

Boxing and the Third Place: Mapping Community and Urban Revitalization in Early Twentieth
Century Winnipeg

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ABSTRACT

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Matthew. F McKeown

This study considers the impact of urban revitalization through community engagement and the promotion of activities, in particular boxing in early twentieth century Winnipeg. It details the development of a multiethnic amateur boxing league which arose in the city during this period, using both qualitative and quantitative sources and a series of maps. This research shows how spaces in Winnipeg, like the Young Men's Christian Society, the One Big Union and the Winnipeg City Police Amateur Athletic Association, used boxing to support young men and boys from various ethnic, class and religious backgrounds. Winnipeg newspapers, such as the *Winnipeg Tribune*, offer rich quantitative sources, including boxing cards that list fighters' names, dates, and locations. When paired with census data, maps, and archival information from institutions like the YMCA, these sources provide a wealth of detail on Winnipeg's ethnic, class, and religious composition. This study leverages these resources to advance the understanding of spatial dynamics and demonstrates how analyzing third places can address questions about segregation in the city.

Key Words: Young Men's Christian Association, Winnipeg City Police Amateur Athletic Association, Boxing, Winnipeg, Sports, GIS, Urban Revitalization, Community, Third Place.

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Introduction

This thesis addresses community development and urban revitalization through sports and social organizations in early twentieth century Winnipeg. As Winnipeg grew in geographic size and population, urban revitalization became a vital project for sports reformers. Various ethnic, religious, and class divisions were deeply entrenched in Winnipeg and associated with waves of immigration. To alleviate resultant social tensions, several community organizations developed boxing programs.

This thesis applies ArcGIS to understand the role of the Young Men Christian Association (YMCA) and several other organizations in Winnipeg during the early twentieth century. Specifically, it examines their roles in the mushrooming of a varied ethnic, class and religious amateur boxing circuit. Chapter One explores the YMCA and urban development in Winnipeg and their potential influence on immigration and sports. It utilizes qualitative and quantitative methods to track YMCA membership and immigration patterns and their connection with sports. Chapter Two focuses on the YMCA's role in urban revitalization. It highlights the organization's efforts to promote community engagement, break down exclusionary barriers and bring people together to address social issues within the city. YMCA leaders recognized the potential for urban revitalization and aimed to address issues such as crime, poverty, immorality, and child delinquency. A comprehensive curriculum emphasizing physical, educational, spiritual and social way of life was thus implemented, with boxing playing a significant social integration role for those of British heritage and newly arrived immigrants from various backgrounds.

Chapter Two also examines a 1927 map that demonstrates the diversity within the YMCA Boys' Division, a program created to engage boys from various religious denominations and social classes. It explores the creation of the Boys' Division and draws connections to similar initiatives across North America. Special attention is given to "newsboys", who typically came

from immigrant families, including Russian Jewish households (as evidenced by two 1925 newsboy basketball matches and a 1917 newsboy boxing charity event). By utilizing ArcGIS and the 1927 districts data, we can geolocate the residences of these athletes. The map reveals that most of these boys lived near the Selkirk location, suggesting its role in serving immigrants in the North End before 1926. In comparison, a residential mapping of 28 team captains participating in a 1926 Vaughan Street YMCA Boys' Department charity drive, indicates that most of these boys were from the British Isles, hailed from the middle class and resided in the city centre. Both maps align with another study of Winnipeg, which used the Henderson Directory to illustrate dwelling and occupation segregation in the city based on location, ethnicity, and class. The study's findings suggest that Winnipeg was a segregated city.¹ However, this work overlooked the significance of the *third place* as means to understand segregation.² Understanding both the social and built environment helps scholars comprehend

¹Daniel Hiebert, "Class, Ethnicity and Residential Structure: The Social Geography of Winnipeg, 1901–1921," *Journal of Historical Geography* 17, no. 1 (1991): 56–86. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0305-7488\(91\)90005-G](https://doi.org/10.1016/0305-7488(91)90005-G). Hiebert acknowledges the limitations of his study. For starters, he had no access to census reports. Therefore, the study determined ethnicity by last name located in the Henderson Directory. Furthermore, the Henderson Directory had clear biases, such as only "the inclusion of the poor and the illiterate." Furthermore, Hiebert had problems with determining class, as it was deciphered through occupation. Daniel Hiebert "Class, Ethnicity and Residential Structure," 56-7

² Ray Oldenburg, who coined the term, defined the third place as "the core setting of informal public life. The third place is a generic designation for a great variety of public places that host the regular, voluntary, informal, and happily anticipated gatherings of individuals beyond the realms of home and work"; Ray Oldenburg, *The Great Good Place: Cafes, Coffee Shops, Bookstores, Bars, Hair Salons, and Other Hangouts at the Heart of a Community* (Great Barrington, MA: Berkshire Publishing Group, 2023). In his work, Oldenburg was primarily concerned with the negative effects of the suburbanization of North America. He furthered that because of the segregation of work and home, plus the distance created by suburbs, people had few places to meet and form community. Oldenburg contrasted this to the design of Italian and European cities. He notes that these three places interweave with the urban fabric of their locations. People live near homes, work, and communal places. At these places, diverse people from various class backgrounds meet and

segregation, encompassing not only where people go or live but also how they *interact* and *co-exist*. The final series of maps in this chapter examine YMCA boxers, wrestlers and sports affiliates (e.g., coaches and judges), detailing their origins, occupations, ethnicities, and religious affiliations. These maps demonstrate that boxing served as a possible bridge between social classes, religions and ethnicities, consequently fostering a shared community among immigrant and Anglo individuals who joined the same team. While these maps capture the extent of the YMCA's diversity, they reveal limited geographic mobility. Nonetheless, by examining the story of the African Canadian YMCA fighter, porter Piercy Haynes, we gain insight into an athlete's movement within the city. By searching Haynes' last name in Winnipeg newspapers on Newspaper.com for the year 1933, six locations were identified, illustrating how sports led Haynes throughout the city. Athletics exposed him not only to different places but spaces coinhabited by people from different religious, ethnic, and class backgrounds. Haynes formed a community with these individuals and socialized with them beyond sports.³

Chapter 3 shows that boxing was a diverse and popular sport in Winnipeg throughout the twentieth century. Many different organizations participated in the sport, drawing athletes from various class, ethnic and religious backgrounds. Despite their diversity, these organizations each served a specific community within the city. Boxing events thus functioned as a bridge across

converse over wine, food, and music. For Oldenburg, this closeness is fundamental for a thriving social and urban environment—the opposite of the distance created by suburbs, which he argues is a cause of degeneration in both the individual and the city.

³ For a similar method, see Mary Anne Poutanen and Jason Gilliland, “Mapping Work in Early Twentieth-Century Montreal: A Rabbi, a Neighbourhood, and a Community,” *Urban History Review* 45, no. 2 (2018): 7–24, <https://doi.org/10.7202/1051383ar>. This study uses a Rabbi's 1909 diary to show social mobility in a historical context. It uses GIS to track his movements and explain the social mobility of Jews living in the St. Lawrence Boulevard corridor.

Winnipeg's social divides as they became forums for social interaction and integration. This enabled athletes to work together, consequently facilitating growth of the sport. This study draws attention to the diverse nature of boxing in Winnipeg during this period, demonstrating that while the city was not devoid of social challenges, these organizations provided spaces where individuals from different backgrounds could convene and compete. By examining the boxing events, the involvement of clubs and athletes, this study argues that boxing facilitated social integration. It underscores the importance of the "third place" in fostering the public sphere and civil society, thereby contributing to the development of democracy. This chapter enriches the urban and sports history of Winnipeg and Canada, providing new insights for historical GIS studies about segregation. It also offers new information for social scientists studying community dynamics, the public sphere, and democratic development.

Importantly, this study also offers new insights for the YMCA, urban history, and the spatial humanities. Some argue that to better understand an individual's spatiotemporal experience with racial and ethnic segregation, one must examine the places where people live in addition to, "when they visit these places, how much time they spent there, what they experience as they travel between these places, and who they interact with while at those places."⁴

Therefore, the complex experiences people have with time, space and place cannot be understood solely by assessing dwelling location alone.⁵ Further, within the historical urban,

⁴ For more information, read Mei-Po Kwan, "Beyond Space (as We Knew It): Toward Temporally Integrated Geographies of Segregation, Health, and Accessibility," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 103, no. 5 (2013): 1078-86, 1079, 1082. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00045608.2013.792177>.

⁵ Two Canadian examples are John S. Lutze et al., "Turning Space Inside Out: Spatial History and Race in Victorian Victoria," in *Historical GIS Research in Canada*, ed. Jennifer Bonnell and Marcel Fortin (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2014), 1–27. This study debunks the myth of the "Forbidden City." Using tax assessment rolls, census reports, and newspapers, this study

sport, and YMCA literature, there are no systematic accounts of Jewish membership at the YMCA, outside of a brief mention.⁶ Similarly, no studies exist that offer a meaningful account of the newsboys at the YMCA, and YMCA-focused studies have not utilized ArcGIS as a method.⁷

The historiography of ethnic and class relations is dominated by the theory of hegemony. In the historiography of the YMCA, two British studies add a gender component and focus on the discourse held between the upper and lower-middle class and two American studies

utilizes GIS and Wordle to show Victoria's Chinatown was an open and multiethnic space; and Andrew Hinson, Jennifer Marvin, and Cameron Metcalf, "The Best Seat in the House: Using Historical GIS to Explore Religion and Ethnicity in Late-Nineteenth-Century Toronto," in Bonnell and Fortin, *Historical GIS Research*, 61–83. This study uses pew books from a Toronto church to demonstrate how people from different regions of the city and socioeconomic backgrounds went to church together, arguing that these different groups could agreeably fraternize.

⁶ Danny Rosenberg, "Athletics in the Ward and Beyond: Neighborhoods, Jews, and Sport in Toronto, 1900-1939," in *Sporting Dystopias: The Making and Meanings of Urban Sport Cultures*, eds. Ralph C. Wilcox et al. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003), 137–53, 137-38, 142. This study mentions Jews going to the Toronto YMCA. In his research, Rosenberg illustrates that not all newly arrived Jews were inclined toward intellectual pursuits, challenging a long-held belief. Instead, he argues that Jews sought a new opportunity in sports that allowed them to embrace new cultural values and activities. Sports became a means for Jews to "confirm a meaningful Jewish identity while it also promoted more widespread social acceptance."

⁷ Bryan Jamison, "Making 'Honest, Truthful and Industrious Men': Newsboys, Rational Recreation and the Construction of the 'Citizen' in Late Victorian and Edwardian Brisbane." *Journal of Popular Culture* 33, no. 1 (1999): 61–75, 68.

https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0022-3840.1999.3301_61.x. Jamison mentions a failed attempt by the YMCA in 1886 to set up a rational recreation program for newsboys in Brisbane, Australia. For more on the topic of boys read, David Macleod, *Building Character in the American Boy: The Boy Scouts, YMCA, and Their Forerunners, 1870-1920* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004), 74, 300. Macleod argues that YMCAs in America favoured white, middle-class, and Protestant boys. The YMCA's answer to the boy problem in America was to keep middle-class boys away from the lower classes. They created character-building programs and taught young middle-class men the tenets of muscular Christianity. Macleod argues that the YMCA regulated aid to newsboys to annual charities and infrequent dinners. He furthers that it was not until the 1920s that the changing demographics of urban communities forced the YMCA to change its class bias and create programs that focused on the socialization between the two classes.

have focused on the Protestant middle-class and the lower-class non-Protestant and immigrant populations.⁸ These studies show that YMCA social welfare programs were a means through which middle-class reformers exerted their cultural and class authority over marginalized groups. They demonstrate that during the twentieth century, activists attempted to end urban disorder, poverty and social unrest caused by changes in labour and immigration by connecting urbanity, industrialism and capitalism with gendered constructs. Social welfare programs provided meaning to the lives of some middle-class men while simultaneously permitting them to assert their cultural capital. By sometimes including non-Anglos and non-Protestants, activists created social barriers based on class, gender, and religion.⁹ However these studies show that this was not a simple process of domination. In the context of sport and hegemony, “the theory of hegemony thus places sport, in so far as it is related to hegemony, firmly in the context of

⁸ Christopher P. Hosgood, “Negotiating Lower-Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain: The Leicester Young Men’s Christian Association, 1870-1914,” *Canadian Journal of History* 37, no. 2 (2002): 253–74. <https://doi.org/10.3138/cjh.37.2.253>. Hosgood focuses on the process of negotiation between the middle-class leaders at the YMCA and the young lower-class office employees the YMCA was attempting to instruct; Geoff Spurr, “Lower-Middle-Class Masculinity and the Young Men’s Christian Association, 1844-1880,” *Histoire Sociale* 47, no. 95 (2014): 547–76. <https://doi.org/10.1353/his.2014.0066>. Spurr used the concept of hegemonic masculinity to show that during the early years of the YMCA in Britain, lower-middle-class men rejected the idea of “bourgeois masculinity.” Instead of championing sports and physical recreation, Spurr shows that lower-middle-class men created their own concepts of masculinity that valued non-physical activities."

