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The Canadianization of intercollegiate football in Ontario and Quebec from 1897 to 1921.

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THE CANADIANIZATION OF INTERCOLLEGIATE FOOTBALL
IN ONTARIO AND QUEBEC FROM 1897 TO 1921

by

Joseph William Myrer

A Thesis
submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
through the Faculty of
Human Kinetics in Partial Fulfillment
of the requirements for the Degree
of Master of Human Kinetics at
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ABSTRACT

THE CANADIANIZATION OF INTERCOLLEGIATE FOOTBALL IN ONTARIO AND QUEBEC FROM 1897 TO 1921

by

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The object of this study was to determine and analyze the major factors intrinsic to the Canadianization of intercollegiate football in Ontario and Quebec from 1897 to 1921. An attempt was made to glean a better understanding of what established an entity as being accepted or acknowledged as being Canadian. Based on the assumptions that sport is a part and indicator of culture and that "Canadianization" followed the processes of cultural-change, the intrinsic factors of the values and behavior, and British and American influences affecting intercollegiate football, were analyzed in regard to the constituents of culture, the conceptual and the actual.

Analysis of the intrinsic factors involved, indicated a dichotomy between the stated values and actual behavior of those both directly and indirectly involved with the sport. In addition, the foreign influence characterized by English athleticism and the American "win at any cost" ideal provided a further dichotomy. It was apparent that

there existed a pragmatic rejection of the ideals embodied in athleticism in favor of those ideals associated with the quest for success. This trend increased during the period examined. Despite the changes in form and values of intercollegiate football in Ontario and Quebec becoming more similar to their American counterparts, the sport throughout the period examined was perceived to be Canadian. The Canadianization of intercollegiate football in Ontario and Quebec was the blend of the English and American influence upon those elements of the game peculiar to Canada that became moulded, via the processes of cultural-change, into a sport that was accepted and acknowledged to be Canadian.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated
to my Father and Mother
and all those
other

"Canadianized" Canadians
that made possible
the writing of the
study.

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The author wishes to extend his sincere appreciation to Dr. Alan Metcalfe for serving as chairman, and for providing intellectual direction while allowing the writer the latitude to struggle through the various processes involved in the writing of a thesis.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Problem

The focus of this study is sport, specifically the Canadianization of intercollegiate football in Ontario and Quebec from 1897 to 1921.

In analyzing sport, however, it has been contended by such scholars as Frederickson,¹ Morton,² Lüschen,³ as well as Cozens and Stumpf,⁴ that by so doing one is dealing with an integral part and vivid barometer of the society and culture in which the sport is participated.

Metcalfé concurred with this assumption when he wrote:

. . . sport is one of the most accurate single indicators of societal or cultural values. Sport through the way it is played, the attitudes it invokes, and the functions it performs, reflects the cultural attitudes, norms and values of society.⁵

What establishes an entity as being Canadian? The search for a definitive answer to this problem has been an enigma and cause for concern of Canadians since the inception of the Dominion. It is hoped that by examining this persistent problem through the medium of sport, some light may be shed on this grey area of Canadian culture:

In view of the problem, the object of this thesis is to determine and analyze the major factors intrinsic to the Canadianization of intercollegiate football in Ontario and Quebec from 1897 to 1921. Im-

explicit in this objective is the assumption that "Canadianization" was occurring in intercollegiate football in Ontario and Quebec during the period under examination. Intercollegiate football is defined as the sport of football distinct from English Rugby, Association Football or American football, played by the institutions of higher learning which were members of the Canadian Intercollegiate Rugby Football Union (C.I.R.F.U.), from 1897 to 1921, or part thereof.

As a means of explaining and clarifying the problem and objective of this study it is perhaps expedient at this time to discuss briefly culture and society and their relationship. Culture has been defined a number of ways by numerous scholars. Lüschen stresses its conceptual nature; "those patterns and abstractions that underlie behavior or are the result of it",⁶ while White focuses more on the outward manifestations of the conceptual aspect, such as sociofacts and artifacts.⁷ Kuhn correlates these aspects in this definition: "Culture is both a body of content and a set of relationships".⁸ The definition used in this study has been offered by Kroeber and Kluckhohn as it seems to encompass the total nature of culture.

Culture consists of patterns explicit and implicit, of and for behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts. The essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values.⁹

The authors of these definitions are unanimous in the opinion that culture is dependent upon man's unique ability "to symbol". This

is the ability to attach meaning to a thing or event and, at a later date, reproduce and/or recall the appropriate thing or event with its attached meaning.¹⁰ Though Kuhn and White agree that culture is produced and perpetuated only by human species, they differ somewhat in their interpretation of the role of man in the "system of culture."

The system of culture consists of those relationships that make it possible to create a society, to pass on this accumulated knowledge and to continue its cumulative growth.¹¹ White sees the elements of culture as both supra-biological and extra-somatic, supra-biological in that the elements of culture being transmitted by symboling fall outside the realm of being biologically passed on from generation to generation; extra-somatic in the sense that once it comes into existence and is established, culture exists and behaves as an entity unto itself and individuals affect it from outside as do meteorological forces.¹² It is Kuhn's opinion, on the other hand, and that of this writer, that although an individual is born into a culture and is inculcated into that culture, he and all other individuals exert influence on and can initiate change upon the body of culture.¹³ Out of this, Kuhn has simply explained the relationship between culture and society by stating that a society "is any group of people having a common body and system of culture."¹⁴ There are several reasons why a society would have a common body and system of culture. First of all, when conditions under which many people acquire behavior are similar, parallel learning occurs which results in similar behavior.

Secondly, since culture is transmitted by means of education, each generation transmits to the next the cultural habits which it has found satisfying and adaptive. Finally, society both explicitly and implicitly imposes social controls on the members of its society to conform to those standards of behavior which are considered correct and appropriate.¹⁵

A fundamental characteristic of culture that must be understood is that, despite its essentially conservative nature, it does change over time.¹⁶ It is man's ability to symbol that has made culture cumulative and changeable. Culture, because it is supra-biological, is learned rather than inherited and individuals learn the culture of their society through precisely the same mechanisms, as those involved in all behavior formation.¹⁷

Assuming validity in the assumption that "sport is primarily a cultural product and must be understood as such",¹⁸ the Canadianization of intercollegiate football in the C.I.R.F.U. from 1897 to 1921 is seen as a cultural change. In fact, for the purposes of this investigation, "Canadianization" is defined as the cultural-change processes that actually transform an entity and/or the perceptions of said entity, to become accepted or acknowledged as Canadian.

Murdock¹⁹ has assumed that all changes within societies go through four processes: innovation, social acceptance, selective elimination and integration. It must be remembered that cultural change, and, by definition, "Canadianization", are functions of

time and, therefore, ongoing processes. Because these processes are critical to the analysis of Canadianization they will now be expounded upon.

The first process of the cultural-change processes is innovation, of which there are four varieties. Innovation occurs when an individual forms a new behavior or conception expressed symbolically that is subsequently accepted or learned by other members of his society.

One form of innovation is variation. This represents a slight modification of a pre-existing habitual behavior or conceptions due to the pressure of gradually changing circumstances. Variation occurs at all times in all cultures. The individual increments of change may be so slight that they are almost imperceptible but over a long period of time may be quite significant.

The transfer of elements of habitual behavior and conceptions surrounding the behavior from one situational context to another, or their synthesis, is called invention. This form of innovation is dependent upon the existing body of culture. For this reason, in similar cultures parallel inventions are frequent and when creative people are present in such cultures they are almost inevitable.

Tentation, a third form of innovation, is important in that, unlike the previous types, it may give rise to elements which are totally different from things in the past. The mechanism by which tentation operates is trial and error. When situations arise that require a solution individuals ordinarily try to use existing responses or var-

ations of them. When these prove ineffectual they resort to random behavior at which time they may accidentally strike upon a solution. Once known, the solution may be incorporated into that culture if it is found to be socially acceptable.

The last type of innovation, but certainly not the least utilized or of least importance, is cultural borrowing or diffusion. Indeed, the majority of the elements in any culture are the result of diffusion. Its prominence throughout the cultures of the world is not surprising when examined more closely. When a society finds itself in a dilemma without a ready solution of its own, the borrowing of a tried and tested remedy to a similar problem from another culture is, in the majority of cases, more economical and the chances of its success are much higher than those of any random and untested innovation of another type.

Diffusion is dependent upon contact. In diffusion the innovator is not the originator of a new element in his culture but its introducer. Supposing the other factors to be equal, the extent of diffusion between cultures is proportionate to the intensity and duration of social intercourse between the societies involved. This need not always be personal contact but can be accomplished through cultural products, symbolic or otherwise, received through trade. For the most part, however, cultural borrowing is carried out between societies who are immediate neighbors. In such situations, contact is more intimate and of a longer duration and it is likely that the receiving society

has some of the elements involved in the new innovation already present in its own culture. The greater the degree of similarity between cultures, the more cultural borrowing is facilitated.

The need and incentive that motivates a society to look to other cultures for assistance is essential in all types of innovation. Once a solution from another culture has been suggested it will be accepted only if it can prove itself by solving the problem or filling the need. In most instances the element borrowed from another culture is modified by the society adopting it to best solve the particular need for which it was sought.

The innovation has to be socially shared and accepted by others to eventually become part of culture. This social acceptance is the second process of cultural change. The degree to which an innovation is socially accepted may be determined by the number of people who accept and utilize the change. The mechanisms involved in social acceptance are much the same as those mentioned in discussing cultural borrowing, the difference being that social acceptance deals with internal diffusion, while cultural borrowing deals with external diffusion of the innovations.

A factor of considerable importance in social acceptance is the prestige of the innovator and of the group who first adopt his innovation. If those of high esteem within the society are first to imitate him, the chances of the innovation being socially accepted are much greater than if the group were of low esteem.

The third process of cultural change is selective elimination. Once an innovation has been socially accepted it has to be put into practice to see whether it is more satisfactory than the other alternatives present. Innovations do not compete directly with one another but are competitively tested in the experience of those who put them into practice. The evaluation of the innovation is oftentimes decided indirectly by the victory or loss of one group over the other. These groups may be composed of people with contrasting behavior patterns and values which in turn affect how the innovation is conceptualized and manifested.

Integration is the fourth and last process of cultural change. Once an innovation has been socially accepted and has stood the test of selective elimination, it continues on the road of cultural change by being integrated into the culture. Integration too is ongoing as the constituents of the common culture are constantly in a state of flux. They are continually changing in their degree of social acceptance, constantly competing for their survival, as well as being progressively adopted to one another to form an integrated whole. Total and complete integration is never fully realized. For the purposes of this study, when an innovation, whether actual and/or conceptual, is being integrated by the C.I.R.F.U., it is said to be Canadianized. It is important to realize, being ongoing, that the various processes involved in "Canadianization" are not always clearly demarcated but flow into each other. The period of time which elapses between the

initial acceptance of an innovation and its final readjustments during integration has been aptly called "cultural lag".

The definitions of culture have made it clear that it is composed of two major constituents, the first being conceptions or ideas, and the second being products of the first (i.e. behavior, sociofacts and artifacts). It follows, if the Canadianization of intercollegiate football in Ontario and Quebec is an example of cultural change, then proper analysis of the phenomenon would entail the examination of both the actual cultural product, the game itself, and the conceptual elements surrounding the game. Sport provides a classification system where such an analysis is possible. As it is impossible to analyze actual thoughts inferences must be drawn from symbolic accounts of the conceptions surrounding sport. Both quantitative and qualitative analysis may be carried out on such symbolic representations of the conceptual aspect of intercollegiate football as the stated values surrounding the sport. Values are seen as abstract ideals representing a person's or an organization's beliefs about ideal modes of conduct, as well as motives for, and expected terminal goals accrued from, exhibiting such conduct. If the behavior of those involved, both directly and indirectly with the playing of sport, always paralleled their stated values further investigation would not be necessary. This, however, is not the case, thus making the analysis of accounts of the same people's behavior requisite if an accurate representation of the true situation is to be ascertained.

To facilitate the solving of the problem by providing guidelines for research, several directional propositions were established regarding the influence of behavior and values on the Canadianization of intercollegiate football:

1. That the behavior and values of the spectators towards sport in Canada positively affected the Canadianization of intercollegiate football.
2. That the behavior and values of the players towards sport in Canada positively affected the Canadianization of intercollegiate football.
3. That the behavior and values of the coaches towards sport in Canada positively affected the Canadianization of intercollegiate football.
4. That the behavior and values of the examined organizational bodies towards sport in Canada positively affected the Canadianization of intercollegiate football.

Preliminary research indicated that the English and the Americans were major factors affecting the Canadianization of intercollegiate football in Ontario and Quebec. The degree of this influence will be ascertained relative to their affect on the conceptual and behavioral indicators mentioned above. To assist this evaluation the following directional propositions were constituted:

5. That decreased English influence positively affected the Canadianization of intercollegiate football.
6. That increased American influence negatively affected the Canadianization of intercollegiate football.

A problem that is inherent when attempting to label entities (i.e. Canadian or non-Canadian), either real or conceptual, is the selection of an accurate classification system. Kuhn noted the impor-

tance of this when he remarked:

'Same' and 'different' are not characteristic of things but of the classification system, the observer, and the purpose at hand, and any two things in the universe can be classified as 'same' and 'different' depending upon the circumstances.²⁰

In the definition of "Canadianization" it is suggested that both actual entities and perceptions go through the various processes of the cultural-change if they are to become accepted or acknowledged as Canadian. In fact the last and major directional proposition is:

7. That for various elements of the suggested factors to have a lasting affect on the Canadianization of intercollegiate football they have to go through the processes of cultural-change.

An important aspect of the definition is that it lessens the importance of the distributive factor of "same" or "different" in the specific classification system of intercollegiate football. The concern doesn't lie in the finite decision of whether or not something is like or unlike something else, but rather, whether or not it is accepted or acknowledged as being Canadian. The notable difference is that an entity can in actuality be either the "same" or "different" as that of another culture and still be accepted or perceived to be Canadian. This study then, is an attempt to analyze what exactly established an entity as being Canadian. Though specific to intercollegiate football, the nature of sport established the thesis' relevance to Canadian culture as a whole.

Delimitations

In order to facilitate the development of a study of manageable

subject matter and scope in an area of interest as vast as the nature of Canadian sporting culture, several delimitations have necessarily been made. Preliminary research indicated that various factors such as values and behavior, foreign influence (both direct and indirect), technological advancement, urban-industrial development, and climate, all influenced the development of sport in Canada. As the intent of this study is to examine the Canadianization of intercollegiate football as an element of culture it was deemed necessary to consider both the actual and conceptual nature of intercollegiate football. For this reason the factors of values and behavior, and foreign influence were chosen to be examined in depth as they were seen to be intrinsic in developing the nature of Canadian sport, whereas the other factors, although they affected sport, did so from a more external perspective. Of the ~~countries~~ or their people that influenced the development of sport in Canada, Great Britain and the United States were the only ones that contributed to the development of Canadian intercollegiate rugby football and thus investigation of foreign influence was delimited to these groups. As the French Canadian involvement in rugby football was negligible only material written in English will be examined. An evaluation of the influence of Great Britain (especially England) and the United States on Canadian intercollegiate football necessitates a general knowledge of English Rugby and American football. Due to the magnitude of such a task, and to attempt to ensure the relevance of information, only secondary

sources dealing with these forms of football from 1871 to 1921 will be reviewed.

Several spatial and temporal delimitations were also imposed in the attempt to assure manageability of the study. Spatially, Ontario and Quebec were chosen because it was within these provinces that the university teams that first organized and led the way in the development of Canadian intercollegiate football were located. Temporally, 1897 was chosen as the commencement of the study because on November 24 of that year, the Canadian Intercollegiate Rugby Football Union, the first Canadian organization set up to regulate competition in Canadian rugby football exclusively amongst intercollegiate participants, was founded. The cessation of the study, 1921, marked the year in which the C.I.R.F.U. adopted two very important rules in shaping the game that is known as Canadian football today. The rules were the reduction of the team to twelve players and the introduction of the snap-back system. With the exception of the introduction of the forward pass in 1931, the Canadian game has changed relatively little since 1921. As well, this was the first year in Canadian football that a uniform code was used by the various unions throughout the Dominion.

Due to the sheer mass of material which would accrue if all the members of the C.I.R.F.U. were examined (the University of Toronto, Varsity, and McGill University), two of the dominant charter members and innovative leaders of the union have been selected as subjects for

a case study approach.

During the period delimited, the C.I.R.F.U., had, in addition to a senior division, an intermediate division throughout, and after 1905, a junior division as well. Only the senior teams of the sampled universities will be examined as all the divisions played under the same rules, they usually practiced together, and until later years had the same coach. The lower divisions were designed, in part, to function as a feeder system for the senior squads. In addition, only the senior teams were playing for the opportunity of winning the Yates Cup.

Methods and Procedures

Based on the assumption that sport is a part and indicator of culture, the examination of the Canadianization of intercollegiate football in Ontario and Quebec from 1897 to 1921 will be undertaken on two levels: the major constituents of culture, those being the conceptual; and the products of the conceptual, the actual. Of the two major delimited factors analyzed in relation to their effect on the evolution of Canadian intercollegiate football, the first, values and behavior, fall neatly into the conceptual and actual levels respectively. The second factor, that of influence from Great Britain and the United States, can be seen affecting both levels and thus the first factor as well. Relating now the two levels of examination to Canadian intercollegiate football, the written and stated values, and the rules of the game give the best possible indication of the conceptual level surrounding the sport.

The second level of examination, the actual (as manifested by the behavior of those both directly and indirectly involved with Canadian intercollegiate football) is indicated by the written reports of the nature and form of the games and practices as well as the rules. When a sport is conducted in accordance with the rules governing the sport, they are perhaps the most informative material a scholar has at his disposal concerning the form of that sport. The written reports of the games and practices also indicate the perceptions of those directly and indirectly involved with collegiate football concerning these matters. Thus, insight is obtained into the first level of examination, the conceptual, by analyzing material concerning the second level of examination, its products such as behavior.

The changes in the two levels of examination, or cultural constituents, related to Canadian intercollegiate football during the period under discussion, will also be examined in relation to the cultural change processes outlined by Murdock. Specific use of the terminology used by Murdock in describing the four cultural changes processes will generally not be included in the text of Chapter III and IV. Rather, the changes in the various rules, values, and behavior associated with Canadian intercollegiate football will be incorporated in a more general historical overview of the subject. Where it is felt that specific reference to Murdock's processes is necessary to clarify or accentuate a certain point, such information will be footnoted.

Chapter II will provide a brief description of the origin and devel-

ment of intercollegiate football in Ontario and Quebec prior to the formation of the C.I.R.F.U. The interaction between Canadian and American teams will be noted, as well as the mutual borrowing of aspects of each other's games, and the divergence of the two forms until they became so different that the international contests virtually ceased.

Chapter III will furnish a rather in-depth analysis of the changes in the rules and the form of the game of intercollegiate football in the C.I.R.F.U. from 1898 to 1921. Concerning the conceptual level of examination, the question of why rules were accepted or rejected will be carefully analyzed with respect to both pragmatic and idealistic determinants. Also on the conceptual level, an attempt will be made to ascertain the perceptions of the various people and organizations involved with intercollegiate football regarding these rule changes and whether or not they perceived the game to be Canadian.

The rules and form of the game will also be scrutinized in regard to the second level of examination, the actual. The rules of the Canadian game will be compared with those of English Rugby in 1898 and American football throughout the period delimited, to assist in determining the origin of the various rules and rule changes that took place in the Canadian game. It must be pointed out that, if a rule appeared in one form of rugby and later appeared in one of the other forms, it will not be automatically assumed that the second form borrowed the rule from the first. The comparison of the rules was greatly facilitated

by the compilation of Appendix A.

As thoughts can not be analyzed directly, the investigation of the concepts surrounding Canadian intercollegiate football will necessitate analysis in both levels of examination. This will be done in Chapter IV. The stated values surrounding the sport will serve as the indicator of the conceptual examination phase. Such analysis will be directed in a manner to determine the players', coaches', spectators', and organizations' stated motives for their involvement in the sport and the degree of influence Great Britain and the United States had in the shaping of these values. To accomplish this, both English and American sporting ideals will be outlined and perhaps more importantly, so will the Canadian perceptions of these ideals. The second level of examination, the actual, will analyze whether or not the behavior of the players, coaches, spectators, and organizations involved, is consistent with their expressed values and if not with whose were they most in line.

Chapter V will constitute the conclusion of the study bringing together the conclusions made in Chapters III and IV to explain the Canadianization of intercollegiate football in Ontario and Quebec from 1897 to 1921. From these conclusions inferences will be made concerning the general nature of what establishes an entity as being, or not being, considered Canadian. Recommendations for further study will also be offered.

FOOTNOTES

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³Günther Lüschen, "The Interdependence of Sport and Culture," in The Cross-Cultural Analysis of Sport and Games, ed. Günther Lüschen (Champaign, Illinois: Stipes Publishing Company, 1970), p. 87.

⁴Frederick W. Cozens and Florence S. Stumpf, Sport in American Life (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), p. 2.

⁵Alan Metcalfe, "Sport in Nineteenth Century England: an Interpretation", (A paper presented at the Second World Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education, Banff, Alberta, 1971), p. 55.

⁶Lüschen, op. cit., p. 86.

⁷Leslie A. White, The Science of Culture A Study of Man and Civilization (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1949), pp. 139-40.

⁸Alfred Kuhn, The Study of Society a Unified Approach (Homewood, Illinois: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., and The Dorsey Press, Inc., 1963) p. 205.

⁹A. L. Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn, Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions, Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, 47:3-223 (1952), p. 186.

¹⁰Kuhn, op. cit., p. 210; Leslie A. White, The Evolution of Culture, (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1959), p. 3.

¹¹Kuhn, op. cit., p. 205.

¹²White, The Science of Culture, p. 122.

¹³Kuhn, op. cit., p. 206.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 212

¹⁵George Peter Murdock, "How Culture Changes", in Man, Culture, and Society, ed. Harry L. Shapiro (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), p. 248


¹⁶Ibid., p. 247

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Frederickson, op. cit., p. 636.

¹⁹The following description of the cultural change processes was paraphrased from, Murdock, op. cit., pp. 250-60.

²⁰Kuhn, op. cit., p. 212.



CHAPTER II

INTERCOLLEGIATE RUGBY FOOTBALL IN ONTARIO AND QUEBEC PRIOR TO THE FORMATION OF THE CANADIAN INTERCOLLEGIATE RUGBY FOOTBALL UNION

The exact date and location of rugby football's introduction into Canada is not certain, but its place of origin and the nationality of those who brought it across the Atlantic to the shores of North America is. The renowned R. Tait McKenzie reported that it was introduced into Canada by the officers of the English troops stationed in Montreal.¹ Sturrock in his work "A History of Rugby Football in Canada" contends that the credit "probably belongs to the British settlers who arrived from 1823 onwards. . . . or to the members of the Royal Navy who were stationed at Halifax and Esquimalt naval bases."² At any rate it seems that the first game of which any authentic account was made took place in 1865 at Montreal between the officers of the regiments garrisoned there and a civilian team comprized of nearly all graduates and undergraduates of McGill University.³

This McGill team continued playing matches with the regimental troops and the game grew in popularity amongst the civilians until in 1868 it was necessary for the team to divide. The Montreal Football Club was formed and shortly thereafter followed the Brittanias. All

three teams played on the University campus and when a team from a rival city came to Montreal an all-star club was chosen from the three to represent the city. A keen rivalry soon emerged between the college and city teams and many a hard fought encounter was contested at what was then the great football event, the annual Town and Gown match.⁴

In 1873 the students of McGill were playing under the "Rules of the Game" codified on October 25, 1871, by rugby enthusiasts in England, and a year later had developed a hybrid set of rules.⁵ Eager to put their new rules to the test, Captain David Rodger of McGill initiated a very significant occasion in the history of football in North America when in 1874 he challenged Harvard to a home and home game series "to demonstrate the English game as played in Canada."⁶ The challenge aroused a great enthusiasm at Harvard but the faculty refused to allow the players to leave Cambridge for fear they might "lose their scalps or fail their examinations."⁷ Harvard countered with the suggestion that both games be played at Cambridge, which Captain Rodger promptly accepted. The first game played under Harvard's rules, with a round ball, commenced at 4:00 p.m., May 14, on Jarvis Field in the presence of a large crowd of collegians who paid fifty cents each to witness Harvard defeat McGill by the score of 3 to 0.⁸ The game the following day was to be played under the Canadian Code. This meant the use of the regulation oval ball, but due to unknown circumstances the McGill ball was missing and a search throughout Boston for a replacement came to no avail. The game went on as scheduled

but the strangeness of the round ball proved to be a cause of difficulty to McGill who were nevertheless more adept at getting the ball out of the scrum.⁹ Amidst cheers of approval from the spectators the first intercollegiate game of rugby football played in the United States ended in a scoreless tie.¹⁰

The editor of Harvard's Magenta somewhat prophetically wrote in his review of the game, "Football will be a popular game here in the future. The Rugby game is in much better favor than the somewhat sleepy game now played by our men."¹¹ By 1875 Harvard had abandoned its old game for Rugby. Within a short time, rules which McGill introduced were so altered that the game played in the United States hardly resembled English or Canadian rugby. In fact, the annual Harvard versus McGill match was discontinued after 1883 because of the great differences which existed with reference to holding the ball, off-side and the number of players.¹² Sport historian Guy Lewis pointed out that, in spite of the American's game rapid development of a character of its own, "the fact still remains that without Canadian influence the basic style of play would have been to advance the ball by kicking rather than running with it."¹³

During this embryonic stage in the development of rugby football in Quebec, it was played only by a few men in Ontario. Of these the majority learned the game at the major preparatory schools: Upper Canada College, Bishop Ridley's College, and Trinity College at Port Hope before coming to the University of Toronto or venturing out of

the province to McGill.¹⁴ The remainder who knew the game before entering university were exposed to rugby in the Public Schools of the "Old Country" before emigrating to Canada. One such man was Mr. J. H. Mayne Campbell who introduced the English Rugby Union rules at the University of Toronto in 1877 and captained Varsity's first rugby team. He first played the English game at school at Loretto, near Edinburgh, Scotland.¹⁵

Varsity, like McGill, played their first intercollegiate match against American opponents. In 1879, the Varsity squad travelled to Detroit to play a team from the University of Michigan. The game resulted in a tie score and an invitation from Varsity for a return match the following year. On November 6, 1880, at the Jarvis Street Lacrosse Grounds, Canadian rugby fans were given their first exposure to a new open form of rugby football. The Michigan team, instead of lining up in the conventional scrum, lined up with their forwards in a single line across the field and the ball was snapped back with the foot to their backs which stood behind the line awaiting the ball. Although The Mail reporter was not impressed with the new style of play, saying it "neither had the advantage of strict football like the Association game, nor the brilliant runs and scrimmages of the old Rugby", this innovation led the way in revolutionizing the North American forms of English rugby.¹⁶ By 1882 the traditional scrum of the English game was abolished in Canada in favor of the three-man scrum with the accompanying provision that the centre being in

possession of the ball would put it down in front of him and endeavor to heel it back to his quarter.¹⁷ T. A. Reed was to say of this revision of the rules concerning possession that it "was by far the most radical change ever introduced into Canadian football and eventually was responsible for the almost complete evolution of the game away from its original English Rugger background."¹⁸

Intercollegiate football between Canadian teams began in 1881 when McGill journeyed to Toronto and there defeated Varsity. From then until the first season of play in the C.I.R.F.U. in 1898, with the exceptions of 1890, 1893, 1895, and 1896, they competed alternately at each other's grounds.¹⁹ The home team usually won but the visitors were treated hospitably as guests and entertained as such. The matches brought the students of the two universities together at least once a year and the cordial relationships that resulted almost entirely negated "that hard feeling which induces men to win by fair means or foul."²⁰

In addition to these intercollegiate matches, McGill played Queen's University, Ottawa College, and the Royal Military College quite often during the years prior to the formation of the C.I.R.F.U.²¹ When provincial organizations came into being in Ontario and Quebec the universities which were to become the charter members of the senior division of the C.I.R.F.U., became affiliated with the Union in their respective provinces; the University of McGill with the Quebec Rugby Football Union (Q.R.F.U.) founded in February of

1882,²² while the University of Toronto together with Queen's University were allied to the Ontario Rugby Football Union (O.R.F.U.) organized on January 6, 1883.²³

After the 1897 season, these universities terminated their affiliation with the provincial unions and became the senior division of the then formed Canadian Intercollegiate Rugby Football Union.

When rugby football was first played in Canada those associated with the game had already integrated into the sub-culture to which belonged both the rules of the game and the values surrounding English sport. These people were essentially from either the British Military, the Public Schools, or universities of England or the preparatory schools or institutions of higher learning in Canada.²⁴ As a result the game changed relatively little until it was introduced to the United States in 1874. The subsequent evolution of two forms, so different that it essentially terminated play between the countries, logically indicates that there were differences in the type and/or magnitude of the factors affecting the game in each country. It is suggested that resultant differences in the games are in part due to and reflect distinct national cultures. The Americans' unfamiliarity with English Rugby or the unwritten code of English athleticism found the "Rules of the Game"²⁵ ambiguous and unsatisfactory. To overcome this they developed a code that outlined precise procedures and a number of critical innovations that made the game "adaptable to social character and mood of the adapters."²⁶ When these innovations were

brought to Canada by visiting American teams the ones thought to be desirable were culturally borrowed and modified to suit the Canadian needs. In addition the desire of the universities to terminate their affiliation with city teams would suggest differences between these groups as well. The following chapters will explore in considerable depth the rules and form, the values and behavior associated with Canadian intercollegiate football in an attempt to clarify these and other matters concerned with its "Canadianization".

FOOTNOTES

¹R. Tait McKenzie, "Rugby Football in Canada," in Dominion Illustrated Monthly, Vol. I (February, 1892), p. 12.

²Douglas Norman Sturrock, "A History of Rugby Football in Canada," (Unpublished M.A. thesis; University of Alberta, 1971), p. 16.

³McKenzie, op. cit., p. 12.

⁴R. Tait McKenzie, "Athletics at McGill," (Unpublished paper, 1891), pp. 10-11.

⁵Allan Eaton Cox, "A History of Sports in Canada, 1868 to 1900," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1969), p. 96.

⁶T. A. Reed, The Blue and White (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1944), p. 80.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Parke H. Davis, The American Intercollegiate Game (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911), pp. 25-29.

⁹Reed, op. cit.

¹⁰Davis, op. cit., p. 64.

¹¹Guy Lewis, "Canadian Influence on American Collegiate Sports," in Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education, Vol. I, No. 2 (December, 1970), p. 8.

¹²McKenzie, "Athletics at McGill," p. 11, 12.

¹³Lewis, op. cit., p. 7.

¹⁴1898 Torontonesis (University of Toronto Yearbook), p. 180.

¹⁵Reed, op. cit., p. 86.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 87.

¹⁷Frank Cosentino, Canadian Football: The Grey Cup Years (Toronto: The Musson Book Company Limited, 1969), p. 14.

- ¹⁸ Reed, op. cit., p. 81.
- ¹⁹ Ibid., p. 90.
- ²⁰ McKenzie, "Athletics at McGill," p. 12.
- ²¹ Ibid.
- ²² Spalding's Athletic Library, Official Canadian Football Guide - 1910 (Montreal: Canadian Sports Publishing Company Limited, 1910), p. 55.
- ²³ Ibid., p. 35.
- ²⁴ See Chapter IV, pp. 130-31.
- ²⁵ The "Rules of the Game" of the English Rugby game were codified in 1871. See O. L. Owen, The History of the Rugby Football Union (London: Playfair Books, Ltd., 1955), pp. 65-72.
- ²⁶ David Reisman and Reuel Denney, "Football in America: A Study in Cultural Diffusion," Individualism Reconsidered (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1954), p. 248.

CHAPTER III

THE CANADIANIZATION OF THE RULES AND FORM OF FOOTBALL IN THE C.I.R.F.U.

FROM 1898 TO 1921

When attempting a comparative analysis between sporting forms of various countries perhaps the most objective classification system at a scholar's disposal are the rules of play of each sport. The rules in varying degrees both explicitly and implicitly state the form of the game and the conduct expected of the participants. By so doing the rules generally reflect the stated values concerning sport held by the culture in which the sport is participated. The rules of the C.I.R.F.U. thus may be seen as one form of symbolic manifestation of the values and desired behavior surrounding Canadian intercollegiate football in Ontario and Quebec. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the rules affecting the form of the game as played in the C.I.R.F.U. from 1898 to 1921 in an attempt to gain further understanding of the Canadianization processes which intercollegiate football in Ontario and Quebec underwent.

The analysis of the rules of the C.I.R.F.U. will take on a tri-lateral approach. The first consideration will be the rules that existed in 1898, the first season of the union. An attempt will be

made to see how many of these rules were uniquely Canadian, and if not, from which country they were adopted. Secondly, it will be important to know from where the rule changes over the period examined did evolve and for what reasons the various suggested changes were accepted or rejected. Thirdly, and perhaps the most enlightening facet of the analysis of the rules, will attempt to determine how the changes that occurred were perceived by those directly and indirectly involved with the playing of the sport.¹

To add clarity to the analysis of the problem it is expedient to consider Canada's unique position with regard to Great Britain and the United States. Canada did not achieve nationhood due to a strong desire to unify, but rather as a result of the rejection of the American Declaration of Independence and Great Britain's refusal to continue various responsibilities for her autonomous North American provinces.² From her inception in 1867 Canada has been in the perplexing situation of being strongly influenced by these two major world powers while trying to achieve a distinctive Canadian culture. Great Britain's ties have tended to be of the historical and political nature, while the United States' influence lies primarily in its geographic proximity and its financial prominence.³

R. Tait McKenzie's article published in 1892 entitled "Rugby Football in Canada", gave insight into the affect her "unique position" had on rugby football in Canada. McKenzie related both the strong historical and cultural ties Canada had with England when he remarked,

"In its growth in Canada the game has never departed very far from the English customs. . .⁴ as well as quantifying the impact of the American game on ours as being "great":

More importantly, however, McKenzie revealed that Canadians perceived their game as having not only "characteristics peculiarly Canadian", but also being of superior quality. He recounted two occasions when deputations had been sent to witness games in the United States with a view of changing the Canadian rules to make the games more alike, and in both instances they were "unanimously of the opinion that the American style of play is in no way superior to their own Rugby game."⁵ They were not about to suggest the adoption of the American confined and close system of football that they felt all but eliminated the "fine punting, nice passing, fleet running or in fact any of the pretty plays that go to make Canadian football what it is."⁶

Well aware that changes in the game would nevertheless occur and that the influences of England and the United States would continue to bring pressure to bear upon Canadian rugby, McKenzie posed an interesting and important query: "As the game is now possibly in a transition state, the question arises will Canada follow the English or American style?"⁷

An article called "The Characteristics of Canadian Football", appearing in the December 1895 issue of Outing gave an indication of what was happening to rugby football in Canada with regard to R. Tait McKenzie's question:

In Canada, we have adopted a middle course, and, by so doing, appear to have escaped the faults, while we have retained the advantages of each system.

The article typified the Canadian game as being "less complex" than the American while "abounding in combined skill and team play unknown to English experts."⁹

As the 1897 season opened, the Canadian people were evincing more interest in rugby football than in previous years and the prospects looked bright in every part of the Dominion where football was played.¹⁰ McGill and Varsity were to renew their rivalry after a two year interlude and a large crowd was expected to watch the confrontation.¹¹ The game, played on November 2, was uninteresting and did not live up to the fans' expectations, as it consisted solely of close and heavy play. The pretty passing and open play appreciated by the spectators were seldom seen and McGill defeated Varsity 5 to 2.¹²

The following week after the McGill-Ottawa College game, the Montreal Daily Star expressed its disdain at the style of rugby being employed by the Canadian teams. It accused them of using heavy massed plays, bucking the line and using the quarter to make gains. "Is Rugby going American?" they asked. This American style was said to be not as pretty to watch and of questionable worth in gaining ground when compared to the conventional means of using the backs to carry the ball.¹³

As the season progressed, the universities in the Quebec and

Ontario Unions became increasingly dissatisfied with the way things were being run and they began to make arrangements to organize a league "in which only bona fide students of Canadian Universities will take part."¹⁴

On November 24, 1897, delegates from the Universities of Toronto, McGill, Queen's, and Trinity, the Royal Military College, and Osgoode Hall met at the Frontenac Hotel in Kingston. There a new era was inaugurated in rugby football in Canada, when they formed the Canadian Intercollegiate Rugby Football Union.¹⁵ Messrs. N. Grace and G. T. Alley, President and manager respectively of the McGill Rugby Football Club ably represented McGill. The delegates chosen to represent the University of Toronto were John G. Inkster, manager of the senior team and Alex J. MacKenzie, one of the finest wing men on the Varsity squad. Queen's was represented by their senior team manager, Mr. Jos. M. Parker, and a fine player, W. F. Nickle.¹⁶ Surprisingly Ottawa College was not represented.

Ottawa's grounds for not entering the proposed union according to a letter from their secretary was due to financial concerns and the other clubs' objections to their playing graduates of more than one year.¹⁷

Of the schools represented, all joined except Osgoode Hall who were unwilling to commit themselves until they consulted with their club.

