was general from North Bay to Toronto, there were differences which appear to be related to the size of population. In the smaller towns the elite was comprized of all the leading citizens while in Toronto, Hamilton and London it was layered in strata. This was reflected in the establishment of different facilities and was made concrete in the variability in quality of what was provided. These differences are illustrated most clearly in 1927 in the case of the two Brantford Golf Clubs, the exclusive Brantford Golf and Country Club and the less prestigious Arrowdale Golf Club formed in 1926. The Arrowdale Club was essentially a play-

er's club with the club house providing little more than changing facilities. The Brantford, on the other hand, centred on an ornate club house with swimming pool, tennis courts and dining facilities — a social club par excellence.¹³ Hamilton, London and Toronto witnessed the development of multi-sport clubs with curling sheets, tennis and badminton courts, bowling greens and dining facilities. For example the Granite Clubs in Toronto and Hamilton became prestigious centres of social activities. Generally, the smaller towns supported fewer clubs for an organic elite while the larger towns supported many clubs of varying quality and appeal. Not surprisingly, these clubs were available only to a small percentage of the population.

Public Facilities

More important to the growth of organized sport was the provision of grounds and rinks for the rapidly expanding team sports. While rinks, diamonds and fields were provided by a variety of groups, the most important were those constructed by the local council and placed under the aegis of a parks and/or playground department. The exact origin of the movement to create public athletic grounds is difficult to pinpoint precisely: but it seems certain that it was linked to the parks and playgrounds movements that emerged around the turn of the century. In Ontario some of the earliest evidence is to be found in Toronto in the first decade of the century where “under the direction of the parks department there are many athletic fields in which encouragement is given to the young men and women of the city to enjoy healthy sports.”¹⁴ Other grounds emerged in relation to the playground movement which originated, in Canada, in Montreal around 1902 before spreading to Toronto (1908), Hamilton (1909), and London (c. 1908).¹⁵ Without exception the athletic grounds in the other towns were linked with a parks department and/or a playground committee. In 1919 Brantford's newly formed City Playgrounds Association successfully lobbied the Council to add two playgrounds to the athletic facilities provided in four of the twelve city parks.¹⁶ Both Kitchener and Waterloo Parks Boards provided a limited number of baseball diamonds in the early 1920s. St. Catharines had to wait until 1923 and the establishment of a Parks Board before any facilities were provided. Public sporting grounds came at an even later date in North Bay (1926) and Sault Ste. Marie (1928) and then only as a result of intensive campaigning by interested citizens. By 1928, however, every town, including Exeter, could boast public grounds for athletic sports.

The increasing involvement of the public authorities in providing space is also reflected in the expansion of the system. That this was common throughout these Ontario towns is evident from an examination of Toronto, Hamilton and St. Catharines. In 1921 the Toronto Parks Department was responsible for the upkeep and allocation of fifty-five skating rinks and forty-nine hockey rinks.¹⁷ During the next seven

years a further seven skating and eleven hockey rinks were added. The differences were even more noticeable in Hamilton where in the same period the number of hockey rinks increased from one to seventeen and baseball diamonds from four to fifteen. In St. Catharines there were no public grounds prior to 1923, but in 1938 there were various baseball diamonds and soccer fields, a city sports park and an enclosed lacrosse stadium. What this reflects is an increasing acceptance by public authorities of responsibility for providing recreational amenities for various segments of the population.

While all councils provided facilities and services for organized sport there was considerable variation in the quantity, quality and extent of what was provided. In general, the larger cities supplied a wider variety of amenities and more efficient services. Hamilton, in the late 1920s, provided for golf, quoits, lawn bowling, tennis, track and field and swimming. At the other extreme in 1931 North Bay's grounds were restricted to baseball, softball and soccer; even the ice rinks were run by private enterprise. It would be erroneous to suggest a cause and effect relationship between population and available amenities; in 1927 Brantford, not much larger than North Bay, possessed a civic golf course, a swimming pool, lawn bowling, tennis and the usual facilities for team sport.¹⁸ At the same time conditions in the larger cities were more propitious to the establishment and maintenance of a stable system than was the case in the smaller towns. Thus, the basic questions that all councils had to deal with — namely should the public provide the money for both the initial construction of a facility and its maintenance, and if it did so, to what extent should offers of assistance from sports organizations or service groups be sought out or accepted — tended to be answered in one way by the larger cities and in another by the smaller.

Toronto and Hamilton provided extensive facilities and services directly from the public purse through a yearly grant from their councils. Although some revenues were generated from tennis and lawn bowling fees and from the gate money from enclosed stadiums, there appeared to be an acceptance by each council of responsibility for providing facilities directly from the public purse.¹⁹ For the smaller towns, the acceptance of full responsibility was neither financially feasible nor philosophically desirable. The problems facing the smaller towns and the general solutions adopted are illustrated in the history of St. Catharines, a town that now claims to be “the sports capital of Canada.”²⁰ At the conclusion of World War I, St. Catharines had one playground for sporting activities. The sportsmen of the town met and decided to approach city council with the problem. On Wednesday, April 31, 1919, a committee of the city council called a meeting to deal with the accommodations for sports. At the appointed hour, twenty representatives from various sports organizations gathered to meet with the councillors. Thirty minutes later, one member turned up — such was the interest of the city fathers.²¹ Continued pressure brought results

later in the year when the council placed a bylaw before the citizens to establish a parks commission and provide athletic grounds at a cost of \$10,000. This was defeated.²² A similar bylaw was finally passed in 1922 and the Parks Commission came into existence on January 1, 1923. Because the initial creation of facilities required capital expenditures, the bylaws to acquire land or build facilities always had to be submitted to the ratepayers. Thus a degree of popular support was essential to the success of the venture. This support was rarely gained without a campaign by interested groups. Such was the case with the Central Athletic Park Bylaw to issue debentures for \$25,000 for the erection of a grandstand and dressing rooms in 1924.²³ A well organized campaign by Alderman Westwood (President of the Ontario Lacrosse Association) and the lacrosse enthusiasts gained a narrow victory of 1069-961 votes for the bylaw.²⁴