⁹ Thomas Winter, *Making Men, Making Class: The YMCA and Workingmen, 1877-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002). Winter studies manhood and he uses the example of the YMCA and their social welfare programs which targeted railroad and industrial works; Emily Mieras, “Tales from the Other Side of the Bridge: YMCA Manhood, Social Class and Social Reform in Turn-of-the-Twentieth-Century Philadelphia,” *Gender & History* 17, no. 2 (2005): 409–40. This study advances Winter’s study by using the example of Collage Students in Progressive Era Philadelphia.

struggles between classes and groups but in a manner which allows, negotiation, compromises and accommodation.¹⁰

In terms of the history of immigrant communities in relationship to hegemony and assimilation, sports became a means towards integration into the dominant national ideology and society. Sometimes, this meant that subordinate groups had to conform to hegemonic cultural standards that placed the unassimilated agent as inferior.¹¹ In response to this hegemonic relationship with the Anglo middle-class in America, immigrant and non-Protestant organizations created sporting fraternities largely due to being denied access to Anglo organizations' facilities. Leaders within their respective ethnic, class, and religious circles taught the values of sports, the English language, hygiene, and occupation specialization to newcomers, aiming for societal acceptance. Consequently, the formation of athletic clubs, along with the amateurization of sport, led to the participation of newcomer and non-Protestant groups in sports within Anglo and Protestant clubs. Therefore, sports were a means for immigrants and non-Protestants to be recognized as equals while also establishing their own forms of masculinity connected to their ethnic and religious identity.¹²As immigrants engaged with Anglo Protestants

¹⁰ John E. Hargreaves, "Sport and Hegemony: Some Theoretical Problems," in *Sport: Approaches to the Study of Sport*, ed. Dominic Malcolm and Eric Dunning (London: Routledge, 2003), 160–79, 168.

¹¹ This study on Aboriginal people in Australia uses spatial history to show such phenomena, Murray G. Phillips and Gary Osmond, "Marching for Assimilation: Indigenous Identity, Sport, and Politics," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 64, no. 4 (2018): 544-60. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajph.12520>.

¹²For additional information, see Gerald R. Gems, "Jews, Sport, and the Construction of an American Identity," in *Muscling in on New Worlds: Jews, Sports and the Making of the Americas*, ed. Raanan Rein and David M.K. Sheinin (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 85–101; Gerald R. Gems, "Sport and the Assimilation of American Catholics," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 36, no. 2 (2018): 33–55. <https://doi.org/10.1353/cht.2018.0010>; Gerald R. Gems, "Sport and the Italian

through sports, they found acceptance within mainstream culture and created a more pluralistic society. This phenomenon was not just isolated to America as historians elsewhere have recognized boxing as an important sport in the integration process.¹³ For the middle class, amateur boxing was linked to their community, characterized by gendered and religious values based on muscular Christianity, Victorian respectability, and progressivism. For the working and immigrant classes, boxing aligned with the immigrant community of hard work, grit, and

American Quest for Whiteness,” *Sport in History* 32, no. 4 (2012): 479–503. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17460263.2012.738610>; Gerald R. Gems, “Sport and the Forging of a Jewish-American Culture: The Chicago Hebrew Institute,” *American Jewish History* 83, no. 1 (1995): 15–26. For additional information read also, Jonathan Gosnell, “Le Base Ball, Assimilation, and Ethnic Identity: The National Pastime in Franco-America,” *Quebec Studies* 66 (2018): 49–75. <https://doi.org/10.3828/qs.2018.16>; Alec S. Hurley and Annette R. Hofmann, “Between Pints and Performances, The Work of George Brosius in the Nineteenth-Century Turner Stronghold of Milwaukee,” *Journal of Sport History* 48, no. 2 (2021): 186–200. <https://doi.org/10.5406/21558450.48.2.08>.

¹³ For example, read David Dee, “‘The Sunshine of Manly Sports and Pastimes’: Sport and the Integration of Jewish Refugees in Britain, 1895-1914.” *Immigrants & Minorities* 30, no. 2–3 (2012): 318–42. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02619288.2010.502722>. Dee considers the role of English-Jewish organizations in teaching sports to Jewish immigrants in Britain to aid in the process of Anglicisation. For a study on boxing, see Gerald R. Gems, “The Politics of Boxing: Resistance, Religion, and Working Class Assimilation,” *International Sports Journal* 8, no. 1 (2004): 89–103. Gems discusses boxing in relation to class assimilation. He largely uses the example of the Catholic Youth Organization in Chicago; Gerald R. Gems, “Sport and the Assimilation of American Catholics,” *U.S. Catholic Historian* 36, no. 2 (2018): 33–54. <https://doi.org/10.1353/cht.2018.0010>. For a larger discussion on class and boxing, see Gerald R. Gems’ third chapter, “The Relationship Between Boxing and Social Class,” in *Boxing: A Concise History of the Sweet Science* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield. Kindle, 2014): 43–73. Other studies include, Kasia Boddy in her sixth chapter “Fresh Hopes,” in Kasia Boddy, *Boxing: A Cultural History* (London: Realktion Books, 2008). Boddy looks at boxings connection with American Identity and uses the example of Jewish and African American Boxers; Andrew McGregor, “Amateur Boxing and Assimilation at the Stewart Indian School, Carson City Nevada, 1935-1948,” in *Native American Identity in Sports: Creating and Preserving a Culture* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, 2013), 41–57. This study looks at the positive effects of assimilation and amateur boxing on the Stewart Indian School in Carson City, Nevada; James Emmett Ryan, “Fight Club, 1880: Boxing, Class, and Literary Culture in John Boyle O’Reilly’s Boston,” *Journal of American Studies* 54, no. 4 (2019): 706–36. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021875819000884>. This study focuses on Irish assimilation in Boston.

determination. Soon, immigrants and non-Christians also integrated muscular Christianity into their circles, as they too championed a more gendered and corporal form of religion.¹⁴ However, this study found that not all working class individuals and immigrants formed their own groups. In this case, Catholics and Jews remained affiliated with the YMCA, even after the establishment of Catholic and Jewish sporting organizations in the city.

While the historiography of ethnic and class relations is directed by theories of hierarchy and oppression, the YMCA in Winnipeg tells a different story. In terms of the YMCA and other boxing gyms in the city, reform was tied not to hegemony, but instead boxing was one of many activities connected to the reduction of ethnic and class conflict, as was the cultivation of manly, sportsmen like values. While in Winnipeg reform movements were connected to greater national and imperialistic ideologies, the YMCA had humanitarian ends in mind. The YMCA in Winnipeg did not end ethnic or gender barriers, but they provided aid for underprivileged boys and non-Protestants, establishing the largest athletic program in the city. Ultimately, the YMCA would pave the way for other amateur athletic associations in Winnipeg and change society in a positive way.¹⁵ Athletic reformers at the YMCA positioned boxing as a sport that could help with

¹⁴ For example, this occurred in Canadian Catholic circles, see Matt Hoven, “A Powerful Sporting Tradition among Canadian Basilians’: Early Twentieth-Century Catholic Priest-Coaches at St Michael’s College.” *International Journal of the History of Sport* 39, no. 4 (2022): 366–84. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09523367.2022.2066079>; Wayne Eastman, “Religion and Sport: The Denominational Colleges, the Genesis of Physical Education in Newfoundland,” *Canadian Journal of History of Sport* 19, no. 2 (1988): 30–49. <https://doi.org/10.1123/cjhs.19.2.30>.

¹⁵ Gems uses this framework, see Gems, “Sport and the Assimilation of American Catholics, 2018”. For more information on hegemony and sport, read John E. Hargreaves, “Sport and Hegemony: Some Theoretical Problems,” in *Sport: Approaches to the Study of Sport*, ed. Dominic Malcolm and Eric Dunning (London: Routledge, 2003), 160–79; Peter Donnelly, “Sport as a Site for ‘Popular’ Resistance,” *Popular Cultures and Political Practices*, December 31, 1988, 69–82. For commentary on habitus, read Alan Tomlinson and Richard Giulianotti, “Pierre Bourdieu and the Sociological Study of Sport: Habitus, Capital and Field,” in *Sport and*

middle-class manhood, but also one that could support newly arrived immigrants and working-class boys and men. The YMCA thus became an important place where people from different communities met, forging new common interests and building a more pluralistic society.

This thesis, particularly Chapter Three, uses the conceptual framework of community, defined as “dense, multiplex, and systematic webs of relationships.”¹⁶ The evolution of the definition of community is more than a story about who said what and how, but why. It is a story shaped by city growth, attempts by social commentators to comprehend rapid changes in both the built and social environments, and the imperative to discover the forces that draw people together and apart. The first generation of communitarian thinkers, and many of those influenced by their work, form part of, “the long series of binary oppositions used to characterize modern social life.”¹⁷ Three figures are vital to understanding the development of community: Max Weber, Ferdinand Tönnies and Émile Durkheim. One commentator discussing Max Weber’s contributions to sociology notes, “It is perhaps one of the most important canons of critical work, that the critic should attempt so far as possible to see the work of an author in the perspective of the intellectual situation and tradition out of which it has developed.” Talcott Parson argues that Weber’s methodological approach is influenced by German thought tradition, particularly the work of Emmanuel Kant. Weber’s *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization* outlines his

Modern Social Theorists, ed. Richard Giulianotti (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 161–73.

¹⁶ Craig Calhoun, “Community without Propinquity Revisited: Communications Technology and the Transformation of the Urban Public Sphere,” *Sociological Inquiry* 68, no. 3 (August 3, 1998): 373–97, 374. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-682X.1998.tb00474.x>.

Craig Calhoun, “Indirect Relationships and Imagined Communities: Large-Scale Social Integration and the Transformation of Everyday Life,” *Social Theory for a Changing Society*, July 11, 2019, 95–130, 97. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429306440-4>.

framework for sociology and his concept of community, which today remains an essential treatise to understanding how the definition of community evolved over time.¹⁸

While Weber's work is now considered outdated, his concept of community, along with Tönnies' and Durkheim's, laid the foundation for subsequent conceptualizations. As Sir Isaac Newton once noted, "If I have seen further, it is by standing on the shoulders of giants." Craig Calhoun, discussing Bourdieu, echoes a similar sentiment to Parsons: "...that social research is itself a social process, made possible by specific sorts of resources, organized by values and hierarchy embedded in a field, and shaped by the experience and previous learning of researchers—including learning of which they are not aware."¹⁹ Contemporary scholars may consider these three figures nearsighted by today's standards. However, it is shortsighted to dismiss their contributions altogether. Their relevance lies in the historical context of their era, which was characterized by societal and urban transformations. These writers were responding to vastly changing social and built environments. Much like today, their call for understanding community came at a time when technology and ideological shifts were changing how people interacted with one another. Their shortcomings stem from limitations in access to primary and

¹⁸ Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, ed. A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons (New York: The Free Press, 1947), 8.

¹⁹Craig Calhoun, "Pierre Bourdieu," in *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Major Social Theorists*, April 15, 2011, 361–94, 376. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444396621.ch34>. For more of Calhoun's work on Bourdieu's methodology read, Craig, Calhoun. "Pierre Bourdieu and Social Transformation: Lessons from Algeria." *Development and Change* 37, no. 6 (2006): 1403–15. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7660.2006.00535.x>; Craig Calhoun, "For the Social History of the Present," essay, in *Bourdieu as Historical Sociologist* (New York, New York: Duke University Press, 2020), 36–66. For how Calhoun uses Bourdieu in his work read for example: Craig, Calhoun. "The Public Sphere in the Field of Power." *Social Science History* 34, no. 3 (2010): 301–35. <https://doi.org/10.1215/01455532-2010-003>; Craig Calhoun, *Protest in Beijing: The Conditions and Importance of the Chinese Student Movement of 1989*. *Partisan Review*. Vol. 56. Boston: Partisan Review, Inc, 1989.

secondary sources, as well as established sociological categories, thus hindering a comprehensive understanding of community: “The early social investigators struggled to invent the sociological categories with which to think about the impact of the numerous social changes going on about them.”²⁰ Despite these challenges, scholars from across disciplines continue to use their theories to grapple with the question of what community is.