The remaining five institutions divided themselves into senior and intermediate divisions with McGill, Toronto, and Queen's comprising the former and the Royal Military College, Queen's, Trinity College,

and Toronto, the latter. It was agreed to send Ottawa College the particulars of the meeting and once again extend an invitation to join.¹⁸

Several methods of play were suggested by the delegates, the most radical being proposed by John Grampian Inkster of Varsity. He recommended the union follow the American rule of gaining a certain amount of ground from a scrimmage or be penalized.¹⁹ This, however, was rejected by the other institutions. What was accepted were the "Rules of the Game" which were adopted by the Canadian Rugby Union (C.R.U.) in December, 1896, with the provision that the Executive had the authority to act at their discretion on any changes made to them by the C.R.U.²⁰

Analysis of the rules of the various forms of intercollegiate rugby football played in England, United States, and Canada in 1898 make apparent a number of distinct features in the Canadian game. Perhaps the most obvious unique feature was the size of the playing field. The Canadian field was 110 yards long with additional 25 yard end zones with a width of 195 feet. The English field was the same length but was 30 feet wider. These fields of play were both marked off with touch lines, goal lines, and dead ball lines. The American field while being 30 feet shorter and 35 feet narrower than the Canadian also did not have specified end zones or dead ball lines. The goal posts for each form of the game were basically the same except that the upright posts in the North American forms had to be 20 feet in height while England's only had to exceed 11 feet.²¹ The extra length and width

of the Canadian field over the American was a factor in the Canadian games' more open style of play. It gave the teams more room to implement the end runs and combination passing plays which were so appreciated and enjoyed by the Canadian spectators and players alike.

Another fundamental difference which existed was the number of players on a team. Both Canada and England played with fifteen men a side while the United States only had eleven.²²

One of the greatest departures from English Rugby to evolve in the North American forms of the game was the development of the line of scrimmage. The rules of the C.I.R.F.U. did not specify any required number of men that had to be on the line of scrimmage although it was customary when on offense to have ten men on the line.²³

The intercollegiate rules in the United States stipulated that at least four men be on the line. In England the conventional "scrummage" consisting of eight players was still in use.²⁴

The most significant innovation that arose from the development of the line of scrimmage was that the method of putting the ball in play was so altered that it made its possession of immense importance in North American rugby. The method employed in the C.I.R.F.U. was a somewhat middle of the road approach between the English method of placing the ball in the middle of the scrum so either team could endeavor to kick or control the ball, and the American method where a member of the side in possession could either put the ball in play by kicking it or snapping it back with their hand

or hands to a player on their side, usually the quarter-back. In the C.I.R.F.U. the team in possession put the ball into play by having any member of its team move the ball in any direction with his foot.²⁵

The usual procedure followed was for the centre scrummager to attempt to heel the ball back to his quarter-back.

For the three forms of rugby football examined, the victor of a match was decided by the majority of points scored. The system of scoring used by the C.I.R.F.U. in 1898 also exhibited characteristics peculiar to Canada.

The rouge was a one point score awarded only in Canadian rugby football. It was most commonly awarded to the opposition; when a player obtained possession of the ball and touched it down in his own goal after it was propelled there by the opposition, or when the ball having last been touched by the opposition touched or rolled over the dead ball line, usually as the result of a kick into the end zone. On less frequent occasions a rouge was awarded when the ball or a player of either side having possession of it went in touch-in-goal, or when a foul was made in goal. In the American game when the same situations occurred as were first noted in awarding a rouge in the Canadian game or when the ball was touched inside the defending teams ten yard line by an offside player, a touchback was awarded. This touchback held no point value. This single point score proved to be a major factor in the difference in the type and worth associated with the kicking portion of the North American forms, a difference

that has remained to the present day.²⁶

The safety, a two point score, was unique to the Canadian and American forms. It was awarded when the ball was touched down in the possession of a player in his own goal having been kicked, carried, or passed there by himself or someone else on his side.²⁷

The try, though common to all forms had a unique point value in the Canadian game. It was worth 4 points, while in America it was worth 5 and in English Rugby it held a value of 3 points. It was awarded in all three forms for basically the same act of being in possession of the ball and downing it in the opponent's goal. If a try was obtained the opportunity to attempt a try-for-goal was awarded in all three forms. This was accomplished by bringing the ball into the field of play any distance the kicker wished, insuring that he remained the same distance from the touch line as where it was touched in goal. There it was placed down so it could be kicked at goal. If successful it counted 2 points in the Canadian and English forms and 1 in the American.²⁸

The score of highest point value in all three forms of rugby was the goal from field. Canada had, however, some unique innovations with regard to varieties of goals from field. In general a goal from field was awarded when the ball was kicked (except by a punt, flying-kick, kick-out, or kick-off) from the grounds over the cross-bar and between the posts of the opponent's goal. If during play a drop-kick was taken and met the aforementioned criteria 5 points were

awarded in the Canadian form, while English Rugby only allotted 4 points. If the goal from field was the result of a free-kick awarded because a fair catch was made, the goal was worth 4 points. The last variety occurred if the goal resulted, if the free-kick was awarded due to a penalty. Such a goal held a point value of 2, one less than a goal from field kicked in a similar situation would accrue in English Rugby. The United States did not differentiate types of goals from field, because penalties were allocated in loss of gain of yardage rather than free kicks as in Canada. Thus, whether from a drop-kick during play, or a place-kick, all goals from field counted 5 points.²⁹

Another aspect of the kicking game, the receiving of kicks, demonstrated both similarities and differences among the three forms of rugby analyzed. All three had the "fair catch" but the regulations concerning it varied slightly. In Canadian intercollegiate football, a fair catch was awarded when a player caught a kick direct from an opponent within the grounds, if he marked the spot where he caught the ball with his heel and none of his side touched the ball. The same procedure was basically followed in the English and American games except that the American player had to further indicate his intentions by holding up his hand. Once he had done this he could not run with the ball after he made the catch. In the Canadian and English form, the player waiting to make a fair catch was allowed a distance of five yards between himself and his opponents to make the catch. If this zone was violated the player automatically received a free-kick. In

the United States no yardage limit around the receiver of a kick was stipulated but he could not be obstructed by the opposition. In all forms, if a fair catch was made the catchers side was awarded a free-kick and in the American game they also had the option of scrimmaging the ball at the point of the catch.³⁰

From the definition of "Canadianization" it is evident that this study is concerned with both actuality and conceptions. The preceding analysis of the rules, which were critical in determining the influence of the English and American forms of rugby on the Canadian game provided concrete evidence of actual similarities and differences between the forms. The analysis, as was expected, made it apparent that by 1898 the American form of rugby football had evolved the farthest from the English Rugby and that Canadian intercollegiate rugby football fell between the two. Such evidence gives support to the generally held perception of the time that Canadian football was a blend of the desirable aspects of the English and American forms with enough original Canadian innovations to make the game "peculiarly Canadian."

The 1898 season of the Intercollegiate Rugby Football Union was viewed by some as "the greatest success of the year in the football world in Canada."³¹ The styles of play utilized by the teams in the union seemed to fall into two categories. The first was the traditional and popular fast combination passing and frequent kicking game. Varsity who had a light and fast aggregation suited for such a

style was the best exponents of this form.³² The second less conventional style was the heavy scrimmage game, employing such running plays as "screws" and "wedges", tactics in vogue in the United States. Queen's was the primary exponent of this style as Guy Curtis, its fine back, brought them back with him from a trip he was given to Princeton to see if he could pick up any new tricks.³³

This second style of play did not find favor with the spectators and when, on November 5, the Montreal fans had an opportunity to witness an American game played, the Gazette's report which followed was not surprising.

If that sort of play was not an absolute libel on the particular game we hear so much about, then the Canadian Rugby Union and the public generally have reason to congratulate themselves on not knowing much about it. Commend us to our own Rugby game. It is better in every sense of the term.³⁴

The article went on to comment that the game might have been regarded as an object lesson on the development of the interference play and that it was perhaps best that it was prohibited in the Canadian game. It further suggested that in spite of being illegal, interference tactics had unfortunately been unconsciously introduced by degrees, after knowing of Curtis' trip to Princeton it seems it was not as unconscious as appeared.³⁵

Queen's was not the only university borrowing American innovations. Varsity started using signals (first used in the United States in 1882)³⁶ to allocate different formations to its men and when Varsity held a "secret" practice behind closed doors at the Bloor Street

grounds to perfect their signal play the reporters were quite indignant about Varsity adopting "that method of doing business" in Canada.³⁷

Although Queen's defeated Varsity 5 to 4 on the last game of the season, Varsity's open style, "the most scientific Rugby ever seen in Canada" proved to be also the most successful.³⁸ Varsity as the result of its three win and one loss record became the premier recipient of the Yates Cup, emblematic of the senior division championship of the C.I.R.F.U.³⁹

The question of rule change is of central importance to the thesis because which rules were accepted or rejected and how they were perceived by the Canadian people determined to a great extent the degree to which the game of intercollegiate rugby football as played in Canada was accepted to be Canadian. This thesis suggests that proposed changes in the rules of the C.I.R.F.U. were accepted or rejected on two levels. Briefly stated, the institutions composing the C.I.R.F.U. appraised the suggested rule changes both idealistically and pragmatically, in appraising a suggested rule change idealistically, each institution would attempt to ascertain its compatibility with the institution's conception of what Canadian intercollegiate sport, specifically rugby football, should be. The pragmatic analysis was a predicted evaluation of exactly what effect the rule change would have on their team's ability to defeat the other teams and win the championship.

When an all-star contingent of Canadian footballers composed for the most part of collegians from Ontario, travelled to Buffalo, New York, to play on Thanksgiving Day 1898, two influential men in intercollegiate rugby football in Canada accompanied them. They were John G. Inkster, first President of the C.I.R.F.U. and manager of the University of Toronto Rugby Club, and J. T. M. Burnside, captain of the senior intercollegiate champion Varsity squad. The all-star Canadian club tested its mettle against an all-College team of Buffalo at the Athletic Club grounds, where they played two half hour games. The first game was played under American intercollegiate rules, the second under Canadian rugby rules. Both games were won easily by the Canadians - the first game umpired by "Thrift" Burnside 12 to 5, and the second 8 to 0.⁴⁰

These games, though insignificant in themselves, helped effectuate one of the most significant occurrences that took place in Canadian intercollegiate football, the formulation of what became known as the "Burnside Rules." When J. T. M. "Thrift" Burnside, a close student of the game, returned to Toronto, he compiled what he felt were the redeeming qualities of the American and Canadian codes, modified them, added innovations of his own and produced the Burnside Rules.⁴¹ No other set of rules to be proposed to the C.I.R.F.U. had as their intent or offered more of that which so typified the perception of Canadian rugby football by Canadians, than did the Burnside Rules. The chief motive of the rules seemed to be the re-establishment of those

appreciated qualities of open running, lofty punting, and fast play that R. Tait McKenzie said, "go to make Canadian football what it is,"⁴² while at the same time eliminating the disfavored element of the American game, the heavy massed plays that seemed to be encroaching upon the Canadian scene.⁴³ Jones in his dissertation "Sport in Canada 1900 to 1920", concurred with the great importance of Burnside's contribution to Canadian football.⁴⁴

The major tenets of the Burnside Rules were:

1. Reduction of the teams to twelve men.
2. Adoption of the snap-back system.
3. System of downs and gains -if team in three consecutive downs (unless ball crosses the goal line) has neither advanced the ball ten yards nor taken it back twenty yards it shall go the opponents on the spot of the third down.
4. No interference with opponents is allowed before the ball is put into play and no use of hands or arms by attacking side.⁴⁵

The University of Toronto Football Club were not slow to accept and endorse these rules of "Thrift" Burnside, the man they held in high esteem as being "the premier captain that the University has ever produced" as well as "a complete master of the science of the game."⁴⁶ If additional inducement was needed, a more creditable recommendation than that of John G. Inkster's "about the best known man at Varsity" reputed to be able to "talk up enough enthusiasm to create a cyclone," would have been difficult to find.⁴⁷ Already being on record as desiring the C.I.R.F.U. to adopt the down and gain rule, he was a staunch advocate of Burnside's new rules.⁴⁸ The Burnside Rules also had the full support of Professor J. F. McCurdy the

Honorary President of the Football Club and a member of the university's Athletic Directorate.⁴⁹

At a meeting held on January 25, 1899, the University of Toronto Football Club resolved that certain features of the game as authorized by the rules that existed in 1898 were undesirable. Varsity compiled a communication, which was sent to the other clubs of the union, that briefly outlined proposed changes and their rationale.

The first change suggested was the abolition of the heeling out method and the adoption of the snap-back by a centre man to put the ball into play. Varsity was of the opinion that both from the players and spectators standpoint the scrimmage was an extremely weak point of the game as played in 1898; too much was left to the discretion of the referee as to whether the ball was properly scrimmaged or not, and because of this there was no uniformity. Varsity fully realized that the adoption of the snap-back system would be "a great innovation" but Varsity was firmly convinced that the resultant improvement of the game would justify it.

Although holding was already a violation, except in a scrimmage or when an opponent had the ball, Varsity felt the game as played made the enforcement of the rule an impossibility. Their communication suggested this could be corrected by not allowing any interference with an opponent before the ball is put into play by disallowing the attacking side the use of their hands or arms at any time.

Varsity's final proposed change was the reduction of the number

of men on the team. These proposals if accepted, said the University of Toronto Football Club, would create sufficient changes in the game to secure the patronage of the public, lower team expenses, and thus generally improve the financial conditions of the clubs.⁵⁰

Beyond the financial aspect Varsity had other sound pragmatic bases for desiring the adoption of the Burnside Rules. Perhaps the most obvious was that the new rules were suited to their fast and light squad and, with Burnside being a Varsity man, who was in a better position to be instructed in the rudiments of the new rules than Varsity? Justifiably the other clubs used the same argument as a reason for rejecting the rules. Idealistically, Varsity asserted that it was endeavoring to preserve the fast open running and plentiful kicking game considered as being typically Canadian while at the same time attempting to eliminate the heavy mass play and interference tactics of the American game.⁵¹

This promotion of the Burnside Rules by Varsity brought to the fore a dichotomy of opinion concerning R. Tait McKenzie's query as to which style of rugby Canada should follow, English or American.

The McGill Football Club held a special meeting on February 14, 1899, to discuss Varsity's communication. That the then used scrimmage system was a weak point of the game and that the game was capable of improvement was not denied; what was questioned was whether the suggested rule changes would effectuate the desired outcome. McGill, rather than seeing the changes as a means of re-

establishing the Canadian style of play, saw them as a further invasion of the American style that would ultimately result in the adoption of all the American rules. McGill said this was undesirable as the American form was not adapted to the Canadian Universities and was not yet so pleasing to the spectators. The consensus of opinion at McGill seemed "to oppose any step in the direction of American Football and to favour a change, if any be made, in the direction of English Football."⁵² Although the English methods of playing rugby were very highly spoken of, it was finally decided that "the old style of play be continued."⁵³ This was the opinion of the majority of the clubs in the union so the C.I.R.F.U. played under the old scrimmage rules again in 1899.⁵⁴

By the annual meeting of the C.I.R.F.U. in November of 1899 McGill was even more partial to the English game and consequently proposed its adoption by the union. Its representatives, H. Campbell and P. Sise, though they "did not know the rules of the English game", asserted that McGill was "thoroughly convinced of its superiority to the present game, and also to the American system of playing."⁵⁵ Their lack of knowledge resulted in a rather poor appeal for McGill's principles.

Varsity, ably represented by "Thrift" Burnside and G. W. Ross, explained in considerable detail the new rules, emphasizing that the undesirable American "mass plays will be an impossibility and the game will be purely a running and kicking one."⁵⁶ Despite their

knowledge and understanding of the proposals Varsity's representatives were unable to convince the other delegates to accept them. After much discussion it was agreed that Queen's and Varsity would play an exhibition match at Toronto to try out the "up-to-date rules." "Thrift" Burnside agreed to spend a few days in Kingston to familiarize the Queen's team with the rules and prepare the team for the confrontation.⁵⁷

For some unknown reason, this event, to be witnessed by the delegates of the clubs in the union, scheduled for November 25, did not take place. The Burnside Rules were however given a public trial on November 22, 1899, on the Varsity field. The participants were a team from Bishop Ridley's College at St. Catherines and a team picked from the student interfaculty teams at the University of Toronto. Both teams were coached during the game by Mr. Burnside.⁵⁸ Reports indicated it was in some respects an improvement over the old style but in others inferior. The snap-back, successor to the scrummage, was thought to be the most redeeming feature of the new rules.⁵⁹

McGill, also being anxious to test the merits of its proposal, arranged a match of English Rugby against the Montreal Football Club, to be played on November 25. As many of the McGill men were quite ignorant of the English rules the Club attempted to get together as many men as possible who had played the game elsewhere to come out and play or instruct the men in the rudiments of the

game.⁶⁰ The game, which ended in a tie score of a try apiece, did not meet with the favor McGill expected. In fact the supporters of the Canadian game who were out in good force, said they "did not see anything in the game as played on Saturday to draw them to the English game."⁶¹ At the McGill Football Club's annual meeting the club members concurred with this view and voted in favor of continuing the game as played with a few minor changes to be arranged by a committee of the Intercollegiate Union. The Club was of the opinion that much fault lied with the interpretation and enforcement of the present rules by the referees. Its suggested solution was the formation of a Board of Referees appointed by the Intercollegiate committee that would meet at the beginning of each year to decide on an interpretation of the rules.⁶²

Although quite a diversity of opinion existed as to the advisability of totally accepting the Burnside Rules (considered by many to be American in style) or the English Rugby Rules, many felt that much would be gained if Canada would alter any one so as to introduce the strong points of the other, and seemingly by so doing, a Canadian game superior to both would evolve.⁶³ What McGill and Queen's failed to accept or acknowledge was that this was the intent of J. T. M. Burnside when he drew up his "Burnside Rules."

During the C.I.R.F.U. meeting held in the spring of 1900, at Kingston, McGill's suggestion was taken and a Board of Referees composed of five representatives from each senior club was estab-

lished.⁶⁴ Later that year at the annual meeting of the college union held at the Rossin House in Toronto, Varsity again moved for the adoption of the Burnside Rules. Once again they were rejected. The only significant change to occur was in regard to scoring. The points awarded for a try were changed from four to five and a try-for-goal became worth one instead of two.⁶⁵ A similar change was made in United States collegiate football in 1897.⁶⁶

Notwithstanding charges of having "a great system of interference" and of "practicing American College tricks", Queen's won the Yates Cup for the first time in 1900.⁶⁷ After Queen's success, the season of 1901 saw an increase in offside interference tactics used by both McGill and Varsity.⁶⁸ The apparent willingness of McGill to accept the American tactic of offside interference, even though it was against Canadian rules, while at the same time shunning the snap-back system supposedly because of its American origin, indicates an inconsistency in McGill's reasoning and behavior.

The year 1901 was extremely important in Varsity's efforts to have the Burnside Rules more widely accepted. Rather than having the unknown rules continually rejected by the C.I.R.F.U., Varsity felt that by playing the Mulock Cup series under the rules more people would become familiar with them and in turn support their adoption.⁶⁹ This series of intramural competition in rugby football between representative teams from the various colleges making up the University, in addition to providing recreation for a large number of stu-

dents, was intended to serve as a feeder system for the intercollegiate team of the following year.⁷⁰ Thus Varsity's scheme was very practical; in the event the rules were adopted it would have men trained and experienced in their use ready to defend the University's honor on the gridiron. To insure that the rules would be given a thorough trial, arrangements were made to have the two teams which reached the final coached for a week prior to the playing of the game by men expert in their knowledge of the new rules. "Thrift" Burnside was to personally take care of one team.⁷¹

Reports emanating from Toronto were very complimentary, stating that "from the spectators point of view the game was immeasurably superior to the old style; the ball was always in sight, and there was lots of open play" and kicking.⁷² Commenting on the merit of the rules at the conclusion of the season "Thrift" Burnside and the management of the Mulock Cup series reported they "found them to work very satisfactorily resulting in more open and speedier play, as well as in absence of intentional roughness."⁷³

Varsity's plan seems to have worked, for, at the annual meeting of the McGill Football Club, several members who had witnessed "some of the matches played in Toronto under the new rules spoke in glowing terms of the superiority of these matches over those played under the present rules."⁷⁴ Also Mr. Campbell Howard, past-President of the Football Club, stated that the present scrimmage was not a necessity of the game. After considerable discus-

sion, a motion was made to secure copies of the Burnside Rules from the University of Toronto to be distributed to all interested students. This was done and also a summary of the rules appeared in the January 30, 1902, edition of the McGill Outlook,⁷⁵ but because opinions were so divided nothing was decided upon in the way of change.⁷⁶

Despite this persistent talk of adopting either the American or English game, many Canadians were opposed to change and felt that,

the Canadian game of Rugby is the finest sport of its kind, and while there are many good points in both the English and American games, our own can more than hold its own both as a recreation and a spectacle to be enjoyed.⁷⁷

In 1902, Varsity continued to promote the Burnside Rules. For the second season in a row the rules were used in the Mullock Cup series and many followers of the game went to the matches to compare the snap-back system with the scrumage.⁷⁸ Realizing the changes proposed were too radical to be adopted by the C.I.R.F.U. in one year, the University of Toronto Rugby Club resolved at its annual meeting held January 29, 1902, to recommend their gradual adoption beginning at the union's semi-annual meeting scheduled for February 8 at Kingston. The propositions to be presented at that time were the reduction of the number of players to fourteen, and that ten yards must be gained in three successive scrummages or the ball be given to the opposite side.⁷⁹ Even these proposals were rejected by the C.I.R.F.U., thus leaving the rules unchanged for the 1902 season.

Following its plan, Varsity resubmitted the February pro-

posals at the annual meeting of the C.I.R.F.U. held on November 14, with a modification reducing the number of players to twelve instead of fourteen, plus suggesting the scrimmage be abolished and the snap-back system be adopted.⁸⁰ As usual, after much discussion it was decided to continue under the old rules with the exception of eliminating the flying wing, making the teams fourteen a side. This move, proposed by Varsity in February, was viewed by the Montreal Daily Star as "the entering wedge as to introducing the American game."⁸¹ Queen's and McGill opposed the snap-back system "as they did not wish to adopt a style of game of which they knew nothing."⁸² So as not to be totally rejected Varsity managed to have a proposal adopted that recommended that the colleges play their inter-class games in 1903 under the Burnside Rules, with a view to their ultimate adoption.⁸³

The remarks of Dr. H. B. Yates at the annual dinner of the Inter-collegiate Union held later on in the evening of November 14, epitomized McGill's ideological sympathy with England, its anti-American feelings, and its pragmatic concern with the changing of the rugby football rules when he exclaimed:

"Don't!" At least don't adopt American rules. They require an immense amount of practice and scientific play, which McGill men have not time to perfect. If any change is desired, why not go back to the old English rules which occasion no accidents or bad feeling.⁸⁴

Undaunted by the Union's rejection, Varsity extended invitations to Queen's and McGill to send representatives to Toronto to witness the second match of a two game total point series between itself

and the Argonauts for the Nesbitt Cup, emblematic of the City Championship, to be played on November 22, 1902, under the Burnside Rules. Both clubs complied with Varsity's wishes, Queen's sending G. B. McLennan and M. E. Bainscombe and McGill Messrs. F. N. Martin and F. W. C. Mohr. Varsity hoped the representatives would be in favor of the rules after seeing them in operation. Then a special meeting of the union could be called to have them adopted.⁸⁵

After the match, in which Varsity perhaps too handily disposed of the Argonauts, a team very similar in stature and style of play to McGill, 30 to 5, making the aggregate score 52 to 14, the representatives met to discuss the rules.⁸⁶ Both the Queen's and McGill men were still opposed, in spite of the eloquence of the Varsity talkers.

Greater insight into the reasons behind McGill's rejection and substantiation of the great importance of pragmatic justification in making decisions concerning rule changes was evidenced in the report given by McGill's representatives at its Football Club's annual meeting of 1903. They made the observation that heavy men were not necessary; in the form of rugby produced by the Burnside Rules, speed was the important commodity. This, they said, made the game unsuitable from McGill's standpoint,

because her team is composed of heavy as well as light men, and we think that it would be foolish for us to adopt rules in which there would be such a radical change, thus throwing away the advantages which we possess.⁸⁷

Their argument was well founded as the tactics they utilized (such

as bucking the line and mass play) put a premium on weight and strength while even without the benefit of the Burnside Rules a much lighter Varsity depended upon speed and condition to achieve victory.⁸⁸ After winning the Yates Cup in 1902, with the heavy style, McGill was understandably reluctant to change. Then too, McGill mentioned the standard idealistic opposition that the Burnside Rules were much the same as the American and that our own game is more suitable for Canadian colleges.⁸⁹

When Varsity put forward a motion to adopt the Burnside Rules at the semi-annual meeting of the union on February 13, 1903, it was ruled out of order by President McLennan as the resolution made at its last annual meeting to allow the colleges to test the rules in their interyear matches had not been carried out. The President suggested it would be soon enough to consider change after this was done. "A year could not matter much."⁹⁰

With the rules unchanged, style of play did not alter much either. Most of the games were of the close heavy scrimmage variety broken only occasionally by open plays. The final and deciding game of the 1903 season, won by Varsity, was however one of the most brilliant and hardest fought battles ever seen on a Toronto football field. The University of Toronto newspaper commented that, "if Inter-Collegiate Rugby were always like it, there would not be so much need for the new rules."⁹¹ McGill's play consisted of combination runs across the field, short dashes around the ends and bucking. McGill

kicked infrequently but accurately. Varsity relied on the kicking ability of its star back H. E. Beatty. Both teams worked offside interference to the limit.⁹² In fact, The Varsity sarcastically remarked, had the officials "watched closely they would have seen some beautiful interference work by one of the universities that is 'opposed to the American game'."⁹³

As the Ontario Rugby Football Union adopted the Burnside Rules at its nineteenth annual meeting in December of 1902, the rules had been given much greater public exposure in 1903 than ever before.⁹⁴ By the annual meeting of the C.I.R.F.U. in November 1903, they were no longer referred to as the Burnside Rules but as the "snap-back rules" or the "O.R.F.U. rules". Varsity, feeling the time was right to move for their complete adoption, did just that. Representatives; Rev. A. F. Barr, coach and former player, and F. W. "Cassey" Baldwin, as well as past Honorary Secretary-Treasurer of the union and former Varsity player, Dr. A. J. MacKenzie, all expounded the advantages of the new rules.⁹⁵ The principle points were:

1. Reduction of team to twelve men.
2. Adoption of snap-back system.
3. Team in possession of ball to gain ten yards on three successive downs or scrimmages or lose the ball (original rules have clause about losing twenty yards - rule evidently changed. See Appendix B.).
4. Six men to be on line of scrimmage of the side in possession of the ball.

5. The quarter-back or one who first received the ball from the snapper-back is not allowed to advance with the ball beyond the line of scrimmage. (He may buck the line upon receiving the ball in the O.R.F.U. rules.)
6. In all kicks opponents to line back ten yards from mark or restraining line and kicker to kick from mark.
7. To abolish throw-in from touch. The ball to be brought in play by being snapped-back. (Rule slightly changed. See Appendix B.)⁹⁶

Little response was made to these gentlemen's comments as the delegates seemed to have had their minds made up from the beginning. Mr. W. Molson, of McGill, said the snap-back rules were used in the inter-class games this year and they had not been a success. However, "he admitted that it was probably due to the lack of knowledge of the game."⁹⁷ Mr. W. H. McInness of Queen's, while agreeing that something needed to be done to bring about open play, did not think the snap-back was what was wanted. "He worked in the old cry that it was the American Game, and not a Canadian game."⁹⁸ Although the vote was extremely close 10 to 9, the outcome seemed all too familiar to Varsity as its proposals were rejected and the old scrimmage again would be used.⁹⁹ It was becoming apparent that an important criterion for accepting or rejecting a rule change seemed to be, who made the proposal, rather than, what the proposal was. The Varsity perceiving this, wrote that the Burnside Rules "seemed to be knocked for no other reason than that a University of Toronto man drew them up."¹⁰⁰ What was noteworthy was that for the first time since the establishment of the union, McGill did not

counter a strong bid for the adoption of the Burnside Rules, with a motion suggesting change should be sought from the English Rugby rules. Rather, McGill proposed the adoption of the Quebec Rugby Football rules, particularly desiring to have that union's five-yard rule accepted.¹⁰¹

No team shall be allowed possession of the ball for more than three scrimmages, unless during the third scrimmage the ball has been advanced five yards, by a run or unless the ball has been kicked towards an opponent's goal and has been blocked by an opponent. The advance to be left entirely to the judgement of the umpire.¹⁰²

Ironically this rule was almost identical to the American inter-collegiate rule governing the down and necessary gain, with the major exception being that in the United States a team could retain possession if it lost twenty yards.¹⁰³

This stand by McGill and Queen's is critical to the thesis. Their lack of expressed desire to incorporate the English Rugby Rules suggests a decrease in the English ideological influence on Canadian inter-collegiate football. McGill's desire to have the Quebec five-yard rule adopted explicitly indicates the paramount position of pragmatic evaluation in deciding the acceptance or rejection of a proposed rule change, as the rule was essentially that in vogue in the United States, while similar affiliation by the Burnside Rules was one of McGill's major arguments against their adoption. McGill's proposal found even less favor with the delegates than Varsity's, the vote being 12 against to 8 for.¹⁰⁴ Varsity won a partial victory in the motion instructing

the referees to enforce the rules literally in relation to interference in the scrimmage. "No more will the wings be allowed to maul and uppercut one another when the ball is being scrimmaged, and in this particular, if no other the game will resemble the snap-back style."¹⁰⁵ Since the delegates were still not satisfied with the rules, the new Executive was authorized to prepare a report for the semi-annual meeting on the Quebec five-yard rule or any other rule which might make the game more open.¹⁰⁶

At this meeting held February 19, 1904, the first major tenet of the Burnside Rules was adopted. The rule, proposed by Mr. W. H. McInnes of Queen's was identical to the down and gain rule used in the 1901 Mulock Cup series. It stated that if a team in possession of the ball does not make, in three successive scrimmages, a net gain of ten yards or a net loss of twenty yards, the ball must be handed to the opposing team.¹⁰⁷ The Quebec five-yard rule proposed by McGill was thoroughly discussed but ultimately rejected.

After the first game of the season the Executive of the union met to discuss the rules. Renewed emphasis was placed on having the referees enforce the rules literally and the down and necessary gain rule was amended so a team could only lose twenty yards once to retain possession of the ball until they made a net gain of ten yards.¹⁰⁸

When it came time for the annual meeting of the union in November of 1904, McGill and Queen's were tied for first place and as would be expected were content with the rules. The two strongly dis-

approved the introduction of such a "radical system" as the snap-back as proposed by Varsity. They contended that the present system was extremely interesting to spectators and made the game almost as open.¹⁰⁹ Mr. Peterson of Queen's introduced an amendment whereby if a team made ten yards in any three scrimmages and then lost ground it should be allowed to retain possession in view of its first gain. After being considered the motion was passed.¹¹⁰

The acquisition of Ottawa College, "possibly the greatest exponent of the Rugby game in Canada,"¹¹¹ to the C.I.R.F.U. on April 20, 1905, greatly bolstered the union's prestige in the eyes of the public and brought to the union its first American coach in the person of Tom "King" Clancy.¹¹² Where interest in the C.I.R.F.U. had been predominantly found in the students of the various universities, Ottawa College's resignation from the Q.R.F.U. to join the other colleges "showed that intercollegiate football was becoming much more popular" with the general public.¹¹³ This seemed to be the case as record attendances of between three and four thousand spectators became common at the matches held at Toronto and Montreal. While in Ottawa it was said that "the universities have provided a much more attractive game for the public than the teams of the Quebec Union, and if there is any clashing of dates next year the crowd will be found watching the clean and clever collegians."¹¹⁴

Varsity, under the direction of coach Rev. A. F. "Biddy" Barr, completely dominated the collegiate ranks, going through the season

undefeated. Varsity's victory over McGill on November 4, by the score of 8 to 2 exemplified the organized team play, cool-headedness, excellent punting, and ability to buck the line that it had displayed throughout the year. Taking advantage of the unlimited motion allowed before the ball is put in play in Canada, Varsity devised a triple formation. This basically entailed the three halves, one behind each other, plunging into the line wherever an opening appeared. Sometimes this was used as a fake, in that the halves would go in one direction while the ball carrier would run through the other side. On other occasions, when yardage was badly needed, the ball carrier would follow the three through the line thus "having secured without doubt interference."¹¹⁵ While on still other plays, the first of the three halves would carry the ball. The following week against Ottawa a variation of this play was used with the half backs hitting the line in tandem with the second man often being the ball carrier.¹¹⁶

With the union enjoying a degree of public acceptance and prosperity never before attained and with Varsity having things pretty much its own way on the football field, there was no mention of wholesale rule changes at the union's annual meeting of 1905. The next few years saw primarily the refining of the existing rules rather than the introduction of any major innovations. The only change of any significance was the decrease in value of the goal-from-field from five to four points by a drop-kick, from four to three by a free-kick and the free-kick from a penalty remained at

two points. This was recommended by Queen's and Dr. Etherington felt "a dropped goal scored by one member of the team was not of equal value with a try for which the whole team may have been fighting all afternoon."¹¹⁷ Varsity spoke for the original rule because it felt that giving a high point value for a goal-from-field developed an open kicking game. The value of a field goal in United States inter-collegiate football had been decreased a year earlier from five to four points.¹¹⁸

Not since Varsity had lost to the Ottawa Rough Riders in the semi-finals in 1898 had a member of the C.I.R.F.U. competed in the premier football event in Canada, the Canadian championship. Now with the collegiate union reinstated in the C.R.U. the same teams would again contest the coveted championship.¹¹⁹ The game was played in quarters, the first half under Q.R.F.U. rules and the second under the C.I.R.F.U. code.¹²⁰ The Rosedale Grounds were in perfect condition on November 27 when a crowd of over six thousand, perhaps the largest "that has ever attended a football game in Canada", saw the team they had "thought to be the King of the rugby world in Canada" for the past decade, defeated by the spunky Varsity fourteen.¹²¹ The McGill Outlook stated that Varsity's 11 to 9 victory in what was "possibly the most exciting contest ever waged on the gridiron in the Dominion"¹²² meant,

the lifting of Intercollegiate standing in a way that no end of inter-college playing could have done, it was the only final and convincing argument that the game as played by college

men is the purest, fastest, and most scientific interpretation of rugby rules.¹²³

The rules remained unchanged throughout the 1906 season and the only alteration decided upon at the annual meeting in November was in reference to bringing the ball in from touch and contact of the scrimmagers.¹²⁴ The McGill motion, that closely resembled the Burnside Rules, proposed that a team, after notifying the referee, has the option of bringing the ball five yards into the field of play at right angles to the point where it went out of bounds and scrimmage it there.¹²⁵ The other rule designed to prevent wrestling amongst the scrimmager's stated that "during a scrimmage opposing players must not come in contact with each other until the ball is placed on the ground. . . ."¹²⁶

The second American coach in the C.I.R.F.U. made his debut in 1907. Rev. Father Stanton, taking over the tutelage of the Ottawa College fourteen from Tom "King" Clancy, led the garnet and grey to its first championship since it joined the union in 1905. Having gained most of his football experience in the United States, the Buffalo man combined his knowledge of offside interference plays with the opportunity, in Canada, to have men in motion prior to putting the ball in play, to develop a speedy team well versed in "trick" plays.¹²⁷ When Ottawa defeated Varsity on Thanksgiving Day by using essentially the same plays Varsity had defeated Ottawa with two years earlier, the Blue and White quite vociferously complained

of "off-side interference the like of which has never before been seen in Canadian Intercollegiate Rugby."¹²⁸ It seems Ottawa College didn't take these complaints seriously as A. G. Brown, secretary of the Varsity Rugby Club explained, "when we protested time after time against this unfair style of play we were unpolitely told to go to a place reputed to be even warmer than Ottawa."¹²⁹ Ottawa College chose not to compete for the Dominion championship.