Even more illustrative of the problems facing the city and their solutions was the approach to the question of an artificial ice arena. The lack of a suitable arena for Canada's most popular game was commented on frequently during the 1920s and 1930s when attention was drawn to the fact that neighbouring towns such as Niagara Falls, Grimsby, Port Colborne and Hamilton all had artificial ice arenas while St. Catharines did not.²⁵ All to no avail, because the council remained adamant in its position. In fact, it was not until December 1937 that a bylaw approving an ice arena was passed by 2,342 to 624 votes.²⁶ This, however, was not the end of the matter as 50 per cent of the money had to be raised by public subscription. In May a campaign spearheaded by H.J. Carmichael, a leading sports figure and Vice-President and General Manager of General Motors, raised the necessary \$40,000. It was during this campaign that the basic philosophy that underlay St. Catharines' and other small towns' approach to the spending of public money was most clearly enunciated. On April 18, 1938, in an editorial the following was stated:

The principle that a community should pay for the sport of all and sundry is dying out. It certainly never got a foothold in St. Catharines. The lacrosse team pays for its grandstand and other plant on a gate percentage basis. When the Civic Arena is operated there will be an adequate return made by all hockey organizations for the use of the arena. This is as it should be. John Citizen, property owner, is carrying about all he negotiates.²⁷

The public purse could not support and the council members did not believe in the idea of publically financed sport. The picture that emerges in St. Catharines is one of a delicate balance between public funding, community participation and responsibilities accepted by sport organizations. Only with respect to playgrounds was the council willing to provide full financial support. For adult facilities, the financing for maintenance and upkeep was generated through gate receipts from the enclosed stadiums. In terms of capital financing the council promoted community

involvement through voting on bylaws and participation in fund drives. In addition, the sport organizations that used the facilities were expected to shoulder part of the financial burden. For example, the St. Catharines Lacrosse Stadium that seated 4,300 and was equipped with telegraph and radio facilities, was built on a 50-50 basis by the council and the lacrosse club.²⁸

That the concept of joint responsibility was common is illustrated in the cases of the other small towns. In North Bay the Lion's Club and Rotarians were actively involved in various campaigns to build an ice arena.²⁹ North Street Field in Sault Ste. Marie was levelled and enclosed in 1928 after the Rotarians and Kiwanians had created a Sports Field Committee to raise money for the field. Eventually the Rotarians donated \$3,000 to be added to the \$2,000 provided by the city council.³⁰ Waterloo ratepayers voted for a new artificial ice rink in December, 1938.³¹ All these towns exhibited an approach akin to that of the St. Catharines city council but with varying degrees of emphasis upon the nature and extent of the expenditure of public money.

Initial expenditures and capital investment in the construction of facilities was only one facet of the financial picture: far more important in the long term was the question of maintenance. By 1939 the North Street Field constructed in Sault Ste. Marie in 1928 was in a "deplorable condition" and was virtually unplayable. In the same year, the Waterloo Commissioners expressed concern over the expenses of the baseball diamond which had already cost \$7,000.³² Additionally, the day to day running expenses were a continuing concern. London expended \$2,000 to run the skating rinks in January and February, 1936.³³ No matter what the size of the city, the expenses for upkeep were an ongoing financial problem.

One answer to the problem of financing was to make the grounds self sufficient by charging fees and promoting spectator sports. The charging of fees varied from town to town over the years. There was, however, one general response — the enclosing of grounds in order to provide gate money both for the city and sport organizations. In Toronto and Hamilton enclosed stadiums with adequate seating for spectators created an important source of revenue for both the city and the sport organizations. By 1927 Hamilton contained three publicly owned stadiums; the most important, the baseball stadium at Victoria Park, seating five thousand fans. The promotion of spectator sport to generate finances was clearly evident only in Toronto, Hamilton and to some degree St. Catharines. St. Catharines provides an example of the delicate balance between grounds for participants and those for spectators. The central focus for participants was the playground facilities while the high profile teams provided entertainment in the City Baseball Stadium and the Lacrosse Bowl (1938). The *St. Catharines Standard* in 1938 boasted that "there is co-operation with the sport organizations, which charge at the gate in such a way as to make sports grounds

in this community self liquidating."³⁴ Another approach to the question of enclosed facilities was for a council to co-operate with a commercial enterprise. This was the case in London (Tecumseh Park, Queens Park) and Brantford (Mohawk Park). In the case of London, difficulties arose when Tecumseh Park became unprofitable and was put up for sale. It was saved for the city when the Labatt family bought it and donated it to the city in 1936.³⁵ Kitchener, Waterloo and Sault Ste. Marie, while providing public enclosed parks, were always confronted with financial problems. Because the grounds were used for all levels of sport they attracted insufficient spectators and thus were not financially viable. The smallest town, North Bay, did not build an enclosed stadium even though the problem was recognized. Thus, it would appear that there was a correlation between the size of the population and the ability to support an enclosed stadium.

Both the difficulty of obtaining capital financing and the ongoing problem of maintenance detracted from the establishment of a rational, stable system of public facilities.

Another ingredient in this instability was the lack of a formally constituted organization to maintain and administer the system. In North Bay and Exeter this duty was performed directly by the council and thus assumed a low priority. At the other extreme, in Toronto a Recreation Branch was formed in 1913 to supervise and administer the playgrounds and park athletic grounds. S.H. Armstrong, appointed the first director (1913-1947), was an influential member of the Toronto sports community for many years. In 1918, Hamilton appointed J.J. Syme Supervisor of Playgrounds and by 1927 the Parks Board employed a Sports Supervisor. London, on the other hand, hired Jerry Goodman as a part-time Chief Superintendent of Playgrounds and Parks. In St. Catharines, Brantford, Kitchener, Waterloo and Sault Ste. Marie the responsibility for the grounds was more directly linked to the council; negotiations for grounds, equipment, etc. were made directly between a committee of city council and the sport organizations. In these cases the maintenance of the facilities was directly under the control of a superintendent of parks and constituted only a small part of his total responsibility. It appears, therefore, that the larger towns and cities had a distinct advantage in

TABLE III
Facilities Provided by Public Funds in Ten Ontario
Urban Areas, 1919-1939³⁶