For much of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, writers intertwined the definition of community with several myths. These included notions that communities had risen and fallen, that prior to industrialization, men lived in their most natural state of collectivity, and that industry and capitalism transformed men into rational and individual Beings. The earliest investigators were responding to rapid change and much of the debate around community revolved around this context. The central question emerged: did industrialization lead to the erosion of community? For Weber and Tönnies, industrialization led to individualism and the loss of community. One observer notes that, “throughout the late nineteenth century, we find social theorists speculating upon the nature of the change required in *social* organism to meet the contemporary conditions of the burgeoning processes of urbanization, industrialization, social and geographical mobility, and the greater heterogeneity which followed in the wake of these developments. Their speculations were frequently based on the contrast between two, apparently historically disjunctive, types of society.”²¹

For example, in 1887, Ferdinand Tönnies introduced his concept of community in *Community and Civil society*. In it, he contrasts “Organic Community (*Gemeinschaft*)”, bound

²⁰ C. J. Calhoun, “Community: Toward a Variable Conceptualization for Comparative Research.” *Social History (London)* 5, no. 1 (1980): 105–29, 106.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/03071028008567472>.

²¹ Anthony P. Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community*. London ; Routledge, 1995, 22.

together by ties of kinship, fellowship, custom, history and communal ownership of primary goods and “Mechanical Society (*Gesellschaft*)”²² where free-standing individuals interacted with each other through self-interest, commercial contracts, a spatial rather than historical sense of mutual awareness, and the external constraints of formally enacted law. For Tönnies, communities are natural and based on familiar and religious bonds, whereas society is arbitrary and based on laws, contracts and money. He suggests that solidarity in society, outside of places of belonging such as fraternities, craft guilds, and religious denominations, is typically created because there is a rational means to an end. In his work, “the emphasis is on the assumed nature of community in opposition to the optional nature of association.”²³ Tönnies’ dichotomy between community and society is spatially determined, with the former referring to groups typically found in rural and small agrarian towns and villages, and the latter to a collective of people found in large urban centres. Yet, Tönnies argues that in society, “looser associations, though still of a communitarian type exist.” For Tönnies, the three pillars of community are: blood, soil and spirit. He states that within society, there are “community-based associations,” such as “the community of spirit” or organizations founded, “on shared work or calling, and thus shared beliefs.” These “...unions depend chiefly on community of spirit, where membership is not purely voluntary, but everyone concerned has to belong.” He states that these spaces, “include primarily the corporations and brotherhoods of the arts and crafts, the communities and guilds, fraternities, and ecclesiastical orders.” The places described are the third places of the period.²⁴

²² Ferdinand Tönnies, *Community and Civil Society*, ed. José Harris (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), xviii.

²³ Calhoun, “Community: Toward a Variable Conceptualization,” 108.

²⁴Tönnies, *Community and Civil Society*, 204.

In 1920, in line with his German contemporary Max Weber, published his work on community. He also places community in a binary framework. Instead of community and society, Weber labels the two as *Communal* and *Associative Relationships*. The former refers to relationships based on a subjective feeling, whereas association relationships are rational. Communal Relationships, as Weber defines them, are “affectual, emotional and traditional based.” Examples include, “religious brotherhood, an erotic relationship, a relation of personal loyalty, a national community, the *spirit de corps of a military unit*.” An Associative Association is similar to Tonnies’ *Gesellschaft*; Weber calls these relationships open. Additionally, he makes a third distinction, the “closed” or *Corporate Group*, where he distinguishes between Communal and Associative by one factor. Specifically, in Corporate Groups, “the organizations enforce order, by the action of specific individuals whose regular function is of a chief or head and usually also an administrative staff.”²⁷ One major problem with both works is that community is assumed rational and that for Weber and Tonnies, “this distinction does not account for the possibility that individuals pursuing their rational self-interests will not provide to collective goods.”²⁸ This is evident in Winnipeg when, during the 1919 strike, many police officers were sympathetic to the strikers their authorities ordered to get off the streets.²⁹ The example could also be an instance of Victor Turner’s *Spontaneous Communitas*.

In his 1893 *Division of Labor in Society*, Emile Durkheim opposes Tonnies and Weber and views industrialism and capitalism differently. Instead, he introduces his concept of social solidarity. Durkheim characterizes traditional and small-knit premodern societies as *Mechanical* and primarily run by a *collective conscience*, where tradition, religion and punitive law dominate society. By collective conscience, Durkheim meant, “the total social

conscience, that is, extend[ing] it to include more than the psychic life of society.” He further states, “the totality of beliefs and sentiments common to average citizens of the same society forms a determinate system which has its own life; one may call it the *collective or common* consciences.”²⁵ For Durkheim, collective conscience is a single mentality in traditional society. However, as civilizations progress towards the division of labour and regress from traditional modes of thought, a single collective conscience wanes. As noted, “This is not to say... that the common conscience is threatened with total disappearance. Only, it more and more common to consist of very general and very indeterminate ways of thinking and feeling, which leave an open place for growing multitude of individual differences.”²⁶ He argues that the collective conscience is stronger in smaller communities guided by uniform systems of belief, customs and rituals and where there is no division of labour, and everyone acts and thinks alike. In traditional mechanical solidarity, punitive law quickly weeds out those who do not conform, which he calls *anomie*. He contrasts *Mechanical Solidarity* with that of *Organic Solidarity*. Durkheim considers that instead of a society run by homogeneity, where people have similar work, symbols and belief patterns, in Organic Solidarity, all people are interdependent. They rely on exchanging goods and services, which fosters reciprocity and diversity as each depends on others to provide for basic wants and needs. Organic Solidarity is marked by indifference. Religion, punitive law, or a single ideology outside of capitalism do not have the same hold over society as in Mechanical Solidarity. One can believe in multiple faiths or no faith at all, and collectivity flourish under these conditions. While capitalism creates individuals, the division of labour makes individuals dependent on each other, and collectivity thrives.

²⁵ Emile Durkheim and George Simpson, *The Division of Labor in Society* (New York: The Free Press, 1960), 80.

²⁶ Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society*, 173.

These organic societies depend on the interconnection created by capitalism, allowing people to pursue their careers. While Durkheim's contemporaries disagree and maintain that this individualism led to societal problems, Durkheim considers this individualism to be the very essence of what draws people together.

Durkheim's theories were influenced by the sciences, like ecology. Like the empiricism of science, he attempted to create a systematic approach to understand societal change and to refer to human action and change in biological terms. While revolutionary, Durkheim's theories have significant flaws. First, Durkheim separates modern society from primitive society and suggests that societal progress enhances mental capacity. One critic contends, "There are no 'simpler' peoples, only some peoples with simpler technologies than our own. Man's 'imaginative and 'emotional' life is always and everywhere rich and complex ...Nor is it entirely accurate to speak of the structure of a mind different from our own. It is not a matter of different cognitive structures but of an identical cognitive structure articulating wide diversities of cultural experience."²⁷ Furthermore, due to the limited sources to which they had access, Durkheim, like his contemporaries, underestimated the diversity of pre-modern societies.

The second major development in the definition of community was advanced by the Chicago School of Sociology through the work of Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess and R.D McKenzie. The Chicago School followed the same structural determinism as Durkheim, recognizing that rapid industrialization and social change required social scientists and anthropologists to ask new questions. While examining the city's social, economic, political, and social structure, Park's introduction to *The City* is more of an inquiry into sociology and the

²⁷ Victor Turner, Turner, Victor Witter. *The Ritual Process : Structure and Anti-Structure* (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1982), 3.

direction urban scholars should take to understand cities under a more professional and scientific rubric. They opine that understanding cities is to understand human nature and that cities, like humans, should be studied in ecological terms. McKenzie's essay sets this precedent, and while it furthers the conceptualization of community in binary terms, it differs from Durkheim's theory. Durkheim, "did not see *Mechanical* and *Organic* solidarities as historically incompatible but as contrasted tendencies within society at any one time." Like his contemporaries John M. Gillette and C.R. Hoffer, McKenzie views community in static terms: "The human community tends to develop in a cyclic fashion." McKenzie classes community into four stages: (1) the primary service type, (2) the type fulfilling the secondary function in the distributive process of commodities, (3) the industrial town, and (4) communities which lack an economic base.²⁸ As communities progress, so do their members' cognition, and the Chicago School, like Durkheim, regarded cities as the bullpen for "civilized men."

While some may consider the Chicago School's ideas outdated, they still hold relevance. As one scholar notes, "the wheel carries on turning, and their day may come again."²⁹ Like Victor Turner, Durkheim, and others, the Chicago School focused on contemporary cities, producing studies that advocated for change. Park's two essays echo this call for change, resonating with the concerns of contemporary reformers at the YMCA and other fraternal, labour, and religious organizations. These reformers, like Park, recognized the importance

²⁸ Robert E Park, Ernest W Burgess, and Morris Janowitz, *The City. Suggestions for Investigation of Human Behaviour in the Urban Environment* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1967), 66-68. Also, read for Mackenzie's contemporaries takes on community, see C.R. Hoffer, "Understanding the Community." *The American Journal of Sociology* 36, no. 4 (1931): 616–24. <https://doi.org/10.1086/215480>; John M. Gillette, "Community Concepts." *Social Forces* 4, no. 4 (1926): 677–89. <https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/4.4.677>.

²⁹ Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community*, 38.

of third places in fostering a healthy community and urban revitalization. Park, like them, saw the duality of cities, reflecting both the good and bad of human nature:

The city in short, shows the good and evil in human in excess. It is this fact, perhaps, more than any other, which justifies the view that would make of the city a laboratory or clinic in which human nature and social processes may be conveniently and profitably studied.³⁰

While Park saw the city as a laboratory for analysis, he also emphasized that immediate action was needed to improve cities. Observing the clear demarcations creating segregated zones based on class and ethnicity, Park noted that, “the processes of segregation establish moral distances which make the city a mosaic of little worlds which touch but do not interpenetrate.”³¹ He shared concerns with progressive reformers about issues like child delinquency and the lack of third places in cities. Park regarded the community as extending beyond the family and neighbourhood and stated that “communities are more than ‘a collection of people occupying a more or less clearly defined area’, they are collections of institutions. Not people, but institutions are final and decisive in distinguishing the community from other social constellations.”³² Park opined that family life and organizations such as churches had failed to reach people located in the cities and that places like the YMCA had, “taken over to some extent the work which neither the home, the neighbourhood, nor the other old communal institutions were able to carry on adequately.”³³ Park and his contemporaries advocated for a rational, scientific, and modern approach to addressing the crises of industrialization in modern cities. Cohan argues that “the

³⁰ Park, *The City*, 46.

³¹ Park, *The City*, 40.

³² Park, *The City*, 115.

³³ Park, *The City*, 109.

Chicago school had a very modern ring to it,” which is evident in Park’s focus on the importance of third places in community development and urban revitalization.³⁴

Breakthroughs in the definition of community emerged in the latter half of the twentieth century, despite a divide between communitarian thinkers deconstructing the community “gone and “saved” thesis, and those still analyzing it through such a lens. A second conversation arose between objectivists and subjectivists, with the latter influenced by social anthropology and advocating for a hermeneutic phenomenological approach to community, focusing on abstract concepts such as memory. Nonetheless, there were those who continued to critique the understanding of community through an individual lens.³⁵

Early post-war studies thus continued to have several problems: they either remained static and binary, did not have a conceptual definition of community, or struggled to find a true definition, leading to some scholars opting out of using the term altogether.³⁶ Nonetheless, these studies broke new ground by considering community in spatial terms and raising new questions

³⁴ Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community*, 38.