Once again few changes in the rules took place at the annual meeting of the C.I.R.F.U. in 1907. The trend to lessen the importance of the kicking game continued with the reduction of the value of the goal-from-field via the drop-kick decreasing from four to three points while the free-kick became worth the same as the free-kick from a penalty which remained unchanged at two points.¹³⁰ This decrease preceded a similar reduction made in the United States game by two years.¹³¹ Another important change was the allocation of a specified distance of one foot, that the two scrimmages must stand apart until the ball is put into play.¹³² In the spring, the Executive of the C.I.R.F.U. had made the ruling that opposing players must not come in contact with the scrimmage in possession until the ball was put in play. Confusion arose in the interpretation of this rule and resulted in a protested game between McGill and Queen's.¹³³ To iron out this confusion and help prevent mass plays, this new rule was adopted. This separation of the scrimmages a specific distance, other than by an imaginary line parallel to the goal line running

through the point of the ball nearest the player's own goal line, as was done in the colleges in the United States, was uniquely Canadian.¹³⁴

As happened when Queen's won the championship in 1900, Ottawa College's success using offside interference ushered in its more predominant use in 1908, by the other teams in the union, especially Queen's and Varsity. These tactics again met with success, as at the conclusion of the regular season Queen's and Varsity were tied for first place. The tie was broken on November 21 in Ottawa when Varsity decisively "took Queen's into camp to the tune of 12 to 0."¹³⁵

The interest in and prestige of the collegiate union in the public's eye had somewhat waned over the past two years, with McGill's poor showing against Hamilton, and Ottawa's refusal to enter the competition for the Canadian championship. Interest was, to say the least, rekindled when the Varsity squad, coached by Harry C. Griffith, won the Yates Cup and announced that it would play the Hamilton Tigers, for the Dominion Championship. Once again the game as played by the C.I.R.F.U. would be given public exposure in a way incomparable in Canada. An article in the Montreal Daily Star, entitled, "Toronto Has Gone Mad On The Rugby Situation", spoke of people standing in line over eleven hours for tickets. Two hours before the ticket office was opened there were four hundred in line and less than one and a half hours after they were on sale the fifteen hundred reserved seats were bought up.¹³⁶

The game was closely fought and when the final whistle blew, the

ball was on the Tiger's five yard line with Varsity in possession and only four points behind. The final tally was 21 to 17. "As a spectacle it surpassed all the football matches in the history of Canada."¹³⁷

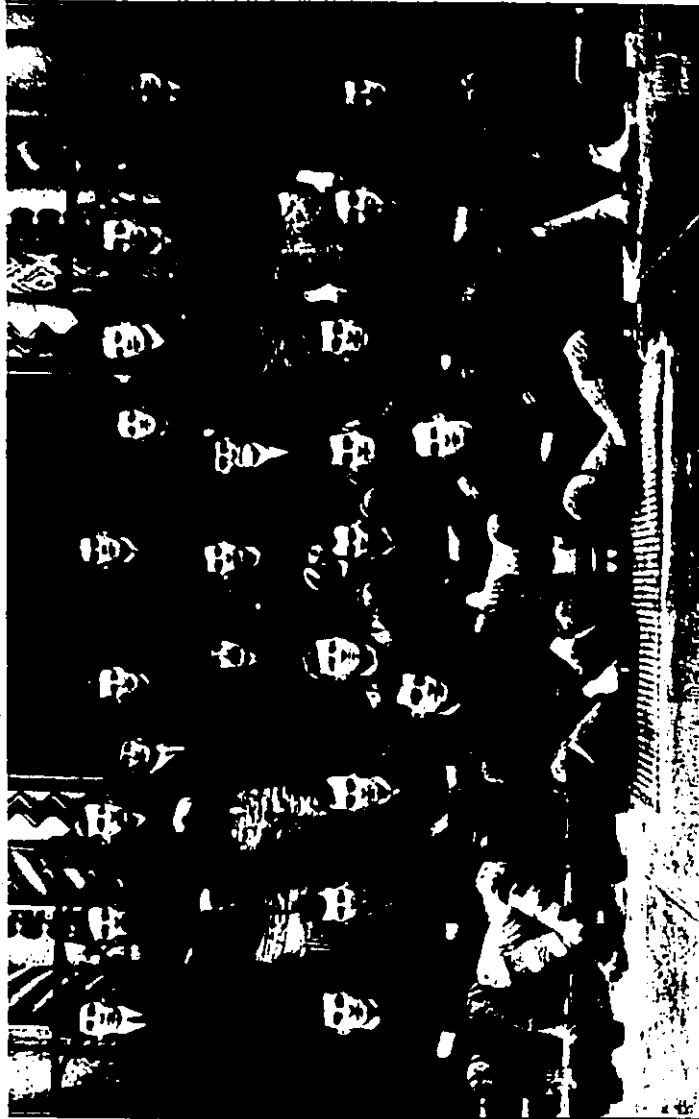
At a time when between three and four thousand attended intercollegiate games in Toronto, eight thousand people packed the Rosedale Grounds and at least two thousand were outside of it. The first row of the grandstand was given up to telegraph operators, about thirty in all, who dispatched the progress of the match all over the Dominion.¹³⁸

Public opinion of Canadian intercollegiate football was further enhanced by Varsity's domination of the game in 1909. En route to the intercollegiate championship Varsity scored 165 points in its six game schedule, while its opposition managed only 28 against it. This set the stage for a Canadian championship match between Varsity and Ottawa, the champions of the Interprovincial Rugby Football Union. Since its formation in 1907 its teams had won the Dominion title and were considered by most as the supreme power in Canadian football, and a shoe-in to repeat. As sometimes happens in sport, a decision made off the playing field altered these plans. The Grey Cup Trustees had previously arranged that the winner of the O.R.F.U. had the right to play in the Dominion final so the Varsity-Ottawa match technically became a semi-final.¹³⁹ The public did not treat it as such as over 10,000 spectators witnessed Varsity defeat the Ottawa "Rough Riders" 31 to 7 at Rosedale Grounds. Outside the

crowded stands, not a fence post, tree branch, or roof within a practical radius of the field was not adorned to capacity with football fans clamouring to get a peek at the action. The game was a grand spectacle, replete with women dressed in the height of fashion cheering as loudly as the men. About a hundred newspaper men from all over the country wrote messages for the frenzied telegraph messengers to take to the operators who were seeing "that the story of the match went all the length and breadth of the Dominion."¹⁴⁰ The headline in the Montreal Daily Star of Monday, November 29, summed up the effect the game had on the status of intercollegiate football, "College Football Proves Itself Superior To Any Kind In Canada."¹⁴¹ Although the actual championship game was played the following Saturday between Varsity and the Parkdale Canoe Club, only 3,800 spectators witnessed the contest as "interest in the struggle was probably the least ever shown in a Canadian Senior Rugby Final." The public considered the outcome a foregone conclusion.¹⁴² The paddlers were surprisingly a tenacious lot and at half time the score was a close 6 to 5 for Varsity although the final tally was 26 to 6 in favor of the collegians. Thus Varsity became the premier recipient of the Grey Cup, emblematic of the Amateur Rugby Football Championship of Canada, donated by Albert Henry George the fourth Earl Grey; though no mention of the Cup was made in the reports of the game and Varsity did not actually receive it until March of 1910.¹⁴³

A large part of the credit for the team's success, and rightly so,

PLATE II



RUGBY TEAM, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO, CHAMPIONS OF CANADA
 J. H. McArthur J. J. Parsons W. D. Chubbuck Dr. J. W. Burton H. Gill A. H. Lawson E. G. Dyson F. Park E. C. Good Bert Addison
Sec. Treas. *Mgr.*
 H. C. Griffiths Jack Stewart Prof. McCardy
Capitan. Hon. Pres.
 E. M. Thomson J. McNamee G. Kingston H. C. Brown J. Ball G. Russell A. Muir W. W. Hunt J. Dickson
 G. R. Jones W. C. Fortus

University of Toronto Senior Rugby Team: First Grey Cup Champions of Canada, 1909.

* H. C. Griffith

was given to its Honorary Coach, Harry C. Griffith. Following Varsity's tradition of exemplifying fast open football, he developed a squad well coached in team work and signal play that incorporated both trick and straight football. Griffith stressed snappy ball carrying, excellent punting and sure, hard low tackling, rather than mere weight and strength.¹⁴⁴ Griffith's "new style" was not really new, but rather the basic format used by A. F. Barr and Father Stanton with some imaginative innovations.

Efforts were made at the annual meeting of the C.I.R.F.U. in 1909 to induce that body to appoint a sub-committee with the idea of approaching the C.R.U. and suggesting uniformity in the rules. The majority of the representatives held that the rules in vogue in the C.I.R.F.U. were superior to those of the C.R.U. and declined to accede to the proposition.¹⁴⁵ For the first time in several years the representatives were presented with a proposal that if passed would markedly alter the nature of the game. The Ottawa College proposal, designed to promote a more open style of play, desired to prohibit line-plunges, bucks, or mass play aimed at any part of the opposing line inside of the middle wings. This proposal was almost identical in motive and content to a similar ruling passed in intercollegiate football in the United States in 1904 that was later amended in 1908.¹⁴⁶ The "Big Three": Varsity, McGill, and Queen's, all voted against the proposition as they felt it would take away many interesting plays and reduce bucking to a limited space at the end of the line. The delegates

did, however, pass the widening of the required space between opposing players to three feet from the allotted distance of one foot as stipulated in 1907. Done primarily to reduce the undesired practice of mass play that was being used by some teams, this distinctly Canadian feature has remained to present day. The marking of the field with distinct lines at right angles to the touch lines and similar lines every ten yards on either side of the centre line and parallel to it was agreed upon. It was thought that this would greatly aid both the players and officials. Several alterations to existing rules were also accomplished. The rule regarding bringing the ball in from touch was brought more in line with the Burnside Rules. The ball was to be brought into the field of play ten yards at right angles to the point where it went into touch and scrimmaged. The alternative of throwing it in was abolished. A proposal to have unlimited substitution, as in vogue in the United States, was defeated although a clause was added prohibiting players once withdrawn because of injury from returning to the game. The proposal to reduce the five yard zone, that must be given to a man receiving a kick, to three yards was also defeated.¹⁴⁷

The story of intercollegiate football in Canada for 1910 was once again the story of the Varsity fourteen. With only a skeleton of the crew that won the Grey Cup the previous year, coach H. C. Griffith, ably assisted by captain Hugh Gall and manager J. B. McDonald, began work to develop a team hopefully competent enough to capture

the Yates Cup. As this marked Griffith's last year as honorary coach the results are a fitting testimony to his football genius. Although Varsity started slowly, barely eking out a 10 to 9 victory over McGill, it went on to complete the season unmarred by defeat, thus attaining its goal. Although the lightest and youngest aggregation that had ever competed for the Dominion championship, it easily defeated the Toronto Amateur Athletic Club 22 to 3 in semi-final match played before 7,000 enthusiasts at the Rosedale Grounds.¹⁴⁸ This made possible a rematch of the 1908 Dominion championship between Varsity and Hamilton, "the two teams that have been considered the most formidable of the Canadian clubs, which have more championships won between them than any other clubs in the Dominion."¹⁴⁹ On November 26, before a crowd estimated at 12,000, Varsity made amends for 1908 by defeating the Hamilton Tigers 16 to 7. Using Griffith's system of expert team work, to flawlessly execute both trick and straight football, as well as plenty of hard low tackling, Varsity demonstrated why it was thought to be "the most perfect football machine ever seen in these parts."¹⁵⁰ Indeed, its play was so fine that it aroused fear that the style of game which the Inter-provincial teams used would never again win the Canadian championship. In addition to the regular thorough press coverage the match attracted, "arrangements were made by the Kinetograph Company to take moving pictures of the game",¹⁵¹ to be shown throughout the Dominion. Public interest in rugby football in Ontario and Quebec

was not only wide spread but fairly well distributed throughout the various social strata of Canadian society. The victory earned the Varsity squad the greatest triumphal procession that a Canadian university team ever had. The whole city of Toronto flocked out to see the team, 'high and low, rich and poor did homage to the Varsity boys.'¹⁵²

Two weeks after Varsity's grand victory, the C.I.R.F.U. held its annual meeting at the King Edward Hotel in Toronto. The chief business was the homogeneity, desired by the C.R.U., of the playing rules of the various unions. The delegates were still convinced of the overall superiority of the C.I.R.F.U. code and recommended that the C.R.U. change its rules to achieve the desired uniformity. A C.R.U. rule that was to their liking regarding the kick off was, however, adopted. The rule required the ball to be kicked at least five yards from centre towards the opponent's goal rather than allowing it to be kicked in any direction. With the old rule the custom was to kick the ball back to the centre half back who punted it down the field.¹⁵³ Although this motion brought the collegiate game closer to the American rule that the kick-off must travel ten yards in the direction of the opponent, this was not criticised for being American by McGill or Queen's, seemingly because it was adopted from the C. R.U. and not directly from the United States.¹⁵⁴ Varsity's motion to have the three yard rule for a fair catch on a punt, though rejected in 1909, was accepted. The delegates also attempted to set up an efficient Board of Referees that would be acceptable to all clubs. It

had been rumoured that Ottawa College was going to move for the adoption of the snap-back system and reduction of the number of players, practically a reversion to the O.R.F.U. rules under the Burnside system. Indications are that this was not done as no mention of it appeared in the reports of the meeting. It seems the general feeling prevailed "that there had been too many changes in recent years, and now that the public has been educated to the present code it would be inadvisable to make a change."¹⁵⁵

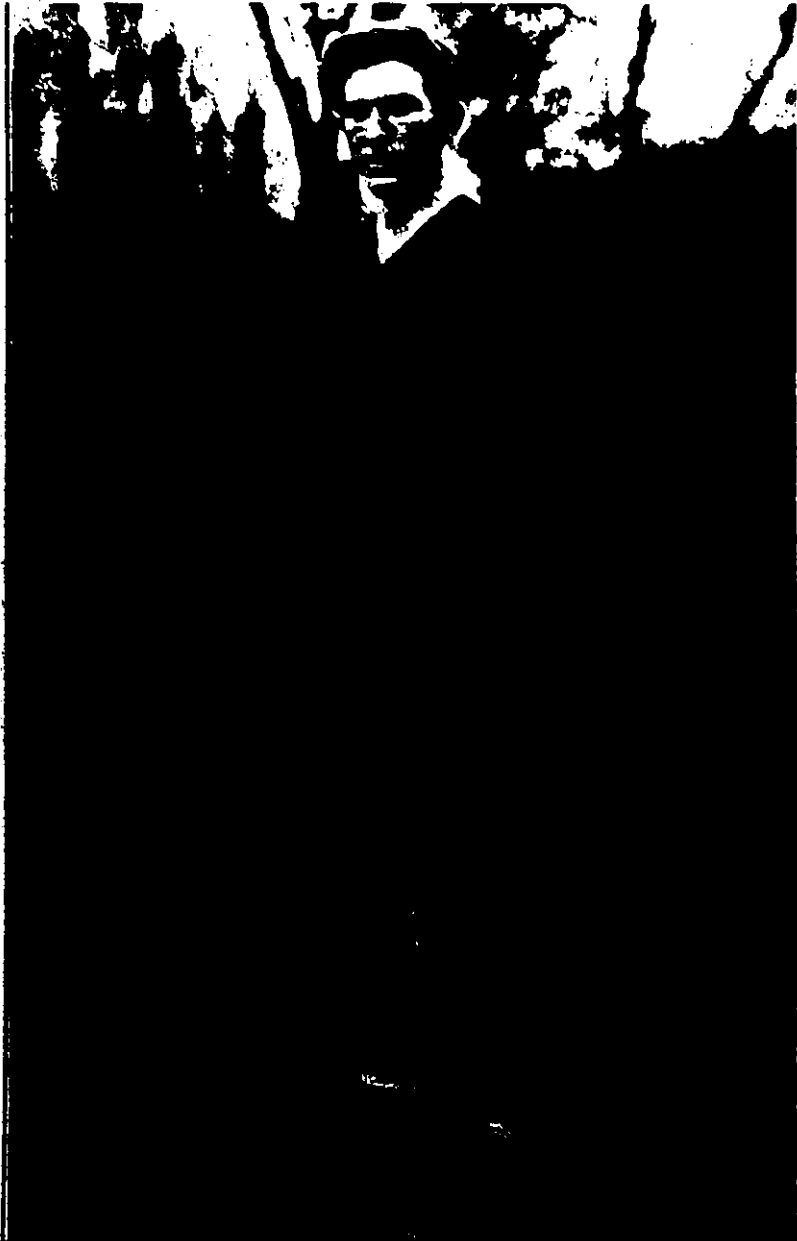
In order to accommodate the increasing public patronage collegiate football was enjoying, Varsity made plans in 1909 to begin work in the spring of 1910 on a new track, field, and grandstand on Bloor Street at the corner of Devonshire Place. The grandstand was to be of concrete, seating at first 2,500 but so designed to eventually surround the field and seat 12,000. Large up-to-date dressing rooms and baths were to be provided for under the grandstand, and much attention had been paid to the entrances and exits, giving an easy method of handling the crowd. Unfortunately when estimates were obtained they were about double the money provided. The commencement date was temporarily delayed while new plans were drawn up that would reduce the cost but not seriously alter the desired structure.¹⁵⁶ The games of the 1910 season were played at the better equipped Rose-dale Grounds. At a cost of forty thousand dollars, Varsity's new sports complex was completed in time for the 1911 football season. The new covered grandstand accommodated 3,000 and the bleachers

another 4,000 while the old stand was available for any over-flow.

Even this proved inadequate to hold the crowd that came to the stadium's inaugural intercollegiate match, on October 14, 1911, between Varsity and McGill.¹⁵⁷ The other clubs in the union were experiencing increases in public patronage as well. Ottawa College drew 5,000 spectators to its match against McGill on November 4 and the previous week when Varsity played at McGill a new attendance record for the campus was set.¹⁵⁸

No doubt the closeness of the standings and the high calibre of play the teams exhibited, though different in style, effected this occurrence. McGill, finishing in third place, relied heavily on its weight and strength and the kicking ability its star half back, E. E. Billington. Ottawa College's forte was snappy line work, well played kicks followed by fast down field pursuit, mixed judiciously with trick plays designed to open up the game. This style landed Ottawa in second place. Varsity, under the direction of Dr. A. B. Wright was once again the recipient of the Yates Cup as it continued its flawless team play made famous by H. C. Griffith, that incorporated both trick and straight football. A play quite often used by Varsity entailed a man running with the ball until he was about to be tackled, then at the last possible moment he would pass it back to a trailing teammate, and continue on into the opponent thereby impeding his attempts to tackle the new ball carrier. Father Stanton of Ottawa College contended this was offside interference but as it was

PLATE III



Francis Joseph "Shag" Shaughnessy, 1912.

a judgment call no penalty was usually assessed.¹⁵⁹

For the third year in succession Varsity went on to capture the Grey Cup by disposing of the Toronto Argonauts 14 to 7. It was becoming apparent that a team that could run and pass held an advantage over one relying on the kick, as the Argonauts scored all their points via the kick while Varsity gained only two.¹⁶⁰ The notoriety of the annual event was greater than ever as:

The wind-up of the Rugby Football season brought together the most wonderful sporting gathering Canada has ever witnessed. The crowd of twenty thousand which filled the university stadium was a national one, for so celebrated have the Rugby finals become that people journey from every part of the country to witness them or arrange their travel so as to be there for the occasion.¹⁶¹

Due to the prestigious position the C.I.R.F.U. evinced in the public's eyes the delegates at the annual meeting held in Ottawa on December 16, 1911, very pragmatically "decided that any additional tinkering with the rules would jeopardize the immediate popularity which the great football game now enjoys."¹⁶²

McGill's acquisition of Francis Joseph Shaughnessy as coach in 1912 brought to the collegiate ranks one of the greatest innovators the Canadian game has known. Born in 1884, a native of Amboy, Illinois, Frank Shaughnessy later attended Notre Dame University where he played first quarterback, then end, for the Western Conference squad. He captained the team in 1904 and graduated with degrees in Law and Pharmacy in 1906. After a brief sojourn to Roanoke, Virginia, where he practiced law, Shaughnessy decided to direct his

talents toward the field of athletics. He soon was playing baseball in the summer and coaching football during the autumn. His professional baseball career commenced with the Washington Senators. Not a star ball player, he found himself sold first to San Francisco then to the Philadelphia Athletics. Following a try out Connie Mack sent him to a farm team at Reading from which he obtained his outright release in order that he might manage the Roanoke team in the Virginia League. After a somewhat dismal year with the class C organization he moved to Fort Wayne, a class B club in the Central League, where he won a pennant and the reputation as a stern disciplinarian. When baseball season came to a close he assumed the head coach's responsibilities at Clemson College in South Carolina. About this time the Canadian Baseball League was formed and Ottawa needed a manager. Shaughnessy, always eager to accept a challenge, found himself managing and playing the outfield for the 1910 Ottawa Baseball Club. Here he was introduced to both Kitty Quinn and Canadian intercollegiate football. After marrying the former, he made his home in Ottawa where he was able to renew his acquaintance with the latter every fall. Through the prodding of Dr. A. F. "Pud" Argue, then an undergraduate in medical school at McGill, whose summer job was secretary of the Ottawa Baseball Club, and Frank Ahearn, Shaughnessy's financial backer, he agreed to coach McGill football squad on condition he would have full charge of the team and there will be no interference with his judgment."¹⁶³ It was not long before Coach

Shaughnessy was tagged with the nickname of "Shag",¹⁶⁴ nor was it long before it was evident he was "evolving a style of play absolutely new to Canadian football."¹⁶⁵ What must be remembered, however, is that "Shag's" objective was to develop a team capable of defeating Varsity, the three time Grey Cup champions. Thus the style of play he evolved reflected those tactics he felt would best accomplish this end. Before beginning workouts with McGill he astutely remarked:

I saw Varsity play and I am convinced that a speedy team composed of good tackling can beat them. A heavy team would have no chance. I want to build up a defensive team. . . . I do not care if we have no heavy men providing the linemen can tackle and get up under the ball. Tackling will stop the backs every time and Varsity are not particularly strong outside their back division and their wings.¹⁶⁶

Varsity's speedy backs capable of steady long passes and snappy trick plays were the secret to Varsity's success. Indications prior to the season opener suggested that Shaughnessy would provide further change along the same line.¹⁶⁷ In addition, he strove for greater mobility of the line than had been used in the Canadian game. It was his intention to try out a number of trick plays used in the American game "to see whether they could be adopted to the Canadian style of Rugby."¹⁶⁸

To many, the opening contest of the intercollegiate season between McGill and Varsity was a disappointment. The game, only a fair exhibition of football, ended with the score 26 to 13 in Varsity's favor. The football forecasters went home satisfied that Varsity would once again capture the intercollegiate honors. McGill's players, seemingly

overrated, did not work well together as a team nor did they demonstrate anything new in trick plays.¹⁶⁹ Through the contest "Shag" stood quietly on the side line meticulously observing Varsity's play and taking stock of his material. Undismayed by the result, he returned to Montreal and immediately began to put into practice what he had so unpleasantly learned.¹⁷⁰

A week later, at home on a field of mud and even without the services of Billington, McGill played infinitely better football as it defeated Queen's 15 to 5. Its systematic play was beginning to show the effects of "Shag's" coaching and the critics were eager to see a rematch between Varsity and McGill slated for the following Saturday.¹⁷¹ On October 19, 1912, over 5,000 spectators witnessed Shaughnessy's formula of "Condition, Speed and Tackling" prove itself effective as McGill handily disposed of Varsity by the score of 28 to 7. The results of "Shag's" coaching were even more apparent than in the match against Queen's.¹⁷² To combat Varsity's speedy backs he introduced the secondary defence to Canadian football, something that had been vogue in the United States for a number of years. Until then the standard formation on defence was to have eleven of the fourteen men line up in a straight line opposite to the team in possession, with the remaining three half backs spread out across the field about forty yards down field. Once a ball carrier broke through the line he was almost guaranteed a long gain. Amazed at this set up, "Shag" moved two men to back up the line and, coupled with

the fine tackling of the line, controlled Varsity's running game.

Shaughnessy also introduced some new wrinkles to the Canadian offensive game. Canadian linemen opened holes in the opposition line, or attempted to do so by charging haphazardly at the men opposite them. The backs ran to the place where an opening appeared. "Shag" changed that by teaching his stalwarts organized line play similar to that used throughout the United States. The ball carrier learned to run to predetermined holes and the linemen became familiar with such tactics as two-on-one blocking.¹⁷³ McGill also exhibited, with success, a quadruple criss-cross buck that ran off Shaughnessy's soon to become famous "X" formation.¹⁷⁴ Another offensive threat "Shag" developed was the onside kick in which the team first swung across the field, three men remaining where the ball was scrimmaged and ready to recover the kick which was made on the next down.¹⁷⁵ The onside kick became popular in the United States after 1906 when the offside men were put onside when the kicked ball touched the field of play.

At the close of the regular season McGill and Varsity were tied for first place. Though both teams were confident of victory McGill showed the way with its complete repertoire of trick plays. In the first three quarters McGill invariably worked its way out of tight situations by using another of Coach Shaughnessy's innovations. Billington would line up for a kick and go through all the motion of a kick, while the ball was going through the centre via another route.

This was successfully augmented by onside kicks. In the fourth quarter when a strong wind prevented the use of the kicking game, calculated running kept the play almost entirely in Varsity's territory. There was no doubt in the minds of the crowd estimated at between seven and twelve thousand that McGill was deserving of its 14 to 3 victory.¹⁷⁶

The rumour that had circulated throughout the union in September that if McGill won the Yates Cup it would not enter the competition for the Dominion championship, proved to be correct. Though the public was undoubtedly disappointed the students and faculty were apparently quite satisfied.¹⁷⁷

The 1912 annual meeting of the C.I.R.F.U., held in Montreal just two days before Christmas, came to grips with many important rules, adopting numerous amendments, many of which were proposed by Queen's. One area where legislation was much overdue was the matter of offside interference. Though the 1898 regulation which was still in effect stated that: "No interference beyond the point of scrimmage may be used by the offensive team to aid the person running with the ball",¹⁷⁸ those knowledgeable in Canadian intercollegiate football realized it had been used in varying degrees every year and "without a little of it it would be almost impossible to play the game."¹⁷⁹

Professor Lindsay Malcolm and Honorary Coach E. O. Sliter claimed Queen's had lost a game to Varsity and another to McGill because the referee allowed too much offside interference. They desired the

rules be made more explicit while allowing "a certain amount of it, but not as much as the American rules permit."¹⁸⁰ The delegates thoroughly discussed the matter and passed the following amendment with its complementary exceptions:

Offside interference is committed whenever a player who is offside obstructs or charges against an opponent. This holds good whether the offender be directly in front of the player with the ball or not. Exceptions -

1. In case of the ball being played behind the scrimmage no player shall be considered to have committed offside interference unless the interference took place more than 2 yd. ahead of the point where the ball was scrimmaged.
2. This permissible interference can only take place in a distance of 10 yd. on each side of where the ball was scrimmaged.¹⁸¹

Probably prompted by McGill's success at securing its onside kicks and the prevalence of trys being secured via fumbles in the goal, Queen's moved that a distinction be made in the various methods of scoring a try. It was agreed that if a player crossed the goal line with the ball in his possession the touch would count five points as in the past. If the touch was made by any other means, however, it would only count three points.¹⁸² A third Queen's amendment adopted was legislation allowing substitution at any time rather than only in the case of injury. Queen's also proposed that the rule regarding the giving of yards for a man catching a kick should be made to read: "a fair catch" as used in the United States. This was rejected as the delegates decided to reinstate the old five yard rule.¹⁸³

With McGill having a rather light, but speedy, finely conditioned aggregation and a coach of Frank Shaughnessy's calibre with his in-

timate knowledge of the American game, while Varsity no longer had the likes of a "Thrift" Burnside or a "Reddy" Griffith, it is not as surprising as it may first appear to find McGill proposing the adoption of two major tenets of the Burnside Rules. Nor is it therefore surprising to find Varsity rejecting them. This is exactly what happened when McGill proposed the number of men on a team be reduced to twelve and that the snap-back system be adopted.¹⁸⁴ The majority voted with Varsity so they were not adopted. The union also accepted the application for admittance to the senior schedule by the Royal Military College of Kingston, thus filling the vacancy left by Ottawa College's resignation.¹⁸⁵

An Executive meeting of the union on September 20, 1913, at Kingston called for special meeting to be held the following Friday to reconsider the changes in the rules made in December. After having the off-season to conjecture about their effect, the participants expressed considerable apprehension about the rule change, especially concerning offside interference. Many felt that offside interference "has always been held contrary to the spirit of English and Canadian football" and to tack it on "our Canadian game" would only add to the confusion.¹⁸⁶ Despite these objections, the basic definition for offside interference stood, although the "Exceptions" were deleted and the following put in their stead: "No interference is permissible except for the purpose of opening a hole in the line and this for a distance of one yard."¹⁸⁷ The Globe said this rule only ratified the decisions of

of the referees for the past three years but warned that: "The offside revision looks like the thin edge of the wedge for the adoption of the legal interference in vogue in the American game."¹⁸⁸ A number of the other rules adopted were omitted in favor of those in vogue in the 1912 season. Five points would be given for all touchdowns, substitution would be allowed in the case of injury only, and three yards was considered enough space to give a man waiting to receive a kick.¹⁸⁹

All indications prior to the commencement of the 1913 season pointed to a close race. The Royal Military College and Queen's were rather unknown quantities while Varsity was reported to have a team as strong or stronger than the previous year. McGill with only six members of its championship squad returning were relying on the genius of Frank Shaughnessy to fill out a winning combination. The magnitude of his task was reduced by many of the previous year's second squad coming out and the arrival of several star players from various "Prep" schools.¹⁹⁰

McGill's play in its 49 to 2 victory in the season opener against Queen's, though ragged in spots, demonstrated that "Shag" had brought together a combination capable of attaining championship calibre.¹⁹¹ The Royal Military College, spear-headed by the kicking of Barwis established itself in the senior division by upsetting Varsity by kicking a single, with fifty seconds to go, to win by the score of 15 to 14. After the Royal Military College was defeated by McGill midway through the season, the Kingston Standard remarked that it had lost to

"as perfect a football machine as has ever been seen on the Canadian gridiron."¹⁹² The Standard went on to say that Coach Shaughnessy had "reduced the game to a fine art", with each man seemingly developed especially for his position. The success which McGill was experiencing by incorporating American tactics in its play seemed to be affecting the opinion of the newspapers concerning their adoption.

The Globe reported:

The American's have adopted several of the best features of Canadian football. It might profit the Canadians to incorporate some of the American code in the game on this side of the international boundary.¹⁹³

As expected, the standings were close. Going into the final games of the schedule if Varsity defeated McGill, and the Royal Military College defeated Queen's, there would have been a three way tie for first place between McGill, Varsity and the Royal Military College. In the hopes of bolstering its chances of victory, Varsity called upon the renowned H. C. "Reddy" Griffith to assist Dr. Arthur B. Wright in coaching the Blue and White during the last two weeks before the final game.

Played November 15 before 12,000 enthusiasts, the game was truly an unprecedented exhibition in Canadian intercollegiate football.

No such bewildering repertoire of plays was ever before launched against a local team as that turned loose by McGill against University of Toronto on Saturday. Unheard of formations and plays built upon technical interpretations of the rules at times dumb founded the Blue and White.¹⁹⁴

The famous "X" formation was used in many variations, and "Shag's"

trump card, the "Y" formation, "was entirely different from anything ever before attempted on a Canadian gridiron."¹⁹⁵ New plays were developed around the elastic rule covering offside interference and were even utilized by McGill's backfield when punts were being exchanged and run back. "Shaughnessy's intimate knowledge of the American game was put to good use."¹⁹⁶ Though "Shag" took advantage of the offside interference rule it would be incorrect to leave the impression that all his plays were based on it. He, in fact, showed innumerable variations of familiar plays which were quite new and mystifying to Varsity and the spectators.¹⁹⁷ Following its 22 to 14 defeat of Varsity, the secretary of the McGill club officially notified the C.R.U. that McGill would not compete in the dominion finals for the same reason it submitted in 1912.¹⁹⁸

The 1913 annual meeting of the union which was to have been held on December 20, 1913, did not take place because the secretary had failed to send out the notices. Reports indicated that McGill was going to once more move for the reduction of the number on a team to twelve and again Varsity and Queen's were to be against such a change. It was thought that Varsity was going to propose a change in the interference rule and Queen's was to offer a new definition with regard to holding.¹⁹⁹

Due to the severity of the war being waged in Europe, the Royal Military College handed in its official resignation to the union at a meeting of the Executive held September 26, 1914.²⁰⁰ Once again

the senior division found their ranks reduced to three.

McGill's 25 to 1 defeat of Varsity in the first game of the season had the scribes forecasting another Intercollegiate Championship for the Red and White. McGill invariably won the contest due to its superbly executed fake plays and interference tactics on offense and its strong defence, reinforced by "Shag's" innovation of the secondary defence, this year consisting of three players.²⁰¹ Varsity's subsequent victory over Queen's, which attempted to carry out some of McGill's trick formations, but failed due to its inability to execute them properly, followed by McGill's downing the tri-color, added strength to these predictions. Still smarting from its loss to McGill, the Varsity fourteen under the direction of Coach Hugh Gall and Captain Charlie Gage, assisted by Harry Griffith, who came down from St. Catherines, spent a considerable amount of time perfecting some trick plays of their own, incorporating interference tactics to surprise McGill at their rematch on November 7.²⁰²

Before 10,000 fans at Varsity Stadium, Varsity temporarily moved ahead of McGill in the standings by setting the Red and White back by the score of 12 to 7. The teams took advantage of the interference rule (the like of which was never before seen on a Toronto gridiron) making the contest appear very much like the football played in the United States.²⁰³ The following week, McGill by employing the same tactics, easily defeated Queen's creating a play-off situation between itself and Varsity.

Since interference tactics had "come to play a very important part in games between colleges"²⁰⁴ and it was felt sure that McGill would use them to the utmost limitations, Coach Gall accepted the offer of Charles Leach to instruct the squad in the fine points of interference. Mr. Leach, a former United States college player, came out to assist the team the last week before the play-off. This resulted in the November 21 game approximating "more closely to American rugby than any exhibition previously offered by Canadian teams."²⁰⁵ McGill controlled the first half, when massed plays and interference tactics were almost exclusively used. Varsity opened up the second half by interjecting more outside running, long passes and more punting. With less than five minutes to go, the teams exchanged touchdowns and finally, with seconds remaining, Varsity bucked over from five yards out to secure the 17 to 13 victory.

As in previous years when Varsity won the Intercollegiate championship it entered the race for the Dominion title. This year, however, the students were not as optimistic about Varsity's chances. They felt the team was not as strong as former years and that the Argonauts had been strengthened by an infiltration of former college and American players.²⁰⁶ The 1914 Grey Cup played at Varsity Stadium before 11,000 people was won by the Interprovincial champions, the Toronto Argonauts. The game itself was anything but a good exhibition. Played under the C.R.U. code where no offside interference was allowed, Varsity stuck to straight football. There

was more of the old fashioned two bucks and a kick than in any other senior fixture played in Toronto all season. Under this old style the heavy Argonaut line gradually wore down the Blue and White to submission, the final score being 14 to 2.²⁰⁷

The War Years - 1915-1918

The heavy war cloud that hung over Canada became more ominous in 1915, and at a meeting of the University of Toronto Athletic Directorate held Tuesday, September 28, it was decided to discontinue intercollegiate athletics for the year. The Athletic Directorate felt the interfaculty competition would provide all the athletic activity necessary for the students without interfering with work pertaining to the war effort and the Canadian Officer's Training Corps (C.O.T.C.). With this in mind the Mulock Cup series was drawn up and played under the rules of the C.I.R.F.U.²⁰⁸ Though McGill and Queen's were originally desirous to continue intercollegiate competition they submitted to Varsity's request. Unfortunately in its opening year McGill's new concrete reinforced, 8,400 seat stadium would not play host to any intercollegiate games.²⁰⁹

With the war unabated in 1916 interfaculty competition provided the students' athletic requirements at the University of Toronto and McGill.

The same policy was adhered to in 1917 although an exhibition of American football was played at Varsity on Thanksgiving Day by the Camp Borden American Aviators and an All-Syracuse team. It is

interesting to note that, in spite of the increase in the adoption of modified American tactics in intercollegiate football prior to the war, The Varsity expressed the following thoughts:

The American game will never be satisfactory in Canada as the mass play which it features covers up the play of the ball. Free kicking, accurate tackling and long brilliant open field runs, three essentials of the Canadian game were absent.²¹⁰

It is quite evident that the game played in Canada, however modified, was still perceived, by those Canadians interested, to contain those aspects that make it "Canadian".

With the cessation of the war appearing imminent, plans were made for the partial resumption of intercollegiate football in October of 1918. McGill had arranged to play home and home games against the Ottawa Rough Riders of the Interprovincial Union and the Royal Military College formerly of the Intercollegiate, the proceeds to go to the Red Cross. On the eve of the team's departure to Ottawa they received a telegram stating that all sports were banned in that city until further notice. Within ten days, both McGill and the University of Toronto were also closed on account of the influenza epidemic.²¹¹

Play Resumes - 1919

Prior to the commencement of the 1919 season a meeting of the Board of Referees was called at Kingston primarily to enable the Board to reach an understanding concerning the interpretation of the rules. It was thought that in the past success or failure of a play was often

dependent upon the decision of the referee and no two referees would give the same ruling. The hope was that the meeting would remove this latitude of interpretation and force rulings commensurate with those set down by the Board.²¹² The major bone of contention discussed was the offside interference rule. The Board endorsed the 1913 ruling stating that: "No interference is permissible except for the purpose of opening a hole in the line."²¹³ It omitted the distance stipulation of one yard but added that: "Only the man with the ball can go through the hole."²¹⁴ The Board felt this interpretation "would answer the criticism that the Intercollegiate game is becoming too much like American football."²¹⁵ The Board also decided to eliminate the centre scrimmage buck.

True to his reputation Coach Frank Shaughnessy developed a whole new repertoire of trick plays to spring on McGill's unsuspecting foe during the 1919 season. Following McGill's first game of the season in which it easily defeated an injury-ridden Queen's team, it received numerous criticisms regarding its trick plays. In an attempt to quell the criticism Frank Shaughnessy wrote Professor Malcolm of Queen's who had refereed the October 18 contest, for his opinion. Referee Lindsay Malcolm's reply completely exonerated "Shag's" tactics saying that,

in his long experience as an official in the Intercollegiate Football Union he has never officiated over a more sportsmanlike or gentlemenly aggregation of players than those of the McGill team. . . . the plays conform with the interpretation placed on the interference rule at a special meet-

ing of the Board of Referees of the Intercollegiate Union
early in the autumn.²¹⁶

In fact he gave credit to "Shag" for taking advantage of the opportunities offered.