	Team Sports Fields	Hockey Rinks	Skating Rinks	Toboggan Slides	Swimming Pools	Lawn Bowling Greens	Tennis Courts	Golf Courses	Quoits Pitches
Toronto	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Hamilton	X	X	X		X	X	X	X ₁₉₂₄	X
London	X	X	X		X ₁₉₂₃		X	X ₁₉₂₄	
Kitchener	X			X	X ₁₉₃₁		X	X ₁₉₃₅	
Waterloo	X	X		X			X		
Brantford	X	X	X						
St. Catharines	X	X	X						
Sault Ste. Marie	X	X	X						
North Bay	X	X	X						
Exeter	X								

terms of long term stability and viability. The creation of a semi-independent bureaucracy was critical to the development of a coherent, stable policy. It provided continuity and a group with a vested interest in the system. All the other towns fell somewhere between North Bay and Toronto: the closer they came to the Toronto model the more stable and less subject they were to the vagaries of economic conditions and changes in council membership. Throughout the towns there appeared to be a move to create a department with direct responsibility for grounds and recreation. By 1929 St. Catharines had appointed an overseer to manage the grounds and act as a liaison to the sports organizations. In 1939, the Sault Ste. Marie council appointed W.J. Edwards as supervisor of rinks. Although the evidence is not conclusive, it appears that over the two decades a general move throughout the system sought to establish a separate department to maintain the facilities. This was essential if any continuity, stability and quality were to be maintained.

When councils accepted the principle of expending public monies on sport facilities, they were confronted with the question of what should be provided from the public purse. Despite varied approaches, a rough correlation existed between population size and the diversity of the offerings (Table III).³⁶ All towns and cities provided grounds for the popular team sports. Beyond that there were distinct differences. The larger towns provided a wider variety than the smaller ones did: golf courses, swimming pools, tennis courts, lawn bowling greens. The most important difference is indicated by the development of the civic golf courses in Toronto, Hamilton, London, Brantford and Kitchener. In each instance the courses were purchased by the civic authorities and placed in the hands of a private club. In many respects this was an ideal arrangement since after the initial expenditure it involved no expense to the council. The Chedoke Golf Club in Hamilton is an excellent example of the approach and the success attendant upon it. In 1922, when the Hamilton Golf and Country Club decided to sell their property and move to Ancaster, the city council bought the course for public use. A group of citizens formed the Chedoke Golf Club and were given the right to run it. It was an extraordinarily successful operation which provided money for the civic coffers: at the height of the depression in 1932, the total receipts were \$15,770.98 and the ensuing cash surplus, after expenditures, of \$6,613.91 was transferred to the Board of Parks management.³⁷ In London the Springbank course, purchased in 1924, was successful to such a degree that by 1929 the yearly surpluses had paid off the \$22,000 initial expenses.³⁸ A similar approach was followed in the case of lawn bowling where private clubs in Hamilton rented civic greens. On the other hand, Toronto lawn bowlers played on greens at public expense. It appears that in the larger towns, grounds were provided for not only organized sport but also for facilities that were, in fact, private clubs. The smaller towns appeared to be less willing to spend money for private groups.

The foregoing facilities provided at public expense all fell under the jurisdiction of the town/city councils. There were others that were run by other public groups, often at odds with a council; this was true in particular of the schools under the aegis of the boards of education. Most collegiate institutes boasted a gymnasium and a playing field. At the public school level, however, there was considerable variability in the offerings. Few possessed gymnasiums and most had only a field or playground. These served the extensive sports programmes that developed in the collegiate institutes, high schools, public schools, and separate schools. Additionally, their grounds were used by outside groups for softball and baseball, which were ideal sports since they were played during the summer vacation and required little more than space. Every town/city witnessed this type of use sometime during the 1920s and 1930s. In no instance, however, were these facilities to be depended upon since the various organizations had to apply to the board of education on a yearly basis. Permission was often denied. Waterloo, for example, in 1929 was refused permission to use the school playground for softball.³⁹ Thus they were peripheral to the major leagues and organizations. This was not the case with basketball where the gymnasiums at the collegiate institutes were the focal points for the extensive church basketball leagues. In this case the use was restricted to the basketball strongholds of Hamilton, Toronto and St. Catharines. In some of the smaller towns, school boards constructed hockey rinks at the schools; such was the case in North Bay, Sault Ste. Marie and Kitchener. It appears that, for the most part, the use of school facilities by the public was not actively encouraged, though variations among individual schools and school districts make it difficult to generalize. Certainly, the differences were greater than the similarities, but it would seem that normally these facilities were not freely available, except to the students in the schools themselves.

Other Institutions

The ice rinks, diamonds and fields provided from the public purse were central to the growth of the major outdoor team sports. Indoor games were left to the prestigious social clubs, the educational institutions, the churches and the Y.M.C.A.'s. The Y.M.C.A., one of the most important institutions in the promotion of sport among the youth of Canada, provided leaders, a place to meet and created the two most popular indoor team games — basketball and volleyball. While they provided leadership in many sports, the facilities of the 'Y' were limited to a gymnasium, swimming pool and bowling alleys. Every town except North Bay boasted a Y.M.C.A. with a gymnasium. Swimming pools were by no means as common while bowling alleys were to be found even in Exeter. These facilities were expensive and frequently the result of some local benefactor's generosity. For example, the Y.M.C.A. in Kitchener that opened on April 19, 1922 was the culmination of a three-year campaign that



FIGURE 1. Swimming pool in Hart House, University of Toronto, 1919.

SOURCE: T.A. Reed, *The Blue and White*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1944), 51.

raised \$250,000. The campaign was initiated in 1919 by Mr. Jacob Kaufman who donated \$25,000. This was closely followed by the Breithaupt Leather Company's donation of property valued at \$20,000. Later, the Dominion Rubber Company gave a donation of \$10,000.⁴⁰

While it is relatively simple to pinpoint the facilities provided by the Y.M.C.A., it is virtually impossible to make any general statements about the churches. The dissimilarities that resulted from denominational differences and the fact that decision making power rested with individual congregations make it difficult to discern general patterns. It is possible, however, to identify the activities the churches pro-

vided when they became involved. Nearly every town promoted church basketball leagues, but only in Toronto, Hamilton, Sault Ste. Marie, St. Catharines and Kitchener were the games played in church halls. The first four of the above-mentioned towns provided tennis and badminton courts, and churches in Sault Ste. Marie and Kitchener had ice rinks for skating and hockey.