³⁵ Steven High and John C Walsh. “Rethinking the Concept of Community.” *Histoire Sociale* 32, no. 64 (1999): 255–73. Walsh and High offer a framework of three features of community: interaction, imagination, and process. They conceive of community, like Cohen, through the individual and consider that the historian can interpret what a particular community means to a specific individual through empirical evidence. Nonetheless, besides a few footnotes, there is little mention of Cohen. For a take on memory, but again one which lacks any conceptual definition, read Jenéa T. Tallentire, “Strategies of Memory: History, Social Memory, and the Community.” *Histoire Sociale* 34, no. 67 (2001): 197–212.

³⁶ For example, read Alan Macfarlane, “History, Anthropology and the Study of Communities.” *Social History (London)* 2, no. 5 (1977): 631–52. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03071027708567401>. For Calhoun’s rebuttal, see C. J. Calhoun, “History, Anthropology and the Study of Communities: Some Problems in Macfarlane’s Proposal,” *Social History* 3, no. 3 (October 1978): 363–73, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03071027808567433>.

about place and space. Innovations in social history, anthropology, technology, transportation, suburbanization, urban decline, and societal changes of the twentieth century advanced the study of community.

For example, 1960, Victor Turner used *communitas* to demonstrate that community was a break from structure, emerging “where social structure is not.”³⁷ He deemed these breaks from structure *spontaneous* and short-lived because those that are long-lasting become structures themselves, and “relationships between individuals become converted into norm-governed relationships between social personae.” *Communitas* evolves in three stages: (1) existential or spontaneous, (2) normative and (3) ideological.³⁸ Turner’s theory is very different from Durkheim’s solidarity, which Turner describes as, “the force of which depends upon an in-group/out-group contrast.”³⁹ Turner’s understanding of symbolism, ritual and religion stems from his fieldwork in Africa. Equally, as an anthropologist, he looked to America and his own era to construct his theory. Like Weber and Durkheim, Turner takes an interdisciplinary approach, and his handling of secondary readings in history, his primary evidence of anthropology, and his reading of sociology provides a relatively updated and innovative look into community. He characterizes the African American freedom movement, anarchist groups such as the Hells Angels, and the peace movements of the 1960s as examples of *Communitas*. He also used the Franciscan Order as a case study, showing how a fringe movement became a structured sect within the Catholic faith.⁴⁰ Turner’s theory diverged from the binary view of “civilized” versus

³⁷ Turner, *The Ritual Process*, 126.

³⁸ Turner, *The Ritual Process*, 132.

³⁹ Turner, *The Ritual Process*, 132.

⁴⁰ Turner, *The Ritual Process*, 140-150.

“savage,” but it still suffered from the static nature of previous theories and continued to view community as something that comes and goes.

Anthony Cohen was the first communitarian scholar to think of community in more phenomenological and anti-structuralist terms:

We can speak of the community as a symbolic, rather than a structural, construct. In seeking to understand the phenomenon of community we have to regard its constituent social relations as repositories of meaning for its members, not as a set of mechanical linkages...Community exists in the minds of its members and should not be confused with geographic or sociographic assertions of “fact”. By extension, the distinctiveness of communities and, thus, the reality of their boundaries, similarly lies in the mind, in the meaning which people attach to them, not in their structural forms.⁴¹

Cohen examines community and its connection to individual identity and meaning, challenging the work of Durkheim and the Chicago School. His critique of the Chicago School addresses three myths that he believes hinder their understanding of community: (1) “myth of simplicity and the face-to-face society, (2) the myth of egalitarianism and (3) the myth of inevitable conformity.”⁴² Influenced by Clifford Geertz’s framework of “thick description,” Cohen views communities in less structural terms, taking a subjective approach. To understand community, he contends that, “we seek an understanding of it by trying to capture some sense of their *experience* and of the meaning they attach to community.”⁴³ Cohen's shift from analyzing the composition of communities to focusing on their meaning represents a pioneering move in the field. He argues that “we have taken *culture*, rather than structure, as our point of departure.”⁴⁴ Phenomenology is central to Cohen's work, as it provides insight into why people find meaning in community and what drives diverse individuals to form communities. The major

⁴¹ Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community*, 98.

⁴² Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community*, 29-38.

⁴³ Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community*, 38.

⁴⁴ Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community*, 71

problem with Cohen's work is that without primary evidence, it is impossible to understand why particular individuals join a community. Furthermore, he opted not to define community, leaving his conceptual framework underdeveloped. Nonetheless, Cohen broke new ground; he challenged scholars to think more about the symbolic construct of boundaries and his introduction of new questions and evidence have significantly advanced the field.

One work that has challenged the predominant focus on place is Melvin Webber's "Community Without Propinquity." It proposes that, "friendships could be maintained at a distance."⁴⁵ Webber argues that as, "the individual's interests develop, he is better able to find others who share these interests and with whom he can associate. The communities with which he associates and to which he 'belongs' are no longer only the communities of place to which his ancestors were restricted; Americans are becoming more closely tied to various interest communities than to place communities."⁴⁶ This idea contrasts with earlier thinkers who linked community to physical place. For instance, Gillette argues that one aspect of community is, "the existence of a center or centers of interest, that is, buildings or homes in which people meet to discuss common matters and to plan for their effectuation." Further, another condition of community is, "narrow territorial localization and common interests or interests...which in some way touch all inhabiting the locality."⁴⁷ While Webber's concept of communities of interest is not entirely new, his focus on spatiality prompted scholars to ask new questions. Webber's work also marked a departure from viewing community as something lost; this trend persisted in the works of Robert Putnam and Ray Oldenburg. Like

⁴⁵ Calhoun, "Community without Propinquity Revisited," 374.

⁴⁶ M.M Webber, "Order in Diversity: Community without Propinquity," essay, in *Cities and Space the Future Use of Urban Land* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1963), 23–57, 29.

⁴⁷ Gillette, "Community Concepts," 679-82.

Cohen, Webber did not have a clear definition of community. Calhoun notes, “the conception of community with which he (Webber) worked was remarkably vague and weak.”⁴⁸ Calhoun further opines that, “the dense, multiplex, and systematic webs of relationships” which characterize a community, cannot be formed at a distance. Calhoun uses the example of the Internet to illustrate that while it is a valuable tool, it cannot replace the face-to-face interactions essential to community development. He asserts that the Internet is most effective when it enhances the capabilities of people organized offline, rather than attempting to substitute virtual communities for real ones:

The Internet is thus a very useful tool, but the strength of these movements still lies largely in their local roots; the Internet is most empowering when it adds to the capacities of people organized outside it, not when an attempt is made to substitute “virtual community” for the real thing.⁴⁹

No other communitarian scholar has published as extensively as Calhoun in creating a conceptual framework for community. Calhoun’s work connects community with the public sphere, civil society and democracy. Calhoun’s commitment to public engagement is evident as all his articles are freely available for reading.⁵⁰ His major argument is that the growth of community with that of the public sphere and civil society are fundamental for democracy. He argues that:

if community is not the same as public life, it may nonetheless be an important support for it. Strong communities provide people with bases for their participation in broader political discourse. They provide them with informal channels of information, chances to try out their ideas on friends and neighbours, and opportunities to hone their presentations of ideas and identities before they enter into the public sphere.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Calhoun “Community without Propinquity Revisited,” 374.

⁴⁹ Calhoun, “Community without Propinquity Revisited,” 382.

⁵⁰ <https://calhoun.faculty.asu.edu/projects/cosmopolitanism-nationalism-and-belonging>

⁵¹ Calhoun, “Community without Propinquity Revisited,” 374.

More than any social thinker before him, Calhoun spent his career creating an analytical framework to define community. Influenced by Bourdieu, Calhoun integrates phenomenological and structural approaches, and ideas such as *habitus*, *field*, and *capital* into his work. He advances the work of Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* and Jürgen Habermas's theories on the public sphere.⁵² His work addresses the problems with nationalism and multiculturalism and its focus on individualism, thin identities and imagined communities.⁵³ Calhoun argues that instead of nationalism as an ideology to inspire democracy, the focus should be on constitutional patriotism, the growth of non-traditional forms of civil society, community development, and a robust public sphere, which he considers as, "important as a basic condition to democracy."⁵⁴ He further argues that, "it is crucial to create public space within which people may engage each other in discourse—not just make decisions, but to make culture and even make and remake their own identities."⁵⁵ Unlike Durkheim, Calhoun sees solidarity beyond economic terms. For example, he suggests that Organic Solidarity be renamed "*Functional*

⁵² For example, see Craig J. Calhoun, *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2011).

⁵³ Thin and thick identities are two concepts in the social sciences. Thin identities refer to identities that are not profoundly ingrained in a shared culture. Solidarity based solely on racial, ethnic and class categories are two examples. While race can create similarity and can be something that can connect people, it does not alone create the deep webs of commonality needed to form a community. Thick identities, refer to deep-seated identities ingrained in culture, history and community. Clifford Geertz famous essay on a Balinese cock fight advances his "thick Description," a term which helps historians understand the concept of thick identities. Clifford Geertz "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight." *Daedalus* (Cambridge, Mass.)134, no. 4 (2005): 56–86. <https://doi.org/10.1162/001152605774431563>

⁵⁴ Craig Calhoun, "Imagining Solidarity: Cosmopolitanism, Constitutional Patriotism, and the Public Sphere." *Public Culture* 14, no. 1 (2002): 147–71,159. <https://doi.org/10.1215/08992363-14-1->. Also for more information on Calhoun's understanding of civil society, the public sphere, and community and its importance for diversity and democracy, see Craig Calhoun, "Nationalism and Civil Society: Democracy, Diversity and Self-Determination," *International Sociology* 8, no. 4 (December 1993): 387–411, <https://doi.org/10.1177/026858093008004001>.

⁵⁵ Calhoun, "Nationalism, Political Community," 228.

Interdependence,” “encompassing market relations and other ways social institutions and groups depend on each other.” He furthers this and professes that a variety of associations of shared interdependency can stem from “shared projects of a better future.”⁵⁶ Therefore, Calhoun regards public life as vital to democracy and constitutional patriotism. He considers that a weak public sphere leads to more mechanical solidarity in Durkheimian terms:

Solidarity might be based on nationalism or religion or grow out of economic relations and marketing. To undergird democracy, however, a more than mere inheritance or a thin identity is required. Democracy depends on a public sphere and must be realized largely within it. Public life must offer a realm of social solidarity and cultural formation as well as crucial discourse.⁵⁷

Community is one layer of solidarity studied by Calhoun. Unlike Cohen, he argues that those studying community cannot understand it when studying the individual. Instead, he defines communities as, “made up of relationships among social actors, and relations among these relationships.” Calhoun is not against subjectivism but argues that solely focusing on identity is too opaque within a historical framework. Calhoun focuses more on relationships between specific social actors, “...and the aggregate characteristics of these links within a bounded population.” He argues that “the self-regulation of community is dependent on dense, multiplex bonds.” On a micro-scale, communities are networks within networks that bond people together. He categorizes networks into four classifications: (1) crucially, (2) density, (3) multiplexity and (4) systematicity. Density refers to the number of links in a network. Multiplexity refers to, “the extent to which individuals who are linked in one type of relationship... are also linked in other type.”⁵⁸ Finally, on a macro scale, communities are: (1) *direct social relations* and one of four

⁵⁶ Calhoun, “Imagining Solidarity,” 170.

⁵⁷ Calhoun, “Imagining Solidarity,” 169.

⁵⁸ Calhoun, “Community: Toward a Variable Conceptualization,” 115,116, 117-120.

forms of solidarity, including (2) *functional interdependence*, (3) *Categorical identities*, and (4) *Publics*.⁵⁹

While sociologists were concerned with finding a conceptual definition as a method to understand community in a historic sense, Canadian Prairies historians were concerned not with a methodology for community, but with the phenomenon itself. While these studies offer no conceptual understanding of community, they show how community development, protection and solidarity, were a continual theme in Prairie history. The most encompassing of these histories includes W.L Morton's *Manitoba: A History*, and Gerald Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies: A History*, which both offer a sweeping take of Manitoba history.⁶⁰ Donald Avery's work on Immigration provides invaluable insight to two era's immigration policy, the 1880-1910, and after 1910. The former marked the open door policy of the Canadian government and the latter to the closed door era. Studies such as Avery's show that despite efforts by individuals such as Clifford Sifton, who was an enthusiastic champion of immigration to the prairies in his role as Minister of the Interior from 1896 to 1905, the Federal and Provincial governments did little to support immigration of Non-Anglo's. Instead, the first era is marked by the work of the business capitalist elite and their design to exploit immigrants for their labour needs. As Avery shows "Canada remained a self-proclaimed homeland for immigrants who would shoulder the burden of it work."⁶¹ The latter era is known as the closed door era, where the Federal

⁵⁹ Calhoun, "Imagining Solidarity," 161-162.