McGill very triumphantly passed its first real test of the season when it defeated the Blue and White at Varsity Stadium 16 to 3. The crowd, a record for collegiate football in Canada, had only been surpassed once in Canadian football history, when Varsity defeated the Argonauts at the 1911 Grey Cup.²¹⁷ The game itself was the best football of the season, McGill showing that it had "one of the greatest scoring machines ever seen on a Canadian gridiron."²¹⁸ Conspicuous by their absence in McGill's offense were plays run off of "Shag's" famous "X" formation. "It showed that 'Shag' is just one step ahead of all other coaches as the latter are just this season using the formations behind the line."²¹⁹ "Shag" did, however, unleash a potent attack featuring the "swinging wings buck". This play took strict advantage of the unlimited motion in the backfield afforded in the Canadian game, while complying with the stipulation that those players on the line, at least eight, shall not be moving toward the opponent's goal at the instant the ball is put into play.²²⁰ The play began with the three halves lining up back of the scrimmage behind the quarter. On a signal two halves rushed up to the line; as they took their positions the two middle wings ran back in a semi-circle to a position just in front of the remaining half. Without slowing down, the wings

continued around in a circular fashion one of them taking the ball from the quarter and continuing rapidly towards the line. The other halves usually followed and, just as the ball carrier reached the line, he was given a jolt from behind. The play was varied on occasion by faking to the wing and giving to a trailing half who would usually go outside.²²¹

At a banquet that evening for the teams, Harry Griffith spoke disparagingly of McGill's trick plays. The McGill News, though not giving details of the speech, saw through the old dodge of saying certain tactics shouldn't be allowed because they are American, for the actual reason that Varsity was losing football games because of them. It reported:

Harry just hates to see his team lose and could not resist commenting unfavourably on McGill's trick plays. He classifies these as "American" football and wants to see the "Canadian" game played once more.²²²

When actually analyzed in respect to the American intercollegiate rules it is evident that McGill's "swinging wings buck" tactic would have been illegal in the United States for several reasons: primarily, only one man was allowed in motion before the ball was put in play, secondly, if a middle lineman was shifted to the backfield, he was not allowed to return to the line, and thirdly, offensive players could not use their hands, arms, or body to push, pull, or hold the feet, of the player carrying the ball.²²³

Determined to avenge its defeat, Varsity wasted no time in pre-

paring for a return match. Coach Foulds, realizing he had less than two weeks in which to turn the tables on the interference game, spent most of his time instructing Varsity in the use of some of the tactics McGill had used so effectively against them. He felt sure his interference plays would "work havoc to the Red and White defence."²²⁴

To insure the secrecy of "Shag's" new tactics McGill held its practices, from November 12 until the game three days later, behind closed doors, allowing only the club management admittance.²²⁵

The excitement generated in Montreal by "Shag's" brand of football was evidenced when the largest crowd ever to witness a match in the city came to the McGill-Varsity confrontation. Despite bitterly cold conditions and the one-sidedness of the contest, nearly all the 8,000 brave souls stayed until the end to watch their favorites defeat Varsity 21 to 1 and incidently win the C.I.R.F.U. championship. McGill's season record of four wins without a single defeat and its prodigious feat of not allowing its goal line to be crossed by the opposition testified of the effects of its excellent tutelage and "demonstrated that they were the best drilled team Canadian football has yet seen."²²⁶ Though both teams used the interference tactics properly, the McGill secondary defence, now consisting of four men, stopped the Varsity halves in their tracks. Shaughnessy's new tactics proved to be as bewildering to Varsity as the ones two weeks earlier and generally resulted in large gains for McGill.

McGill, as they had done in previous years, declined to enter

the Dominion finals stating that the prolongation of the season resulted in interference with studies which had already been more or less neglected.²²⁷ Because of McGill's decision, Montreal, the Interprovincial champions, decided not to enter the finals either. The consensus of opinion among M.A.A.A. players was that

a Dominion title series in which McGill would not participate, would carry with it a championship in name only, and that a game with the T.R. and A.A. fourteen would be unsatisfactory to everyone concerned.²²⁸

T.R. and A.A., the Ontario union champions, were thus left without a team to play for the Grey Cup. Thus, due to the highly touted McGill squad shunning the National finals, a Dominion champion was not decided in 1919.

Precipitated by McGill's success with the tactics devised by Coach Shaughnessy, which many thought to be American, and with the great number of Canadian servicemen who played Rugby overseas, the old English-American dichotomy once again came to light. The similarity in the opinions stated in 1919 and those expressed in 1898 were remarkable. As in 1898 the consensus of opinion was that the rules of 1919 were inadequate and changes were absolutely necessary. Some desired the adoption of English Rugby. A few suggested the adoption of the American game, but the majority thought that "the Canadian game should be retained with certain modification."²²⁹ Or in other words, as in 1898, they considered the game being played as

"Canadian" and desired to have it remain as such. The modifications spoken of in 1919 were primarily those suggested by J. T. M. "Thrift" Burnside in 1898. The first was the reduction of the number of men on a team to twelve. The rationale given for this proposal was that the size of the regulation Canadian field was too small for twenty-eight men, the reduction would, in the opinion of many, make the game faster and more open. The second modification desired was the adoption of the snap-back system, again desired for the purpose of opening up the game. A new proposal was the adoption of the forward pass. It was suggested this would obviate much of the kicking done under the present rules and substitute instead, long runs. Because the kicking game was considered one of the major features of Canadian rugby this proposal received the least support of the three. The majority felt as Burnside had that, "the thing to do at the present is to add interest to rugby by eliminating its bad points and substituting good ones."²³⁰

Prior to the commencement of the 1920 season the matter of rule change was once again the focal point of discussions concerning inter-collegiate football. Although opposition to the reduction of the number of players on a team and the adoption of the snap-back remained, important changes occurred in regard to offside interference and scoring. The distance allowed for offside interference beyond the line of scrimmage was set at four yards. Some members of the rules committee felt that plays could be developed taking advantage of this

increased blocking area that would be detrimental to football rather than having the desired effect of making the game more open. Consequently they formulated the following stipulations.

That a hole on the scrimmage line can not be made by charging at right angles to the line of scrimmage, the man preventing a hole being made must be taken sideways.²³¹

A distinction was also made in the various methods of scoring a try. Almost identical to the December 1912 ruling that was never put into effect, a try scored from a fumble in the end zone would only count three points in 1920. All other tries would count five, as previously legislated. Both would enable the scorer the opportunity of attempting a try-for-goal.²³²

The consensus of opinion was that McGill, directed by Coach Shaughnessy, would dominate the 1920 season as it had pretty well done since his coming to the league.²³³ This eminent position afforded McGill caused exceptional crowds to come out wherever it competed. Its first game of the season against Queen's attracted the largest crowd ever to attend a football match in Kingston.²³⁴ For the week preceeding McGill's match at Toronto, it had been the talk of the town, while the important Interprovincial match the Argonauts had at Ottawa was lost sight of by the public. The contest, won by Varsity, attracted 14,493, a new record for football in Canada.²³⁵ Later in the season, the Montreal Daily Star, commenting on McGill's home game against Varsity, stated that, "The game, which is the rugby classic of Canada, has attracted more attention than any for many

years."²³⁶ The 1920 affair was no exception as 10,000 fans thronged to Molson Stadium.

Though Coach Shaughnessy continued to devise new trick plays and included the perfecting of them in his practices, their use and effectiveness diminished in league games in 1920. Perhaps the biggest reason for this was that the other teams had by then incorporated into their repertoire many of "Shag's" innovations, both offensively and defensively, thus making it easier than it had been previously to combat his new plays.²³⁷ Even Queen's, under the direction of Bill Hughes, a former player of Shaughnessy's, attempted to pattern its play after McGill's. In its first confrontation, Queen's out played McGill in the first quarter and "all 'Shag's' trick plays went for naught."²³⁸ Unfortunately Queen's lack of condition and inability to execute efficiently offensively proved to be its downfall in the remainder of the game and all season, as Queen's remained winless throughout 1920. McGill had reportedly been practicing "new formations that are intended to dazzle their opponents",²³⁹ prior to its match at Toronto, while in reports of the game it was stated, "McGill failed to introduce anything in the matter of trick plays."²⁴⁰ Similarly prior to its return match at Montreal, Shaughnessy was said to have come up with some new plays for the game. By the end of the first quarter, however, it was evident that any plays involved with "hitting the line", were not going to be successful. The teams resorted to the old style of outside running and kicking the ball. The

game ended up being a defensive struggle in which no tries were scored and more punts were seen than in a number of years. Whatever the margin in play, McGill had it and was deserving of its 7 to 3 victory.²⁴¹

By virtue of McGill and Varsity splitting their games and Queen's being defeated by both teams, a play-off was necessary to determine the champion. The game, determined by the Executive of the union to be played at Kingston, was expected to follow the pattern of those throughout the season and "be featured by the lack of trick plays by both sides, . . ."²⁴² With the exception of the first five minutes when McGill baffled Varsity with a variety of new formations, the expectations were realized. During these first minutes McGill managed to buck its way down to Varsity's two yard line. Here the Blue and White dug in, McGill, try as it might, could not move the ball beyond this point, and the "Shagmen", after three unsuccessful attempts, handed over the ball. From that point on Varsity dominated. Its halves, particularly Warren B. Snyder, played an excellent game, kicking, catching punts, and running with the ball, while the McGill halves made more mistakes than they had all year. Consequently Varsity defeated McGill 14 to 6 and won the game and the Yates Cup by the merits of its play.²⁴³

As was its custom, Varsity entered the Dominion finals. After the Argonauts disposed of the Toronto Rugby Club, the Ontario union champions, the final was set for December 4. The fans, 10,000

strong, composed of people from all over the Dominion, who braved the inclement weather, saw a game surprisingly open, with both teams exhibiting long lateral passes, onside kicks, long runs, and exciting returns on punts. The Varsity wing line, averaging ten pounds heavier per man than the Argos, demonstrated splendid interference tactics in opening holes in the line for its backs. Played for the first time under intercollegiate rules, the Dominion championship was convincingly won by Varsity with a 16 to 3 victory over the Toronto Argonauts, the Interprovincial champions.²⁴⁴

Controversy over proposed rule changes continued through the 1920 season and was as avid at its completion as it was prior to its commencement. The major concern was not new. R. Tait McKenzie had written of it in 1892 and "Thrift" Burnside was aware of it when he drew up his rules in 1898. This persistent problem was the development of a form of rugby football that would be considered the best by player and spectator alike; that retained those characteristics held to be peculiarly Canadian, while incorporating those innovations from foreign forms that would enhance our game, as well as rejecting those that would detract from its unique character. The solution of taking the middle course between the English and American forms, that has been previously cited from the 1895 Outing magazine, was quite closely adhered to over the years and was still considered by the majority the most viable alternative in 1920. The possibility of adopting either the English, or more particularly, the American form

totally, had been, and continued to be, adamantly opposed by the majority of Canadians concerned with Canadian football. In a letter, written in rebuttal to a proposal that Canadian football be discarded in favor of English Rugby, appearing in The Globe of October 30, 1920, the writer considered the suggestion to be "utterly ridiculous" as the Canadian game with its system of signals was superior. In summation the writer submitted: "Let us get together and take the best of both rules . . . and evolve a set of rules for Canadian athletes which will combine brain, brawn, and spectacle."²⁴⁵ Later in November the writer of a letter appearing in the Montreal Daily Star expressed his disfavor with the increase in the amount of "American" mass play being used in Canadian football at the expense, he felt, of the "old open play". He concluded his remarks by uttering the commonly held sentiment:

. . . it would seem that when a country has a certain national distinction in a game and when that distinction is obviously more attractive than another feature that might be introduced from some different country, it would be a shame to use the latter feature merely because it was thought that ground could be gained in a shorter space of time. Why should not Canada retain her distinct game, which is the happy medium between English and American ideas and keep out rules foreign to the sport as played here.²⁴⁶

Throughout the year there had been much more careful examination of the game than for many years. As a consequence, at the December 11 meeting of the Intercollegiate Rules Commission, held at Kingston, every club put forth proposals it felt would "make it more attractive to both players and public."²⁴⁷ This resulted in

some very significant rule changes being adopted by the collegiate union, particularly in regard to opening up the game and reducing the unwanted mass plays. Though McGill had attempted to obtain their adoption since Shaughnessy began coaching in 1912, it was not until December of 1920, more than twenty years after Varsity first proposed their adoption, that finally the two remaining major tenets of the Burnside Rules that had not been adopted were incorporated into the intercollegiate code. The time had at last come when two members of the "Big Three", McGill and Queen's, at the same time publically demonstrated their recognition that the snap-back and the reduction of the number of players on a team to twelve, would assist in perpetuating the openness of the game, that cherished characteristic of Canadian football that had been consciously preserved since the late 1800's. They realized that with the level of sophistication the defenses had obtained, so much so that it was almost impossible to make any long gains on line plays,²⁴⁸ if the open play so desired was to be retained changes had to be made to the offense. Queen's, coming off its third season in as many years without a win and planning to obtain a new coach for 1921, in all likelihood felt that it had nothing to lose in sustaining McGill's proposals. Varsity, on the other hand, probably concerned that the changes would allow Shaughnessy to devise a whole range of new tactics to mystify the league, after just being able to regain the championship, voted against the Burnside tenets. For its benefit the rule remained

such that the ball could be put into play by either the old system or the new, where the centre scrummager snapped the ball back with his hand or hands to the quarter. In actuality, the dropping of the side scrummagers to reduce the teams to twelve players left the centre scrummager without any support making the old system of the centre heeling the ball out very impractical. A further rule in connection with this was the forbidding of the locking of arms or the holding in any manner whatsoever of the players on the line of scrimmage while the ball was being put into play.²⁴⁹

A favorite play when near the opponent's end zone during 1920 had been one resembling a flying wedge where one player was given the ball and five or six of his teammates pushed him into the end zone. Due to the amount of criticism surrounding it, the injuries resulting from it and in a further attempt to keep the game open, an amendment was passed stating that no double line of interference was allowed and that only two men could be used to open a hole on the line.²⁵⁰ In addition it was stipulated, much the same as the Burnside Rules did, that at least seven men of the side in possession must be on the line of scrimmage.²⁵¹ It was felt these regulations would effectively eliminate massed plays from the Canadian collegiate game.

The Rules Commission also amended the ruling concerning the giving of yards to a person waiting to receive a punt. It had been found almost an impossibility for the referee to judge whether or not the player had been given the required three yards and many disputes

over this judgment call had occurred. In an attempt to obviate this problem the rule was changed to say, "a player waiting to catch a ball must be given a fair chance to catch it by the opposing side."²⁵² In case of an infraction the offending side was penalized fifteen yards. It also decided that a team making an unearned three point try would no longer be given the opportunity to attempt a try-for-goal.

What all these changes essentially meant was that the 1921 season would mark the first year the C.I.R.F.U. would play under a code that included all the major tenets of the Burnside Rules. In fact, by the 1921 season, all the major unions throughout the Dominion played under such a code. This situation came about primarily through the efforts of the C.R.U. to establish itself on a stronger footing as a national body and insure the playing of the Dominion finals. At a C.R.U. meeting held January 15, 1921, committees were set up to look into the matter of 1) revising the playing rules, and 2) revising the constitution.²⁵³ Unable to complete their reports on the specified date of March 26, the committees presented their proposals on April 23, 1921. The Rules Committee composed of J. C. Maynard, Dr. A. B. Wright, and R. P. Isbister, proposed a set of rules very similar to those accepted by the C.I.R.F.U. As stated in article 25 of the amended constitution of the C.R.U.,

All the affiliated Unions shall adopt the playing rules of this Union as a standard for competition in their own individual series and shall abide by same or any interpretation of same as laid down by the Rules Committee.²⁵⁴

Thus those Unions that wished to remain affiliated with the C.R.U. played under the new rules that contained all the major tenets of the Burnside Rules. At a meeting of the Intercollegiate Rules Committee on September 10, 1921, it decided to adopt the C.R.U. rules and remain a part of the body and thus be eligible to play in the Dominion championship series.²⁵⁵

The differences in the C.I.R.F.U. code of December 1920 and that of the C.R.U.'s of April 1921, were slight. Those of greatest consequence simply entailed the re-establishment of rules that had been in existence in the C.I.R.F.U. code prior to December 1920. For instance, the C.R.U. did not distinguish different types of trys; rather they were all worth five points as was the case in the C.I.R.F.U. in 1919. Also, the regulation of giving an opponent waiting to receive a kick, three yards, was again in effect as it had been in 1920. A few alterations were also made in regard to offside interference. The allowable distance in which it could be used beyond the line of scrimmage was decreased to three yards. Only players who were within one yard of the line of scrimmage at the time the ball was put into play were allowed to provide offside interference and as before only for the purpose of opening a hole. In conjunction with the number of men that had to be on the line of scrimmage at the instant the ball was put into play the C.R.U. rules stipulated that at least five had to be within one yard of the line rather than seven.²⁵⁶

While the Intercollegiate Rules Committee saw the new rules as

a means of opening the game up and making it more pleasing for the spectators, many of the spectators felt they simply brought our game more in line with the Americans'. Because of this, many looked to McGill, under the leadership of Frank Shaughnessy, to show the way in new tactics and winning football for the 1921 season.²⁵⁷ "Shag" had not only played and coached in the United States but on the off-season while managing the Syracuse baseball club had had the opportunity to spend a great deal of time with the coaches of the Syracuse University football squad.²⁵⁸ Shaughnessy, however, introduced very little in the way of new trick plays and the major one he did, the "Minnesota Shift", was really only successful against Queen's in one game, a 25 to 1 victory.²⁵⁹ After that victory the unexpected happened. Queen's, under the direction of George Awrey, the new Athletic Director, who was formerly the coach of the Intermediate Dominion champion Hamilton Tigers of 1920,²⁶⁰ emerged from the cellar of the C.I.R. F.U., and McGill, in spite of its familiarity with American tactics and the assistance of special American coaches brought in by "Shag", fell to last place in the standings.²⁶¹ This did much to reaffirm the generally held concept of the Canadian public that the game as played by the intercollegiate union was indeed, Canadian. Its enthusiastic support of this brand of football was evidenced in the huge crowds that attended the games. At Varsity's annual encounter at Percival Molson Stadium a new record was set for a football match in Montreal when over 13,000 witnessed the contest.²⁶² Later when Queen's

came to town over 10,000 avid fans turned out, but when Syracuse University played McGill under American rules only 6,000 spectators were interested enough to come to the stadium and receipts were estimated to be hardly sufficient to cover expenses.²⁶³ Enthusiasm over collegiate football was equally at fever pitch in Toronto where on October 29 at the McGill contest a new record crowd for a football match in Canada was set with a paid attendance of 15,603.²⁶⁴ The following week the Queen's match attracted 12,000.²⁶⁵

Varsity once again won the C.I.R.F.U. championship, but was defeated by the Toronto Argonauts in semi-final play for the Dominion championship.²⁶⁶

Conclusions

The intent of this chapter was to analyze the rules and form of Canadian intercollegiate football in Ontario and Quebec from 1898 to 1921, in an attempt to obtain a further understanding of the Canadianization processes this sport underwent. Based on the constituents of culture, both the conceptual and actual nature of the rules and form of the game were analyzed. This was accomplished in three phases. The first phase compared the rules that existed in the C.I.R.F.U. during the first year of its existence with those of English Rugby and American intercollegiate football. From this an attempt was made to ascertain the origin of the Canadian rules to see approximately what proportion of the rules of the game were distinctly Can-

adian. The second phase contained both actual and conceptual levels of analysis. The actual level analyzed what rule changes evolved over the period examined and the conceptual level examined both the idealistic and pragmatic reasons why they were either accepted or rejected. The last phase was concerned with the conceptual level of analysis as it dealt with the perceptions of those both directly and indirectly involved with the game in regard to the game in general.

The first phase of analysis indicated that the Canadian intercollegiate game had indeed some unique features in 1898, although it was for the most part a blend of the British and American forms. The third phase of the analysis revealed that, though aware of the English tradition surrounding the game and the ever present American influence, those Canadians concerned with football perceived the sport as played by the institutions of higher learning to be not only peculiar to Canada but superior as well. The Canadian game was characterized as having fine open play, lots of passing, and plenty of kicking, while being more scientific than English Rugby but not as confined as American football, a happy medium between the two.

The inaugural year of the C.I.R.F.U. saw the introduction of a number of American innovations being brought into the Canadian game by the various clubs. This was rejected by the majority of Canadian football enthusiasts especially where the innovations were considered to depreciate those characteristics of the game perceived as being peculiarly Canadian. In an attempt to rectify the situation

J. T. M. "Thrift" Burnside devised a code consisting of modifications he made to what he considered the best features of the Canadian and American rules along with some innovations of his own. These rules became the essentials of the Canadian game as it was and is known today. The controversy over the acceptance of the various tenets of the Burnside Rules constituted the major discussions concerning rule changes over the entire period studied as the last of its major tenets were not enforced by the C.I.R.F.U. until the 1921 season.

These and all suggested rule changes were appraised by the clubs of the various institutions both pragmatically and idealistically. The idealistic assessment ascertained whether or not the suggested rule change was compatible with their conception of what intercollegiate football should be, while the pragmatic analysis predicted the effect the rule change would have on the team's ability to win football games. Although the idealistic justification often received greater visible recognition, it was the pragmatic justification that determined whether or not a rule change or style of play was accepted or rejected by the members of the C.I.R.F.U. The idealistic justification served as a screening process to repel or moderate changes that were grossly out of line with what was perceived to be those characteristics that typified Canadian rugby football in form and values.

To a great extent the pragmatic evaluation a rule change received, determined the stated idealistic evaluation it was given. Generally if a rule change was perceived to be American it was idealistically

opposed. If, however, it was pragmatically approved no mention of its American nature would be voiced by that club. On the other hand, if a rule change was pragmatically rejected and any link between the rule change and the United States game could be made, it was labelled American and vociferously idealistically opposed. Although a rule change of English origin was usually idealistically approved it rarely found favour pragmatically. Thus we see that those involved with Canadian intercollegiate football expressed rejection toward both the English and American forms. Though there were those that expressed desire that either English Rugby or American football be totally adopted, the consensus of opinion was that the only admirable points of each be employed and that the Canadian game be maintained. In spite of this the game did shift towards the American form, away from the English. Nevertheless Canadian intercollegiate football continued to be a blend between the two forms such that throughout the entire period examined the intercollegiate game remained perceived, by those directly and indirectly involved with the sport, as being peculiarly Canadian.

FOOTNOTES

¹To aid in the comparative analysis of rules of Canadian inter-collegiate rugby football with those forms of the game played inter-collegiately in the United States and England the various rules have been presented chronologically in tabular form in Appendix A. The tables contain information that could be logically brought together on the basis of content critical to the nature of the game and that experienced change during the time under discussion.

The American and Canadian rules have been compared for the entire period delimited while the English Rugby rules have only been collated at the commencement of the C.I.R.F.U. in 1898.

In the first column of each table appear the years in which the rules came into existence or in which rule additions, changes or omissions occurred, the exception being that rules which came into effect on or prior to the formation of the C.I.R.F.U. but were still in effect in 1898 were all listed under that date. The tables are also divided into three additional columns one for each country's form of rugby football; Canada, United States, and England in that order. If the table continues for more than one page the column for England is usually discontinued. Also, where rules are pertinent only to the North American forms, the "England" column is omitted (i.e. Table 9d: Scoring - Rouge or Touchback).

In each table every item is numbered within the column in which it appears. When a change in the item occurs, if small, only the change is written; if major, the item is entirely rewritten. If an item that has appeared earlier in the rules is omitted from the later rules, the number of the item together with the word omitted, appears in the table. Also, if another country's rule is the same as the one for Canada the number of the item along with the word same, is written in the table. The numbering of each item for each table is consistent with subject matter from country to country as well as within each country from year to year. For example, in Table 9b: Scoring - Goal from Field, number "1" in each column is concerned with the value of a goal from field and "1a" deals with when it is awarded.

The information for the rules of the C.I.R.F.U. was obtained from the following sources: Canadian Football League, first minute book of the Canadian Rugby Union, 1891 -ca. 1916; Spalding's Athletic Library, Official Canadian Football Guide - 1910 (Montreal: Canadian Sports Publishing Company Limited, 1910), pp. 75-100; The Canadian Intercollegiate Rugby Football Union, Rules of the Game for 1919 Published by the Rules Commission (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1919), pp. 2-55; Canadian Rugby Union, Constitution and Official Playing Rules - 1921 (Toronto: The Scole Printing

Company, 1921), pp. 2-31; The Globe (Toronto), 1897-1921; Montreal Daily Star, 1897-1921. The information for the rules of the United States was obtained from: Lawrence James Green, "A Chronology of Changes in Collegiate Football Rules, 1873 to 1954," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, State University of Iowa, 1954), pp. 1-126. The information for the rules of England was obtained from: O. L. Owen, The History of the Rugby Football Union (London: Playfair Books, Ltd., 1955), pp. 65-72; The Encyclopedia of Sport, ed. The Earl of Suffolk and Berkshire, Hedley Peek and F. G. Aflalo (London: Lawrence and Bullen, Ltd., 1897), pp. 430-32.

²Seymour Martin Lipset, forward in Mildred A. Schwartz, Public Opinion and Canadian Identity (Los Angeles: University of California Press, Ltd., 1967), pp. v-viii.

³Vincent Massey, On Being Canadian (Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons Canada, Ltd., 1948), p. 4.

⁴R. Tait McKenzie, "Rugby Football in Canada," in Dominion Illustrated Monthly, Vol. I, February, 1892, p. 12.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid. McKenzie's assumption that Canada would "follow" either England or the United States in regard to changes in her form of rugby football was in accordance with Murdock's contention that societies rely upon cultural borrowing to receive tested solutions rather than resorting to invention or tentation.

⁸A. Courtney Kingstone and C. A. S. Boddy, "The Characteristics of Canadian Football," in Outing, Vol. XXVII, No. 3, December, 1895, p. 247.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Montreal Daily Star, Sept. 25, 1897.

¹¹Ibid., Oct. 1, 1897.

¹²The Globe (Toronto), Oct. 4, 1897.

¹³Montreal Daily Star, Oct. 11, 1897.

¹⁴Montreal Daily Star, Oct. 28, Nov. 1, 1897.

¹⁵Ibid., Nov. 24, 1897.

¹⁶The Globe (Toronto), Nov. 25, 1897.

¹⁷Ibid.; See Chapter IV, pp. 133.

¹⁸Ibid. This contradicts Cosentino who said Ottawa College, Ottawa; Bishop's College, Lennoxville; and McMaster University, Toronto were all charter members. It is correct, however, that they subsequently joined, the last to do so being Ottawa College in 1905. See Frank Cosentino, Canadian Football: The Grey Cup Years (Toronto, The Musson Book Company Limited, 1969), p. 16.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹See Appendix A, Table 1, p. 197.

²²See Appendix A, Table 2, p. 199.

²³Kingstone and Boddy, op. cit., p. 249.

²⁴See Appendix A, Table 6, p. 209.

²⁵See Appendix A, Table 4, p. 204.

²⁶See Appendix A, Table 9e, p. 231.

²⁷See Appendix A, Table 9d, p. 229.

²⁸See Appendix A, Table 9a, p. 223.

²⁹See Appendix A, Table 9b, p. 225.

³⁰See Appendix A, Table 7, p. 213.

³¹University of McGill Yearbook 1900, p. 163.

³²The Globe (Toronto), Oct. 24, 1898.

³³The Varsity, Vol. XVIII, No. 5, Nov. 16, 1898, p. 59. Such practices indicate cultural borrowing resulting from direct contact

with our immediate neighbors the United States. The innovations' degree of social acceptance was primarily limited to one team in the C.I.R.F.U.

³⁴The Globe (Toronto), Nov. 8, 1898.

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Frank G. Menke, ed.; The Encyclopedia of Sports (4th rev. ed.; New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1969), p. 372.

³⁷The Globe (Toronto), Nov. 16, 18, 1898.

³⁸The Varsity, Vol. XVIII, No. 9, Dec. 14, 1898, p. 112.

³⁹The Yates Cup was donated by Dr. H. B. Yates of McGill University. See McGill Fortnightly, Vol. VI, No. 5, Dec. 9, 1897, p. 102.

⁴⁰The Globe (Toronto), Nov. 25, 1898.

⁴¹Montreal Daily Star, Sept. 21, 1899; Nov. 30, 1901; The Globe (Toronto), Nov. 14, 1899.

⁴²R. Tait McKenzie, op. cit.

⁴³The Globe (Toronto), Nov. 14, 1899; Nov. 8, 30, 1901; Nov. 11, 1902; The Varsity, Vol. XIX, No. 9 & 10, Dec. 15, 1899, p. 125.

⁴⁴Kevin George Jones, "Sport in Canada 1900 to 1920," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1970), pp. 420-21.

⁴⁵McGill Outlook, Vol. IV, No. 12, Jan. 30, 1902, pp. 163-64. The innovation of the Burnside Rules was a prime example of cultural borrowing and the modification of the borrowed entity to suit the specific needs and desires of the recipient by the recipient. Primarily the elements of the Burnside Rules were borrowed from American intercollegiate rugby. The availability of the direct contact between Canada and the United States was a critical factor in this diffusion. The first of the four major tenets listed was a modification of the American eleven man system, the result being essential to the peculiarity of the Canadian game to present day. The second major tenet, the desire for the adoption of the snap-back primarily by the hand, was relatively new in North American football, as the snap-back in American football had been accomplished by the use

of the snapper-back's foot. See Walter Camp, Walter Camp's Book of College Sports (New York: The Century Co., 1893), p. 287, Rule 30. The third major tenet - the use of the down and gain was again modified so to be distinctively Canadian, as the Americans required a gain of 5 yards to retain possession of the ball in 1898. The necessity to gain ten yards was not adopted in the United States until 1906, two years after it was in vogue in the C.I.R.F.U. The last major tenet was essentially the rule in vogue in the United States but the Canadian innovators put special emphasis on not allowing mass plays.

⁴⁶The Varsity, Vol. XVIII, No. 9, Dec. 14, 1898, pp. 112-13.

⁴⁷The Globe (Toronto), Sept. 30, 1897.

⁴⁸Montreal Daily Star, Sept. 21, 1899.

⁴⁹The Varsity, Vol. XIX, No. 9 & 10, Dec. 15, 1899. The endorsement of the Burnside Rules by the University of Toronto Football Club was the first step in the Rules' social acceptance. Worthy of note was the prestige of Burnside and the men that first endorsed the Rules among both the students and faculty at the university.

⁵⁰McGill Outlook, Vol. I, No. 17, Feb. 9, 1899, p. 178. The essential ingredient to cultural borrowing or of any innovation, a need, was recognized by Burnside and the University of Toronto. The American innovations as modified by Burnside were perceived by Varsity to be a demonstrably efficient alternative. Varsity's communication illustrates its desire to increase the degree of social acceptance of the innovation within the C.I.R.F.U.

⁵¹The Globe (Toronto), Nov. 8, 30, 1901; Nov. 11, 1902; The Varsity, Vol. XIX, No. 9 & 10, Dec. 15, 1899, p. 125.

⁵²Montreal Daily Star, Feb. 15, 1899.

⁵³Ibid.

⁵⁴Ibid., Sept. 21, 1899.

⁵⁵Ibid., Nov. 13, 1899.

⁵⁶Ibid., Nov. 14, 1899.

⁵⁷Ibid. This illustrates a further attempt to increase the social

acceptance of the Burnside Rules. Special note should be taken of the direct involvement of the innovator, "Thrift" Burnside.

⁵⁸The Globe (Toronto), Nov. 21, 1899.

⁵⁹Ibid., Nov. 23, 1899. This indicates that Varsity realized if the Burnside Rules could be observed to be demonstrably superior to the "old" rules this would greatly facilitate their social acceptance and subsequent adoption by the other universities.

⁶⁰Montreal Daily Star, Nov. 15, 1899.

⁶¹Ibid., Nov. 27, 1899.

⁶²Ibid., Dec. 4, 1899. Although the English Rugby rules were socially accepted by the McGill Football Club until they were tested, then the spectators and players alike selectively eliminated their total adoption as a tentative solution to the problem of the undesirability of the Canadian rules as the English code did not prove to be demonstrably superior to the ones in vogue.

⁶³Ibid., Nov. 15, 1899.

⁶⁴McGill Outlook, Vol. III, No. 8, Dec. 20, 1900, p. 94.

⁶⁵Montreal Daily Star, Nov. 17, 1900.

⁶⁶See Appendix A, Table 9a, p. 223.

⁶⁷Montreal Daily Star, Oct. 31, 1900.

⁶⁸Ibid., Oct. 21; Nov. 11, 1901.

⁶⁹A summary of the Burnside Rules used during the 1901 Mulock Cup series has been compiled in Appendix B. The information for the appendix has been gathered from: McGill Outlook, Vol. IV, No. 12, Jan. 30, 1902, pp. 163-64; The Globe (Toronto), Nov. 23, 1899; Nov. 30, 1901; Nov. 11, 1902.

⁷⁰Montreal Daily Star, Nov. 30, 1901.

⁷¹The Globe (Toronto), Nov. 20, 1901.

⁷²The Varsity, Vol. XXI, No. 7, Nov. 26, 1901, p. 83.

73 Montreal Daily Star, Nov. 30, 1901.

74 McGill Outlook, Dec. 12, 1901.

75 Ibid., Vol. IV, No. 12, Jan. 30, 1902, pp. 163-64.

76 Ibid., Vol. V, No. 5, Nov. 18, 1902, p. 100.

77 Montreal Daily Star, Nov. 2, 1901.

78 Ibid., Nov. 6, 1902.

79 The Varsity, Vol. XXII, No. 15, Feb. 11, 1902, p. 200. It appears that after being used for one year in the Mulock Cup series the original down and gain rule was found to be slightly unsatisfactory and by the process of variation the stipulation of retaining possession of the ball by losing twenty yards was omitted from the rule.

80 Montreal Daily Star, Nov. 7, 1902.

81 Ibid., Nov. 15, 1902.

82 McGill Outlook, Vol. V, No. 5, Nov. 18, 1902, p. 100.

83 The Globe (Toronto), Nov. 15, 1902.

84 McGill Outlook, Vol. V, No. 5, Nov. 18, 1902, p. 101.

85 Montreal Daily Star, Nov. 19, 21, 1902; McGill Outlook, Vol. V, No. 13, Feb. 3, 1903, p. 311.

86 The Varsity, Vol. XXII, No. 7, Nov. 26, 1902, p. 105.

87 McGill Outlook, Vol. V, No. 13, Feb. 3, 1903, p. 311.

88 Montreal Daily Star, Oct. 20, 25, 1902. It is evident that although McGill recognized the need for rule change, the demonstrations of the Burnside Rules it had witnessed were not perceived by its representatives to likely be a rewarding solution to the problem as far as it was concerned, thus they were selectively eliminated by McGill.

89 McGill Outlook, Vol. V, No. 13, Feb. 3, 1903, p. 311.

90 The Globe (Toronto), Feb. 14, 1903.

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- ⁹¹The Varsity, Vol. XXIII, No. 7, Nov. 25, 1903, p. 104.
- ⁹²Montreal Daily Star, Nov. 23, 1903.
- ⁹³The Varsity, Vol. XXIII, No. 7, Nov. 25, 1903, p. 105.
- ⁹⁴Montreal Daily Star, Dec. 15, 1902.
- ⁹⁵The Varsity, Vol. XXIII, No. 7, Nov. 25, 1903, p. 105. The change in what the Burnside Rules became known as, points out that "Thrift" Burnside's personal notoriety was basically limited to the university milieu and that when an innovation is socially accepted by a larger organization it tends to be associated with that organization.
- ⁹⁶Montreal Daily Star, Nov. 12, 1903.
- ⁹⁷The Varsity, Vol. XXII, No. 7, Nov. 25, 1903, p. 105.
- ⁹⁸Ibid.
- ⁹⁹McGill Outlook, Vol. VI, No. 7, Nov. 23, 1903, p. 170.
- ¹⁰⁰The Varsity, Vol. XXIII, No. 6, Nov. 18, 1903, p. 90. This concurs with Murdock's contention that innovations are often selectively eliminated or accepted not directly on their own merits but by a competition between organized groups of people with contrasting opinions, the result being decided by victory or loss of one group over the other.
- ¹⁰¹McGill Outlook, Vol. VI, Nov. 7, Nov 23, 1903, p. 170.
- ¹⁰²Montreal Daily Star, Oct. 1, 1903.
- ¹⁰³See Appendix A, Table 3, p. 200.
- ¹⁰⁴McGill Outlook, Vol VI, No. 7, Nov. 23, 1903, p. 170.
- ¹⁰⁵The Globe (Toronto), Nov. 21, 1903.
- ¹⁰⁶McGill Outlook, Vol. VI, No. &, Nov. 23, 1903, p. 170.
- ¹⁰⁷Montreal Daily Star, Feb. 20, 1904. Similar rule wasn't adopted in the United States until 1906. See Appendix A, Table 3, p. 200.

¹⁰⁸Montreal Daily Star, Oct. 10, 1904. The introduction of this down and gain rule meant that the original down and gain rule drawn up by Burnside had been socially accepted theoretically by the majority of the C.I.R.F.U. When it was tested the loss of twenty yards to retain possession of the ball proved to present problems as it had in the Mulock Cup series and once again variations were made to the rule to make it pragmatically acceptable.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., Nov. 11, 1904.

¹¹⁰Ibid., Nov. 12, 1904.

¹¹¹Ibid., April 21, 1905.

¹¹²Frank Cosentino, Canadian Football: The Grey Cup Years (Toronto: The Musson Book Company Limited, 1969), p. 28.

¹¹³Montreal Daily Star, Sept. 19, 1905. This indicated that intercollegiate football was becoming socially accepted by a greater degree of the Canadian society than those directly involved with the universities and was being selected as an acceptable alternative for public patronage and support.

¹¹⁴Ibid., Nov. 13, 1905.

¹¹⁵Ibid., Nov. 6, 1905.