It is apparent that the Churches and Y.M.C.A., while central to the organization and administration of many sports, were peripheral, in terms of providing facilities, to the major outdoor sports. They were central, however, both in terms of leadership and facilities for basketball and vol-

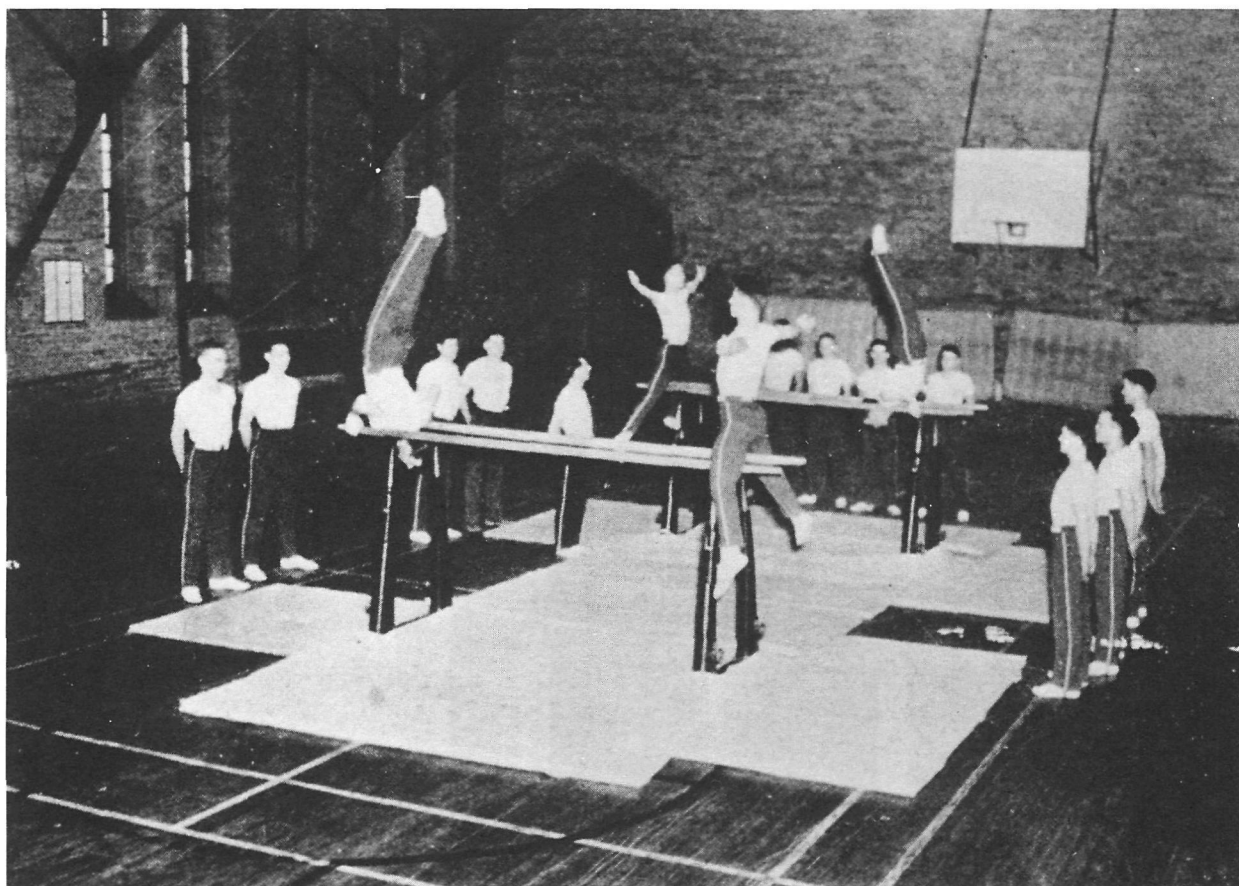


FIGURE 2. Gymnasium, University of Toronto, c. 1940.

SOURCE: T.A. Reed, *The Blue and White*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1944), 241.

leyball. Thus these sports remained the preserve of a distinct segment of society, those who attended the church or Y.M.C.A.

There is one additional group which provided playing fields for organized sport, albeit to a distinct group. In Sault Ste. Marie, London, Hamilton and Brantford, some of the larger industrial concerns provided recreational grounds for the use of their employees. Algoma Steel and Algoma Central Railroad both provided recreational grounds in Sault Ste. Marie.⁴¹ In London the G.T.R. built a recreation field in the East End of the city in 1920, and later in the decade the C.N.R. Recreation Grounds were opened.⁴² Only in Brantford, however, was there evidence of extensive involvement. Verity Plough Company, Cockshutt Plow Company, Massey Harris and the C.N.R. all provided fields in that city.⁴³ For the most part, however, the extensive industrial leagues that sprang up during the 1920s and 1930s used outside facilities, the companies being unwilling to provide any.⁴⁴ The industrial and commercial concerns were, indeed, reluctant to provide facilities for their employees, requiring them to use public facilities instead.

Commercial

Perhaps one of the clearest indications of the pervasiveness of sport was the growth of commercial sporting enterprises whose primary concern was profit. Table IV indicates that this involvement preceded 1919 but that substantial development occurred throughout the 1920s and 1930s.⁴⁵ One commercial enterprise was common to all towns and cities, an ice rink for Canada's national winter pastime. In fact, the history of the provision of ice rinks provides such a clear picture of the inter-relationship between public, private and commercial interests, that a whole section will be devoted to it later. Commercial bowling alleys were also prevalent: by the mid-1930s most areas could boast at least one alley although these were relative latecomers to the northern towns of North Bay (c. 1931) and Sault Ste. Marie (c. 1928). For the most part, this was the extent of commercial involvement in the smaller towns.

There was a distinct difference between the larger towns, such as Toronto, Hamilton and London, and the others, although again individual differences serve to warn against

TABLE IV
Commercial Facilities in Ten Ontario Centres, 1919-1939⁴⁵

	ICE RINKS			Theatres Halls	Bowling Alleys	Commercial Grounds/Parks
	Enclosed Artificial Ice	Enclosed Natural Ice	Outdoor Natural Ice			
Exeter		X				
North Bay		X	X		c 1931	
Sault Ste. Marie		X	X		c 1928	
Waterloo			X			
Brantford		X	X		X	X (Mohawk Park)
Kitchener	c 1924		X		c 1935	
St. Catharines	1938		X	1932	X	X (Lakeside Park, Port Dalhousie)
London	1923		X	c 1924	X	X (Tecumseh Park)
Hamilton	X			X	X	X (H.A.A.A. grounds)
Toronto	X	X	X	X	X	X (Exhibition Grounds & others)