⁶⁰ W.L. Morton, *Manitoba: A History*. [2d edition. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019. <https://doi.org/10.3138/9781487578039>; Friesen, Gerald. *The Canadian Prairies: A History*. Student ed. Toronto, [Ontario]; University of Toronto Press, 2004. Gerald Friesen. *The Canadian Prairies: A History*. Student ed. Toronto, [Ontario]; University of Toronto Press, 2004.

⁶¹ Donald Avery, *Reluctant Host: Canada's Response to Immigrant Workers, 1896-1994*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1995, 108; also, see Donald Avery, "*Dangerous Foreigners*": *European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979.

Government attempted to curb non-Anglo and Eastern and Central European immigration. Themes such as the Great War, socialism, the Great Depression and new concepts on masculinity, race and identity and urban reform, gave impetus to these reasonings. Nonetheless, these studies all show that despite, the Federal and Provincial Government's lack of support, Winnipeg grew into one of the most multicultural cities in Canada.

Despite Federal and Provincial measures to keep the Prairie's an Anglo-Canadian community, two studies show from the perspective of immigrant communities and their development. For example, Arthur Ross's study on Winnipeg Jewish Community ties to this thesis as it focuses on its evolution, and how mutual aid became a means for Jews to support each other. The formation of secular mutual aid organizations, Ross shows, lead to Jewish participation in not only their own, but the Canadian public sphere.⁶² Last, Frances Swyripa's study on ethno-religious communities in Winnipeg shows how different ethno-religious communities used the landscape, monuments, history, and landmarks to maintain and form their new community identity; which was tied both to Canada and their homeland.⁶³

A common theme in Winnipeg history is that the assimilation efforts of the twentieth century failed. In one way the Anglo-Canadian community did fail to fully convert ethnic communities towards Anglo-Canadian ideals. Swyripa shows Icelandic, German Mennonites, and other ethnic minorities not only maintained their old ties to home but formed new cultural understandings. This is one aspect of what makes Winnipeg a unique city. Many of the ethnic communities maintained their own identity, both thick and thin. Albeit, although many

⁶² Arthur. L Ross, (Arthur Larry), *Communal Solidarity: Immigration, Settlement, and Social Welfare in Winnipeg's Jewish Community, 1882-1930*. Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada: University of Manitoba Press, 2019.

⁶³ Frances Swyripa, *Storied Landscapes: Ethno-Religious Identity and the Canadian Prairies*. Winnipeg [Man: University of Manitoba Press, 2010.

inhabitants kept close ties to their ethnic, religious and class groups, they also coalesced with other groups through boxing. The case of boxing demonstrates that boxing clubs and events brought communities together and it became a forum for mutual aid and lead to the creation of a vibrant public sphere.

The case study below adds to these studies brought forth in this introduction. It focuses on Winnipeg and shows how boxing became an important symbol for cross-community development. The people who organized boxing events, created third places and a *public sphere* in the city. The sport united men from various social, religious and ethnic backgrounds to bridge different communities in Winnipeg and fostering a golden age for the sport. It shows how third places and publics are integral to solidarity, diversity, and democracy. Furthermore, for functional and diverse third places, the surrounding environment must include residential housing, commercial buildings, transportation lines, such as trains and major roads, and the industry to support a large population.

Chapter 1

Membership, Immigration Work, Assimilation and Sports.

YMCA Membership

Prior to the twentieth century, Winnipeg's population was small. In the 1880s, Secretary of the YMCA, C.M. Copeland, described the city as, "a city of 7,000 with a few board sidewalks and a very primitive appearance."⁶⁴ As the years progressed, Winnipeg's boundaries expanded (figure 1). In 1871, the population of Winnipeg consisted of 277 people. This number grew to 42,340 in 1901 and 136,035 by 1911.⁶⁵ This population increase was influenced by the migration and immigration of Eastern Canadians and Europeans to Manitoba, respectively. Any migrant or immigrant travelling West would need to pass through Winnipeg. While many left the city, many also ended up staying. Between 1881 and 1916, nearly 80 percent of Winnipeg's population was born outside Manitoba; 94,000 newcomers arrived between 1896 and 1914.⁶⁶

Due to urban core development, and these population increases,

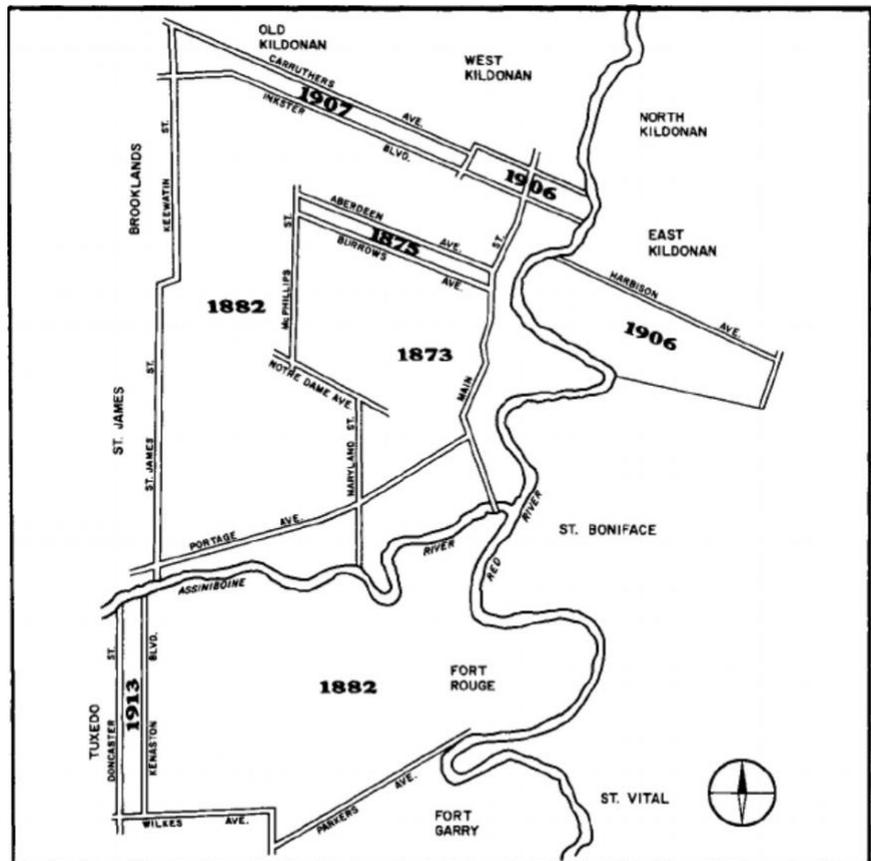


Figure 1. Winnipeg Boundary Extensions. Artibise Alan F J., *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth 1874-1914* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), 135.

⁶⁴ Murray G. Ross, *The Y.M.C.A. in Canada: The Chronicle of a Century* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1951), 149.

⁶⁵ Hiebert, "Class, Ethnicity and Residential Structure," 67.

⁶⁶ C. Nathan Hatton, *Thrashing Seasons: Sporting Culture in Manitoba and the Genesis of Prairie Wrestling* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2016), 109.

membership at the YMCA steadily increased between 1900-1914.⁶⁷ In this section I show that while early on the YMCA's membership largely reflected Winnipeg's population demographics, despite the influx of immigrants coming to the city, caused by a second wave of immigration between 1880s -1914, the demographics at the YMCA remained largely from the British-Isles. Although most members were immigrants from the British-Isles, or migrants from Canada, and the United States, only a small portion of members were from non-British Isles backgrounds. This is further reflected in the fact that a majority of members were affiliates of the Protestant faith. Whilst the largest ethnic group in Winnipeg throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was peoples from the British-Isles, the city also witnessed an influx of central and eastern Europeans such as Jews from the Pale Settlement immigrating to the city. This section shows YMCA demographics by examining two membership categories between 1883 and 1911. The Association divided membership into four categories: honorary, life, active and associate.

1. Honorary: Any person may become an honorary member by the unanimous vote of members present at any regular meeting of the association, notice of the intention to nominate such honorary member having been given at the previous regular meeting.
2. Life: Any active member or associate member may become a life member of that class on payment of the sum of one hundred dollars (\$100) at one time.
3. Active: any man who is a member in good standing of a Protestant evangelical church ...Only active members and life members of the active class have a right to vote or hold office.
4. Associate members: any member over sixteen of good moral character may become an associate member (subject to section 6). Associate members shall be entitled to all privileges of the Association except those of voting and holding office.

⁶⁷ Hatton, *Thrashing Seasons*, 109.

Membership Roll Analysis

I examined YMCA membership data to analyze member demographics and to determine if they reflected Winnipeg's population (Appendix 2). Membership rolls from three specific years—1883, 1891, and 1911—were examined for details on members' ethnicities, religious affiliations, birthplaces, occupations, and age distributions. The membership rolls were closely matched with the 1881, 1891, and 1911 censuses. The 1881 census provided comprehensive information including religion, age, ethnicity, birthplace, and occupation. In contrast, the 1891 census lacked detailed ethnic background data, and the 1911 census was poorly written, making it challenging to interpret occupation details. Of note, the data below does not provide a complete picture nor a full representation of YMCA membership. Data are not statistically significant. Nonetheless, membership records provide important qualitative insight into YMCA demographics.

In the 1883 membership roll, there were 157 active members, and 60 associate members listed; in the 1881 census report, 36 active members and 21 associate members were listed. Approximately 23% of active members and 35% of associate members were present in both the 1883 membership roll and 1881 census data. For 1891, of the 92 associate members listed in the membership rolls, 32 percent (n=29) were also identified in the census; of the 280 active members listed in the rolls, 36 percent, (n=100) were identified in the census. The 1911 census only detailed members who signed up, listed by month. This was indicated by notes recorded in meeting minutes, and not reported in the census itself. Detailed data are found in Appendix 2.

Census reports are not without error. Often, ethnic backgrounds were interchangeable depending on the year of the census report.⁶⁸

Occupation: Figure 2 shows that YMCA associate members in 1883 came from different labour backgrounds, with ‘farmer’ being the most common occupation, comprising 5 of the 34 members (15 percent). Figure 3 shows the same phenomenon among active members; ‘farmer’ outnumbered other occupations, representing 29 percent. ‘Clerk’ was the second most common occupation, representing 12 percent. In 1892, ‘farmer’ and ‘clerks’ were again the occupations most represented within associate members (Figure 4). Interestingly, among active members, the most common occupations were ‘clerk’ and ‘merchant’ followed by ‘farmer,’ ‘student,’ and ‘barrister’ (Figure 5). Figure 6 demonstrates that in 1911-1912, active members once again most frequently identified as “farmer”. It is important to note that while certain professions were more commonly represented in the YMCA censuses, the data also shows a diversity of educational background and skill levels across members.