¹¹⁶Ibid., Nov. 13, 1905.

¹¹⁷Ibid., Nov. 18, 1905.

¹¹⁸See Appendix A, Table 9b, p. 225.

¹¹⁹Minutes of the Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the Canadian Rugby Union, Jan. 14, 1905, p. 164.

¹²⁰Montreal Daily Star, Nov. 22, 1905.

¹²¹Ibid., Nov. 27, 1905.

¹²²Ibid.

¹²³McGill Outlook, Vol. VIII, No. 5, Nov. 30, 1905, p. 115.

¹²⁴Montreal Daily Star, Oct. 12, 1906.

¹²⁵Montreal Daily Star, Nov. 17, 1906; Records of McGill Football Club, April 10, 1906, p. 79.

¹²⁶Montreal Daily Star, Nov. 27, 1906.

¹²⁷The Globe (Toronto), Nov. 11, 1911.

¹²⁸Montreal Daily Star, Nov. 4, 1907.

¹²⁹Ibid.

¹³⁰Ibid., Nov. 25, 1907.

¹³¹See Appendix A. Table 9b, p. 225.

¹³²The Globe (Toronto), Nov. 25, 1907.

¹³³Montreal Daily Star, Oct. 21, 29, 1907.

¹³⁴See Appendix A, Table 6, p. 209.

¹³⁵Montreal Daily Star, Nov. 23, 1908.

¹³⁶Ibid., Nov. 27, 1908.

¹³⁷Ibid., Nov. 30, 1908.

¹³⁸Ibid.

¹³⁹Cosentino, op. cit., pp. 19 & 28.

¹⁴⁰Montreal Daily Star, Nov. 29, 1909.

¹⁴¹Ibid. This illustrates the tremendous power the press had in inculcating the social acceptance of collegiate football in Canada to a degree not possible any other way.

¹⁴²Ibid., Dec. 6, 1909.

¹⁴³Grey Cup Trustees, correspondence concerning Cup, Public Archives of Canada, in Governor - General's Numbered Files (Record Group 7, G21, Number 445, Vol. 268.)

¹⁴⁴The Varsity, Vol. XXIX, No. 16, Nov. 29, 1909.

¹⁴⁵Montreal Daily Star, Dec. 15, 1909.

¹⁴⁶See Appendix A, Table 4, p. 202.

¹⁴⁷Montreal Daily Star, Dec. 10, 15, 1909; The Globe (Toronto), Dec. 13, 1909.

¹⁴⁸Montreal Daily Star, Nov. 9, 21, 1910.

¹⁴⁹Ibid., Nov. 25, 1910.

¹⁵⁰Ibid., Nov. 28, 1910.

¹⁵¹Ibid., Nov. 25, 1910.

¹⁵²Ibid., Nov. 28, 1910. Varsity's exposure through its success in the Dominion championship was establishing specifically its particular style of play and more generally intercollegiate football as what Canadian football was.

¹⁵³Ibid., Dec. 12, 1910.

¹⁵⁴Lawrence James Green, "A Chronology of Changes in Collegiate Football Rules, 1873 to 1954," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, State University of Iowa, 1954), Table XIX.

¹⁵⁵The Globe (Toronto), Dec. 10, 1910.

¹⁵⁶The Varsity, Vol. XXVIII, No. 36, March 2, 1909, p. 3; Vol. XXX, No. 1, Oct. 4, 1910, p. 1.

¹⁵⁷Ibid., Vol. XXXI, No. 9, Oct. 16, 1911, p.1. Varsity's building of a forty thousand dollar stadium to seat 12,000 spectators is concrete proof that the values associated with intercollegiate athletics was changing. The spectator who had once been considered incidental to the playing of the game was now a very important factor in its development.

¹⁵⁸Montreal Daily Star, Oct. 30, 1911; The Globe (Toronto) Nov. 6, 1911.

¹⁵⁹The Globe (Toronto), Nov. 8, 1911.

¹⁶⁰Montreal Daily Star, Nov. 27, 1911.

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- 161 Montreal Daily Star, Nov. 27, 1911. Estimated crowd of 20,000 was incorrect, the actual attendance was 13,070. See The Varsity, Vol. XXXI, No. 29, Dec. 6, 1911, p. 1.
- 162 The Globe (Toronto), Dec. 18, 1911.
- 163 Ibid., Sept. 10, 1912.
- 164 Montreal Daily Star, Sept. 23, 1912.
- 165 Ibid., Sept. 27, 1912.
- 166 Ibid., Sept. 16, 1912.
- 167 Ibid., Sept. 27, 1912.
- 168 Ibid., Sept. 16, 1912.
- 169 Ibid., Oct. 7, 1912.
- 170 University of McGill Yearbook 1914, p. 14.
- 171 Ibid.; The Globe (Toronto), Oct. 14, 1912.
- 172 University of McGill Yearbook 1914, p. 14; The Varsity, Vol. XXXII, No. 10, Oct. 21, 1912, p. 1.
- 173 The McGill News, Vol. 32, No. 5, Fall, 1951, p. 18.
- 174 The Varsity, Vol. XXXII, No. 10, Oct. 21, 1912, p. 1.
- 175 University of McGill Yearbook 1914, p. 14. This innovation, another of the many borrowed from the United States by "Shag" was popular in the collegiate ranks in the United States after 1906 when the offside men were put onside when the kicked ball touched the field of play thus making it easily recovered. See Green, op. cit., Table XVII.
- 176 The Globe (Toronto), Nov. 18, 1912; The Varsity, Vol. XXXII, No. 21, Nov. 18, 1912, p. 1.
- 177 The Globe (Toronto), Sept. 20; Nov. 19, 1912.
- 178 See Appendix A, Table 8, p. 218.

179 Toronto Daily Star, Dec. 20, 1912.

180 Ibid.

181 Montréal Daily Star, Dec. 23, 1912.

182 Ibid. This innovation was an example of tentation where something completely new was to be tried. It was distinctly Canadian.

183 Ibid., Toronto Daily Star, Dec. 20, 1912.

184 Ibid.

185 Ibid.

186 Toronto Daily Star, Sept. 24, 1913.

187 See Appendix A, Table 8, p. 218. The legalization of limited offside interference after the ball was put in play was representative of the conceptual acceptance that had in varying degrees been integrated in actuality by all the clubs from the inception of the union. Such a stipulation was in the Burnside Rules. See Appendix B, Rule 16.

188 The Globe (Toronto), Sept. 30, 1913.

189 Ibid., Sept. 29; Oct. 1, 1913. This may be considered a form of selective elimination; although the new rules were not given a practical trial it was decided that the old rules served the purposes sufficiently well that the trial of new rules would not have to be undergone.

190 University of McGill Yearbook 1915, p. 186.

191 The Globe (Toronto), Oct. 13, 1913.

192 Ibid., Oct. 29, 1913.

193 Ibid., Oct. 23, 1913.

194 Ibid., Nov. 17, 1913.

195 University of McGill Yearbook 1915, p. 187.

196 The Globe (Toronto), Nov. 17, 1913.

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- 197 The Globe (Toronto), Nov. 18, 1913.
- 198 Ibid., Nov. 17, 1913.
- 199 Ibid., Dec. 20, 22, 1913.
- 200 Montreal Daily Star, Sept. 28, 1914.
- 201 Ibid., Oct. 12, 1914; The Varsity, Vol. XXXIV, No. 6, Oct. 14, 1914, p. 1. This indicates that by the process of variation the secondary defence had changed slightly in form to have three men instead of two now backing up the linemen.
- 202 The Varsity, Vol. XXXIV, No. 13, Oct. 30, 1914, p. 4; Vol. XXXIV, No. 16, Nov. 6, 1914, p. 4.
- 203 Montreal Daily Star, Nov. 9, 1914; The Globe (Toronto), Nov. 9, 1914.
- 204 The Globe (Toronto), Nov. 16, 1914.
- 205 The Varsity, Vol. XXXIV, No. 23, Nov. 23, 1914, p. 1.
- 206 Ibid., Vol. XXXIV, No. 25, Nov. 27, 1914, p. 1.
- 207 Ibid., Vol. XXXIV, No. 29, Dec. 7, 1914, p. 1; Montreal Daily Star, Dec. 7, 1914 - said the attendance was 15,000.
- 208 The Varsity, Vol. XXXV, No. 1, Sept. 29, 1915, p. 1.
- 209 Ibid., Vol. XXXV, No. 5, Oct. 9, 1915, p. 2.
- 210 Ibid., Vol. XXXVII, No. 6, Oct. 10, 1917, p. 3.
- 211 Ibid., Vol. XXXVIII, No. 1, Oct. 2, 1918, p. 37; Vol. XXXVIII, No. 6, Oct. 16, 1918, p. 1; University of McGill Yearbook 1920.
- 212 Montreal Daily Star, Sept. 25, 1919.
- 213 See Appendix A, Table 8, p. 218.
- 214 The Globe (Toronto), Sept. 29, 1919.
- 215 Ibid.

216 The Globe (Toronto), Nov. 1, 1919.

217 Montreal Daily Star, Nov. 3, 1919.

218 The Varsity, Vol. XXXIX, No. 13, Nov. 3, 1919; p. 1.

219 Montreal Daily Star, Nov. 3, 1919.

220 See Appendix A, Table 5, p. 207.

221 Montreal Daily Star, Nov. 3, 1919. Although the old Princeton "guards back" devised by George W. Woodrull in 1884 moved the guards back off the line of scrimmage, the tackles and ends moved in to take the vacant places and the guards were used as blockers not as ball carriers as the wings were in "Shag's" "swinging wing buck." See Allison Danzig, Oh, How They Played The Game (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1971), pp. 112-13.

222 The McGill News, Vol. I, No. 1, Dec. 1919, p. 29.

223 See Appendix A, Tables 5, 6, and 8.

224 The Globe (Toronto), Nov. 15, 1919.

225 Montreal Daily Star, Nov. 12, 1919.

226 The Globe (Toronto), Nov. 17, 1919.

227 Montreal Daily Star, Nov. 19, 1919.

228 The Globe (Toronto), Nov. 17, 1919. This demonstrates the high esteem McGill in particular and the collegiate union in general held in the eyes of the general public and football organizations in Canada.

229 Montreal Daily Star, Nov. 19, 1919.

230 Ibid.

231 The Globe (Toronto), Sept. 13, 1920.

232 See Appendix A, Table 3, p. 200. The return of the differentiation between types of tries indicated that the same problem remained or reappeared that was present in 1912 and as Murdock suggests rather than try to come up with an entirely new solution the

C.I.R.F.U. decided to use the solution devised in 1912 that was never practically tested.

- 233 The Globe (Toronto), Nov. 17, 1920.
- 234 Ibid., Oct. 11, 1920.
- 235 Ibid., Oct. 26, 1920; Montreal Daily Star, Oct. 23, 1920.
- 236 Montreal Daily Star, Nov. 5, 1920.
- 237 The McGill News, Vol. 32, No. 5, Fall, 1951, pp. 18, 19.
- 238 The Globe (Toronto), Oct. 11, 1920.
- 239 Montreal Daily Star, Oct. 14, 1920.
- 240 Ibid., Oct. 25, 1920.
- 241 The Globe (Toronto), Nov. 8, 1920.
- 242 Montreal Daily Star, Nov. 20, 1920.
- 243 The Globe (Toronto), Nov. 22, 1920; The Varsity, Vol. XL, No. 21, Nov. 22, 1920, p. 1.
- 244 The Globe (Toronto), Dec. 4, 6, 1920; The Varsity, Vol. XL, No. 27, Dec. 6, 1920, p. 1.
- 245 The Globe (Toronto), Oct. 30, 1920.
- 246 Montreal Daily Star, Nov. 27, 1920.
- 247 Ibid., Dec. 11, 1920.
- 248 Ibid.
- 249 Ibid., Dec. 13, 1920; The Globe (Toronto), Dec. 13, 1920; The Varsity, Vol. XL, No. 31, Dec. 16, 1920, p. 5.
- 250 Montreal Daily Star, Dec. 13, 1920.
- 251 See Appendix B, Rule 17, p. 244.
- 252 The Globe (Toronto), Dec. 13, 1920.

- 253 The Globe (Toronto), Jan. 17, 1921.
- 254 Canadian Rugby Union, Constitution and Official Playing Rules-1921 (Toronto: The Scoole Printing Company, 1921), p. 7.
- 255 The Globe (Toronto), Sept. 12, 1921; Montreal Daily Star, Sept. 12, 1921. This indicated that after a "cultural lag" of more than twenty years from the time "Thriff" Burnside's rules were first accepted by the University of Toronto Rugby Football Club not only the C.I.R.F.U., but all the unions affiliated with the C.R.U. finally accepted his innovation.
- 256 See Appendix A, Tables 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9a.
- 257 Montreal Daily Star, Oct. 13, 1921.
- 258 The Globe (Toronto), Sept. 16, 1921.
- 259 Montreal Daily Star, Nov. 1, 1921; The Globe (Toronto), Nov. 9, 1921. The "Minnesota Shift" was devised by Dr. Harry Williams prior to 1910. The original formation had the centre and the ends on the line, guards behind the centre on each side of him, and the tackles on a line with the guards outside of them parallel to the line. The quarter-back and the other backs were behind these men. On a three count shift the linemen moved into position on the line with the ends jockeying either in or out. The idea was to unbalance the line to outflank the defense. See Danzig, op. cit., p. 237.
- 260 The Varsity, Vol. XLI, No. 2, Sept. 30, 1921, p. 1.
- 261 Montreal Daily Star, Oct. 27, 1921.
- 262 Ibid., Oct. 17, 1921.
- 263 Ibid., Nov. 7, 1921; The Globe (Toronto), Nov. 7, 1921.
- 264 The Globe (Toronto), Oct. 31, 1921.
- 265 Ibid., Nov. 7, 1921.
- 266 Ibid., Nov. 21, 1921.

CHAPTER IV

THE CANADIANIZATION OF THE CONCEPTS SURROUNDING INTERCOLLEGIATE FOOTBALL FROM 1897 TO 1921

The Canadianization of an entity not only affects the entity itself but also the concepts surrounding it. The intent of this chapter is to analyze the conceptions surrounding the game of football as played in the C.I.R.F.U. from 1897 to 1921 in an attempt to gain further insight into the Canadianization of intercollegiate football in Ontario and Quebec during this period.

The inability to analyze concepts directly necessitates a two level analysis much the same as that used in the selection and rejection of rule changes in Chapter III. The first level is expressed as stated values or professed abstract ideals representing a players', coaches', spectators', or organizations' beliefs about ideal modes of conduct as well as motives for, and goals expected to be obtained, from exhibiting such conduct. The second level of analysis is the actual behavior exhibited by players, coaches, and spectators in game and practice situations.

The strong desire to perpetuate the English values embodied in the philosophy of "athleticism" or "muscular Christianity" was among the major reasons given for the formation of the C.I.R.F.U.. Just

what this philosophy entailed and why Canadian intercollegiate rugby football exhibited this affinity to the English value system; pose interesting queries.

The basic assumptions underlying "muscular Christianity" and "athleticism" were that desirable personality and character traits could be developed through participation in team sports and that these characteristics would then be transferred to the individual's daily life.¹ Perhaps the best known proponents of this movement were Thomas Hughes, author of Tom Brown's Schoolday's, first published in 1857, and Charles Kingsley referred to by B. J. Molloy as "the apostle of 'muscular Christianity.'"² In Kingsley's treatise, entitled Health and Education, these assumptions and the characteristics thought to be developed are readily perceptible:

. . . that games conduce, not merely to physical but to moral health; that in the playing field boys acquire virtue which no books can give them; not merely daring and endurance, but, better still, temper, self-restraint, fairness, honour, unenvious approbation of another's success, and all that "give and take" of life which stand a man in such good stead when he goes forth into the world, and without which, indeed, his success is always maimed and partial.

In Tom Brown's Schoolday's, Hughes developed the ideals of athleticism and stressed the qualities assumed to be developed through participation in team sports. True to liberalism the individual was seen to develop courage, leadership, honesty, endurance, and manliness, but, in somewhat of a contradiction, he was to remain, above all, true to the objectives of the group by developing team

spirit and that dictum by which the movement became known, a sense of "fair play."⁴ Throughout the Public Schools and universities of England "fair play" or gentlemenly conduct was a code of unwritten laws which were generally understood and accepted by the upper and middle classes who applied them to the football field as elsewhere.⁵ In the nineteenth century because of the social respectability that was linked with sport, the terms "amateur" and "gentlemen" became interchangeable. This becomes critical when considering the proper code of conduct. Perhaps the most striking aspect of this code was that amateurs or gentlemen "played for fun, and that, while they tried to win, it was part of their code of behavior to accept defeat cheerfully and gracefully."⁶ The outcome in many ways became secondary, the importance lying, rather, in how the game was played.⁷

The "Big Three" of the C.I.R.F.U. acquired their athleticism ideals honestly. The students of these universities were virtually all of Anglo-Canadian ancestry. Many had received their preparatory education in one of the three prestigious private schools in Ontario: Upper Canada College, Trinity College, and Ridley College, which were all, to some degree, modelled after the Public Schools of Britain. The headmasters and instructors were predominantly from Public School backgrounds and many had attended either Oxford or Cambridge.⁸ These private schools consciously promulgated the ideals embodied in athleticism and had the underlying belief "that scholarship and athletic prowess could be linked."⁹ When, as grad-

uates, these students entered the universities, the spirit of "fair play" had become a part of them as it had been a part of their ancestors who transmitted rugby to Canada. Indeed, McGill and the University of Toronto considered themselves the Oxford and Cambridge of Canada athletically, as well as academically.¹⁰

The two events which seem to have ultimately led to the founding of the C.I.R.F.U. came about in part, due to the universities' desire to preserve the spirit of athleticism. The first occurred on October 12, 1897, when the Senate of Queen's University announced that the football management would not be allowed "to play men on Queen's team who are neither students nor grads."¹¹ The college men saw professionalism as the nemesis of athleticism and both McGill and Varsity had previously insisted that their teams consist entirely of bona-fide undergraduates.¹² Principal Grant, President of the Senate at Queen's, exemplified the universities attitude when he remarked:

During the last year or two, however, there has been a tendency all over the country in connection with the game, to introduce professional players, and that tendency has ruined so many athletic sports on this continent, that it ought to be guarded against at the outset.

If newspapers, though somewhat elitest and therefore biased, may be viewed as expressing public opinion, the action taken by the Senate of Queen's was highly approved in Toronto according to The Globe which commented that the action was,

... a step in the right direction. Professionalism in rugby

football is gradually creeping in and a great deal depends upon the stand the colleges and universities will take in the matter. A crisis has been reached, and if the game is to be kept amateur the time has arrived when action must be taken.¹⁴

Similar sentiments were expressed in the Kingston Whig.¹⁵

The second event involved McGill's protest of its October 23 contest against Ottawa City. It alleged Ottawa had played several professionals.¹⁶ Concurrently the faculty of "Old McGill" decided that if football remained as it was in the Q.R.F.U. McGill would never be in another series of games in that league.¹⁷

When the sting of censure abated, the students of Queen's, who were used to managing their own affairs, almost unanimously admitted the justice of the Senate's ruling and endorsed their action.¹⁸

Once fully committed to the idea of an autonomous collegiate union within the geographic bounds of Canada, the collegians were not long to organize. In a letter composed by managers Parker of Queen's and Inkster of Varsity, to be sent to the other colleges concerning the formation of the league, it is evident that the preservation of the spirit of athleticism was of paramount importance.¹⁹ The arguments presented in the letter were:

- a) Present position and action of college authorities, especially McGill and Queen's.
- b) Feeling of students and graduates interested in the game is opposed to present league.
- c) Such a league would be in the interests of the game and would tend to cultivate a better sporting spirit.

- d) It would tend to eliminate professionalism.
- e) College men have much in common, which town and gown has not.
- f) College men play the game for its own sake and the glory of the alma mater, and not for the personal motives.²⁰

With the full support of the faculties, rugby clubs, and student enthusiasts of the Universities of Toronto, McGill and Queen's, the C.I.R.F.U. was formed on November 24, 1897.²¹ As was expected, the issue concerning who should or should not play was a major issue. It was unanimously decided that to be eligible, a player had to be a bona fide registered student, regularly in attendance at classes in some faculty of the university he represented or a graduate of no more than one year's standing.²² All players also had to be amateurs in good standing according to the following definition:

An amateur is one who has never competed for a money prize or staked bet, or with or against a professional for any prize, or who has never taught, pursued, or assisted in the practice of athletic exercise, as a means of obtaining a livelihood; or who has never entered any competition under a name other than his own.²³

A perusal of articles such as "College Athletics" in The Varsity and "A Plea For Decent Football" in the McGill Outlook, leaves little doubt that the philosophy underlying the C.I.R.F.U. in 1898 continued to be that of athleticism.²⁴ Though the "game for the game sake" ethic was professed, actual behavior both on and off the field of play indicated that the pragmatic concern with winning often appeared to be the determining factor in the behavior exhibited by those involved

with intercollegiate rugby football. This philosophy of being totally concerned with the win, often at the expense of what was considered "fair play" by the stated values of athleticism, was perceived by most Canadians as being a negative characteristic which was epitomized by American athletics. Guy Lewis in his dissertation "The American Intercollegiate Football Spectacle, 1869-1917", lent credence to this perception by stating that after 1876, "the only true and accepted intercollegiate football philosophy" in the United States was indeed "to conquer regardless of odds or cost."²⁵ A report by Howard J. Savage on American College Athletics written in 1929 substantiated Lewis by stating that, although the stated values for athletics in the American universities were those of athleticism, in reality "the group of characteristics included in the term 'sportsmanship' are probably not inculcated by athletics at all." In fact Savage stated that collegiate football in the United States exhibited many practices which were far from those fostered by athleticism, for the purpose of creating winning football teams.

At the inaugural game of the C.I.R.F.U. played on October 8, 1898, a dispute arose over a decision by the referee which made the difference in McGill defeating Queen's. When the official called back, with only a minute remaining, a Queen's try that would have given the lead to Queen's, the over zealous Queen's supporters stormed the field and jostled both the umpire and the referee, as well as verbally abusing both men. The crowd became so threatening that

fellow cadets from the Royal Military College escorted the two cadet officials off the field and into a cab.²⁷ Certainly not the type of behavior one would expect to see at a contest of "gentlemen".

In "A Plea For Decent Football", the author was of the opinion that men in the intercollegiate ranks often went on the field, "not with the idea of indulging in a manly and healthful sport, but with the sole aim to winning the match. It must be won fairly or foully. . ."²⁸ His assessment of the cause of "this sad state of affairs" was a lack of discipline among the players, a lack of honesty, and a lack of pure sport, which he felt "should rule the game."²⁹ This tendency to fall short of the stated values in the endeavor to win was also evidenced in McGill's desire to obtain a professional coach "to give a number of our best players a thorough training in muscular development and systematic-combination play."³⁰ The McGill Football Club felt so strongly about obtaining a professional coach that at its annual meeting of 1898 it empowered the incoming Executive to hire one if it saw fit to do so.³¹ It seems that it didn't, as a paid coach was not employed and the desire for one abated for a time.

Varsity, though no stranger to victory, also showed signs of breaking away from true athleticism. At the conclusion of the season, in a somewhat hypocritical move, it entered the Dominion championship series despite objections from McGill, several faculty members, and President Loudon of the University of Toronto.³² In being willing to play against teams they had accused of having the "taint of profes-

sionalism", in order to have a chance to obtain the extrinsic reward of the Canadian championship, Varsity certainly compromised its ideals. The majority of the C.I.R.F.U. members felt as McGill did, so at their first annual meeting held on November 12, 1898, the representatives decided that after that year the collegiate champion would no longer enter the Dominion championship series and the union's affiliation with the C.R.U. was terminated.³³

Even with these apparent inconsistencies between the stated values and the actual behavior and the very real financial difficulties involved with supporting a three team senior division, the McGill Football Club's perceptions of the effect the intercollegiate union was having, must have been favourable as they remarked:

. . . it must be felt no losses are too heavy or sacrifices too great, when we consider the benefits accruing to college sport through our connection with the Intercollegiate League.³⁴

Following the example of their English brethren, Canadian colleges were of the opinion that moderate practice before and during the season was appropriate and all that was necessary to prepare a team for its gridiron confrontations. Implicit in the ideals of athleticism was the idea that the game was secondary to the intent of the university, the academic education of the students. Athletic endeavors, such as rugby football, were viewed as valuable adjuncts to college life that provided character building opportunities found no where else. In the 1890's, teams rarely began training until two weeks before the season opened and then during the season they indulged in two or

three, one to one and a half hour practices weekly.³⁵ Canadians perceived the American system of having the player eat with his team at a training table, having his afternoons spent on the field with the coaches and often his evenings with football strategists at signal practice as being totally excessive and approaching professionalism.³⁶ They therefore philosophically rejected that system. Lewis and Savage again substantiated the Canadian people's perceptions by saying that after 1876 the conduct of American football underwent a series of changes in management, team play, and financing. "The end result was a professional entertainment spectacle", and "a highly organized commercial enterprise".³⁷

As the Canadian collegiate game became more sophisticated (due particularly to Varsity and "Thrift" Burnside) more time was spent on practice where it was allowed by the various faculties of the universities. Varsity started practices a full three weeks before its opening game of the season in the first three years of the C.I.R.F.U. It also practiced almost daily during these seasons, even incorporating the American traits of using signals to designate desired plays and holding secret practices to perfect them.³⁸ McGill, on the other hand, was badly hampered by the various faculties not allowing the team time off lectures to practice. As a result, at the Football Club's annual meeting of 1899, a resolution was formed that a petition be presented to the governing body, through the Grounds and Athletics Committee, asking for freedom from lectures from 4 to 6 p.m., in

all departments of the university for one day a week, and a similar period one day week in each faculty.³⁹

Prior to the commencement of the season of 1900 the Captain and Manager of the McGill Football Club called a general meeting of the club to outline the major points they felt needed to be rectified before McGill would produce a winning team. They were: 1) Lack of practice, 2) Lack of enthusiasm, 3) Lack of set hours for practice.

The first heading referred not only to work done on the field but to preseason conditioning done by the players before they returned to school. In an attempt to help out with this, the Manager, Mr. E. G. Mason, sent out circulars outlining what was desired and asking them to do it. In answer to the petition of 1899, the third item was slightly improved, as Wednesday afternoons from three o'clock on, from the beginning of the term until November 15 were set aside free from lectures specifically for rugby practice. Mr. Mason pointed out that this was still inadequate, that at least three practices a week, including Saturdays, were needed. This meant that most players had to miss one lecture a week to be able to attend the three scheduled workouts. In addition to these team practices Mr. Mason suggested each player run at least a mile a day or box a few rounds.⁴⁰ At the conclusion of the season of 1900, still another year without winning the championship, the McGill Club moved that a petition be drawn up and signed by the Executive to be presented to the Principal and the various faculties asking that lectures be suspended Tuesday and

Thursday between the hours of four and six in the afternoon during the football season.⁴¹

"Probably never before in Toronto has there been so much regular and systematic practice as that which the members of the first and second teams went through, at least, during the critical formative period."⁴² The preceding was written of the 1901 Varsity football squads as they began practice over a month prior to the first league game and worked out daily through the season.⁴³ Their diligent efforts under the direction of Honorary Coach "Thrift" Burnside, were rewarded by the reception of the championship in their respective divisions of the C.I.R.F.U.

At McGill, the old complaint of not enough practice time was once again heard and rumors were once more circulated expressing the desirability of obtaining a professional coach. An editorial in the November 21 issue of the McGill Outlook remarked that it seemed as if the students were "totally unsupported by the authorities of the University" in their endeavors to come up with a solution to developing a winning football squad. Appealing to the practical nature of the University authorities the editorial went on to state that, "A university is known as much by her men who represent her on the field of sport, as by the degree which she finally confers upon them."⁴⁴ The article alluded to the renown of Harvard and Yale and how, if it were not for their success in athletics, these fine institutions would never have been as widely known nor be enjoying the great enrollments that they did.

Although the football players were allowed to practice Tuesday and Thursday afternoons during the season, classes for the remaining student body went on as usual. This meant that those students taking time from classes to practice had to make up this lost time as best they could.⁴⁵ As this was grossly unfair to the footballers another effort was made at their annual meeting to have the Faculty agree to the cancellation of lectures and laboratory classes from 4 to 6 p.m. two afternoons per week. The matter of securing a professional coach was "considered to be greatly desired" but nothing definite could be decided as the Grounds and Athletics Committee would have to be consulted.⁴⁶

Prospects looked bright for McGill at the beginning of the 1902 season. Practices started almost three weeks in advance of the first game and nearly all the previous year's team were back in hot pursuit of the pigskin. Arrangements were made to have Tom "King" Clancy come up from Ottawa to instruct the squad in systematic team play. He arrived at Montreal on September 28, but after spending a few days at McGill, he decided not to coach. "You can say," said the celebrated coach, "that I was prepared to help out an old friend in coaching McGill, but as they are inclined to treat me as an ordinary trainer, and seem to wish to make it appear that I should be acting as a professional, the arrangement is off."⁴⁷ Clancy's stand for athleticism necessitated McGill obtaining another coach. Instead of one, three gentlemen shared the duties of Honorary Coach. They were Dr.

Turner and Messrs. "Ernie McLea and "Dick" Kenny, former players of the Red and White.⁴⁸ Though still having to miss classes to do so, the team went through three hard practices a week and managed to capture the Yates Cup for the first time. No mention of a need for more practice time was made at the club's annual meeting; however, the Executive was asked to take steps to secure "an efficient coach for next season".⁴⁹

Though McGill started its pre-season training a full month in advance of the season opener it did not secure a permanent coach, honorary or otherwise, as the coaching responsibilities were primarily shared between Doctors Turner, Hill, and Patch, who assisted Captain F. Mohr.⁵⁰ Conversely, Varsity had the benefit of consistently fine tutelage under Honorary Coach Rev. A. F. "Biddy" Barr, not only for 1903, but consecutively through to the conclusion of the 1906 season.⁵¹

The issue of player eligibility had received little attention since the inception of the union, until Ottawa College, via King Clancy, notified Secretary W. Molson just prior to its 1903 annual meeting that it was anxious to join if allowed to play graduates of any number of years standing, rather than the one year limit as then stipulated.⁵² The matter was left to the incoming Executive and at the following semi-annual meeting held on February 14, 1904, it was reported nothing was done concerning Ottawa College's admittance to the union. It was reported, however, that Ottawa would enter the union if allowed

to play three non-students. The union would not agree to that but would consent to its playing that number of graduates for a time.⁵³

Though supposedly in favour of Ottawa's entrance, the "Big Three" by amending the eligibility rules to the following:

No person shall be eligible to play on any team of the Union who is not a bone fide student, regularly in attendance at classes in some faculty of the university of college he represents, and further, no one shall be eligible to play a succeeding year who in the previous year failed to write on his examinations, except by special permission.⁵⁴

effectively prevented Ottawa College from joining the union in 1904, seemingly for the reason of keeping out professionals.⁵⁵ The extent to which the universities rejected Ottawa because of its use of alleged professionals was vividly demonstrated in the statement given by W. H. McInnes, Secretary of Queen's University Athletic Committee who said the reason Queen's did not meet Ottawa College for the Dominion championship was that intercollegiate teams will not compete with professionals which, in its opinion, constituted Ottawa College.⁵⁶ Further amendments requiring the certificates of players to be signed by both the college registrar, and also by an academic head of a faculty, were made at the annual meeting in November of 1904.⁵⁷

When in April 1905, Ottawa College felt it could be competitive with other colleges under the eligibility regulation of the C.I.R. F.U., a special meeting was called to admit it into the union.⁵⁸ Ottawa's resignation from the Q.R.F.U. to join the collegiate ranks

indicated the great increase in popularity the union was experiencing amongst the public.⁵⁹ When McGill came to Ottawa on October 14 to play in College's inaugural game in the union, hardly had McGill begun to kick the ball around before the Ottawa students began to shout the McGill "yells". "This display of good feeling was carried on all day, and did much to impress the Ottawa people that College football was played in the right spirit."⁶⁰ The game itself was clean and fast and later that evening nearly two hundred students went down to the train station to see the McGill team off.

The matter of eligibility was taken out of the hands of the students at a special meeting of the C.I.R.F.U. Executive on October 27, 1905, when a Committee of Reference was set up to which the eligibility certificates of all the members of a competing team were to be sent five days in advance of the game. The Committee was composed of the teaching staff of the four universities in the senior series.⁶¹ The significance of this move was that the players lost their authority to regulate who could or could not play, to a group not directly involved with the playing of the game. The obvious point of contention likely to arise from such a situation is a difference in values between the two groups. Such a contention was not long in developing.

At the conclusion of the 1905 campaign McGill found itself in a familiar position, second to Varsity. Though many considered the team members to have a great amount of individual talent, they lacked the concerted vigorous team play that put Varsity out ahead. "The cause for

this unfortunate inferiority is pretty generally recognized by the football people of McGill, players and supporters. The services of a coach of experience and energy would have pulled McGill out a winner this year.⁶² The article in the McGill Outlook from which the foregoing statement was extracted further expressed that it was difficult to imagine how a victory that meant so much to McGill could have been "thrown away" for reasons of "negligence or parsimony". That the ideals of athleticism were being questioned was evident when the article asked, "Or is it a weak-kneed hankering for a thankless amateurism that the coaching specialist might have spoiled?"⁶³

Although it seems that both McGill and the University of Toronto perceived themselves as upholding their professed ideals of athleticism, their behavior throughout 1906 would indicate that the accusations they hurled at one another of being something quite less than gentlemen sportsman were closer to the truth. On October 12, W. Glynn Ellis, the manager of Varsity III died as a result of an injury he received on the football field two days previously. Due to the unfortunate circumstances, the game to be played the following day between Varsity and McGill, at Toronto, was postponed.⁶⁴ At the time, McGill seemed to be in agreement with the cancellation but on the fifth of November, the Secretary of the Varsity Club received a somewhat surprising communication from McGill stating that it was writing the Secretary of the C.I.R.F.U. claiming the game by default. Varsity considered this action as being despicable and by making the

following response stated its philosophic affinity to English athleticism while exhibiting how actions differing from their stated ideals were perceived to be connected to their negative perceptions of the American sporting ideals:

The primary objective of college sports is not to win championships; that, however desirable, is not, or should not, be the chief end in view. If the spirit of true sportsmanship is absent from college athletics, they lose their reason for existence. While so called amateurs are being exposed every day by athletic organizations, our intercollegiate sportsmen have been with hardly an exception, beyond reproach. No reflections such as have been cast on some American universities in the past few years, can be made upon our Canadian colleges. They are as yet centres of clean sportsmanship and true amateurism. But there is little doubt that their days of trial are coming.

Such an action as that credited to the McGill Rugby management may be but a precursor of a day when victory and not sport will be the object. . . .⁶⁵

A meeting of the Executive of the union was called for November 9 in Montreal to decide the issue.⁶⁶ In an effort to reach a reconciliation before then, the McGill Club met on November 8 and wired Varsity that it would play the game in Montreal if it was necessary to decide the championship. McGill also said that it had documented proof that Varsity had refused to play the game on October 20, a date McGill said it had suggested.⁶⁷ Varsity, of course, was of the opinion the game should be played at Toronto and the Executive of the C.I.R.F.U. thought so too, ruling that the game would be played on November 24 if necessary and that Varsity would then have to reimburse McGill its expenses for the October 13 trip.⁶⁸

Things appeared to be getting back to normal on the intercollegiate

rugby football scene when an article including the following appeared in the Montreal Daily Star:

The virtuous Toronto Rugbyists, after talking so much about McGill's unsportsmanlike conduct in objecting to having the date of one of their games shifted about without any regard to their wishes, seem to have been guilty of a peccadillo which may throw out three of the games they have played.⁶⁹

The uproar surrounded the eligibility of C. W. Powers, who played for Varsity in the first three games of the season. When it was noticed that his captain had not produced a certificate for him, a complaint was laid with the Board of Reference,⁷⁰ who warned Varsity that the certificate must be forth coming. Reportedly Varsity promised that it would be forwarded to Professor McLeod of McGill, the Secretary of the Board, by November 10. When Powers' name did not appear in Varsity's line-up for their November 10 game against McGill and the certificate didn't arrive either, the Board became suspicious.⁷¹ Later that month the Board of Reference rules C. W. Powers ineligible and the games Varsity had won on October 18 and 27 were awarded to their opponents.⁷²

McGill was very caustic in its remarks concerning the matter, saying athletes that would play "without a certificate, have still a lot to learn before they achieve any true sportsmanlike spirit."⁷³ At the same time it seemed McGill perceived its own actions as being beyond reproach: "Let us at least be thankful that McGill has been happily free from such actions, and may she never stoop to so demeaning an

artifice.⁷⁴

Conversely, Varsity considered the Board's decision to be unjust. It felt that the spirit of the rule had not been considered, as in its estimation no student in the University was more eligible to play than Charlie Powers. Varsity pronounced the affair merely an unscrupulous tactic to obtain victory. This prompted The Varsity to remark somewhat disparagingly upon the apparent state of Canadian athletic ideals, again exhibiting its unfavourable perception of American ideals while extolling English athleticism.