X :- Constructed prior to 1919

Dates :- Dates of Opening

a simplistic analysis. In addition to the rinks and bowling alleys there were theatres and halls used infrequently for professional boxing and wrestling. Commercial athletic grounds were used for a variety of sports, both amateur and professional: horse racing, football, baseball, lacrosse and soccer. Invariably these grounds focused on attracting spectators, usually by hosting professional or high profile amateur teams. In all cases, the gate money was of primary concern even though other goals of the owners differed. Mohawk Park, Brantford was owned by a private company that also controlled the street railway.⁴⁶ On the other hand, the Hamilton Amateur Athletic Association Grounds, the home of the football Tigers and other amateur teams, was privately owned by the H.A.A.A. but was run strictly as a commercial enterprise. Lakeside Park, at Port Dalhousie was used for sports on infrequent occasions, its major use being a pleasure park for picnics and other occasions. Thus, while each ground was run on commercial principles, there were distinct differences in the type of ownership and the focus of the activities. Commercial facilities, however, were an important part of the mosaic that was created during the inter war years.

For the most part the commercial enterprises seem to have been financially viable. In the face of the depression the permanence of these rinks, grounds and alleys is somewhat surprising. Although bowling alleys remained unaffected by the down turn in the economy, many of the others lead a precarious existence, flirting on many occasions with financial disaster. While the history of each is

different, the case of Tecumseh Park in London provides some insight into the problems besetting these grounds and the precarious balance between success and failure. Throughout the early decades of the twentieth century Tecumseh Park was the centre of professional baseball in London. During the early 1920s crowds of 4,000 spectators provided strong support for the London franchise in the Michigan/Ontario Baseball League. With the demise of the League in the mid-1920s the owners of Tecumseh Park found it increasingly difficult to make a profit. When these problems were further accentuated in the early 1930s with the decline of baseball, the owners looked for buyers. In 1932 a London Sports Federation rented the park and placed it at the disposal of various clubs.⁴⁷ By 1936 the financial burden proved to be too great and the Federation gave up. Thus it appeared that Tecumseh Park would fall under the auctioneer's hammer and be sold for building lots. This raised an outcry among concerned citizens and generated calls for community action to save the park for sport. A council-sponsored booster day saved it for one year but failed to address the long-term financial problems. As was frequently the case many options were explored, but no individual or group could raise sufficient funds. This was a common occurrence in other towns — a strong expression of concern over the importance of retaining facilities, then no action to ensure that they were retained. The council, Chamber of Commerce and various service groups expressed concern but by December it appeared that Tecumseh Park was to be lost because it was not a viable financial proposition. It was saved when the



FIGURE 3. C.N.E. Stadium, Toronto, 1928.

SOURCE: N. Turofsky, *Sports Scene*, (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1960).

Labatt family purchased it for the city as a memorial to their father.⁴⁸ This brief history illustrates the problem facing all sporting facilities — making ends meet. Except in the case where public money was involved there was little latitude for the owners of sporting facilities. As soon as they became non profitable they were sold and therefore valuable recreational land in all cities was lost to the more profitable demands of buildings.

A Case Study of Ice Rinks

The preceding analysis has examined the nature and extent of separate groups involvement in the process of providing facilities for sporting activities. This has served to obscure both the complexity of the process and the nature of the inter-relationships between the groups. At the same time the evidence has suggested some relationship between population size and the development of certain facilities. The complexity of the inter-relationships, the correlation between population and facilities, and the particular character of

individual towns is shown most clearly in the efforts to provide ice rinks for skating and ice hockey.

Most important of all to the development of a coherent, stable hockey and/or skating programme was the building of an indoor arena with artificial ice. Both Toronto and Hamilton boasted an artificial ice rink by 1919. From the outset these were run as commercial enterprises with profit the primary concern. Additionally they focused many of their activities on the professional hockey that attracted paying customers. Even after Hamilton lost its professional team in the early 1920s it hosted the highest level of amateur hockey. These commercial arenas provided the focal point of hockey activity especially since ice was guaranteed. In both cities these were backed up by a city-wide system of outdoor natural ice rinks provided by the parks departments. The system was already in place in Toronto by the end of World War I. In Hamilton it developed from one rink in 1922 to a city-wide system of seventeen in 1927. Both systems were maintained by professional staffs attached to the parks departments. No extant evidence suggests that the churches or Y.M.C.A.'s provided any rinks; instead, they made use of

those provided by the city. The considerable discrepancy in population, however, led to one major difference. Hamilton remained a one-arena town throughout the period. Toronto, on the other hand, with the opening of Maple Leaf Gardens in 1931, increased its number of commercial artificial ice arenas to four. Thus the growth of commercially viable arenas was linked to population size.

Only two other towns could boast an artificial ice arena in the 1920s; by November 1923 both Kitchener and London had acquired this prestigious symbol. Again both were run strictly as commercial, profit-making enterprises. Central to their operations were high-level amateur or semi-pro teams to attract spectators. It was this critical attribute that led to the problems that beset many arenas in Ontario in the 1930s. By 1936 London Arena was in strained financial circumstances in the main because the hockey teams were unable to attract sufficient fan support. They had teetered on the brink of financial disaster for the last few years and "The cold facts are that London is handicapped by lack of population in sustaining professional hockey in competition with cities of from 200,000 to 500,000."⁴⁹ Additionally, the deterioration of the facility in the twelve years since it had opened forced the owner to consider major expenditures to keep the arena in operating condition.⁵⁰ Thus in September, the owner declared his intention to sell or close the Arena. The furor over the proposed closing and the ensuing activities to save it indicate the growing importance of an artificial ice arena in Ontario towns. At first, the University of Western Ontario expressed interest in renting it. This was followed by a proposal from city council to buy it but it was dropped because of lack of money. Finally the Public Utilities Commission expressed interest, but dropped out when the price was put at \$32,000 because any expenditure of over \$25,000 required a vote of ratepayers.⁵¹ The concern over the availability of ice was expressed most clearly in the *London Free Press*.