To assist with the 1911-1912 data, the YMCA left behind several documents that revealed the occupational diversity of its members. One such document, a small pamphlet titled, *Analysis of Membership of the Young Men’s Christian Association Winnipeg*, notes that

⁶⁸ For membership rolls found in Annual reports, see Winnipeg Young Men’s Christian Association. Fifth Annual Report, Contains also Historical Sketch, Constitution, & C, 1883; Annual Report of the Young Men’s Christian Association of the City of Winnipeg For the Year 1892, YMCA of Winnipeg annual reports, 1883-1893, P3797/3 YMCA of Winnipeg fonds, Archives of Manitoba, 200 Vaughan St Room 130, Winnipeg, MB R3C 1T5; YMCA of Winnipeg annual reports, 1912- 1929 ,P3797/5 YMCA of Winnipeg fonds, Archives of Manitoba, 200 Vaughan St Room 130, Winnipeg, MB R3C 1T5. For 1911-1912; Minutes of Board Meeting. September 18th, 1911; Minutes of Board Meeting Held Monday, November 13/11; Minutes of the Board of Directors ‘Meeting January 6th, 1912, YMCA of Winnipeg Board of Directors minutes, 1910-1913, P3797/5, YMCA of Winnipeg fonds, Archives of Manitoba, 200 Vaughan St Room 130, Winnipeg, MB R3C 1T5.

membership in 1910 was 2,234. While many were office workers, the list also included individuals from various labour and social classes. The list comprised skilled, semi- and non-skilled workers like farmers and students, and professionals such as doctors and clergy members. Farmers represented only a small minority, accounting for two percent of the membership. Additionally, 541 members (24 percent) belonged to the employed boys and Collegiate branch of the YMCA. The YMCA did not differentiate these membership types in their official membership rolls.⁶⁹

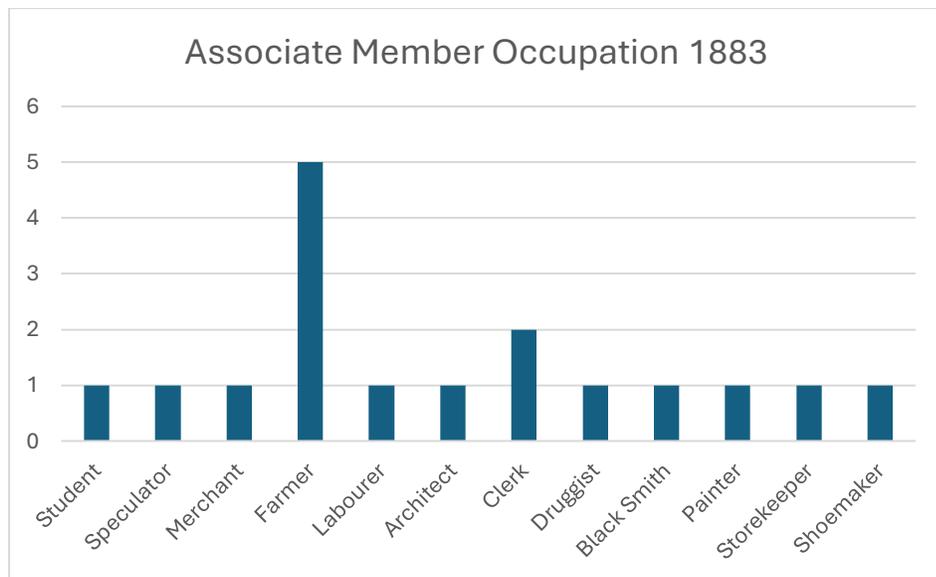


Figure 2. Census of Canada, 1881.

⁶⁹ Analysis of Membership of the Young Men’s Christian Association, November ,1910, Winnipeg, YMCA of Winnipeg Scrapbook, 1911, P3817/1 YMCA of Winnipeg fonds, Archives of Manitoba, 200 Vaughan St Room 130, Winnipeg, MB R3C 1T5.

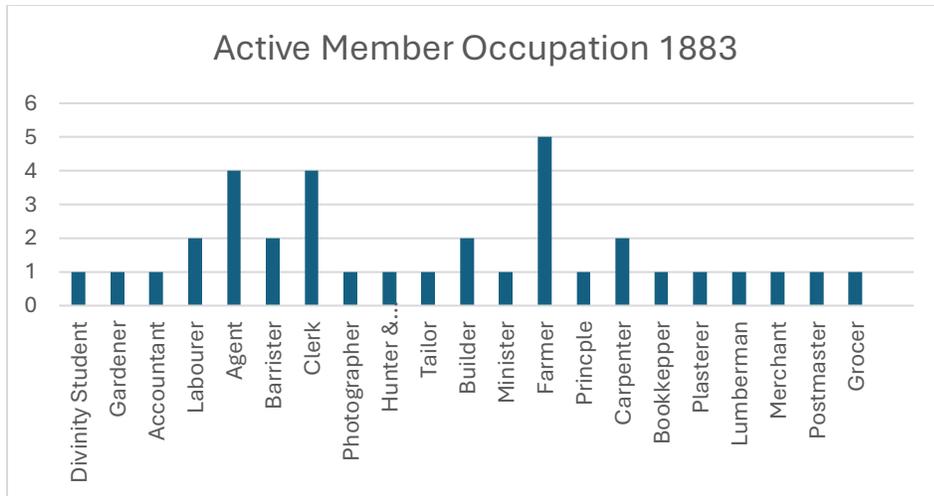


Figure 3. Census of Canada, 1881.

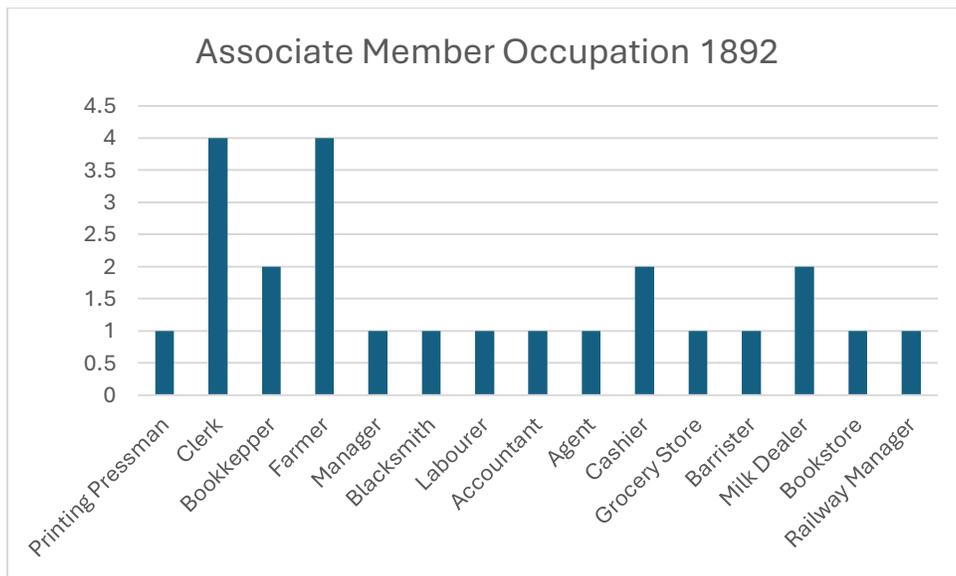


Figure 4. Census of Canada, 1892.



Figure 5. Census of Canada, 1892.

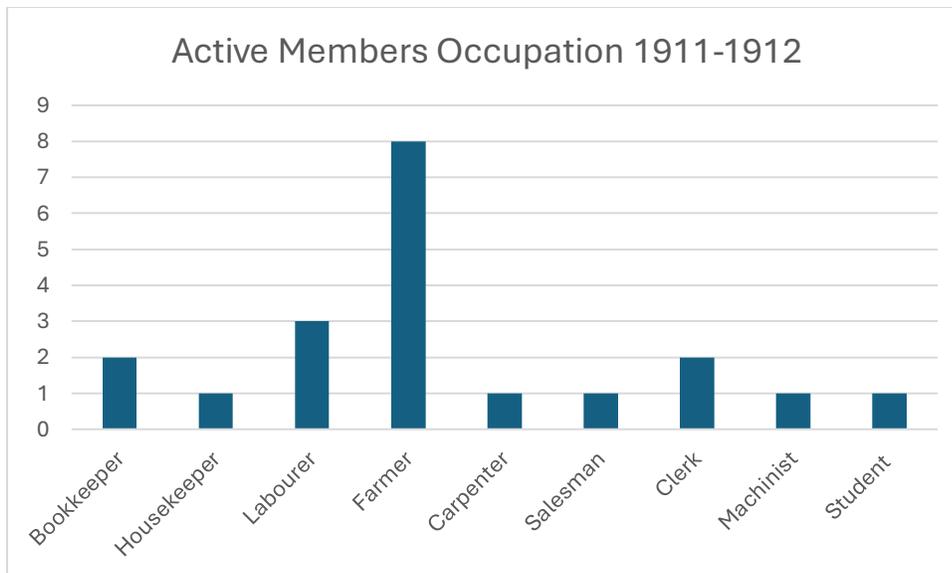


Figure 6. Census of Canada, 1911.

Place of Birth: Prior to 1911, most YMCA members hailed from Ontario (i.e., Eastern Canada), which reflected the demographics of Winnipeg at the time. In 1881, Ontarians represented 3,395 of the 5,387 individuals living in Winnipeg; in 1891, they represented approximately half of the population (7,242 of 14,713). While Ontarians were only outnumbered

by Manitoban born individuals in 1911 (20,564 vs 31,849), they still exceeded the respective populations in other provinces. Although members from other countries began to appear in the census data over the years Figures 9-11 show that, with few exceptions, most YMCA members came from England, Eastern Canada, the United States, Scotland, and Ireland. Similarly, in 1911, Winnipeg's four largest foreign-born populations were England, Scotland, the United States, and Ireland.⁷⁰ In 1911-1912, a majority of YMCA immigrant members were from England (Figure 11). Out of the total population of Winnipeg, which was 136,035 in 1911, 59,967 were born in Canada, and 76,038 were foreign born. Out of that, 30,000 or 22% were from non-British-Isles or United States of America birthplaces. Based on the membership rolls, the YMCA did not cater to all portions of the population in terms of population. Nonetheless one has to keep in mind, that, the 1911 statistics came from member meeting minutes, and failed to state any associate members. Furthermore, there were ethnic names that could not be found in census reports.

⁷⁰ I examined the data gathered against tables provided by Artibise, *Winnipeg*. Artibise's eighth chapter, "Population Growth and Change in Winnipeg," offers statistics from Canadian Census Reports between 1881 and 1931. The tables help to compare the YMCA and Winnipeg's demographics, Artibise, *Winnipeg*, 138-139.

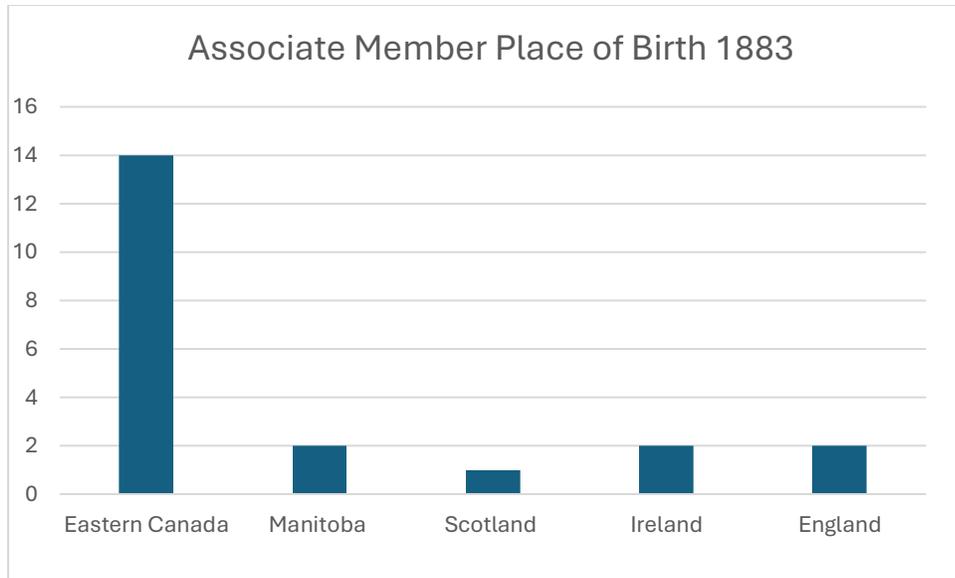


Figure 7. Census of Canada, 1881.