It seems as if Canadians were drifting towards the low ideal allegedly followed by American teams - "Win any way you can." There is much talk in this country of following English traditions, and it is certain, that in no other country can we find a higher ideal of sport for sports sake.⁷⁵

Varsity was not the only team found in violation of the eligibility rule during 1906. Ottawa College had two men ruled ineligible and as a result forfeited two games to its opponents.⁷⁶ After the standings were straightened out, McGill emerged the champion. With the C. I. R. F. U. again affiliated with the C. R. U., McGill was anxious to play in its first Dominion championship.⁷⁷ The extent to which the players coveted this championship was shown in their willingness to let their academic work suffer while they continued training even more than ever for an occasion they thought justified it. In addition, McGill attempted to obtain the services of coach Hamilton of Montreal to acquaint themselves with the C. R. U. rules and to obtain some pointers on the Hamilton Tigers style of play. He was unavailable.

but two exponents of the Quebec Rugby game helped coach.⁷⁸ Unfortunately for McGill they were defeated 29 to 3.⁷⁹

The long standing desire of the students and players of McGill, of having a professional football coach, was finally acquiesced to by the Grounds and Athletics Committee in 1907. This wish was not realized by the hiring of "Shag" Shaughnessy, the man reputed to be the first professional coach in Canadian football, but rather by W. C. "Pud" Hamilton, the Montreal coach that McGill attempted to acquire to assist it in preparing for its 1906 Dominion championship bid.⁸⁰ At the September 16 meeting of the Grounds and Athletics Committee, "The Secretary reported that after consultation with the members of the Committee and the Rugby Football Club he had engaged Mr. W. C. Hamilton as coach for two months for the sum of \$500.00."⁸¹ Although adamant in its objection to professional players entering collegiate athletics, it appears McGill perceived the hiring of a professional coach as not being a threat to athleticism or if it did, this fear was superseded by its desire to win.

"Pud" started practice with McGill on September 18 and, as decided upon at the September 16 Executive meeting of the Rugby Football Club, practices were held through the season on Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday, continuing the format used in 1906.⁸² Coach Hamilton was hired to produce a winning team and he allowed no loafing during practice. He was a grim believer in "getting the ball - no matter how."⁸³ Besides the field practices, he put the team

through regular signal practices in the gym, but in spite of this extra practice and professional tutelage McGill ended up in last place.⁸⁴ Coach Hamilton had instructed the team in the old kicking game during the first part of the season and this had proved inferior to the open style-employed primarily by Ottawa College and Varsity. When, during the latter portion of the campaign McGill adopted the open running style, it won two out of its last three encounters and it was said that "McGill has become tuned up to the proper pitch at last and show the results of 'Pud' Hamilton's coaching."⁸⁵

Meanwhile, the 1907 season at Varsity saw the introduction of Harry C. Griffith as Honorary Coach, a position he was to hold with distinction for the next three years. This professor of French at Trinity College did much to develop scientific or strategic football in Canada while maintaining his coaching aim of developing "initiative and sportsmanship and inculcating those very principles which should be inseparable in a college team."⁸⁶ This high regard for the ideals of athleticism was most probably fostered within him while a student and later a coach at Ridley College where he turned out championship rugby teams in the preparatory school league prior to coming to Trinity.⁸⁷

Being pleased with the success of the team during the last half of the season, the Grounds and Athletics Committee re-engaged "Pud" Hamilton for 1908. "With his intimate knowledge of the men's capabilities, backed by an excellent schooling in the tricks of the

trade, the college fully expects him to turn out a championship aggregation.⁸⁸ This expected success was not forthcoming; in fact, the team had its worst record since the formation of the C.I.R.F.U., suffering five defeats while managing only one victory. Although the students in no way blamed Coach Hamilton, as he was still reckoned to be one of the best coaches in Canada, McGill was not satisfied with the two year trial with a professional coach and decided to go back to the system of using football graduates as honorary coaches.⁸⁹ The McGill Yearbook noted that many men were of the opinion that the money which had been allotted to pay a professional coach would be more profitably spent on the purchase of a couple of tackling dummies and on the establishment of a training table.⁹⁰ Interestingly, both these desired innovations were in common use in the colleges of the United States.

When it appeared the acquisition of a professional coach was not the solution to McGill's unsuccessful efforts on the gridiron, its other long standing complaint of not enough practice time surfaced again. It was said that: "Many good men in all branches of sport have been unable to turn out because of lack of assistance from the Faculty."⁹¹ And in a practical appeal to the authorities of the University, almost identical to the one previously cited from 1901, complete with allusions to Harvard and Yale, The Martlet remarked: "The greater the athletic success of the University teams the more widely it is known. The advertisement caused by a single victory would

cost a small-sized fortune if done in the ordinary way."⁹²

The innovations suggested by the McGill men were taken as the 1909 season saw the establishment of a training table for the football club and the purchase of a tackling machine to improve a weak spot long recognized.⁹³ Up to this time the diet of the players had been left to their own discretion; but very little tobacco and no alcohol was a voluntary rule the players imposed upon themselves during the season.⁹⁴ Even though McGill didn't win the championship, it was unanimously approved at the Club's annual meeting that the experiment of amateur coaches was a success and that the system be established on a definite basis. Mr. George McDonald was chosen to remain as Honorary Head Coach for 1910 and the Club decided to continue what was considered an "excellent institution", the training table. Mr. McDonald spoke on the development of amateur spirit and the necessity of maintaining in college games the spirit of desire of sport for the sake of recreation to the detriment of the desire to win at all costs.⁹⁵ The following excellent editorial entitled "English and American Influence on Canadian Sport" appeared in the November 25, 1909, edition of The Martlet:

Sport in Canada may be said to be in a period of transition, not only in the matter of rules of play but also in the matter of sentiment. There is as yet no separate and distinct ideal in sport existing in Canada; Athletic matters are still in an unformed condition, and while this state of affairs is going on, it is well to examine the spirit which exists in other countries with a view towards forming a Canadian spirit which shall include the best features to be found in other lands. Clean amateur sport has an immense influ-

ence over the character of a nation, and a good sporting spirit is necessary to the development of a high standard of national life.

In the United States the "win, tie or wrangle" spirit has done a great deal of harm to sport. This is the sentiment one expects to find among professionals, but it has unfortunately obtained a foothold in amateur circles, to the degradation of amateur sport and of sport itself as a whole. To "play the game" should be the aim of every man who takes part in any form of athletics, once he learns to do this, he finds himself almost unconsciously "playing the game" in the more serious walks of life and exercising an influence for good among those he comes in contact with . . .

.....

The United States and England exercise this potent outside influences on Canadian sport. The influx of settlers from England is bringing with it the spirit which dominates English sport, and the proximity of our American cousins is bound to exercise an influence over all branches of athletic activity. There are many good points in both, and the best thing we in Canada can do is pick out those good points and echew[sic] the evil ones. At present there is rather too much bad play and more bad feeling. . . . The right spirit should be inculcated in the players from the moment they begin to take an interest in sport: it should start at the preparatory schools and should be completed at the University. Let the intercollegiate Union set a high standard of sporting spirit and teach its men to "play the game", and we shall soon see an improvement in amateur sport and the elimination of the many objectionable practices which are common under the "win, tie, or wrangle" influence.⁹⁶

Several critical points were mentioned in the above editorial which should be emphasized. They are:

1. It was felt that the establishment of a Canadian sporting ideal should be accomplished by the blending of the desirable elements of primarily the English and American sporting ideals - much the same as was proposed to be done with the rules and form of the game.
2. It was aware that changes in sport affected not only the rules and form of the sport but also the conceptions surrounding the sport.

3. English athleticism was believed in, and perceived to be, the most desirable ideal for Canada to emulate. Concern was arising that Canada was falling away from these ideals and it was seen as the duty of the collegiate union to see that they were perpetuated.
4. Canadians perceived the American sporting ideal to be undesirable and typified by the compulsion to win at all costs. They recognized that the behavior exhibited indicated that rugby football in the collegiate union was becoming more closely aligned to these ideals.

All the while these statements were being made professing the merits of athleticism, the same groups excluding the majority of the Faculty were lobbying for increased practice time, where classes would not have to be made up at a later date.⁹⁷

Early in 1910, the Athletic Committee of Corporation (A.C. of C.) presented a request to the Joint Committee of the Faculty that it allow four afternoons a week from 4 p.m. on, for the first six weeks of classes in the fall, to be free from lectures or laboratory work so that the students who desired would be able to practice football. The Joint Committee of the Faculty's reply with the exception of the Faculty of Arts was that the request was not a workable condition and that such a change was not advisable.⁹⁸ By September the students were quite indignant at the Faculty's lack of support. They claimed that under the conditions as they were, McGill could not "hope to compete with the teams from the other universities, where athletics are encouraged instead of frowned upon by the authorities."⁹⁹ Their argument gains validity when it is known that Ottawa College practiced twice a day for more than a week prior to its game against

Queen's on October 8, while Queen's held three practices a day from October 4 until the game.¹⁰⁰

The Rugby Club's frustrations with the Faculty's stand reached a climax at the conclusion of the season when, at an Executive meeting of the club, the following resolution was drawn up and passed unanimously that it be forwarded to the Athletic Committee of Corporation.

Inasmuch as the present conditions regarding time for practice and the lateness of the opening of College are not consistent with the demands made upon the players by the standard of football in the Canadian Intercollegiate League, the players and Executive feel that it is advisable to withdraw from the Canadian Intercollegiate Rugby Football Union.¹⁰¹

When the A.C. of C. first received the resolution on November 14, 1910, it decided that before any action was taken by it, the matter should be submitted to the Athletic Association. This was done and after the Athletic Association reviewed the resolution it was sent back to the A.C. of C. with a letter stating that it met with its approval and "that the Athletic Association is in favour of steps being taken to allow football men more time for day light practices."¹⁰² The resolution received the unqualified approval of such prominent McGill men as Dr. Yates, Dr. Turner, Dr. Harvey, Dr. Vaughan Black, Honorary President of the C.I.R.F.U. and Professor McLeod. They claimed that Varsity, by winning the Intercollegiate and Dominion championship last year, benefited more by the advertising it received than it could possibly benefit from anything done to raise

the standard of scholarship. The great influx of students experienced by the University of Toronto that year, over previous years, was credited to its success on the football field. These men, along with the Captain, Executive and players of the McGill Football Club, strongly believed that if more time was allotted to the students they could, without a doubt, turn out a winning team.¹⁰³

The very real possibility of there not being any Canadian rugby at McGill in 1911 seems to have attained results. The A.C. of C. recommended to the Faculties that they arrange as much time as possible to be left free for rugby practice in the afternoons. All Faculties except Law agreed to do all they could to provide the necessary time.¹⁰⁴

With this matter satisfactorily attended to, the remaining major concern of the Football Club was the acquisition of a suitable coach. The Montreal Daily Star noted that the hiring of a professional coach in the past had not made a noticeable improvement in the team and it was thought that it was unlikely that an outsider would be obtained.¹⁰⁵ As it turned out no one coach instructed the Red and White during the 1911 season as George Trenholme, William Steedman and George McDonald shared the responsibility.¹⁰⁶ At Varsity, Dr. A. B. Wright took over the reins of Honorary Coach and continued in a similar fashion to his predecessor by directing his contingent to both the intercollegiate and Dominion championships. Meanwhile, at McGill the winds of discontent were again being felt and, by November, efforts were being made to obtain a professional coach for the upcoming season.

Being relegated to second last position in the union, McGill attributed its defeats "to the lack of a professional coach."¹⁰⁷ Though grateful for the efforts extended by the McGill graduates it was felt the time had come when it was necessary "to enlist the services of a man who will devote all his time and energy to the team, in addition to such valuable assistance as may be lent by graduates with their alma mater's interest at heart."¹⁰⁸ What McGill desired was a man competent in football, that would take charge, and make the players realize that only by doing as he stipulated would they first, secure a place on the team and secondly, obtain victory on the field.¹⁰⁹

Consequently, just slightly more than three years after the headline, 'No More 'Pro' Coaches For McGill Athletes', appeared in the Montreal Daily Star, the McGill Football Club hired another paid instructor.¹¹⁰ Though neither the first professional coach nor the first American coach in the C.I.R.F.U., Francis Joseph Shaughnessy had perhaps a greater impact on football in Canada than any American professional coach that has ever ventured north of the 49th parallel. In Shaughnessy, soon to be affectionately nicknamed "Shag", McGill found exactly the kind of stern disciplinarian and astute football man they had been looking for. Though rumored to be an expensive man, the Executive of the Club was willing "to do everything possible to land the intercollegiate championship",¹¹¹ and therefore felt the \$500.00 salary for the season, plus the offer to double it if he won the intercollegiate title, was entirely justified.¹¹²

Shaughnessy's first practice on September 18, 1912, "showed a great deal of careful planning and a combination of the Canadian and Yankee games."¹¹³ He stressed fundamentals, condition, speed and tackling being the ingredients he hoped to perfect in order to achieve victory. His practices usually lasted approximately two hours during which time the men were kept constantly at work. "Shag's" "job at McGill was to mould winning teams" and if he saw a player "dogging it" he did not hesitate to give him a tongue-lashing and order the offender to run a few extra laps after practice.¹¹⁴ Some players thought his methods were appropriate for professional baseball players but not for college football where the players were not getting paid and were playing for fun. "Shag replied that there wasn't much fun playing on losing teams. Any game that was worthwhile playing was worthwhile winning, in his book."¹¹⁵ Having great faith in the training table he reinstated that practice at McGill and on the 24th of September, for the first time in Canada, he moved the teams into training quarters. That evening he instituted another innovation, board lectures, where he would discuss with the team matters relative to improving their play and preparation for upcoming games.¹¹⁶ When the days became shorter he also introduced the use of a white ball which enabled the squad to stretch out their practices a half an hour longer than was ordinarily possible.¹¹⁷ The Redmen were not the only team to adopt these practices, once generally considered American and therefore synonymous with excessiveness and profes-

sionalism. On September 23 it was announced that the University Athletic Committee at Queen's had decided also to establish both a training table and training quarters for the Tricolours.¹¹⁸ Varsity continued to consider these methods unnecessary extremes.¹¹⁹

The McGill students council had also introduced, for the first time in Canada, an aggressive organized program of recruitment of athletes. During the summer scouts had been sent to the various "prep." schools and unceasing communication had been kept up with McGill Alumni in all parts of the Dominion, in hopes of attracting new material to Old McGill. Upper Canada College, St. Andrew's College, Ridley College, Lower Canada College, Westmount Academy and others were all sending some of their most promising athletes to McGill.¹²⁰ Although athletes were encouraged to attend McGill no mention of any inducements being offered by McGill was reported. When such statements were made against Queen's Athletic Directorate, it categorically denied the allegations and demonstrated its adherence to the philosophy of athleticism by stating that "Athletics take their place in the life of Queen's as an adjunct to academic pursuit. Sport is encouraged, but is not regarded as a business."¹²¹

By late September it was evident that Coach Shaughnessy's methods were certainly revolutionary and the comment was made that "if they prove successful" they would probably lead to great changes in the Canadian game.¹²² They were indeed a success as McGill tied with

Varsity for first place and a play-off match, arranged to be contested at Lansdowne Park in Ottawa, was needed to determine the inter-collegiate championship. Seemingly with McGill's new found success came new support from the University authorities who arranged to grant an unprecedented exemption from classes to all the students who went to Ottawa to support the team, while those who chose to stay in Montreal were expected to be at class as usual.¹²³ McGill's trick plays proved to be the difference and Shaughnessy collected his \$500.00 bonus.¹²⁴ It was noted that "never before has an intercollegiate fourteen spent such long hours in hard grinding practice."¹²⁵ They had scarcely missed a day's workout since mid-September.

At a mass meeting held on November 18 in Strathcona Hall the Rugby squad made public the following resolution that the team had passed:

In view of the fact that our examinations are fast approaching, we do not deem it advisable to prolong further an already lengthened football season, which has cost us considerable sacrifice in respect to our academic work.

We trust that our position will be appreciated by all.¹²⁶

Reports indicated that the students were quite satisfied and the Athletic Committee of Corporation sent a resolution to the team congratulating them on their intercollegiate championship and expressing its appreciation of the decision not to further prolong the season.¹²⁷ McGill's decision not to enter the Dominion championship explicitly indicates its desire to maintain the spirit of athleticism in collegiate athletics while its methods employed to capture the

Yates Cup indicate the ongoing conflict between values and behavior, or the conceptual and the actual.

All the excitement in intercollegiate football in 1912 did not involve McGill, as the opening game of the season between Ottawa College and Queen's ended with a brawl at mid-field in which players and spectators took part. The dispute centred around the question of whether a Queen's tackler was onside for a kick, thus making his tackle legal. Umpire Malcolm had blown the whistle for an offside infraction which he later admitted was a mistake. During the confusion that existed subsequent to the tackle and the blowing of the whistle, Ottawa managed to run the kick back for a try and the outraged Queen's team tried to leave the field with the ball. This started the trouble. Queen's claimed a 20 to 19 victory while Ottawa College insisted on a 20 to 20 tie.¹²⁸ To make matters worse, the referee's official report said the score was 20 to 14 for Queen's. On October 11, the Executive of the C.I.R.F.U. decided the protest in favor of Queen's. This action caused Father Stanton to announce that the game to be played the following Saturday against Varsity would be the last played by Ottawa College in the C.I.R.F.U. unless the Executive reversed its decision. This was not forthcoming so on October 16, at a special meeting of the Executive, Father Stanton handed in Ottawa College's resignation.¹²⁹

The coaches and their various training methods remained much the same in 1913 as they were in 1912. Shaughnessy once again incor-

porated the training table, training quarters and black board lectures along with the regular two hour daily workouts, while Dr. Wright relied almost entirely on the regular practices held from 4 to 6 p.m. each afternoon.

By mid-season McGill was the only undefeated team. Its eminent position, coupled with the fact that Queen's had not won a game in two and a half seasons, prompted the Athletic Directorate of Queen's to release a dispatch the day of its second game against McGill, which said in part:

Since the decisive success of the McGill University team under Coach Shaughnessy, whose salary is said to be \$1,500.00 for the season, and the report from the University of Toronto to the effect that the Blue and White will consider the appointment of a professional coach, the Queen's student body and athletic directorate have given the matter a good deal of informal consideration.¹³⁰

This statement caused quite a stir at the University of Toronto. The University said there was absolutely no foundation for the rumor that Varsity was considering the appointment of a professional coach as the Athletic Directorate, the majority of the players, and supporters all were strongly against such an appointment. The Varsity commented: "This University wants pure amateurism, good sport, and a friendly feeling between the teams."¹³¹

As it turned out, Queen's accomplished the totally unexpected and defeated McGill. It also handily out-pointed the Royal Military College 14-3 in their last game of the season. These victories no doubt helped invigorate the spirit of athleticism at Queen's as the

Athletic Directorate and players decided that Professor Lindsey Malcolm, a former Queen's player, should assume the coaching position in 1914 and thereby end further discussion of the professional coach question.¹³²

McGill went on to easily win the intercollegiate championship, its loss to Queen's being its only defeat through the season. McGill's apparent superiority over the other teams made even the usually strict enforcers of athleticism, the Varsity squad, wonder whether it would be wise to hire a professional coach. At a Club meeting the renowned "Reddy" Griffith addressed the following remarks to this matter:

If your only aim is to win an Intercollegiate championship, I can get you a professional coach who can win next year. Winning is not the true object of Rugby; there is something else—the pure love of sport which must not be sacrificed.¹³³

As would be expected, the Club voted to carry on the tradition of being tutored by an Honorary Coach, and a former Varsity Captain, of the 1910 Dominion champions, Hugh Gall, was chosen to replace Dr. A.

B. Wright.

With "Shag" once again in charge at McGill, the candidates had the benefit of practicing with equipment such as a blocking sled and tackling dummy, imported American devices laughed at by the other colleges.¹³⁴ Shaughnessy also introduced Canada to the use of numbering players to make them more easily recognized by the spectators.¹³⁵ The first game in Canada where the players wore num-

bers was the McGill-Varsity game of October 10, 1914.¹³⁶

In the first part of November when it looked as if McGill would again be the recipient of the Yates Cup it, as in the past two years, announced that, if the winner of the championship, it would not play-off in the Dominion finals. Its reason was that not only would the prolonging of the season interfere with its academic work, but also it desired to stay away from the Interprovincial teams who "have not always been free from the taint of professionalism."¹³⁷ Again it is interesting to note how McGill perceived itself as being totally void of professionalism despite its professional coach and his tactics, while the other colleges, particularly Varsity, saw McGill in quite another light. McGill did not have to worry, however, as the season ended in a tie between the two old rivals and this time Varsity gained the upper hand in a 17 to 13 decision in the play-off. The Varsity was of the opinion that, "The spirit displayed on both sides was the stuff by which, if anything, the British Empire will be saved", while also saying the game itself "approximated more closely to American rugby than, any exhibition perviously offered by Canadian teams."¹³⁸ This might appear incongruous but it represents what was happening in the C.I.R.F.U. Though the style of play and preparation for the games were becoming more in line with the American methods, due particularly to their successful application to Canadian intercollegiate football by Frank Shaughnessy, it was not inappropriate for the undergraduate newspaper to express the opinion

that the players' spirit or character would be of the highest calibre as the ideals of athleticism were still the values stated by the university Athletic Directorates and Football Clubs involved.

As previously delineated in Chapter III, intercollegiate athletics ceased in 1915 and the C.I.R.F.U. did not function during the First World War.

The resumption of intercollegiate football in 1919 was met with an enthusiasm never before experienced in the C.I.R.F.U. All three senior clubs had extraordinarily large turnouts at their practices and were all confident they would have a winning team.¹³⁹

Remembering the extent offside interference was used in 1914 and how the imaginative Shaughnessy stretched the very elastic rules to incorporate a wide range of new tactics that were inevitably labelled American, the Board of Referees of the C.I.R.F.U. met in Kingston on September 28 "for the purpose of making plain some of the rules that were rather obscure."¹⁴⁰ Its chief item of business was the writing of an interpretation of the interference rule which it hoped would end the criticism that the intercollegiate game was becoming too much like American football.¹⁴¹ It is suggested that it was also an attempt to control Shaughnessy's agile mind so the other teams would have a chance against his Redmen.¹⁴²

When McGill trounced Queen's 32 to 2 on October 18, it did not take long for reports to come out of Kingston that Shaughnessy, in applying American methods to Canadian football, transgressed the

code established in September. Queen's felt 'Shag' should 'be made to adhere to the playing rules as adopted by the Intercollegiate Union Rules Committee or vacate his position at the McGill university.'¹⁴³

Due to the numerous criticisms written regarding his supposed illegal action, Frank Shaughnessy wrote Professor Lindsay Malcolm of Queen's who refereed the game. Prof. Malcolm made it clear that in his opinion all 'Shag's' plays conformed with the interpretation placed on the interference rule at the special meeting of the Board of Referees held in September and that he had 'never officiated over a more sportsmanlike or gentlemenly aggregation of players than those of the McGill team.'¹⁴⁴

Notwithstanding Prof. Malcolm's exoneration, charges of illegal interference continued to be heard after McGill's game against Varsity. The angered Club officials responded: 'It has always been regarded as unsportsmanlike, in intercollegiate circles, to criticize the officials appointed for the games and the comments made about the rulings by the referee and judge-of-play last Saturday, in Toronto, caused much surprise among the players from McGill.'¹⁴⁵ They could not imagine anyone giving fairer rulings than Prof. E. O. Sliter of Kingston as he was also the President of the Intercollegiate Rugby Rules Committee.¹⁴⁶

An article in The Globe analyzing the criticism McGill received during the year, stated that Shaughnessy had done nothing not permitted in the rules.

The difficulty seems to be that the game at the Montreal University is too highly specialized to suit the others. Unquestionably the game has been improved by the astute McGill coach, and the whole matter apparently resolves itself into the question of the employment of professional gridiron tutors. Alumni coaches and the teams they handle are at a disadvantage against professional coached teams.¹⁴⁷

McGill's playing ability was not hampered by the objections surrounding its methods as it completely dominated the union.¹⁴⁸ Although eligible to enter the Dominion championship finals McGill once again declined.

The ease with which McGill outclassed its competitors made the question of "Does Varsity need a professional rugby coach?" a very popular issue at the University of Toronto. In January of 1920, a series of five editorials dealing with the subject appeared in The Varsity. The first editorial readily admitted that if the Varsity students were asked the query the vast majority would undoubtedly answer, "Yes". The writer went on to say that he too would have answered in the affirmative but after careful consideration he was firmly convinced that such a change would have "disastrous consequences for athletics, not only at Varsity but for Intercollegiate Athletics in general."¹⁴⁹ The reasons for his change of opinion were presented in the editorials that followed and appear below, briefly listed in point form.¹⁵⁰

- 1) Financial - Varsity couldn't afford a professional coach; said a first class coach would demand a salary between 10 and 15 thousand dollars; said this would take money now used for other sports and they would by necessity

cease to be played.

- 2) Queen's would not be able to afford a professional coach and would drop out of the union if Varsity and McGill both had hired coaches; the Royal Military College would not rejoin the union.
- 3) Would lose the advisory and financial support of the Athletic Advisory Board.

Of the three reasons given, interestingly all of a pragmatic nature, only the third can be considered valid. Financially speaking, a first rate professional coach could have been obtained for far less than the amount cited, as Shaughnessy received no more than \$3,000 per annum, and this could have been easily earned in one game at Varsity Stadium.¹⁵¹

Three days after the editorial appeared in The Varsity mentioning that it was felt around the University of Toronto that if they hired a professional coach Queen's would withdraw from the C.I.R.F.U., a dispatch from Kingston appeared in The Globe stating that Queen's University Athletic Committee would raise an objection. In fact, it was disclosed that Queen's had had a professional coach last season in the person of Jack Williams, who had signed a one year contract with Queen's.¹⁵² Whether or not the R.M.C. would or would not rejoin the union was determined on its available man power, rather than the status of its own coach or the other coaches in the union.¹⁵³

The validity of the third reason was substantiated in March when the Athletic Advisory Board stated its firm objection to the appointment of a professional rugby coach and in so doing reiterated its

belief in athleticism.

With Varsity, the graduates declared; the game is the thing. With the pro. coach; to win at all costs is the object. Such a coach must have absolute control, and he wields an enormous influence over the whole student body. The Board argued that he was not a man to trust with the high ideals of sportsmanship for which this University stands.¹⁵⁴

The result of the announcement was that the system of having an honorary coach was to be continued at Varsity despite the fact that both McGill and Queen's had gone to a professional tutor. The upcoming season was viewed by many as a trial period for the retention of the honorary coach system at Varsity. If the team was successful the system would be vindicated for the time being at least. But if it lost, "A professional coach will possibly be the only solution."¹⁵⁵ The importance of winning was much greater in the eyes of the students and players than it was to the Athletic Advisory Board or the Athletic Directorat , as indicated in the following remarks taken from The Varsity.

To win is not everything but it is a big thing. If Varsity loses to McGill year after year our spirit will be weakened, students who would come here will go to McGill and Varsity will lose her prominent position as a University. U. of T. must win and hold her own with McGill.¹⁵⁶

The responsibility to produce a winner was placed upon the shoulders of Hamilton "Laddie" Cassels. Both he and Shaughnessy began practice with their respective teams in mid-September. The new paid coach at Queen's was "Billy" Hughes, a former player of Shaughnessy's. He arrived at Kingston on October 1 and stated that

he would establish both sleeping and eating quarters for the team at the university.¹⁵⁷ Even Varsity, for the first time, established a training table and news leaked out that "Laddie" Cassels had his men out to morning practice as well as afternoon sessions.¹⁵⁸ Shaughnessy conversely shortened his practices, limiting them to about an hour and a half in which time the blocking sled and tackling dummy were put to good use.¹⁵⁹

The first real test of Cassel's crew came on October 24, when McGill came to town. Varsity's victory prompted the writing of an editorial entitled "Canada is Proud of Them" that appeared in The Globe. The editorial was an approbation of the spirit of athleticism exhibited by the collegiate players and the statement of a desire that it be perpetuated. The sentiment of the article can be seen in the following excerpts:

. . . there was real heartiness in the cheer which the McGill team gave for their conquerors, a custom that ought never to be allowed to die where men play for the game's sake, and not for monetary gain. There is little the matter with the young manhood of Canada when such gruelling contests can be played without any exhibition of ill-feeling, . . . Canada need not fear any lack of leaders, builders, planners and defenders so long as her athletic fields are graced with men who can play so hard and, at the same time stand well in their classes.¹⁶⁰

When Varsity travelled to Montreal for the return match, McGill was the victor. Consequently, the season ended in a tie between these two old rivals and the Executive of the union decided the play-off would take place at Kingston.¹⁶¹ The universities not displaying

their supposed sportsmanship couldn't agree on the officials so this decision was made by the union's Rules Committee. ¹⁶²

After Varsity disposed of McGill and its professional coach, 14 to 6 in the play-off, a united student body, the majority of which before the season began had strongly advocated the hiring of a paid coach, were now clamoring, not for a pro. coach, but for the return of 'Laddie' Cassels as coach next year. ¹⁶³ It was said he was a success, not only because he has led the team to a championship but also because he has elevated the standard of sportsmanship by insisting on clean, hard play. ¹⁶⁴

When an unofficial announcement was rumored in Montreal that the University of Toronto's representative at the annual meeting of the C.I.R.F.U. would propose that professional coaches be barred in the union, the Montreal Daily Star said such a proposal implied the public was against professional coaching. To this the paper replied:

⑤ As a matter of fact the public doesn't give a hoot whether the teams are professionally coached or handled by amateurs so long as the said public see good football. It is value for their money that they want.

Followers of football won't pay to see bad football, no matter what the status of the coach. ¹⁶⁵

This points out the very critical factor that the ideal of athleticism only functions in a milieu where the ideals on which it is predicated are understood and accepted. When the ideals of athleticism cease to be correctly understood or are no longer accepted in whole or in

part, changes in the conceptions and resulting behavior of those involved will probably occur.

Varsity's success in 1920 insured the continuation of the honorary coach for 1921. Though not a paid instructor, John Maynard, the former Captain of the 1913 Varsity squad, put the team through a practice schedule never before attempted at the University of Toronto. The team had signal practice from 7 to 8 a.m. then again in the evening from 3 to 6 p.m. This was followed by dinner and then a "chalk-talk".¹⁶⁶

At McGill, Frank Shaughnessy was again in charge. He brought an American trainer, Bob Hurley, from the Syracuse Baseball Club to help condition the candidates and prior to the McGill-Varsity game of October 29, "Eddie" Brown, the University of Syracuse coach, was in Montreal aiding "Shag".¹⁶⁷ McGill was further exposed to the American system when "Tim" Callahan, a former Yale Captain, instructed the interior lineman and coach Brown looked after the ends during the first week of November, the week prior to its second game with Queen's.¹⁶⁸ Apparently, the American coaching system proved of little value as the Redmen lost both games.

At Queen's, George Awrey, by signing a five year contract as its Athletic Director, became responsible for the coaching of the football squad.¹⁶⁹ He too, was greatly concerned with winning and his statement concerning his team's chances against McGill on October 22, 1921, was certainly not in keeping with the unwritten code

of athleticism.

Our back line is stronger, snappier, and better, our quarter is faster, stronger and brainer, and our wings are equal in strength and science to those whom 'Shag' sends out, and they will have the additional advantage of being in better condition. I look for such a victory as will demonstrate to all that Queen's is stronger in all departments.¹⁷⁰

Although he lost the game about which he was speaking, he did manage to raise Queen's from last place in the standing for the first time since 1910.

Despite the attitude George Awrey conveyed, the union as a whole still had as its stated ideals those of athleticism. For the first time in the history of the game, the 1921 season saw a uniform code used across the Dominion.¹⁷¹ Realizing that "probably no other game offers so many opportunities for a player or a coach to use unfair tactics in an attempt 'to win at any cost'", the Canadian Rugby Union reminded the players of the ideals of athleticism by having "The Football Code" in its Official Playing Rules for 1921:

You may meet players and even coaches who will tell you that it is all right to hold or otherwise violate the rules if you do not get caught. This is the code of criminals and men whose sense of honor is sadly lacking.

"The football code is different. The football player who intentionally violates a rule is guilty of unfair play and un-sportsmanlike tactics, and whether or not he escapes being penalized, he brings discredit to the good name of the game, which it is his duty as a player to uphold."¹⁷²

Conclusions

The purpose of this chapter was to analyze the concepts sur-

rounding intercollegiate football in Ontario and Quebec from 1897 to 1921 to gain insight into the Canadianization of this intercollegiate sport. As concepts are not directly observable, a two level analysis based on the two constituents of culture, the conceptual and the actual, was undertaken. The stated values surrounding the sport served as the indicators of the conceptual examination level. Such analysis was directed in a manner to determine the stated values of the players, coaches, spectators and organizations involved with intercollegiate football and the degree of English and American influence there was in the formation of these values. The observed behavior of these various groups during games and practices served as the indicator for the actual examination level. Particular note was taken as to whether there were discrepancies between a group's stated values and its actual behavior, and if this behavior was patterned after English or American methods. The perceptions of the group concerning these matters was also examined.

The predominant influence on the conceptual aspect of intercollegiate football during the formative years of the C.I.R.F.U. was derived from Great Britain. The stated values of the players, coaches, organizations, and spectators reflected a belief in, and allegiance to, the tenets of athleticism as characterized by the "game for the game's sake" philosophy. The American philosophy, as perceived by Canadians, of being "to win at any cost", was openly maligned as being that of professionalism, the nemesis of amateur-

ism which was synonymous with athleticism. In actuality, however, the major foreign influence on the behavior surrounding Canadian intercollegiate football came from the United States. Thus we see the rejection of both the English and the American, as well as, their mutual acceptance. This dichotomy between the conceptual and the actual remained throughout the period examined.

Those that first accepted the American methods were the players and spectators that perceived them as a means of increasing their team's chances of winning the championship. Practices that were perceived to indicate American influence in methods or values, included the establishment of permanent non-student coaches, professional if need be, increased practice time, use of American training methods, and the desire to play for championships outside of the intercollegiate union. As the desire to win increased, so did the number and intensity of the demands by the players and spectators for the adoption of such American methods. These demands in varying degrees, from institution to institution, were perceived by the organizations involving Faculty members as being detrimental to the spirit of athleticism and they felt it was their duty and responsibility to preserve those ideals and reject anything perceived as contrary to this cause. Over the years, however, persistent pressure by the players, students and the public at large, to produce winning teams, prompted these organizational bodies, that controlled collegiate athletics, to make certain concessions in

what was originally a strict but unwritten code of ideals embodied in English athleticism. When these concessions proved to be rewarding they were carried on and usually soon adopted by the other institutions. If unsuccessful, they were rejected, at least until an alternate solution was tested.

The question of how the universities perceived themselves and their fellow institutions is extremely enlightening. Collectively, McGill and Varsity, during the interval under discussion adopted virtually all the practices they had labelled in 1898 as exhibiting professionalism, of being extreme, or of being American, while individually they perceived themselves as upholders of the ideals of athleticism. Conversely, however, they quite vehemently professed how the other had wholeheartedly fallen into the abyss of unsportsmanlike conduct. In spite of these accusations concerning one another, their games were generally of the highest calibre.

Though athleticism remained, throughout the period examined, the basis of the stated values of all the groups, with the possible exception being the spectators, the continual conflict between the largely constituted English conceptual ideals and the largely constituted American actual behavior, created both a set of values and behavior associated with Canadian intercollegiate football, unlike that of the British or the American, but rather a blend of the two.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Alan Metcalfe, "Some Background Influences on Nineteenth Century Canadian Sport and Physical Education," Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education, Vol. V, No. 1 (May, 1974), p. 68.

² Bruce John Molloy, "Games - England's Great Gift To The World!" (Unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Victoria, April, 1969), p. 35.

³ Charles Kingsley, Health and Education, (London, 1874), p. 86, from B. J. Molloy, op. cit., p. 57.

⁴ Metcalfe, op. cit.

⁵ P. C. McIntosh, "An Historical View of Sport and Culture", (Proceedings of the First Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education, Edmonton, Alberta, May 13-16, 1970), p. 557.

⁶ P. C. McIntosh, Sport and Society, ed. Alex Natan (London: Bowes & Bowes, 1958), p. 20.

⁷ Metcalfe, op. cit.

⁸ Geoff Watson, "The Founding and Major Features of Sport and Games in the Little Big Four Canadian Private Schools", CAHPER Journal, Vol. 40, No. 1, (Sept.-Oct., 1973), p. 31.

⁹ Kim Beattie, Ridley - The Story of a School (St. Catherines: Published by Ridley College, 1963), p. 85.

¹⁰ University of McGill Yearbook 1898, p. 114; R. Tait McKenzie, "Athletics at McGill" (Unpublished paper, 1892), p. 12.

¹¹ The Globe (Toronto), Oct. 13, 1897.

¹² Montreal Daily Star, Oct. 4, 1897.

¹³ Ibid., Oct. 18, 1897.

¹⁴ The Globe (Toronto), Oct. 13, 1897.

¹⁵The Globe (Toronto), Oct. 30, 1897.

¹⁶Montreal Daily Star, Oct. 27, 1897.

¹⁷The Globe (Toronto), Oct. 28, 1897.

¹⁸Ibid., Nov. 3, 1897.

¹⁹The Varsity, Vol. XVII, No. 1, Oct. 14, 1897, p. 62.

²⁰The Globe (Toronto), Nov. 4, 1897.

²¹The Varsity, Vol. XVII, No. 4, Nov. 4, 1897, p. 56; Montreal Daily Star, Nov. 1, 24, 1897.

²²McGill Fortnightly, Vol. VI, No. 5, Dec. 9, 1897, p. 103.

²³Ibid., This definition did not change throughout the time delimitation of the study.