However, if it is unfortunate if professional hockey has to be abandoned, it would be a tragedy to the youth and sport lovers of this city if the Arena has to be closed. It would mean the London Skating Club would have to disband, the university would be without facilities, as well as the high school and various other amateur teams.⁵²

The presence of a successful — in terms of spectators — professional or amateur team provided the financial resources to support a larger number of smaller teams. Thus, unless the cities and towns were willing to invest public money, the arenas financial positions were precarious: they were too dependant upon local economic conditions. The London Arena was saved for amateur sport and the prestigious and socially select Skating Club survived only because four well known businessmen, D.B. Weldon, A.E. Silverwood, J. Gordon Thompson and C.E. Issard leased it, not as a business proposition, but for philanthropic reasons.⁵³

The commercial arenas provided the focal point for hockey and skating activities. They were complemented by a system of public rinks provided by the councils and public utilities commissions. However, both Kitchener and London experienced periodic difficulties and the rinks were by no means as well maintained, as consistently available, or as extensive as in the larger towns. In both towns the public rinks were augmented by those provided by other groups. In this case, however, there was little continuity with few rinks existing for more than a few years. For example, in 1929 Kitchener was served by school rinks, St. Jerome College Rink and a commercial outdoor rink. Ten years later all except St. Jerome College rink had disappeared. Thus it appears that in the absence of a system of permanent rinks provided by the city, other groups stepped into the breach to provide rink facilities. This, of course, detracted from the development of coherent and stable hockey programmes. Only the acquisition of artificial ice could solve that problem.

One factor joined Toronto, Hamilton, London and Kitchener with the other towns — the need for an artificial ice rink. Until the late 1930s, Sault Ste. Marie, North Bay, Waterloo, St. Catharines and Exeter did not have an artificial ice arena. In 1938 St. Catharines, after twenty years of trying, built an arena. Late in 1938 Waterloo ratepayers passed a bylaw approving the construction of an artificial ice rink.⁵⁴ The plans were shelved shortly after the outbreak of the Second World War. However, the experiences of these towns were significantly different from those of the larger centres. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, frequent references testified to the need for enclosed arenas equipped with artificial ice. In each instance, the call for action was rooted in the idea of community. The proponents of the rinks claimed that they were symbols of the community and it was only by community involvement that the financial resources could be raised. This was in fact, a realistic appraisal of the situation. The smaller towns did not have sufficient population to support a commercial rink, the public purse was smaller and the capital expenditure was too great for any of the service clubs. The result was that the construction of an enclosed arena, with or without artificial ice, always involved the cooperation of a variety of groups. Although the histories of the individual "small" towns were different, they all involved, in different combinations and degrees, the town council, service clubs, churches, philanthropists and commercial interests. By the outbreak of World War II all five of them had enclosed arenas or had one planned (Table V).⁵⁵ While the individual histories were different they were similar in basic characteristics, thus the history of one town's efforts to provide an artificial ice arena will serve to illustrate basic patterns.

St. Catharines manifested a persistent interest in an arena but had much difficulty mobilizing community support for it. Although a variety of open air rinks had existed in the town from the early 1890s there was no movement for an

TABLE V

**Enclosed Ice Rinks with Natural and Artificial Ice in Sault Ste. Marie, North Bay,
Waterloo, St. Catharines and Exeter, 1919-1939.⁵⁶**

	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	Comments
Sault Ste. Marie	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
North Bay	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X									X	X	X	Burned Down 1928
Waterloo																						Artificial ice arena to be constructed in 1939 — WAR
St. Catharines																				0	0	
Exeter	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X				X	X	Dome Rink (1912), collapsed 1927, rebuilt, collapsed 1934.

X :- Natural Ice

0 :- Artificial Ice

arena until the early 1920s.⁵⁶ An Arena Company was formed and raised \$17,500; all to no avail. During 1924 several proposals were made, the most popular being a proposal by R. Silverwood who offered to provide refrigeration if the rink was built next to the new Silverwood's Dairy.⁵⁷ By December support had dwindled and St. Catharines was left with one outdoor rink. During the ensuing fourteen years periodic attempts were made to rally support but not until 1937 was a successful action initiated. In autumn of that year a resolution was tabled in city council recommending that a bylaw for debentures to be issued for an ice arena be submitted to the ratepayers. On January 1, 1938, 2,622 of the 5,400 eligible ratepayers turned out in adverse conditions to vote on the bylaw which passed by a wide margin, 2,342 to 624.⁵⁸ This was not an accident, but the result of a well-conducted campaign spearheaded by the Junior Chamber of Commerce which had created a Publicity Committee and Finance Committee. The Publicity Committee's task was concluded with the passing of the bylaw but the Finance Committee's task was ahead since Ontario law stipulated that half the money for arenas built at public expense must be raised by subscription. Thus the Finance Committee had to raise \$40,000. The ensuing campaign exemplified the finest tradition of community leadership and action. The central figure in the fund raising drive, H.J. Carmichael, Vice-President and General Manager of General Motors. He and his committee organized nineteen teams with 135 men to launch the drive for finances. These groups were composed of various service organizations: Rotary, Lions, Kinsmen, Optimists, Kiwanis, Knights of Columbus, the Athletic Association, the Y. Men, E.T. Sandell's team and Women's Organization.⁵⁹ It took less than ten days to raise the \$40,000. The St. Catharines Civic Arena officially opened on Thursday, December 29, 1938, and demonstrated how fruitful cooperation among various local public and private agencies could be. Each segment was essential to the successful conclusion of the project.

One basic factor characterized all towns: civic, industrial and community leaders were crucial to any creation or expansion of sports facilities. This elite determined the policies to be followed — the expenditures, and the priorities. The urban response to the problem of facilities was essentially that of middle class: little evidence exists to suggest that other groups had significant input.

Local Differences

The preceding analysis has focused upon facilities that were general to urban areas. Two further ingredients gave each area its own identifiable characteristics: local people and local conditions.

In the final analysis the nature and extent of facilities was determined by people. The members of the town councils and their approach to the provision of public facilities determined the nature and scope of the facilities provided. In certain towns wealthy philanthropists bought and/or presented property specifically for sport. For example, as we have seen, in 1936 the Labatt family purchased Tecumseh Park and the London Arena was leased by four prominent Londoners for "philanthropic reasons." In Brantford the Cockshutt family provided the Agricultural Park for sporting use, while in Kitchener, Jacob Kaufman and the Breithaupt Company provided the financing and land for a new Y.M.C.A. building. In each instance, facilities that would not otherwise have been available for public use were provided.

Always a centre of sporting activities, the universities and private schools in Toronto, London, Hamilton and St. Catharines added to the available facilities. However, in each instance, they were restricted to a certain segment of society. For the more affluent, university and private school grounds, rinks and gymnasias provided the arenas for the inculcation

of desirable social behaviour. In London, Hamilton and St. Catharines the armouries were the focal point of extensive militia sporting competition in addition to indoor track and field, basketball and indoor baseball.