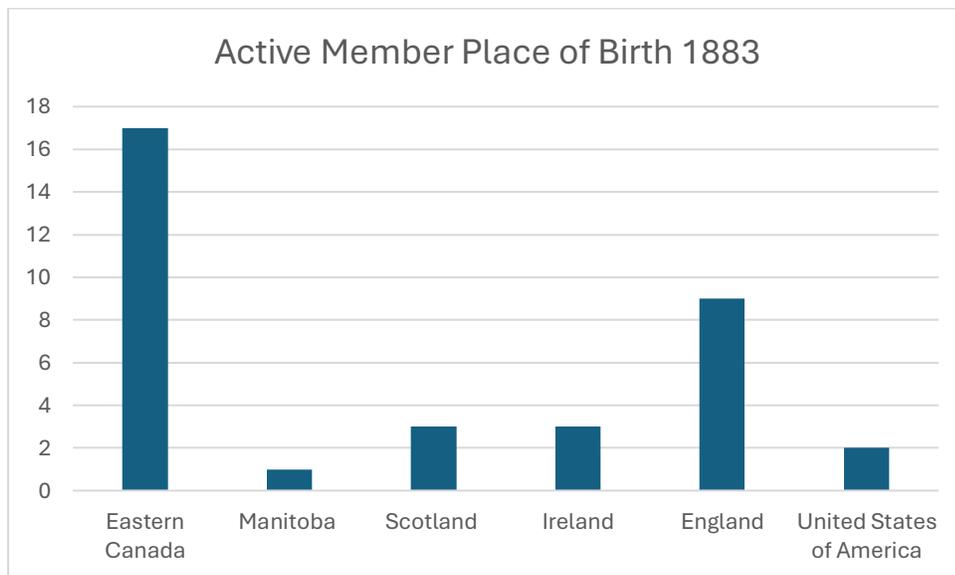


Figure 8. Census of Canada, 1881.

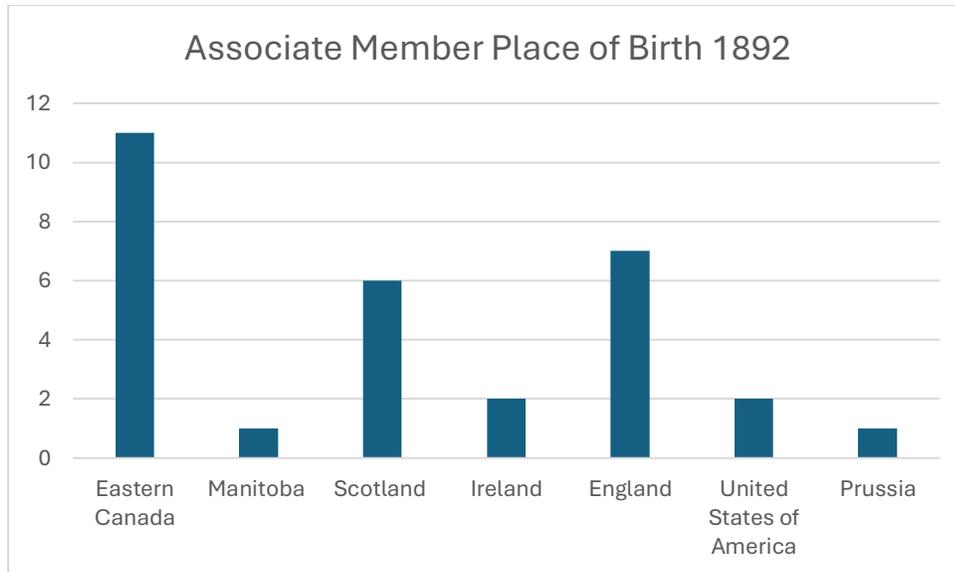


Figure 9. Census of Canada, 1891.

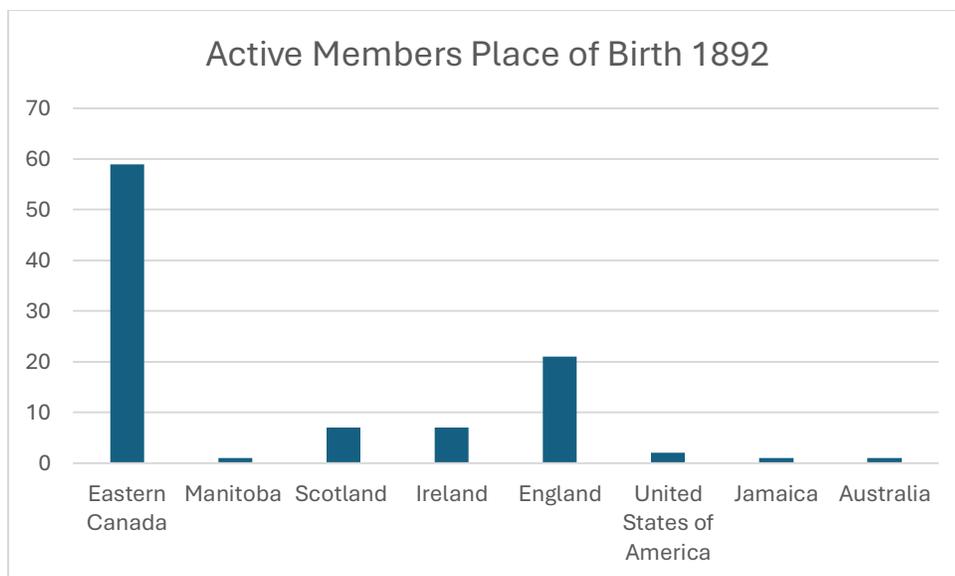


Figure 10. Census of Canada, 1891.



Figure 11. Census of Canada, 1911.

Ethnicity: Trends in origins extend to ethnicity. Nearly all members in 1883, except for one, were of English, Scottish, or Irish descent (Figure 12 and Figure 13). By 1911-1912, most members still hailed from Scottish, English, and Irish backgrounds. However, a few members now came from other ethnic backgrounds, including Icelandic and German (Figure 14). It is important to note that associate members were not included in the 1911 records, so this data does not provide a complete representation of YMCA membership.⁷¹ Based on 136,035 residents in 1911, whilst 84,552 had origins from the British Isles, 51,483, did not. This includes for example, 9,000 Jews who settled in Winnipeg between 1882-1914, 81 percent coming from the Pale of Settlement a region of residency of Jewish peoples that cut across seven European Countries which at the time constituted the Russian Empire. The migration of Jews to the city

⁷¹ Artibise, *Winnipeg*, 142.

during this period made Winnipeg the third largest Jewish community in Canada outside of Toronto and Montreal.⁷²



Figure 12. Census of Canada 1881.



Figure 13. Census of Canada 1881.

⁷² Ross, *Communal Solidarity*, 48.

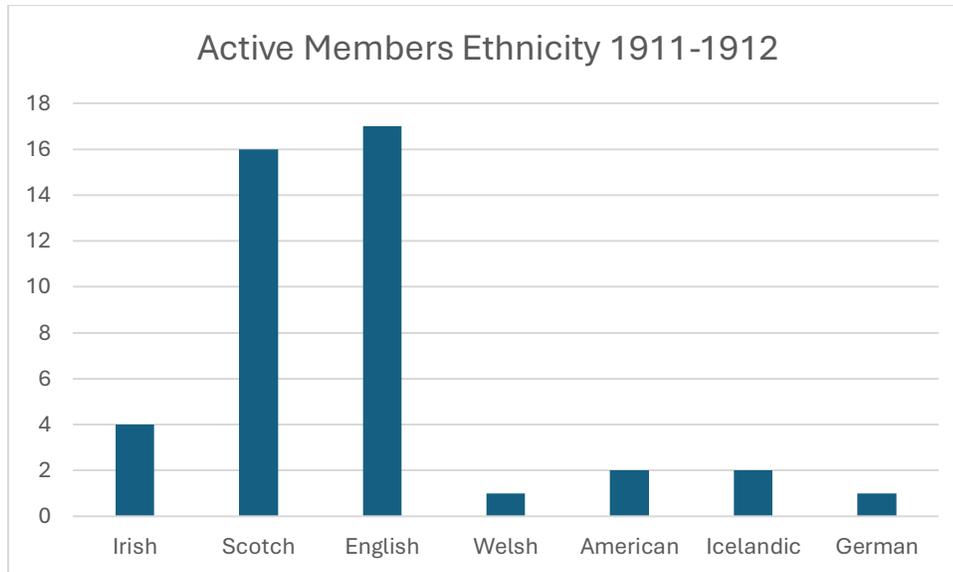


Figure 14. Census of Canada, 1911.

Religion: In 1883, Methodists constituted the majority of active members, while Presbyterians were the majority among associate members (Figure 15 and Figure 16). By 1911-1912, a small but notable change occurred with the inclusion of the Lutheran faith, also part of the Protestant denominations which had a significant following among Germans and Scandinavians. By 1911-1912, Protestants (i.e., all denominations outside of Roman Catholic) represented nearly all members (Figure 19).⁷³ While, Winnipeg was a Protestant majority city, by 1911 14.5% of the population was Roman Catholic and 6.6% were Jewish.

⁷³ Artibise, *Winnipeg*, 143.

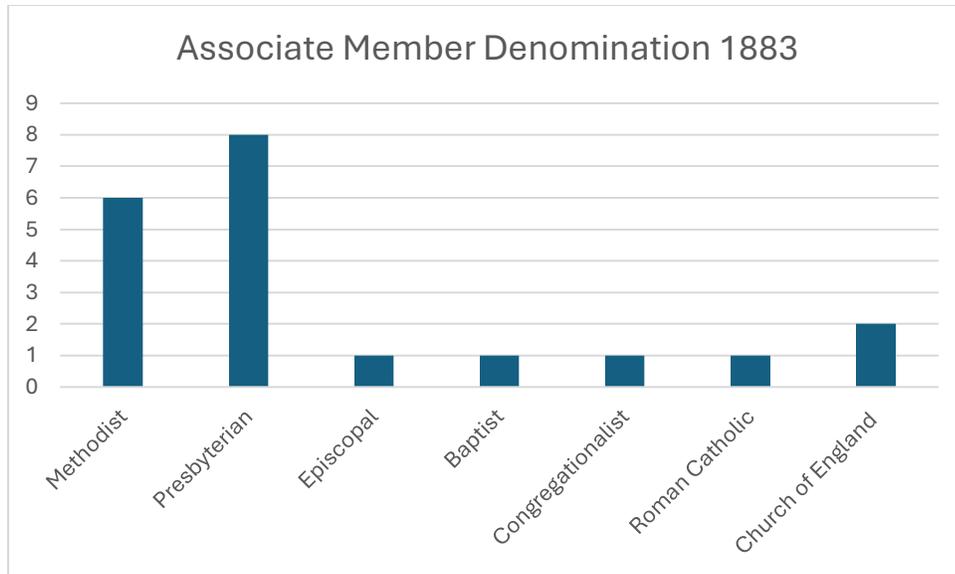


Figure 15. Census of Canada, 1881.

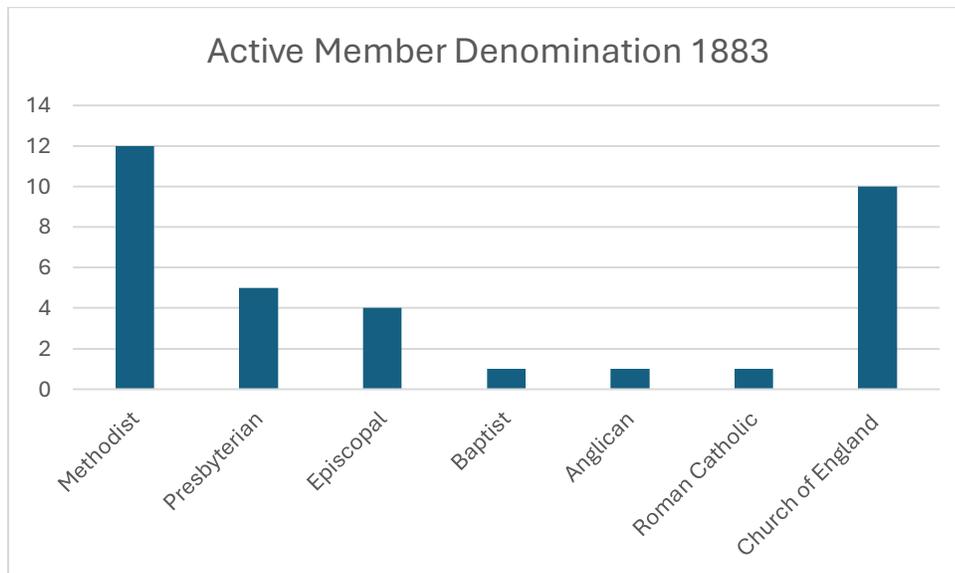


Figure 16. Census of Canada, 1881.