²⁴J. F. McCurdy, "College Athletics", in The Varsity, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, Oct. 26, 1898, pp. 13, 14. Some of the fundamentals of athleticism were brought out in sentences such as: "But the removal or diminution of actual or possible evils is only a part of the service rendered by athletic games to the student body." and "What is at stake in these contest's is not so much one's own reputation for skill and courage, as the standing of the club or team. In most of them, one who plays a so-called 'selfish game', falls short of the highest place, no matter how brilliant his performances may be. Taking all the clubs together, we have thus a body of disciplined youth, who have acquired some of the best qualities that mark the active citizen, the faithful public servant or the armed defender of one's country."; "A Plea For Decent Football", McGill Outlook, Vol. I, No. 4, Oct. 20, 1898, p. 37.

²⁵Guy Maxton Lewis, "The American Intercollegiate Football Spectacle, 1869-1917," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1965), pp. 28, 29.

²⁶Howard J. Savage, American College Athletics (New York: The Carnegie Foundation, 1929), pp. 294, 297.

²⁷Montreal Daily Star, Oct. 12, 1898.

²⁸"A Plea For Decent Football", McGill Outlook, op. cit.

²⁹"A Plea For Decent Football," McGill Outlook, op. cit.

³⁰Montreal Daily Star, Nov. 19, 1898. The desire to obtain a professional coach represents, for a number of reasons, an important change in the players' values away from athleticism. First, the motive for hiring a paid coach is to produce a winning team, as will be seen later at the acquisition of "Pud" Hamilton and "Shag" Shaughnessy by McGill. This is a critical visible departure from the ethic of the "game for the game's sake". Also, the players, by hiring a paid tutor, relinquish their control of the team to an outside interest whose values are embroiled in professionalism, the antithesis of amateurism or athleticism.

³¹Records of the McGill University Football Club, Nov. 28, 1898.

³²Montreal Daily Star, Nov. 10, 12, 1898.

³³The Globe (Toronto), Nov. 14, 1898.

³⁴McGill Outlook, Vol. I, No. 12, Dec. 15, 1898, p. 128.

³⁵A. Courtney Kingstone and C. A. S. Boddy, "The Characteristics of Canadian Football," in Outing, Vol. XXVII, No. 3, Dec. 1895, pp. 248-49.

³⁶Montreal Daily Star, Oct. 9, 1900; The Varsity, Vol. XXV, No. 3, Oct. 19, 1905, p. 41. "The microbe of professionalism has taken its way right into the heart of American college athletics in more or less disguised but pernicious form, . . ."

³⁷Lewis, op. cit., p. 30; Savage, op. cit., p. VIII.

³⁸The Globe (Toronto), Nov. 16, 18, 1898. The desire by the football clubs for increased practice time is another indicator of their changing values necessitated in part by the increasing sophistication of the Canadian collegiate game. This innovation, while generally accepted by the players and the faculty at the University of Toronto, was perceived by the majority of the Faculty at McGill as a detriment to the spirit of athleticism and were thus against extending practice time.

³⁹Montreal Daily Star, Dec. 4, 1899. The Grounds and Athletics Committee at the University of McGill was in charge of Athletics at the University and was composed of a number of the governing body, representatives appointed by the several Faculties, the Presidents

of the several athletic clubs of the College, and a representative appointed by the Graduate Society.

⁴⁰McGill Outlook, Vol. III, No. 1, Oct. 24, 1900, p. 7.

⁴¹Montreal Daily Star, Dec. 7, 1900.

⁴²The Varsity, Vol. XXI, No. 10, Dec. 18, 1909, p. 127.

⁴³The Globe (Toronto), Sept. 14 and Oct. 8, 1901.

⁴⁴McGill Outlook, Vol. IV, No. 6, Nov. 21, 1901, p. 79.

⁴⁵Ibid., Vol. IV, No. 9, Dec. 12, 1901, p. 122.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 128.

⁴⁷Montreal Daily Star, Oct. 2, 1902.

⁴⁸Ibid., Oct. 9, 1902.

⁴⁹McGill Outlook, Vol. V, No. 13, Feb. 3, 1903, p. 309.

⁵⁰Montreal Daily Star, Oct. 7, 1903.

⁵¹T. A. Reed, The Blue and White (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1944), p. 126.

⁵²The Varsity, Vol. XXIII, No. 7, Nov. 25, 1903, p. 105.

⁵³The Globe (Toronto), Feb. 20, 1904.

⁵⁴The Varsity, Vol. XXIII, no. 18, Feb. 24, 1904, p. 282.

⁵⁵The desire of the "Big Three" to control intercollegiate athletics as evidenced in the organizational structure of the C.I.A.U.C. suggests that they were perhaps not too anxious to have their undisputed control of senior intercollegiate football breached by Ottawa College. See Richard J. Moriarty, "The Organizational History of the Canadian Intercollegiate Athletic Union Central (C.I.A.U.C.) 1906-1955," (Unpublished Ph.D dissertation, Ohio State University, 1971), pp. 103-120.

⁵⁶Montreal Daily Star, Nov. 26, 1904.

⁵⁷Montreal Daily Star, Nov. 12, 1904.

⁵⁸Ibid., April 21, 1905.

⁵⁹Ibid., Sept. 19, 1905.

⁶⁰Ibid., Oct. 16, 1905.

⁶¹Ibid., Oct. 28, 1905.

⁶²McGill Outlook, Vol. VIII, No. 2, Nov. 9, 1905, p. 30.

⁶³Ibid. Such statements evidence a strong degree of social acceptance amongst the students toward the idea of hiring a professional coach and conversely a decrease in their desire to preserve the ideals of athleticism.

⁶⁴Montreal Daily Star, Oct. 13, 1906.

⁶⁵The Varsity, Vol. XXVI, No. 6, Nov. 8, 1906, p. 86.

⁶⁶Montreal Daily Star, Nov. 6, 1906.

⁶⁷Ibid., Nov. 9, 1906.

⁶⁸Ibid., Nov. 10, 1906.

⁶⁹Ibid., Nov. 16, 1906.

⁷⁰Canadian Intercollegiate Athletic Union - Minutes, May 27, 1906, pp. 5, 8; Oct. 25, 1906. When the Canadian Intercollegiate Athletic Union (C.I.A.U.), was organized on May 26, 1906, the C.I.R.F.U. agreed that the C.I.A.U.'s Board of Reference would be the final authority in matters concerning player eligibility. The Board of Reference consisted of the Faculty representative of each Active Member; McGill, Queen's, and the University of Toronto. Note the exclusion of Ottawa College.

⁷¹Montreal Daily Star, Nov. 16, 1906.

⁷²Ibid., Nov. 21, 1906.

⁷³McGill Outlook, Vol. IX, No. 7, Nov. 22, 1906, p. 175.

⁷⁴Ibid.

- ⁷⁵The Varsity, Vo. XXVI, No. 9, Nov. 29, 1906, p. 137.
- ⁷⁶C.I.A.U. - Minutes, April 6, 1906, p. 17.
- ⁷⁷First Minute Book of the Canadian Rugby Union, Fourteenth Annual Meeting, January 14, 1905, p. 164.
- ⁷⁸Montreal Daily Star, Nov. 27, 28, 1906.
- ⁷⁹Ibid., Dec. 3, 1906.
- ⁸⁰Frank Cosentine, Canadian Football The Grey Cup Years (Toronto: The Musson Book Company Limited, 1969), p. 37; J. G. Gaudaur, "Canadian (Rugby) Football," in The Encyclopedia of Sports, ed. Frank G. Menke (New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 4th revised ed., 1969), p. 446; The McGill News, Vol. 32, No. 5, Fall, 1951, p. 18. All these noted sources incorrectly state that F. J. "Shag" Shaughnessy was the first professional football coach in Canada.
- ⁸¹Minutes of the Grounds and Athletics Committee, Sept. 16, 1907, p. 20. The hiring of a professional coach was done on a selective elimination basis, that is, a professional coach was seen as a possible solution to the desire to produce a winning football team and the idea was being tested to see if it was more rewarding than the methods that had been in use.
- ⁸²Records of the McGill University Football Club, Sept. 16, 1907; Montreal Daily Star, Sept. 28, 1906.
- ⁸³Montreal Daily Star, Oct. 17, 1907.
- ⁸⁴Ibid., Oct. 16, 1907.
- ⁸⁵Ibid., Nov. 11, 1907.
- ⁸⁶Reed, op. cit., p. 103.
- ⁸⁷Watson, op. cit., p. 35; The Varsity, Vol. XXIX, No. 16, Nov. 29, 1909, p. 2.
- ⁸⁸Montreal Daily Star, Sept. 18, 1898.
- ⁸⁹Ibid., Nov. 24, 1908. As the selective elimination period of the professional coach was unsuccessful in producing a winning team, that alternative was eliminated and the emphasis was shifted to increased practice time and improved facilities.

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- ⁹⁰University of McGill Yearbook 1910, p. 224.
- ⁹¹The Martlet, Vol. I, No. 5, Nov. 20, 1908, p. 82.
- ⁹²Ibid., p. 83.
- ⁹³Montreal Daily Star, Sept. 18, and Oct 2, 1909.
- ⁹⁴The McGill News, Vol. XXXVII, No. 2, Spring, 1956, p. 20.
- ⁹⁵Montreal Daily Star, Dec. 9, 1909.
- ⁹⁶The Martlet, Vol. II, No. 8, Nov. 25, 1909. pp. 1, 2.
- ⁹⁷Montreal Daily Star, Sept 18, 1909; Minutes of the Athletic Committee of Corporation (Formerly The-Grounds and Athletics Committee), Nov. 12, 1909, p. 77.
- ⁹⁸Minutes of the Athletic Committee of Corporation, March 21, 1910, p. 86.
- ⁹⁹Montreal Daily Star, Sept, 28, 1910.
- ¹⁰⁰Ibid., Sept. 29, and Oct. 4, 1910.
- ¹⁰¹The Martlet, Vol. III, No. 8, Nov. 24, 1910, p. 15.
- ¹⁰²Minutes of the Athletic Committee of Corporation, Dec. 6, 1910, p. 96.
- ¹⁰³The Martlet, op. cit.; Montreal Daily Star, Nov. 21, 1910.
- ¹⁰⁴Minutes of the Athletic Committee of Corporation, Oct., 1911, p. 102-02; Nov. 21, 1911, p. 105.
- ¹⁰⁵Montreal Daily Star, Sept. 28, 1911.
- ¹⁰⁶Ibid., Nov. 10, 1911.
- ¹⁰⁷Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁸Ibid. When increased practice time and facilities proved to be not enough to produce a winning team at McGill, it decided to try once again the solution of hiring a professional coach.

¹⁰⁹University of McGill Yearbook 1913, p. 221; McGill Daily, Nov. 8, 1911.

¹¹⁰Montreal Daily Star, Nov. 24, 1908.

¹¹¹Ibid., Sept. 10, 1912.

¹¹²Gordon Currie, 100 Years of Canadian Football (Toronto: Pagurian Press Limited, 1968), p. 50.

¹¹³Montreal Daily Star, Sept. 18, 1912.

¹¹⁴The McGill News, Vol. 32, No. 5, Fall, 1951, p. 19.

¹¹⁵Ibid. McGill's hiring of Shaughnessy indicates a society's willingness to give an innovation a second chance if enough people socially accept it even if it was once selectively eliminated.

¹¹⁶Montreal Daily Star, Sept. 16, 24, 1912.

¹¹⁷Ibid., Nov. 7, 1912.

¹¹⁸Ibid., Sept. 23, 1912. This demonstrated the process of internal diffusion of innovations which were culturally borrowed from the United States and proved to be rewarding in the eyes of those that adopted the innovations as well as others in the similar milieu to that of the adopter.

¹¹⁹The Varsity, Vol XXXII, No. 4, Oct. 7, 1912, p. 1; Vol. XXXII, No. 5, Oct. 9, 1912, p. 2.

¹²⁰Montreal Daily Star, Sept. 25, 1912.

¹²¹Ibid., Sept. 24, 1912.

¹²²Ibid., Sept. 27, 1912.

¹²³Ibid., Nov. 14, 1912.

¹²⁴The Globe (Toronto), Nov 18, 1912.

¹²⁵Montreal Daily Star, Nov. 19, 1912.

¹²⁶The Globe (Toronto), Nov. 19, 1912.

127 The Globe (Toronto), Nov. 19, 1912; Minutes of the Athletic Committee of Corporation, Nov. 20, 1912, p. 115.

128 Montreal Daily Star, Oct. 7, 1912; The Globe (Toronto), Oct. 7, 1912; Currie, op. cit., pp. 48, 49.

129 The Globe (Toronto), Oct. 12, Oct. 14, Oct. 17, 1912.

130 Ibid., Nov. 1, 1913. This indicates clearly that the success of an innovation achieves when it is tested has a great bearing on whether or not it will be adopted by others.

131 The Varsity, Vol. XXXIII, No. 15, Nov. 5, 1913, p. 4.

132 Ibid.; The Globe (Toronto), Nov. 12, 1913.

133 The Globe (Toronto), Nov. 25, 1913.

134 The Varsity, Vol. XXXIV, No. 5, Oct. 9, 1914; Vol. XXXIV, No. 22, Nov. 20, 1914, p. 4.

135 Montreal Daily Star, Sept. 26, 1914. Very few teams in the United States had their players numbered. The numbering of players was required in United States collegiate rules in 1915.

136 Ibid., Oct. 12, 1914.

137 The Globe (Toronto), Nov. 6, 1914.

138 The Varsity, Vol. XXXIV, No. 23, Nov. 23, 1914, p. 1.

139 Montreal Daily Star, Sept. 23, 1919.

140 The Globe (Toronto), Sept. 29, 1919.

141 Ibid.

142 Currie, op. cit., pp. 61-64.

143 The Globe (Toronto), Oct. 21, 1919.

144 Ibid., Nov. 1, 1919.

145 Montreal Daily Star, Nov. 5, 1919.

146 Montreal Daily Star, Nov. 5, 1919.

147 The Globe (Toronto), Nov. 17, 1919.

148 Nine of the players on the McGill squad were members of the 1912 Lower Canada College team and had there received the benefits of "Shag's" coaching. See Montreal Daily Star, Nov. 17, 1919.

149 The Varsity, Vol. XXXIX, No. 37, Jan. 19, 1920, p. 2.

150 Ibid., Vol. XXXIX, No. 38, Jan. 21, 1920, p. 2; Vol. XXXIX, No. 39, Jan. 23, 1920, p. 2; Vol. XXXIX, No. 40, Jan. 26, 1920, p. 2; Vol. XXXIX, No. 41, Jan. 28, 1920, p. 2.

151 Ibid., Vol. XXXIX, No. 42, Jan. 30, 1920, p. 2.

152 The Globe (Toronto), Jan. 27, 1920.

153 Ibid., Sept. 8, 1920.

154 The Varsity, Vol. XXXIX, No. 56, March 3, 1920, p. 1; Vol. XXXIX, No. 38, Jan. 21, 1920, p. 2. The Athletic Advisory Board was formed on March 27, 1901. Its membership consisted of all past members of the Athletic Directorate who were the Executive of the Athletic Association. The Board had no executive or administrative function but rather was available for advice and recommended such things as the rugby coach as well as giving financial assistance to athletics at the university. The American, Casper Whitney, wrote that the professional coach "has more to do with the present spirit in our universities of winning at any cost than any other single factor." Casper Whitney, "The View Point - Who Is Responsible For Commercialism In College Sport," in Outing, Vol. 46, July, 1905, p. 485.

155 Ibid., Vol. XXXIX, No. 40, Jan. 26, 1920, p. 2.

156 Ibid.

157 The Globe (Toronto), Oct. 2, 1920.

158 Ibid., Oct. 4, 1920; The Varsity, Vol. XXXX, No. 2, Oct. 6, 1920.

159 Montreal Daily Star, Oct. 14, 1920.

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- 160 The Globe (Toronto), Oct. 25, 1920.
- 161 Ibid., Nov. 15, 1920.
- 162 Ibid., Nov. 19, 1920.
- 163 Ibid., Nov. 24, 1920.
- 164 Ibid.
- 165 Montreal Daily Star, Dec. 1, 1920.
- 166 The Varsity, Vol. XLI, No. 7, Oct. 12, 1921, p. 3.
- 167 The Globe (Toronto), Sept. 13, 1921; Montreal Daily Star, Oct. 27, 1921.
- 168 The Globe (Toronto), Nov. 3, 1921.
- 169 The Varsity, Vol. XLI, No. 2, Sept. 30, 1921, p. 1.
- 170 The Globe (Toronto), Oct 21, 1921.
- 171 Ibid., Sept. 12, 1921.
- 172 Canadian Rugby Union Constitution and Official Playing Rules-1921 (Toronto: The Scoole Printing Company, 1921), p. 14..

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The intent of this chapter is three fold. The first portion will consist of a brief summary of the objectives and findings of the thesis. This will be followed by several conclusions which have been drawn from these findings in relation to the thesis' directional propositions, Murdock's processes of cultural-change, and Canadian culture as a whole. The third phase of the chapter will present some recommendations for further study that have been brought to light through the study.

Summary

The object of this thesis was to determine and analyze the major factors intrinsic to the Canadianization of intercollegiate football in Ontario and Quebec from 1897 to 1921. An attempt was made to glean a better understanding of what established an entity as being accepted or recognized as Canadian. Based on the assumptions that sport is a part and indicator of culture and that "Canadianization" followed the processes of cultural-change, the intrinsic factors of the values and behavior, and British and American influences affecting intercollegiate football, were analyzed in regard to the constituents of culture, the conceptual and the actual.

The conceptual level of examination looked at the stated values and perceptions of the players, coaches, organizations, and spectators involved with the sport, as well as the rules of the Canadian, English, and American forms of rugby football. The actual level of examination analyzed the behavior of the same groups during both game and practice situations, in addition to the rules of the three forms of rugby football. Concurrently, the changes found in the rules and form, and values and behavior were examined in regard to the cultural-change processes to see if the Canadianization of intercollegiate football occurred and whether or not it followed these processes.

The conceptual and actual analysis of Canadian intercollegiate football in Ontario and Quebec brought to light a conflict, between the behavior associated with, and the values surrounding, the British and American forms of the game that affected both the conceptual and actual elements of Canadian intercollegiate football. During the formative years of intercollegiate football in Ontario and Quebec, the predominant foreign influence on the Canadian game came from Great Britain. The basis for the stated values of the players, coaches, spectators, and organizations involved with intercollegiate football was founded in the ideals embodied in English athleticism, and the form of the game and practices too resembled those associated with English rugby. Canadians perceived the American ideal to be one of desiring to "win at any cost", and they conceptually looked on this view with disdain. Although the Canadian form of rugby football was basic-

ally a blend of the British and American, it did possess rules peculiar to Canada and was characterized as having fine open play, with lots of passing and plenty of kicking, while being more scientific than English rugby, but not as confined as American football. In spite of the strong traditional British influence, the American influence was a constant contemporary factor in the development of the Canadian game and it was not long before the behavior of, particularly, the players, coaches, and spectators (especially in regard to practice methods and the selection of coaches and rule changes) indicated very clearly the pragmatic rejection of the English ideals in favour of those in vogue in the United States. Even though the Canadian game in actuality became more similar to the American form, it remained throughout the period examined, perceived by those both directly and indirectly involved with intercollegiate football in Ontario and Quebec, as being Canadian.

Conclusions

Several directional propositions concerning the intrinsic factors analyzed were composed to provide guidelines for the researching and analysis of the thesis. Six of the seven propositions stated that the factors either "positively" or "negatively" affected the Canadianization of intercollegiate football. The nebulous nature of the terms "positively affected" and "negatively affected" was recognized, and the intent behind their use was respectively the facilitation and hindrance of the Canadianization of intercollegiate football.

The last and major proposition stated that for the various elements of the suggested factors to have a lasting affect on the Canadianization of intercollegiate football they have to go through the processes of cultural-change. Though the individual processes were not always easily differentiated, nor were the processes of consistent duration, this thesis accepts the general proposition and concludes that Canadianization both conceptually and in actuality did occur and did follow the cultural-change processes outlined by Murdock.

In substantiation of Murdock, a "need or incentive" was found to be essential to the development of an innovation. It is suggested that the "need" that motivated the development of the majority of the innovations concerned with the rules and form or values and behavior associated with intercollegiate football in Ontario and Quebec was the desire of the clubs to win, first individual football games, and ultimately, the championship. The desire to win proved to be the determining factor in such important areas of the game as, the pragmatic analysis of suggested rule changes, the selection and status (i.e. amateur or professional) of the coach, and the type of training methods the team employed, all of which affected, and were affected by, the values surrounding the sport. As stated by Murdock it was found that the majority of the innovations were derived from other cultures through the process of cultural borrowing or diffusion. Murdock's statements concerning cultural borrowing were further substantiated in that an innovation had to be proven demonstrably superior to the

rule, behavior, etc. in existence, to each club before it was socially accepted by that club. Also the similarity and intimacy of contact between the American and Canadian cultures greatly facilitated the diffusion of innovations between the two forms of rugby.

The degree of social acceptance or internal diffusion an innovation enjoyed was to a very great extent determined by whether or not the innovation proved to be demonstrably successful to each club, where success was measured in the winning of football games. If the innovation was unsuccessful according to this criterion it was selectively eliminated. As Murdock stated, it was found that innovations were not always accepted or eliminated strictly on their merit, but rather, as the result of how the group supporting the innovation fared in competition against groups with contrasting opinions. If an innovation was thought to facilitate the chances of victory of a rival club, it was, unless of equal benefit to their own club, selectively eliminated. The prestige of the group supporting of the innovation was another factor of considerable importance in social acceptance.

Once an innovation reached the degree of social acceptance that it was adopted by the C.I.R.F.U. and remained functional for more than a year it was considered to be integrated. However, as Murdock suggested, this did not mean that it remained unchanged, as total integration is impossible, as culture, being a function of time, is ongoing. This continual variation was noticed in the slight changes in the rules and values associated with intercollegiate football over the period

examined. Cultural lag, the period required for an innovation to pass through the processes of cultural-change, allowed the innovations time to become accepted and acknowledged as being Canadian.

The first four directional propositions stated that the behavior and values of the spectators, players, coaches, and organizations examined, positively affected the Canadianization of intercollegiate football. The next two dealt with foreign influence. The fifth stated that decreased English influence positively affected the Canadianization of intercollegiate football; while the sixth stated that increased American influence negatively affected the Canadianization of intercollegiate football. In order to draw any sound conclusions in regard to these statements it is necessary to consider the effect that the factors dealt with in the last two propositions had on the factors involved in the first four, and also because of the discrepancy between the stated values and the actual behavior, these factors have to be considered separately as well as in the way their interaction affected the Canadianization of intercollegiate football.

Since it may be concluded that the decreased English influence positively affected the actual Canadianization of intercollegiate football, the Canadian game, in rules and form, was more able to develop independently, and thus move away from the English Rugby code of 1871. However, conceptually, the English influence, in the later years dealt with in the study, was essential in keeping the game Canadian, by rejecting the total adoption of the American game in form and values.

It may be said that increased American influence negatively affected the actual Canadianization of the game. Murdock's statements, however, suggest that very similar rules would have been expected to occur in the two forms of rugby because of the great similarity in the Canadian and American cultures and their virtual constant degree of close contact. Conceptually, the American influence was a positive factor in the Canadianization of the game, as those items perceived to be Canadian were considered very Canadian, and the strong anti-American sentiment that existed bolstered up this pro-Canadian feeling.

The basis of the stated values of the four groups considered in the first propositions was, in 1897, basically that of English athleticism, but changes in these values, and the behavior associated with these values, did occur over the period studied. It was the desire of particularly the players, spectators, and coaches to win football games that caused the changes to come about in the rules of the game and the methods of training. Because the contact with the United States made the knowledge of alternate rules and methods available to the Canadians, and because they were seen to be successful in the United States, various innovations were adopted by the different clubs represented in the C.I.R.F.U. When an innovation proved itself rewarding to a majority of the members of the C.I.R.F.U. it was officially accepted by the union. Many of the practices adopted from the United States were not in keeping with the unwritten code of athleticism and a

dichotomy arose between these groups' stated values and their behavior. In actuality then, the behavior of these groups did not positively affect the development of a game that was strictly a unique Canadian entity, but more importantly these groups perceived the game to be Canadian.

A steadying factor during this time of uncertainty as to what the Canadian game was or should become, was the organizations examined. Particularly, the majority of the Faculty members of the universities saw the trend toward American values and form in intercollegiate football and felt it was their duty and responsibility to preserve the spirit of athleticism in collegiate athletics. This was a source of strength in the resistance against the increase in American values and behavior that was overtaking the Canadian intercollegiate game.

In conclusion, the establishment of an entity being accepted or acknowledged as being Canadian rested not so much in its actual unique Canadian character, or whether it was similar or different from something else, but rather whether or not it proved to be demonstrably rewarding in filling the need for which it was brought into the culture. If it filled the need, it was not long before it was socially accepted and perceived to be Canadian.

Although this thesis is representative of only a very small proportion of the Canadian sporting scene, and to even a lesser degree that of Canadian culture, some general statements concerning the thesis' findings in relation to sport and culture may be made. The thesis

substantiates the assumption that sport is a part and indicator of culture, as the changes in the factors intrinsic to the Canadianization of intercollegiate football in Ontario and Quebec from 1897 to 1921 followed the processes developed for the analysis of cultural change.

It may also be concluded that although intercollegiate football was spoken of and was perceived to be truly a Canadian sport, it was in fact only representative of the Anglo-Canadians. Thus, the attitudes and values of the natives and the French Canadians, two components theoretically critical to the development of a Canadian culture, were not only excluded, but not considered.

The difficulty of Canada developing a distinctly Canadian culture is readily appreciated when it is understood that in addition to the British and American influence upon her, the proliferation of industrial and technological development was, and is, continually making things more similar throughout the world. It is suggested that, as these similarities become more pronounced amongst the nations of the world, distinct national cultures become a condition created by conceptions rather than actualizations. That is, as Canadian intercollegiate football was perceived to be Canadian, by those involved with the sport, the existence of a distinct national culture will be what the people of a specific geographic boundary called a country, perceive it to be.

Recommendations

While hopefully unlocking some doors, a study on a subject as vast

as the nature of Canadian sporting culture is sure to expose new corridors to be explored. Further investigation may be undertaken in both internal and external dimensions that have been of concern in the preceding investigation. A few will be briefly listed:

External:

Specific analysis on the changes in the rules of other sports not necessarily Canadian could be undertaken to see if the pragmatic determinant is always the dominant factor in the selection of rule changes.

Similarly conducted studies on other Canadian sporting forms would be of interest in seeing if the Canadianization processes are as effective in maintaining its Canadian perception amongst the Canadian people.

Further investigation in the analysis of culture as divided into the conceptual and actual constituents.

Internal:

A biographical analysis of the effects of the major innovators in the development of intercollegiate football.

The examination of the internal and external organizations controlling athletics within the various universities associated with the C.I.R.F.U.

The effects of professionalism on Canadian intercollegiate rugby football.

APPENDIX A

COMPARISON OF CANADIAN INTERCOLLEGIATE RUGBY
FOOTBALL RULES, 1898-1921; WITH UNITED
STATES INTERCOLLEGIATE RUGBY
FOOTBALL RULES, 1898-
1921; AND ENGLISH
RUGBY RULES,
1898.

TABLE 1
THE FIELD

Year	Canada	United States	England
Dimensions			
1898	1. 330' x 195'	1. 35' narrower	1. 30' wider
1912		2. 30' shorter	
Markings			
1898	1. touch lines, goal lines, dead ball lines 25 yd. back of goal line	1. no dead ball line	1. same
1908		1a. lines on sides: side lines 2. field marked at intervals of 5 yd. parallel to goal line 2a. field marked at intervals of 5 yd. parallel to side lines	
1909	2. lines marked parallel to center line across the field at 10 yd. intervals		
1910		2a. omitted	
1912		1. lines at ends: end lines 3. goal lines in field of play 10 yd. from and parallel to end lines	

TABLE 1--Continued

Year	Canada	United States	England
1919	2. lines also drawn across field parallel to center lines at 15 yd. and 5 yd. from center lines		
1920	2. lines marked across the field at center and at 5 yd. intervals on either side of center line and parallel to it. The center 40 and 25 yd. lines shall be extended 1 yd. beyond touch line		
Goal			
1898	1. placed in the middle of each goal-line, composed of upright posts exceeding 20 ft. in height placed 18 ft. 6 in. apart and with a cross-bar 10 ft. from the ground	1. same	1. same except upright only has to exceed 11 ft. in height
End Zone			
1898	1. space enclosed by the goal-line, dead ball line, and the touch lines produced is called goal 2. 75' x 195'	1. no specifications	1. same 2. 75' x 225'
1912		1. space bounded by goal, end and side lines: end zone 2. 30' x 160'	

TABLE 2
PLAYERS AND EQUIPMENT

Year	Canada	United States	England
Number of Players			
1898	1. 15 per side	1. 4 less per side	1. same
1902	1. 14 per side	1. 3 less per side	
1920	1. 12 per side	1. 1 less per side	
Numbered			
1898	1. no requirement	1. same	1. same
1914	1. players wear numbers on their backs.	1. no requirement	1. no requirement
1915		1. players numbered required	
1921		1. players numbered optional	
Equipment			
1898	1. no one shall play in a match wearing projecting metal or gutta percha on any part of his clothing	1. no projecting nails, iron plates on shoes, no metal substance on players 3. no sticky or greasy substance on players	1. same to "his" then "boots or shoes shall be allowed to play a match"
1903		4. no lead projectors containing sole leather, paper mache or unyielding material	
1908		2. omitted 4. illegal equipment penalty: suspension unless fault corrected in 2 minutes	
1919	2. referee immediately orders player off field until illegal equipment removed, no delay in game, no substitution allowed		

TABLE 3

DOWN AND NECESSARY GAIN

Year	Canada	United States	England
1898	1. no requirement to gain yardage to retain possession of the ball	1. unless ball crosses opponents goal line offensive team has 3 consecutive fairs or downs to advance the ball 5 yd. or loose 20 yd. If unsuccessful ball goes to opponent at point of fourth down.	1. same
1904 Feb.	1. offensive team has 3 successive scrimmages to make a net gain of 10 yd. or a net loss of 20 yd. to retain possession		
Oct.	1. Amendment: may lose 20 yd. once to retain possession of the ball until a net gain of 10 yd. is made		
Nov.	2. Amendment: if a team makes 10 yd. in any of the 3 scrimmages and then lose ground it is allowed to retain possession of the ball in view of its first gain		
1906	2. the scrimmages begin again if the required distance be made or lost in less than 3 scrimmages 3. the ball going into touch shall not interfere with the secession of	1. if after 3 consecutive downs with ball constantly in possession team has not advanced ball 10 yd., unless it has crossed goal line, it goes to opponents at spot of fourth down	

TABLE 3--Continued

Year	Canada	United States
1906	scrimmages. 4. for any infringement of scrimmage rules: loss of ball against team in possession and loss of 10 yd. or free kick against side not in possession	
1910	1. if in 3 consecutive downs (unless the ball goes across the goal line) a team has neither advanced the ball 10 yd. nor takes it back 20 yd. it shall go to the opponents on the spot where it was declared dead at the end of the third down 2. scrimmage to begin after required distance has been gained or lost in 3 downs. Exception: a team may not retain possession of the ball by taking it back a second time, unless in the meantime the ball has been in the possession of the opponents.	
1912		1. if after 4 consecutive downs with ball constantly in possession team has not advanced ball 10 yd., ball goes to opponents on spot of fifth
1919	2. scrimmages begin after required distance has been gained or lost in 3 downs or less	
1921	1. "nor taken it back 20 yd." omitted 2. downs begin after required yardage has been gained	

TABLE 4

° PUTTING THE BALL IN PLAY
FROM A SCRIMMAGE

Year	Canada	United States	England
1898	<p>1. when ball is fairly held, one of side in possession immediately brings it into play by placing it dead in front of him and any player may then put it in motion in any direction with his foot</p> <p>2a. if any player, being on the ground does not immediately get up; or if the ball is not immediately put into play or if the opponent interferes with the ball being put into play; or if during a scrimmage any player gets upon his knees, lies upon the ball or touches it with his hand or being out of the scrimmage stands in front of the ball the side not offending shall have a free-kick</p>	<p>1. from a scrimmage the ball is put into play by kick or snap back</p> <p>2a. player snapping the ball is entitled to full undisputed possession of the ball. Penalty for interference from opponents is a 5 yd. gain</p> <p>3. if a player snapping feints to put the ball into play, it is considered in play and scrimmage is considered begun</p> <p>4. player having received ball from snap-back may not progress forward unless he has regained ball after it has been passed to and touched another player. Penalty: loss of ball</p>	<p>1. scrummage: takes place when the ball is put down between players who have closed round on their respective sides and endeavor to push their opponents back and by kicking the ball to drive it in the direction of the opposite goal line. In a scrummage it is not lawful to touch the ball with hand under any circumstances.</p>
1900	<p>1. scrimmage shall consist of 3 players who must form one compact body. Once ball is fairly held, one of the scrimmagers immediately brings ball into play by placing it down in front of him and anyone of</p>	<p>4. if ball is put into play in area of field bounded by side lines and by 25 yd. lines, player who first received ball may carry it forward if he crosses line of scrimmage at least 5 yd. from point where ball was snap-</p>	

TABLE 4--Continued

Year	Canada	United States
1900	the scrimmagers may then put it in motion in any direction with his foot	ped back
1904		4. player who first receives ball may carry it forward if he crosses the line of scrimmage at least 5 yd. from point where ball is snapped
1906	2a. same up to "hand", rest changed to- "the side of- fending shall be penalized". Penalty is loss of ball against team in possession, and loss of 10yd. or a free kick against the side defend- ing	
	2b. opposing players must not come in contact with each other until the ball is placed on the ground and no player shall touch the ball with his hand until it has been put in motion by a foot	
1907	2b. scrimmagers will hence- forth have to remain 1 ft. apart until ball is in play	
1908		2a. opponents must not inter- fere in any way with player snapping ball or touch him or ball before it is put into play. Penalty: loss of 5 yd. * Snapping the ball is defined as putting the ball back from its position on ground with one quick and continuous motion of hand or hands or of foot. 2b. player is on line of scrim- mage if he has both hands or both feet or one hand and opposite foot within one foot of line

TABLE 4--Continued

Year	Canada	United States
1908		4. if ball is put into play by snap; player receiving ball may not carry it forward unless he has regained possession of ball after having lost it to another player, or he may carry it forward across line of scrimmage 5 yd. from point where ball was snapped. Penalty: 15 yd.
1910	2b. opposing players must stand at least 3 ft. apart and no player shall touch the ball with his hand until it has been put in motion by a foot of one of the side in possession of the ball	3. if player snapping ball feints to draw opponents offside, whether he withholds altogether or momentarily, ball is not considered in play or is scrimmage considered begun. Penalty: 5 yd. 4. any player of side which put ball into play except players on line of scrimmage on either side of player snapping ball may carry ball forward beyond line of scrimmage * Snapping ball is defined as putting ball back from its position on the ground with one continuous motion of hands or hand with ball actually leaving hand with this motion.
1919	1. a scrimmage shall consist of 3 players who shall be in contact with each other. When the ball is fairly held, one of the scrimmagers of the side to which it belongs shall bring it into play, where it was held, by placing it dead in front of him; and one of the scrimmagers must then immediately bring it into play by putting	

TABLE 4--Continued

Year	Canada	United States
1919	it into motion in any direction with his foot after leaving his hands.	
	4. player putting ball into play shall not again handle the ball until it has touched another player. Penalty: loss of 1. down.	
	2a. if any player being on the ground does not immediately get up, or if the ball is not put promptly into play or if during a scrimmage any player gets upon his knees, lies upon the ball, or touches it, or interferes in any way with its being put into play, before, it is put into motion with foot of one of the side in possession, the side not offending shall be given 10 yd. if it be the side in possession, the ball is scrimmaged on the spot where the ball was last played.	
1920 Dec.	1. when the ball is fairly held one of the side to which it belongs shall place it on the ground, dead in front of him and he must then immediately bring it with his foot, or by snapping it back with his hand into play.	
	2a. omitted	
1921	1. same up to "him", then "with its long axis at right angles to the line of scrimmage; he must then immediately (twenty seconds is considered a reasonable time) bring it into play in one continuous movement by snapping it back between his legs; ball thus snapped must leave	

TABLE 4-- continued.

Year	Canada	United States
1921	his hands and travel in a general direction towards his own goal line.	
	2a. no player except the snapper, shall touch the ball with his hands until it is put in motion.	
	4. same, penalty: loss of 1 down and 15 yd.	

TABLE 5

MOTION OF PLAYERS BEFORE BALL
IS PUT INTO PLAY

Year	Canada	United States	England
1898	1. no provision concerning this found in the rules	1. before ball is put in- to play only one man on offensive team can take a step without coming to a complete stop	1. same
1908		1. while ball is put into play, no player of offensive team except one man who must be moving toward his own goal line is in motion. Penalty: loss of 5 yd.	
1911		1. same up to "man", then "may be in motion either directly or obliquely toward his own goal line or side line extended. If end is man in motion another man must take end's place on line of scrimmage. Penalty: loss of 5 yd.	
1919	1. no player on the line of scrimmage of side in possession of the ball shall be moving toward opponent's goal at the instant the ball is put into play. Penalty: loss of 1 down except offside where it is loss of the ball.		
1921	1. no player of the side in possession of the ball who is within one yard of the line of scrimmage shall be moving towards the opponents'		

TABLE 5--Continued

Year	Canada	United States
1921	goal at the instant the ball is put into play. Penalty: loss of 1 down and 15 yd. If on third down loss of ball.	