Finally, the location of towns and the natural terrain led to the development of particular sports in certain towns. For example, water sports were popular in Toronto, Hamilton, London, St. Catharines, Sault Ste. Marie and North Bay. The availability of reasonable slopes promoted the growth of ski clubs in Kitchener, Sault Ste. Marie, North Bay and Hamilton. In Toronto and Hamilton the location of public parks in hilly sections of the cities allowed for the creation of public toboggan slides. Thus, location and topography left their mark on the town's sporting heritage.

Perhaps the unique characteristics of individual towns is best illustrated through a case study of one town, St. Catharines, "The Sports Capital of Canada." Central to the growth of facilities was the town council, which gave much emphasis to public facilities probably because of the strong representation of sporting interests on it. In 1934, six of the nine aldermen elected to council were active players or organizers of sport.⁶⁰ Similarly in 1935, five of nine sportsmen were elected by the voters of the town. Perhaps more important to the actual facilities was the presence on council throughout most of the 1920s and 1930s of Aldermen J.D. Wright and F. Westwood. Both were influential in council, Wright was Mayor in 1928, 1929, 1937 and 1938 and both were ardent lacrosse fans serving as Presidents of the Ontario Amateur Lacrosse Association. It would appear that their influence was reflected in the building by council, in conjunction with the lacrosse club, of the Haig Street Lacrosse Bowl in the early 1930s. This was claimed to be "the most modern equipped park" with accomodation for 4,300, lighting, telegraph and radio facilities.⁶¹

Perhaps the most important single facility to be built during the 1920s was the new Y.M.C.A. building that was opened in 1929 by the Governor General, Lord Willingdon. This was the result of the generosity of two millionaire philanthropists. In 1924-25 Col. R.W. Leonard offered to erect a new building provided that the Y.M.C.A. raised a \$100,000 fund to provide money for maintenance costs. David B. Mills presented the Y.M.C.A. with 780 shares of G.M. stocks to provide the funds.

The armouries, another facility used for sport, provided space for boxing and basketball throughout the 1920s and the 1930s. Although the St. Catharines armoury was not used to the same extent as those in Hamilton and London, it, too, provided space for sporting events when needed. More importantly, the grounds at Ridley College were used by the students and occassionally the boys from St. Catharines invaded the sacred precincts. In both instances, the facilities were due to the existence of particular institutions within the community.

Finally, although St. Catharines boasted its own particular blend of private, public and commercial facilities, one which led to the development of a strong rowing tradition was unique. In 1903 the Canadian Association of Amateur Oarsmen agreed to hold their annual regattas on an ideal stretch of the Welland Canal. The event came to be known as the Canadian Henley. The availability of this stretch of water gave St. Catharines its unique place in Canadian sport and every year for a brief week it becomes the focal point of Canadian rowing. While the course was maintained by the rowing club, the city often provided financial support. St. Catharines has become one of the major rowing centres in Canada. This illustrates most clearly the important role facilities play in the development of a sport.

This brief examination of St. Catharines illustrates the unique character of sporting facilities in different towns. Although the towns' general response to the demand for facilities was basically the same, each town had distinguishable differences as a result of the people who provided the leadership, the particular institutions associated with the town and the local geography.

Conclusion

It is possible to make some generalizations about the urban response to the problem of facilities. It is also essential to realize that these generalizations must be placed in the unique context of the particular characteristics of each town/city. Thus particular towns/cities provided basically the same types of facilities, but their quantity and quality were determined by local circumstance.

All could boast a system of private sporting facilities which were for the exclusive use of members. The socio economic elites certainly took care of themselves and provided for their own social life. In addition, the public provided rinks, diamonds, and fields for organized league competition. Except in Toronto and Hamilton, the involvement, often reluctant, resulted from the exertion of a significant degree of pressure. Finally all towns witnessed the involvement of entrepreneurs or groups in the commercial provision of facilities.

Perhaps even more illuminating than the foregoing were the problems facing most towns. Creating public facilities took much money but maintaining them to assure their continued availability was also expensive. In fact, the extent and quality of the public grounds fluctuated considerably over the years. Varying demand, changing popularity of particular sports, altered financial resources and changing council memberships, all promoted instability which was accentuated, in the smaller towns, by the lack of an organization to run the system. Public pressure resulted in the purchase of grounds and the construction of facilities: but when the pressure was relaxed, different priorities were established and the existent facilities sometimes were allowed to fall into disrepair. Public pressure had to be built up again before

changes took place. Thus the sport facility system was not stable, and seemed to be caught in a dialectic process. In fact, a rational policy for the provision of facilities was only to be found in the larger towns, although by the late 1930s, the appointment of sports supervisors gave some stability to the smaller towns also.

Another universal characteristic was that all of the communities depended upon their leaders: the shape of the urban response reflected the ideas and beliefs of the dominant local elite. Little evidence suggests that the majority of the population had any say in the decision making. The "ratepayers" who voted on financial questions were homeowners and by no means constituted a majority of the population. Therefore, if there was any rational policy of development it was put into place by a small group.

While the foregoing similarities are representative of all towns several differences among them derived from their size. The most important of these, in terms of understanding the urban response, were two factors that affected Toronto and Hamilton but did not affect the smaller towns to any significant degree. The creation of a bureaucracy to run the public systems provided a degree of stability and rationality. While a department had to submit estimates and was subject to changing economic conditions, the very existence of it ensured that it would receive money. In the smaller towns where requests had to be made to a committee of a council they were subject to the urgencies of local politics. A second characteristic, the apparent acceptance by councils of responsibility for the provision of public facilities, was by no means common to all the smaller towns. Thus it does appear that conditions in the two larger towns favoured more and better public facilities.

That smaller towns were subject to different pressures is reflected in the individual approaches to the problems. Thus, even though all small towns boasted private, public and commercial facilities, in each of them the importance of local conditions is reflected. In particular, the philosophies of the councils differed significantly. In most instances, however, the facilities developed as the result of co-operation among various community groups. A strong appeal to community involvement is apparent in most of the towns and the councils were, apparently, more subject to public pressure than those of the larger towns.

What then is the significance of this exploratory paper? To the sport historian, it pinpoints the dependence of sport organizations and individuals upon widespread support among different segments of the communities. The availability of facilities, or the lack of it, determined the success or failure of particular sports. This was the case in Toronto in the early 1930s when the parks department withdrew its grounds for the use of baseball. The action had a cataclysmic impact upon the game. Thus, sport historians must look more carefully at the relationship between the provision of

facilities and the growth of different sports. To the urban historian it illustrates clearly the fact that, while the histories of individual towns are different, it is possible to generalize about an urban response to the problems of providing sporting facilities. Perhaps more important is the fact that it reveals the distinct difference in approach to the problems by small towns as opposed to larger ones. But at bottom, it divulges the real reason why in some towns a large number of facilities emerged while in other towns they did not. In the final analysis it comes down to the philosophies espoused by key individuals and groups. Our urban environment was created not by some inexorable process but by the calculated decisions of a small group of men. It is in the minds and motives of this small group that we can discover what lies at the heart of urban development.

NOTES

1. *London Free Press*, 7 March, 1936; 17 April, 1920; 7 December, 1928; *Kitchener Daily Record*, 14 November, 1935; 18 April, 1929; *St. Catharines Standard*, 11 March, 1924.
2. *Toronto Globe*, 14 December, 1928; *Globe*, 19 December, 1933.
3. *London Free Press*, 7 March, 1936.
4. *Census of Canada*, 1951, Vol. I, Table 9.
5. A review of the literature indicates that no works are devoted solely to this topic. In both sport history and urban history, the concern over the provision of sporting facilities has been peripheral rather than central. Notable exceptions to this are: Stephen Hardy, "Parks for the People: Reforming the Boston Park System; 1870-1915," *Journal of Sport History*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (Winter 1980): 5-24; Steven A. Riess, "Power Without Authority: Los Angeles' Elites and the Construction of the Coliseum," *Journal of Sport History*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (Spring, 1981): 50-65; Gene H. Homel, "Toronto's Sunday Tobogganing Controversy of 1912," *Urban History Review*, Vol. X, No. 2 (October, 1981): 25-34. Even in these papers the interests were not in the provision of facilities per se but in particular aspects. The greater part of the data has been taken from newspapers; *Toronto Globe*, 1919-1939; *Hamilton Spectator*, 1921, 1927, 1933, 1938; *London Free Press*, 1920, 1924, 1928, 1936; *Brantford Expositor*, 1919, 1925; *Kitchener Daily Record*, 1923, 1929, 1935, 1939; *St. Catharines Standard*, 1919, 1924, 1929, 1934, 1938; *Sault Daily Star* 1922, 1928, 1934, 1939; *North Bay Nugget* 1925, 1931, 1937; *Exeter Times Advocate* 1921, 1925, 1929, 1935.
6. W.V. Uttley, *A History of Kitchener, Ontario* (Kitchener, 1975), 369; W.K.P. Kennedy, *North Bay, Past-President-Prospective* (North Bay, 1961), 259; *Sports History of St. Catharines* (St. Catharines, 1969), 144.
7. Data was collated from the newspapers listed in note 5, above.
8. The course was then rented out to a private club, the Chedoke Golf Club.
9. Uttley, *A History of Kitchener, Ontario*, 369.
10. *Brantford Expositor*, 24 November, 1919.
11. Uttley, *A History of Kitchener*, 369.
12. Kennedy, *North Bay. Past-President-Prospective*, 255.
13. *Brantford Expositor, Anniversary Number*, 1877-1927, 87.
14. *Playgrounds: What Toronto is Trying to do for its Children* (Toronto, 1910), 10.
15. Elsie M. McFarland, *The Development of Public Recreation in Canada* (Ottawa, 1970), 21, 27, 30, 34.
16. *Brantford Expositor*, 31 December, 1919.
17. *Globe*, 1 December, 1921.
18. *Brantford Expositor, Anniversary Number*, 17.
19. *Hamilton Spectator*, 4 May, 1927.
20. *Sports History of St. Catharines* (St. Catharines, 1969). A sub title of the book is "The Sports Capital of Canada."

21. *St. Catharines Standard*, 1 May, 1919.
22. *Ibid.*, 23 September, 1919.
23. *Ibid.*, 15 November, 1924.
24. *Ibid.*, 2 December, 1924.
25. *Ibid.*, 14 March, 1924.
26. *Ibid.*, 3 January, 1938.
27. *Ibid.*, 18 April, 1938.
28. *Ibid.*, 1 September, 1938.
29. The Rotarians sponsored an open air rink in the 1920s.
30. *Sault Daily Star*, 9 March, 4 April, 1928.
31. *Kitchener Daily Record*, 10 January, 1939.
32. *Ibid.*, 19 January, 1939.
33. *London Free Press*, 12 March, 1936.
34. *St. Catharines Standard*, 13 June, 1938.
35. *London Free Press*, 15 December, 1936.
36. Data extracted from newspapers.
37. *Hamilton Spectator*, 2 March, 1933.
38. *St. Catharines Standard*, 14 May, 1929.
39. *Kitchener Daily Record*, 14 May, 1929.
40. Uttley, *A History of Kitchener*, 281.
41. *Sault Daily Star*, 21 May, 1934.
42. *London Free Press*, 6 November, 1920; 20 September, 1928.
43. *Brantford Expositor*, 10 May, 1919.
44. J.S. Myles, "The Organization and Administration of Industrial Recreation in Toronto," M.S.W. Thesis (University of Toronto, 1951), 102.
45. Data extracted from newspapers.
46. *Brantford Expositor*, 19 June, 1919.
47. *London Free Press*, 8 May, 1936.
48. *Ibid.*, 15 December, 1936.
49. *Ibid.*, 4 September, 1936.
50. *Ibid.*, 15 September, 1936.
51. *Ibid.*, 10 October, 1936.
52. *Ibid.*, 4 September, 1936.
53. *Ibid.*, 10 November, 1936.
54. *Kitchener Daily Record*, 10 January, 1939.
55. Data from *Sault Daily Star*, *North Bay Nugget*, *Kitchener Daily Record*, *St. Catharines Standard*, *Exeter Times Advocate*.
56. *St. Catharines Standard*, 29 December, 1938.
57. *Ibid.*, 28 February, 1924.
58. *Ibid.*, 3 January, 1938.
59. *Ibid.*, 14 May, 1938.
60. *Ibid.*, 3 January, 1934.
61. *Ibid.*, 1 September, 1938.