TABLE 6
 NUMBER AND POSITION OF PLAYERS
 ON SCRIMMAGE

Year	Canada	United States	England
1898	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> no set number required on scrimmage when ball is put into play. Three usually make up scrimmage. a player is offside if during a scrimmage he is altogether in front of the ball. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> at least 4 players are on the line of scrimmage. no player is allowed in front of the ball when ball is put into play if 5 players, not including quarter back, are behind the line of scrimmage and inside of men at end of line, 2 of these players must be 5 yd. behind line. All these players may be nearer than 5 yd. to line if 2 of them are outside men at ends of line. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> don't have a scrimmage, 8 people are in the scrum, however player is offside if he enters a scrimmage from his opponents side
1900	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> scrimmage shall consist of 3 players who must form one compact body 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> same, penalty: loss of 10 yd. 	
1901		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> no player of offensive team is ahead of line parallel to goal and passing through end of ball nearest to opponents. Penalty: loss of 10 yd. 	
1903	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> no interference in scrimmage: the wings at no time can be ahead of the ball, that they can't lock arms or legs to hold their opponents and there is no wrestling 		

TABLE 6--Continued

Year	Canada	United States
1904		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> at least 6 men on offensive team are on line of scrimmage if no more than 6 men are on line, 1 of men not on line must be outside man at end of line. Penalty: loss of 5 yd.
1906	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> opposing players must not come in contact with each other until ball is placed on the ground 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> no player occupying position of one of 5 middle linemen on offense may drop back from line of scrimmage unless line is at least 5 yd. back when ball is put into play, and player whose position is ordinarily behind line must take his place on line of scrimmage. Penalty: loss of 5 yd. no player of either side is ahead of imaginary line parallel to goal line and passing through point of ball nearest his teams goal line.
1907 Spring	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> scrimmages must stand apart until the ball is put into play 	
1907 Nov.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> scrimmagers will henceforth have to remain 1 ft. apart until ball is in play 	
1908		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> no player ahead of line of scrimmage except snapper-back, while snapping ball may have his hands or his foot in front of line of scrimmage. Penalty for other than snapper-back: 5 yd. loss. Penalty for snapper-back: first violation, no penalty; second violation on same down, loss of 5 yd.; third violation on same down, ball given to opponent

TABLE 6--Continued

Year	Canada	United States
1910	<p>2. at the moment when the ball is placed on the ground the players of both teams must be altogether behind the ball. Exception: the head and shoulders of the man who places the ball on the ground may be ahead of the ball but only while doing so.</p> <p>2a. opposing players must stand at least 3 ft. apart and no player shall touch the ball with his hand until it has been put in motion by a foot of one of the side in possession of the ball</p>	<p>1. at least 7 men of offensive team on the line. Offensive players may not use interlock interference, which is grasping of team mate or with hands or arms encircling any, part of him to any degree. Penalty: loss of 15 yd.</p> <p>3. omitted</p>
1911		<p>2. same up to "his" then "head and his hands or his foot in front of line of scrimmage. Penalty: loss of 5 yd.</p>
1912		<p>4. if captain of offensive team desires to shift center, guard, or tackle to backfield, he may do so after speaking to referee, but players so shifted does not return to middle line position. Any middle lineman may be shifted back 5 yd. without captains consulting referee and may later return to his position.</p> <p>2a. players may not encroach upon neutral zone before ball is put into play. Penalty: loss of 5 yd.</p>
1915		<p>5. backfield man, except man who first receives ball from center, must be at least 1 yd. back when ball is put into play</p>
1919	<p>1. a scrimmage shall consist of 3 players who shall be in contact with each other. At</p>	

TABLE 6--Continued

Year	Canada	United States
1919	<p>the instant the ball is put into play, at least 8 men, of the side in possession, must be on the line of scrimmage. Penalty: loss of 1 down except in case of offside when penalty is loss of ball.</p>	
	<p>2a. opposing line must stand at least 3 ft. back of the ball, but in no case shall a side be compelled to stand within its own goal.</p>	
1920 Dec.	<p>1. at the instant the ball is put into play at least 7 men of the side in possession must be on the line of scrimmage. Holding hands or locking arms during a scrimmage is forbidden.</p>	
1921	<p>1. at the instant the ball is put into play at least 5 men on the side in possession must be within 1 yd. of the line of scrimmage. Holding hands or locking of arms during a scrimmage is forbidden. Penalty: loss of 1 down and 15 yd. If on third down, loss of ball.</p>	

TABLE 7

FAIR CATCH

Year	Canada	United States	England
1898	<p>1. fair catch is a catch made within the grounds, direct from a kick or a foul by an opponent</p> <p>2. when a player makes a fair catch he shall be awarded a free kick, if he marks the spot with his heel, and none of his own side touches the ball. When a side is awarded a free-kick from the referee he marks the spot, and any player from the side awarded may take the kick. Player shall kick or place the ball from any point directly behind the mark. The kicker's side shall not be in front of the ball when it is kicked. In case of infringement, the opposite side shall scrimmage the ball where the mark was made.</p> <p>3. player is allowed a distance of 5 yd. between himself and an opponent to make the catch</p>	<p>1. fair catch is made from kick by one of opponents or from punt out from teammate.</p> <p>2. catch is made directly, provided man intending to make catch indicates his intentions by holding up his hand and makes march with his heel at point of catch with ball not touched by teammate. Player after raising hand cannot run with ball but must take catch if he succeeds in making one. Ball is put into play by punt, by drop kick, by place-kick or by scrimmage.</p> <p>3. if player trying for fair catch is unlawfully obstructed, offended team receives 15 yd. and choice of putting ball into play by free-kick or scrimmage.</p>	<p>1. fair catch is made direct from a kick or knock-on or throw forward by one of the opposite side.</p> <p>2. the catcher must immediately claim the fair catch by making a mark with his heel at the spot where he made the catch. If he makes a fair catch he is awarded a free kick, and he himself must either kick or place the ball. Kick may be either place-kick, drop-kick, or punt, and must be kicked in direction of opponents' goal. If drop-kick or punt, catcher must kick it him-</p>

TABLE 7--Continued

Year	Canada	United States	England
1898			<p>self from behind mark, if place kick the catcher must place the ball behind the mark: Kicker's side must be behind the ball when kicked.</p> <p>3. an offside player shall not play the ball, ... nor may he approach within 5 yd. of any player waiting for the ball.</p> <p>Penalty: free kick at place of infraction or a scrimmage at the spot where ball was last played by the offending side before breach occurred.</p>
1904		<p>3. if interference with catch is made, offending side receives 15 yd. and ball is put into play by scrimmage; or offending side received 5 yd. and ball is put into play by punt, dropkick or place-kick</p>	

TABLE 7--Continued

Year	Canada	United States
1906		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. fair catch is made from kick by one of opponents before ball touches ground 2. ball is caught by player who clearly holds hand above his head to indicate his intentions. Puntout is caught similarly, no signal necessary. Player after the catch may not take more than 2 steps. Ball is put in play by punt, drop-kick, place-kick, or scrimmage.
1907		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. opportunity to make fair catch is indicated by being in position to reach ball before it touches ground. 5. if play other than player signalling fair catch makes the catch ball is scrimmage; where ball is caught, no run or fair catch is allowed.
1908		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. if offside opponents interfere with player or ball in any way, penalty is loss of 15 yd. and offended side received ball whether ball was caught or not. No player making fair catch may be thrown to ground. Penalty: loss of 15 yd. 2. amendment: player attempting fair catch takes more than 2 steps after catching ball, receiving team must put ball into play by scrimmage at point 5 yd. behind point at which the ball is caught. (rest the same as 1906)
1910	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. when a player makes a fair catch he shall be warded a free kick if he does not attempt to run, but marks 	

TABLE 7--Continued

Year	Canada	United States
1910	the spot with his foot... rest the same as 1898 rule.	
	3. player is allowed a distance of 3 yd. between himself and an opponent to make the catch	
1912 Sept.		3. same + player of receiving team running toward kicked ball in air has the right of way. Off-side opponents must get out of way, or they will interfere with opportunity for fair catch
1912 Dec.	3. old 5 yd. rule readopted	
1913 Sept.	3. back to 3 yd. rule	
1914		3. same + onside opponent may attempt to catch the ball but must not interfere with opportunity for fair catch
1915		5. if player signalling fair catch misses but another player of receiving team catches the ball before it touches the ground the ball is dead where it was caught.
1919	1. a fair catch is made within the grounds direct from a kick 2. when a player makes a fair catch he shall be awarded a free kick if he does not attempt to run, but marks the spot with his foot and none of his own side touches it. If another one of his own side handle the ball before the kick is made the ball must be put into play by a scrimmage. When a side is awarded a free kick by way of a penalty any one of its players may take the	

TABLE 7--Continued

Year	Canada	United States
1919	kick. When a side is awarded a free kick, the referee... same as 1898	
1920 Sept.		2. Ball is caught by player who, prior to attempt, signals his intentions by raising his hand clearly about his head. Player attempting fair catch... (rest same as 1908)
Dec.	3. a player waiting to catch a ball must be given a fair chance to catch it by the opposing side. Penalty: 15 yd.	
1921	3. back to 3 yd. rule	

TABLE 8

INTERFERING WITH OPPONENT

Year	Canada	United States	England
1898.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> no player shall hold with his hands or arms an opponent who has not the football; or obstruct or charge against an opponent (except in a scrumage, or except such opponent has the ball, or such player is running at or with the ball) or hack, trip, scragg, or tackle an opponent below the knee, under penalty of a free-kick. no interference beyond the point of scrumage may be used by the offensive team to aid the person running with the ball. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> defensive players may use hands or arms to push opponents out of the way. Players may not hold another player unless that player has the ball. Penalty for team not in possession: loss of 10 yd.; for team in possession: loss of the ball to opponents. after ball is put into play, player of offensive team, except player who runs with the ball may, with body only, obstruct opponents. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> no hocking, or hacking over, or tripping up shall be allowed under any circumstances. an offside player shall not play the ball, nor during any time an opponent has the ball, run, tackle, or obstruct the opposite side. Penalty: either a free-kick at the point of the infraction or a scrumage at the spot where the ball was last played by the offending side.
1902.		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> same except penalty now for holding or unlawful use of hands for team not in possession: loss of 5 yd.; for team in possession: loss of ball to opponents. 	

TABLE 8--Continued

Year	Canada	United States
1908		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. defensive player may use hands or arms to move opponents out of way in order to reach ball, to stop player carrying it, or to tackle player carrying ball. Penalty for holding or unlawful use of hands, team not in possession: loss of 5 yd.; for team in possession: loss of 15 yd. If neither team is in possession ball given, first down, to team offended. 2. omitted 3. all holding and use of hands and arms in obstructing opponents, except with arms close to body, prohibited. Such holding and use of hands and arms includes <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) grasping opponents b) placing hands upon opponents to push him away from play c) encircling with arm any part of opponent in any degree d) in blocking or using arms in any way to lift opponent 4. player running with the ball may with hands or arms, ward off opponents 5. player running under kick, down field may use hands and arms to push opponents out of way in order to reach ball or player carrying ball 6. offensive players may not use interlocked interference, which is grasping of teammate or with hands or arms encircling any part of him to any degree. Penalty: loss of 15 yd.
1910		

TABLE 8--Continued

Year	Canada	United States
1910		7. offensive player may not use hands, arms, or body to push, pull, or hold feet of player carrying ball
1911		2. offensive player may use his body to push opponent
1912 Dec.	<p>2. offside interference is committed whenever a player who is offside obstructs or charges against an opponent. This holds good whether the offender be directly in front of the player with the ball or not. Exceptions:</p> <p>a) in case of the ball being played behind the scrimmage no player shall be considered to have committed offside interference unless the interference took place more than 2 yd. ahead of the point where the ball was scrimmaged.</p> <p>b) this permissible interference can only take place in a distance of 10 yd. on each side of where the ball was scrimmaged.</p>	<p>8. players receiving kick from scrimmage</p> <p>a) may, in order to reach the ball, use hands and arms to push opponents out of way</p> <p>b) may, use their bodies or arms close to body to obstruct opponents, who are going down field, from getting to player of their own team who is endeavoring to reach ball or who is carrying ball</p>
1913 Sept.	<p>1. same as 1898 except penalty changed to loss of 10 yd. for team not in possession, or loss of the ball for the team in possession</p> <p>2. same as 1912 without the "Exceptions". No interference is permissible except for the purpose of opening a hole in the line and this for a distance of one yard.</p>	* No further rule changes until 1930.

TABLE 8--Continued

Year	Canada
1919	<p>1. holding shall be defined as using the hands or arms to grasp an opponent. No player shall obstruct or charge against an opponent (except during a scrimmage, or except such opponent who has the ball, or such player is running with the ball) or shall hold with his hands or arms an opponent who has not the ball. Penalty same as 1913.</p> <p>2. same as 1913 without "and this for a distance of one yard" omitted. Only the man with the ball can go through the hole in the line. Penalty: loss of ball against team in possession and loss of 10 yd. against team not in possession. for offside interference by team in possession within 25 yd. of its own goal, the penalty shall be loss of the down and half the distance to its goal line, but not loss of ball.</p>
1920 Sept.	<p>2. same as 1919 plus:</p> <p>a) offside interference is permitted for a distance of 4 yd. from the line of scrimmage</p> <p>b) the hole on the line of scrimmage cannot be made by charging at right angles to the line, the man preventing a hole being made must be taken sideways</p> <p>Penalty same as in 1919</p>
Dec.	<p>2c. no double line of interference allowed only two man interference can be used</p>
1921	<p>1. holding shall be defined as using the hands or arms to grasp an opponent. It shall be illegal at all times, except in the case of a player who actually tackles the ball carrier.</p> <p>2. offside interference is committed whenever a player who is offside obstructs or charges against an opponent, whether the offender be directly in front of the player in possession or not. No such interference is permissible except for the purpose of opening a hole in the line, and this interference to be confined to a distance of 3 yd. in advance of the line of scrimmage. The first man to pass beyond this 3 yd. line must in all cases be the ball-carrier, except when the ball is kicked. Note: the referee and umpire are to use their judgement in the application of this rule to such plays as end runs where a player carrying the ball, having passed the ball when approaching or on the 3 yd. limit line, may of necessity over-step this line. No such interference is permissible except in the case of players who are within one yard of the line of scrimmage at the time when the ball is put into play, and except for the purpose of opening a hole in the line. The players of the side in possession who are within one yard of the line of scrimmage shall be formed in a single line at all times.</p>

TABLE 8--Continued

Year	Canada
1921	<p>Running interference is illegal in any part of the field. Penalty for side in possession is loss of 1 down and 15 yd., if on the third down, loss of the ball only; for side not in possession loss of 15 yd. In case a distance penalty is awarded within the 25 yd. line of teams own goal line the penalty shall be half the distance to the said goal line, but in no case shall the ball be brought within the 10 yd. line.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. no player of either side shall encircle in any degree any part of an opponent with the arm or arms, excepting making a tackle of the ball carrier. No players of either side shall use the arms in any way to lift an opponent in blocking. 4. the player carrying the ball may use his hands and arms for the purpose of warding off opponents. 5. players of side kicking the ball may use their hands and arms for the purpose of breaking through to follow down on on a kick.

TABLE 9a

SCORING: TRY OR TOUCHDOWN

Year	Canada	United States	England
1898	1. Try: 4 points try awarded when a player in possession of the ball touches it down on or inside of the opposing team's goal line.	1. Touchdown: 5 points touchdown is awarded when ball is carried, kicked, or passed across goal line and held there	1. Try: 3 points try is awarded when the attacking side puts his hand on the ball on the ground in his opponents' in goal
1900 Dec.	1. Try: 5 points awarded: same as in 1898	1. touchdown is awarded when any part of the ball, is on, above, or across goal line	
1902		1. touchdown is awarded, when any part of ball in possession of player and declared dead by referee is on, above, or behind opponent's goal line	
1910	1. try awarded when a) the ball is in possession of a player is declared dead by the referee any part being in goal b) a player, having crossed the opponent's goal line, in possession of the ball, goes into touch or over the dead line, and retains possession of the ball until it is dead.		

TABLE 9a--Continued

Year	Canada	United States
1912 Dec.	1. Try: 5 points when the ball is in possession of a player crosses goal line	1. Touchdown: 6 points awarded same as 1908
	1a. Try: 3 points when the ball is touched down by a player behind the oppon- ent's goal line after a fumble in the goal or is recovered from an onside kick or other- wise scored other than 1.	
1913 Sept.	1. Try: 5 points awarded as in 1910	
	1a. omitted	2. if player fouls behind his own goal line while ball is in pos- session of neither side, which deprives opponent of oppor- tunity to recover ball and en- forcement of penalty would give ball to offended side be- hind opponent's goal line: touchdown for offended side.
1916		
1920 Sept.	1. Try: 5 points when: same as in 1913, except for 1a	
	1a. Try: 3 points when try which results from a fumble behind opponent's goal line. Plus opportunity for a try-at-goal.	
1920 Dec.	1a. same: except no opportunity for a try-at-goal	
1921	1. Try: 5 points awarded same as in 1913	
	1a. omitted	

TABLE 5b
SCORING: GOAL FROM FIELD

Year	Canada	United States	England
1898	<p>1. Drop kick: 5 points</p> <p>Free kick: 4 points</p> <p>Free kick from a penalty: 2 points</p> <p>1a. awarded when the ball is kicked, except by a punt, flying-kick, kick-out, or kick-off, from the grounds, over the cross-bar and between the posts (or the posts produced) of the opponent's goal</p> <p>2. ball after being kicked may not touch the ground or any other player</p>	<p>1. Value: 5 points</p> <p>1a. awarded when ball is kicked, except by punt from field of play over cross-bar of opponent's goal</p> <p>2. ball after being kicked, may not touch ground but may strike opponent, pass over cross-bar, and count as goal</p> <p>3. ball may strike cross bar or posts as long as it goes over cross bar and between posts</p>	<p>1. Goal: 4 points</p> <p>Penalty goal: 3 points</p> <p>1a. goal is awarded when the ball is kicked from the field of play, except from a punt, from a kick-off, or from a drop-out, direct over the opponent's cross-bar.</p> <p>2. ball after being kicked may not touch the ground or any player of either side</p> <p>3. ball may touch the cross-bar or goal posts as long as it goes over the former and between the latter.</p>
1904		1. Value: 4 points	
1905 Oct.	<p>2. if opponents try to block attempt but ball still goes over cross-bar, attempt counts even if they touch it.</p>		

TABLE 9b--Continued

Year	Canada	United States
1905	1. Drop-kick: 4 points	
Nov.	Free-kick: 3 points	
	Free-kick from penalty: 2 points	
	2. omitted	
1907	1. Drop-kick: 3 points	
Nov.	Free-kick: 2 points	
	Free-kick from penalty: 2 points	
1908		1a. awarded when ball, except punt or kick-off is kicked and passes over cross-bar and between or directly above either post.
1909		1. Value: 3 points
1910	4. a free-kick may be a punt, drop-kick, or place-kick	
1917		1a. awarded when a drop-kick or place-kick passes over cross-bar or posts of oppon- ent's goal
1919	1a. awarded when the ball is kicked(except by a punt, flying-kick, or kick-off)... over the cross-bar and between the posts(or the post produced) of the op- ponent's goal	
	1b. ball after being kicked may not touch the ground	
1921	1. Drop-kick: 3 points Place-kick: 3 points Free-kick: 2 points	

TABLE 9c

SCORING: TRY-FOR-GOAL

Year	Canada	United States	England
1898	1. Try-for-Goal: 2 points opportunity given when a player makes a try. The ball after it is place kicked may not touch the ground or any other player. If it does this and goes over the cross-bar and between the posts of the opponent, it counts.	1. Try-for-Goal: 1 point opportunity given after ball has been touched down in opponent's goal area. Is a place-kick directly from field or by place-kick preceded by punt out. If the ball, after being kicked, strikes an opponent and still goes across the bar; it counts	1. Try-for-Goal: 2 points opportunity given after a try is scored. Is a place-kick. Counts if without touching the ground or any other player of either side, it goes over opponent's cross-bar, whether it touches such cross-bar or the goal-posts or not.
1900 Nov.	1. Try-for-Goal: 1 point opportunity: same		
1904	2. if ball changes hands while making a try-no conversion attempt is allowed		
1905 Oct.	2. omitted 1. amendment: if opponents try to block attempt but ball still goes over cross-bar; attempt counts		
1905 Nov.	1. amendment: omitted		
1908		1. amendment: goal from touchdown made by place-kick directly	

TABLE 9c--Continued

Year	Canada	United States
1908		from field of play by place-kick preceded by punt out; with ball passing over cross-bar or either goal post of opponent's goal
1912		1. addition: ball after left kickers' foot strikes ground and passes over cross-bar: no score
1919	1. addition: ball after being kicked may not touch the ground	
1920 Sept.	1. amendment: opportunity given when a player makes either a 5 point or 3 point try	1. amendment: goal for touchdown made by place-kick from field of play, with ball passing over cross-bar or either goal posts of opponents.
Dec.	1. amendment: opportunity given when a player makes a 5 point try	
1921	1. amendment: opportunity given when a player makes a try	

TABLE 9d
SCORING: SAFETY*

Year	Canada	United States
1898	1. Safety: 2 points awarded when a player, kicks, carries, or passes the ball from the grounds and he or one of his side rouses it inside his own goal line	1. Safety: 2 points a) awarded when ball is put by player, to ground behind his goal line, with impetus which put ball there coming from player's side or from kicked ball bound-in off an opponent
1900		1b. also awarded when a foul, which would give ball to opponents behind offender's goal line is committed by player
1901		1c. also when a ball is kicked from behind goal line crosses side line extended
1908		1a. awarded when ball is in possession and declared dead if any part of it is on, above, or behind goal line, with impetus which put ball there coming from defensive team
		1d. awarded when impetus from: 1) kick, pass, shapback, or fumble by one of player's own side, or 11) kick which bounded back from opponents or from one of kicker's own side which kicker when struck, was behind his goal line
1909		1b. incomplete forward pass made behind player's goal line or foul committed, which would give ball to opponents behind defender's goal line
1910	1a. awarded when the ball has last touched a player of the side defending the goal in front of the goal line prior	

* No such score in English Rugby

TABLE 9d--Continued

Year	Canada	United States
1910	to crossing the goal line and he or one of his own side rouges it	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="878 495 1403 600">1b. same as above up to "would" then "leave ball in possession of player's team," <li data-bbox="878 604 1403 781">1c. ball kicked from behind player's goal line across either side line extended before being touched by opponent.
1916		

TABLE 9e

SCORING: ROUGE OR TOUCHBACK*

Year	Canada	United States
1898	<p>1. Rouge: 1 point awarded:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) when a player getting possession of the ball in his own goal makes a touch-down there b) when the ball, or a player of either side having possession of it, is in touch-in-goal c) when a foul is made in goal d) when the ball having last been touched by the opposition touches or rolls over the dead ball line 	<p>1. Touchback: 0 points awarded:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) when ball is touched to ground behind players own goal line, with impetus which sent ball across line coming from opponent e) when ball is touched inside 10 yd. line by player off-side: touchback for opponents
1902		<p>lf. ball kicked across goal at kick-off: touch back, if ball is declared dead in possession of defenders. Note: defenders may run with ball if it is not declared dead.</p>
1908		<p>la. ball in possession of defense and declared dead by referee, any part of ball being on, above, or behind goal line, providing that impetus which sent ball across was given by opponents. Note: if defensive player juggles ball and forces it over his goal line, and team mate falls on the ball, no touchback is scored.</p> <p>lg. ball kicked by opponent, permitted by defensive player to strike his person and then roll across goal line, and fallen on behind goal line by opponent.</p> <p>lh. kicked ball, other than kick-off or place-kick or drop-kick</p>

* No such score in English Rugby

TABLE 9e--Continued

Year	Canada	United States
1908		passing over cross-bar, which goes over goal line, or strikes goal either on the fly or after striking ground before being touched by player of either side
1910	<p>1. awarded:</p> <p>a) when a player getting possession of the ball in his own goal makes his mark, or the ball is declared dead in his possession.</p> <p>b) when the ball, or a player of either side, having possession of it is in touch-in-goal except when the player had already crossed the opponent's goal line with the ball in his possession.</p> <p>c) when the ball, or a player with it in his possession touches, or is on, or across the dead ball line.</p> <p>d) when a foul is committed in goal by the defending side</p>	<p>1. forward pass which crosses goal line on fly or ground without touching player of either side</p>
1912		<p>le. ball kicked by one of player's own side and touched to player offside and within opponent's 10 yd. line</p> <p>li. forward pass which crosses either end line or either side line extended or strikes goal or ground within end zone</p>
1915		le. option of opposing team
1916		lj. forward pass touched by ineligible man between opponent's 10 yd line and end line. (optional decision of opponents.)

TABLE 9e--Continued

Year	Canada	United States
1919	1. awarded: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) same plus "when it is on or behind his own goal line b) same c) same plus same exceptions that "b" has d) when a foul is committed by the defending side 	
1921	1. awarded: a, b, and c, same as 1919 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> d) when a forward pass is made in goal by the defending side, or interference is committed in goal by defending side 	

TABLE 10a

PROCEDURE AFTER SCORING
A TRY

Year	Canada	United States	England
1898	1. one of the side that has obtained a try shall bring the ball straight up to the goal-line, and thence out into the grounds, not more in front of the goal than where it was touched down, and there place it for one of his side to kick.	1a. team has chance to score by puntout or by try-at-goal attempt by offensive team. b) puntout from behind opponent's goal and not nearer to goal posts than line perpendicular to goal line and drawn through spot where ball was touched down. c) try-at-goal from any point in field of play, on line which runs through point where ball was touched down and which is perpendicular to goal line d) if puntout is missed or not fairly caught, ball kicked-off from centre of field to defenders of goal.	1. the ball shall be brought from the spot where the try was gained into the field of play in a line parallel to the touch-line, such distance as the placer thinks proper, and there he shall place the ball for one of his side to try and kick a goal.
1904	2. if the ball changes hands on making a try no conversion attempt is allowed		
1905	2. omitted		
1908		lb. puntout from position behind opponent's goal line, which position is within angle found by goal line and line drawn perpendicular to goal line	

TABLE 10a--Continued

Year	Canada	United States
1908		from spot where ball was touched down.
1910	1. same to "where it was" then "declared dead and there place it for one of his side to kick at goal."	
1912		1d. if puntout is missed or not fairly caught, ball kicked-off from kicker's 40 yd. line.
1920 Sept.		1a. and 1b. omitted 1c. try-at-goal by any player of side scoring touchdown, from behind opponent's goal line to any point in front of opponent's goal for try.
1920 Dec.	3. after a 3 point try, the ball is kicked-off from the 40 yd. line by the side scored against without a chance at a try-for-goal	
1921	3. omitted	

TABLE 10b

PROCEDURE AFTER SCORING:
A GOAL FROM FIELD

Year	Canada	United States	England
1898	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. ball is kicked-off (place-kick from the centre of the field) by the side losing the goal. 2. the ball shall be kicked more than 5 yd. and shall not pitch it touch, the opponents shall stand at least 10 yd. in front of the ball until it is kicked. If this happens Captain of the opposite can ask for kick-off again. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. ball kicked, by team which lost goal, from center of field of play. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. same 2. if ball pitches into touch the opposite side may have it kicked-off again. Opposite side may not stand within 10 yd. of the ball nor charge until it is kicked.
1903		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. ball is kicked off by scoring team or by opponents from center of field. Option of scoring team 3. after successful attempt, goals are changed by the teams 	
1905	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. the ball shall be kicked-off after a score of 4 points or more has been made, by the side scored against 		
1907	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. the ball shall be kicked-off after a score of 3 points or more has been made, by the side scored against. 		
1910	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. the ball shall be kicked more than 5 yd. In case of infringement the 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. omitted 	

TABLE 10b--Continued

Year	Canada	United States
1910	<p>ball shall be scrimmaged by the side not offending, on the spot where it was kicked. The ball unless it is touched by the opponents shall not go out of bounds. If it does, opponents may ask for a re-kick. If the ball goes out again without touching an opponent it shall be scrimmaged by the side not offending on the spot where it was kicked. The opponents shall stand at least 10 yd. in front of the ball until it is kicked. In case of infringement the Captain of the opposite side may require a re-kick.</p>	
1912		<p>1. ball kicked-off, by team scored on, from 40 yd. line; or by opponents, from point on 40 yd. line, equidistance from side line: option of team scored on.</p>
1919	<p>1. the ball shall be kicked-off after a scored of 3 points has been made, by the side scored against at the center point of their 40 yd. line</p> <p>2. same except "The ball must..." (opponents no longer have option of penalty, it is automatically enforced.)</p>	
1921	<p>2. same except penalty now is that the ball must be advanced 5 yd. and kicked off again.</p>	

TABLE 10c
 PROCEDURE AFTER SCORING:
 TRY-FOR-GOAL

Year	Canada	United States	England
1898	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. the ball shall be kicked-off after a try has been scored by the side having the try scored against them 2. same as for goal from field 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. ball kicked from the center of field of play by team which lost goal whether or nor the try-for-goal is successful. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. same as for goal from field 2. same as goal from field
1903		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. kick-off, after try-for-point from center of field by team which scored touchdown or by opponents of that team: option of team which scored touchdown. 3. goals changed after try-for-point attempt 	
1907	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. same as for goal from field 		
1910	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. same as for goal from field 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. omitted 	
1912		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. ball, after touchdown, kicked from 40 yd. line of team which has touchdown scored on, or from 40 yd. line (at point equidistance from side line) of opponents: option of team which had touchdown scored on. 	
1919	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. the ball shall be kicked-off at the center point of the field after a score of more than 3 points by the side scored against 2. same as goal from field 		

TABLE 10c--Continued

Year	Canada	United States
1920 Sept.	4. after a try-for-goal resulting from a 3 point try, the ball shall be kicked off at the 40 yd. line whether the try is converted or not, by the side scored against.	
1920 Dec.	4. omitted	
1921	2. same as goal from field.	

TABLE 10d

PROCEDURE AFTER SCORING:
ROUGE OR SAFETY OR TOUCHBACK OR SAFETY*

Year	Canada	United States
1898	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. ball is kicked out by the side in whose goal it has gone, after a rouge or safety touch. Kick-out is a drop-kick from not more than 25 yd. from the kicker's goal line. 2. the ball shall not pitch in touch and the opponents shall not interfere with the kicker within 25 yd. of his own goal line. In case of infringement the ball shall be kicked off again if the Captain of the opposite side requires it. 3. if ball pitches twice into touch on the kick-out it shall be scrimmaged by the side not offending where it was last kicked. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. kicked out by player of team that has touched ball to ground behind its goal line or goal line extended past side lines. Kick-out is a drop-kick, place-kick, or punt kicked from a distance not more than 25 yd. outside the kicker's goal. 2. kick-out kicked again if it goes out of bounds before touching a player. 3. if ball goes out-of-bounds twice in succession at kick-out it is given to opponents on kicker's 25 yd. line on side where ball crossed side line.
1907	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. the ball shall be kicked-out by the side against whom 1 or 2 points have been made. Kick-out is a drop-kick from not more than 25 yd. from the kicker's goal line and must move at least 1 yd. in any direction. The penalty for failure to kick a drop-kick out shall be a scrimmage by the side not offending on the 25 yd line. 2. the opponents shall not interfere with the kicker within 25 yd. of his own goal line. In case of infringement the side not offending shall have a free kick 35 yd. from their own 	

* No such scores in English Rugby

TABLE 103--Continued

Year	Canada	United States
1907	goal line. 3. if the ball goes twice out-of-bounds from the kick-out without touching an opponent it shall be scrimmaged by the side not offending on the spot where it was last kicked.	
1908		3. if ball goes out of bounds twice in succession at kick-out it is given to opponents, on 35 yd. line near to kicker's goal line.
1909		1. ball put, by team making safety or touchback, into play by kick-out or by scrimmage from first down on 25 yd. line of that team.
1912		1. kick-out kicked from some point inside kicker's 20 yd. line
1914		1. ball put by team making touchback or safety into play by scrimmage from first down on 20 yd. line of that team 2. and 3. omitted
1919	1. same as 1907 plus- "team kicking out has the option of a scrimmage on the 25 yd. line, in which case the option must be reported to the referee by the captain 3. the ball shall not go out of bounds unless it has touched an opponent. In case of infringement, the ball shall be kicked out again, but if the ball goes twice out of bounds from the kick-out without touching an opponent it shall be scrimmaged by the side	

TABLE 10d--Continued

Year	Canada	United States
1919	not offending, on the spot where it was last kicked.	
1920		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="894 390 1430 533">1a. ball put by team making touchback, into play by scrimmage from first down on 20 yd. line of that team. <li data-bbox="894 537 1430 680">1b. ball put, by team making safety, into play by scrimmage from first down on 30 yd. line of that team.

APPENDIX B

SUMMARY OF THE BURNSIDE RULES USED FOR
THE MULOCK CUP SERIES OF 1901

Rule 1: states the size of the field and describes the officials, etc., states that the game shall be played by two teams of 12 men each

Rules 2, 3, and 4: are definitions of kicks, etc.

Rule 5a: a scrimmage takes place when the holder of the ball places it upon the ground and puts it in play by kicking it forward or snapping it back. The scrimmage does not end until the ball is again declared dead. The ball is always put in play from a scrimmage, except in cases where other specific provision is made by the rules.

Note: snapping the ball means putting it back by means of hand or foot by one quick continuous motion from its position on the ground.

Rule 5b: if, after the snapper-back has taken his position he should voluntarily move the ball as if to snap it.

Rule 5c: when snapping the ball back, the player so doing must be on-side, the hand or foot used in snapping the ball excepted.

Rules 6, 7, and 8: are unimportant

Rule 9: in a scrimmage no part of any player shall be ahead of the ball when it is put in play

Rules 10, 11, and 12: deal with time, etc.

Rule 13: deals with touch.

States if the ball goes in touch the player must bring it to the spot where it crossed the line, touch it in and then run or kick it, or walk in not less than five nor more than fifteen yards and scrimmage it. There is no throw in from touch.

Rule 14: deals with charging

Rule 14a: if lawful charging takes place, and if the side having the free kick fails to kick the ball, then the opponents may line up five yards ahead of the line which restrained them before charging. In that case the side having the free kick must kick the ball from some point directly behind its mark, if the free kick resulted from a fair catch, and in other cases from behind the new restraining line.

- Rule 14b: when taking a kick, the player making the catch must be given chance to get the ball, if not given a fair chance the catcher is given fifteen yard plus the choice to kick or scrimmage.
- Rule 15a: the snapper-back is entitled to full and undisturbed possession of the ball. The opponents must neither interfere with him nor touch the ball until it is actually in play.
- Rule 15b: in snapping the ball back, if the player so doing is off-side, the ball must be snapped again, and if this occurs once more on the same down the ball shall go to the opponents.
- Rule 15c: the man who snaps back and the man opposite him in the scrimmage cannot afterwards touch the ball until it has touched some player, other than these two.
- Rule 15d: if the man who puts the ball in play in a scrimmage kicks it forward, no player of his side can touch it until it has gone ten yards into the opponents' territory unless it has been touched by an opponent; any player doing so will be considered off-side.
- Rule 15e: the man who first receives the ball when it is snapped back shall not carry the ball forward beyond the line of scrimmage unless he has regained it after it has been passed to and touched another player. If he does so the ball shall go to the opponents on the spot.
- Rule 16: states that no interference with opponents is allowed before the ball is in play and no use of hands or arms by attacking side.
 Note: after the ball is put into play those in possession may obstruct their opponents with the body only, though the one in actual possession may use his hands and arms.
- Rule 17: when the ball is put in play by scrimmage, at least six players of the side having the ball must be on the line of scrimmage.
- Rule 19: deals with downs.
- Rule 20: if, in three consecutive downs (unless the ball crosses the goal line) a team has neither advanced the ball ten yards nor taken it back twenty yards, it shall go to the opponents on the spot of the third down.
 Note: "consecutive" means without going out of the possession of the side holding it, except that by having kicked the ball they have given their opponents fair and equal chance of gaining possession of it. No kick, however, provided it is not stopped by an opponent, is regarded as giving the opponents fair and equal chance of possession unless the ball goes beyond the line of scrimmage.

Rule 25: states that no metallic substances or anything liable to injury another player shall be worn. Also "there shall be no unnecessary roughness, throttling, hacking, or striking with a closed fist. There shall be no tripping, or tackling below the knees, or above the shoulder."

Rule 26: deals with penalties.

For violation of the rules governing the scrimmage, the penalty is the loss of ten yards if the side not in possession of the ball is the offender, or, if the offending side has the ball, the immediate surrender of it to the opponents.

Ten yards is also given if any player is ahead of the ball in the scrimmage and for tripping or foul tackling.

In the case of interference of any kind with putting the ball in play or unnecessary delay of the game, the offended side shall be advanced ten yards.

For piling on a player after the ball is dead and for interfering with a catch, the offended side is to receive 15 yards.

In a free kick, if the opponents charge before the ball is put in play, they shall lose five yards for every offence, and the ball shall be put in play again from the original mark.

Whenever the Rules provide for a distance penalty, if the distance would carry the ball nearer the goal line than the five-yard line, then the ball shall be down on the five yard line. If, however, the foul is committed inside the ten yard line, half the distance to the goal line shall be given.

If a team on the defence commits fouls when so near its own goal that these fouls are punishable only by halving the distance to the line, the object being in the opinion of the referee to delay the game, the offending side shall be regarded as refusing to allow the game to proceed. The referee shall warn the offending side, and if the offence is repeated he shall declare the game forfeited to the opponents.

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