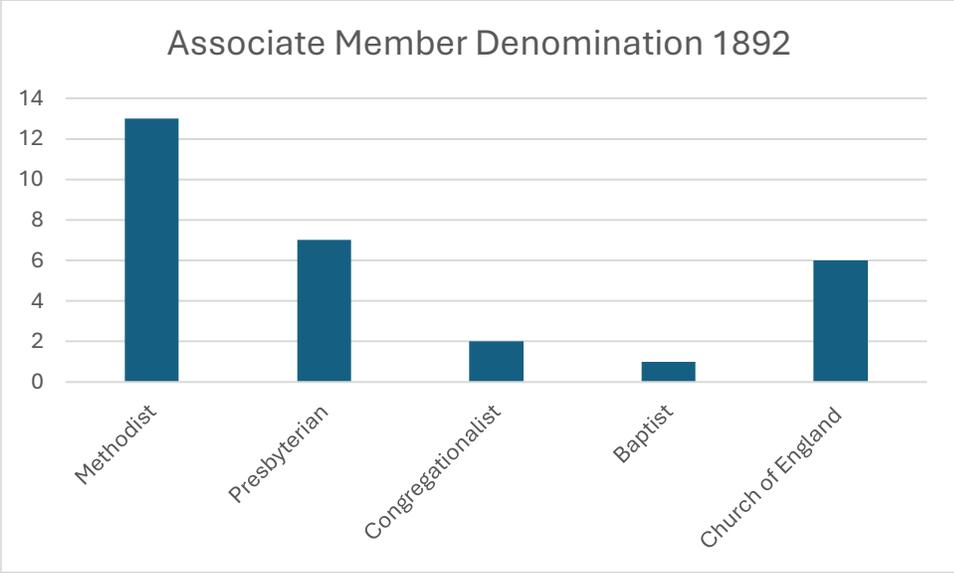


Figure 17. Census of Canada, 1891.

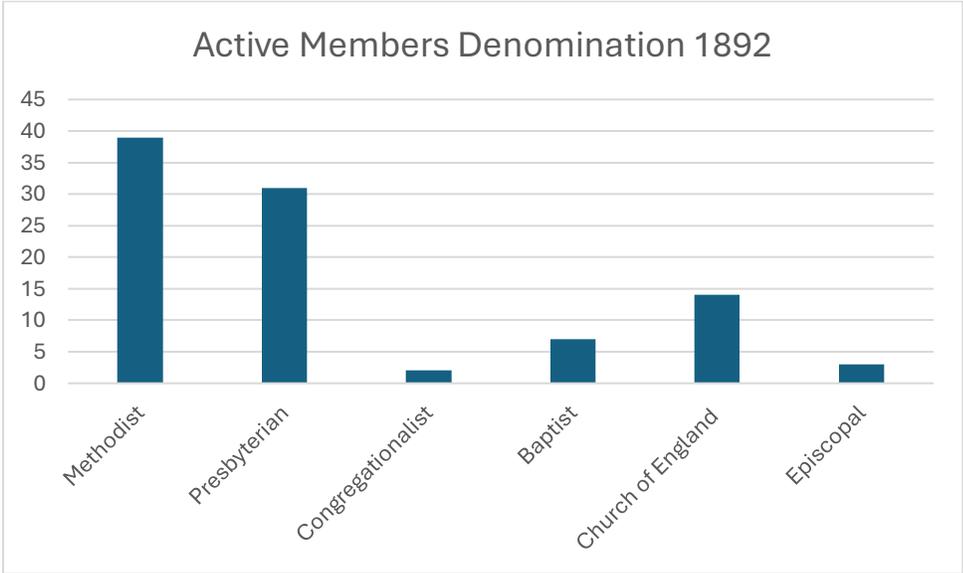


Figure 18. Census of Canada, 1891.

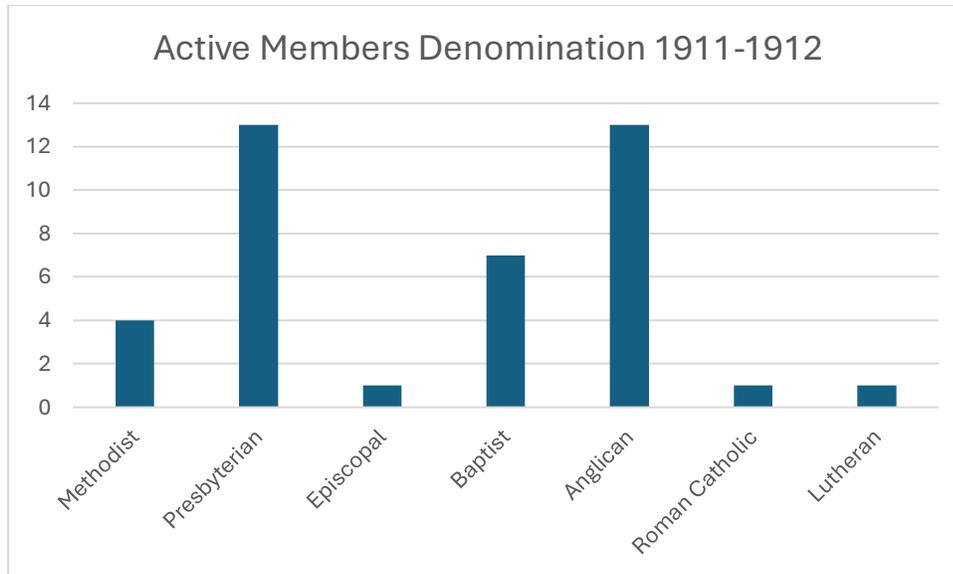


Figure 19. Census of Canada, 1911.

Age: In 1883, the average age for associate members was 25.7, while for active members, it was 30.8. In 1892, members' average ages remained largely unchanged— 27.4 for associate members and 31.2 active members, 31. By 1911-1912, the YMCA had lowered the registration age from 16 to 14, resulting in a slight drop in the average to 28. The median age aligns with the city's demographics, where most of Winnipeg's population was between the ages of 0 and 44.⁷⁴

Average Age of YMCA Associate and Active Members, 1882, 1892, 1911

Year	Associate Avg age (range, n)	Active Avg age (range, n)
1883	25.7 (17-44, n=20)	30.8 (19-45, n=36)
1892	27.4 (15-47, n=29))	31.2 (12-59, n=100)
1911	N/A	28.7 (16-59, n=21)

Note: N/A indicates data not available.

⁷⁴ Artibise, *Winnipeg*, 143.

Immigration Work

Captured in Figure 20 is a multi-ethnic YMCA Baseball team. During the early twentieth century, the YMCA had non-British Isles and non-Protestant members. While the membership rolls do not provide a complete picture of YMCA membership, they reveal that a majority of the members were migrants or immigrants, nonetheless, most came from British Isles backgrounds. The diversity of Winnipeg, as a city of migrants and immigrants from also non-British-Isles backgrounds did not reflect early YMCA membership. Nonetheless migrants and immigrant relief was a major focus of the organization. Immigration work was an important department for the Winnipeg YMCA, an aspect not unique to Winnipeg, as most YMCAs across North America also engaged in immigrant programs.

The agenda behind these programs was national-focused, aiming to assimilate immigrants into Canadian customs by converting them to Protestantism and teaching them English.⁷⁵ W.D. Bayley, the Immigrant Division's Chairman, captured the importance of immigration work in 1884 when he stated, "Your committee are of opinion that there is still much work to be done amongst



Figure 20. Winnipeg Junior Baseball Champions, 1917," *The Winnipeg Tribune*, October 6, 1917, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 27.

⁷⁵ For Americanization example, see Paul McBride, "Peter Roberts and the YMCA Americanization Program 1907— World War I," *Pennsylvania History: Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 44, no. 2 (1977): 145–62. For a general overview of Canadian YMCA immigration work read: Ross, *The Y.M.C.A. in Canada*, 237-39.

immigrants in this City, and we trust that this branch of our work will receive during the coming year that attention which its manifest importance demands.”⁷⁶ Bayley himself was an immigrant who had moved to Winnipeg from England.⁷⁷

Immigrants possessing labour skills and practicing Christianity facilitated the YMCA's assimilation efforts, with a particular early focus on assimilating British Isles immigrants. For example, in 1883, these immigrants helped a “well-educated” and “young Irishman” find a low-salary warehouse job, eventually leading him from unskilled to professional work as a bookkeeper. The YMCA also targeted immigrant farmers; in 1883, they facilitated meetings between, “young men from the old country” and, “Christian farmers for possible work” in England.⁷⁸ In 1885 they created an employment bureau to help young English farmers seeking work.⁷⁹ And in an annual report of the same year, the YMCA reported that they, “placed between 50 and 60 young men from Great Britain with reliable and experienced farmers.”⁸⁰ In 1891, they noted receiving numerous applications from farmers seeking morally upright young men willing to work for moral Protestant families.⁸¹

⁷⁶ Winnipeg Young Men's Christian Association Sixth Annual Report, 1884, YMCA of Winnipeg annual reports, 1895-1911, P3797/3 YMCA of Winnipeg fonds, Archives of Manitoba, 200 Vaughan St Room 130, Winnipeg, MB R3C 1T5.

⁷⁷ Bayley, W.D, Census of Canada, 1881, <https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=census&IdNumber=18774297&ecopy=e008209615>.

⁷⁸ Winnipeg Young Men's Christian Association, July 1883, Historical Sketch, 1883-1935, P3812/2 YMCA of Winnipeg fonds, Archives of Manitoba, 200 Vaughan St Room 130, Winnipeg, MB R3C 1T5.

⁷⁹ “An Employment Bureau Started by the Y.M.C.A. for Young English Farmers,” *Manitoba Weekly Free Press*, March 12, 1885, 8, <https://www.newspapers.com>.

⁸⁰ Winnipeg Young Men's Christian Association Seventh Annual Report, 1885, YMCA of Winnipeg annual reports, 1883-1893, P3797/3 YMCA of Winnipeg fonds, Archives of Manitoba, 200 Vaughan St Room 130, Winnipeg, MB R3C 1T5.

⁸¹ “Heard in Y.M.C.A. Circles,” *The Winnipeg Tribune*, March 21, 1891, 3, <https://www.newspapers.com>.

While the YMCA focused on British Isles immigrants, they also concentrated on ethnic minorities. For example, since the 1890s, they supported Chinese migrants and helped assimilate them into Canadian society.⁸² This YMCA program provided English classes and sports programs for Chinese boys throughout the early twentieth century. In 1917, thirty Chinese boys organized a club, which would eventually include English lessons and gymnasium classes at the Vaughan Street YMCA.⁸³ In 1921, the YMCA boasted 200 Chinese members, who were provided partial access to the club and received instruction in English, Christian doctrine, and gymnastics.⁸⁴ The YMCA also held devotional meetings and English classes at immigrant sheds.⁸⁵ The creation of immigrant sheds was a federal government and city initiative designed to support new arrivals and provide them with temporary accommodation near ports in almost every major Canadian city.⁸⁶ For instance, in 1883, the YMCA held an English devotional class conducted in both English and Icelandic, which was primarily attended by around 100 Icelandic

⁸² In 1893 the YMCA recorded “A class for Chinese has been held every Sunday afternoon in the rooms, with an attendance of upwards of 20 every Sunday, 14th Annual Report of the Young Men’s Christian Association of the City of Winnipeg, 1892, YMCA of Winnipeg annual reports, 1883-1893, P3797/3 YMCA of Winnipeg fonds, Archives of Manitoba, 200 Vaughan St Room 130, Winnipeg, MB R3C 1T5.

⁸³ “Chinese Youths in Winnipeg Organize,” *The Winnipeg Tribune*, October 3, 1917, <https://www.newspapers.com>.

⁸⁴ The Young Men’s Christian Association of the City of Winnipeg, Forty-Second Annual Report, 1921 P3797/5, YMCA of Winnipeg fonds, Archives of Manitoba, 200 Vaughan St Room 130, Winnipeg, MB R3C 1T5; In 1923, the organization noted to have been to be offering boys 12, 13, 14, bibles classes, swimming, and gymnasium classes, Annual Report of the Community Boys’ Work Secretary for the year ending April 30th, 1923, 20th, June, 1923, YMCA of Winnipeg annual reports, 1912- 1929, P3797/5 YMCA of Winnipeg fonds, Archives of Manitoba, 200 Vaughan St Room 130, Winnipeg, MB R3C 1T5.

⁸⁵ For example, in 1883, the YMCA provided 39 religious services, to an average attendance of 42 people, Sixth Annual Report, 1884, Archives of Manitoba.

⁸⁶ For more information on Immigrant Sheds in Winnipeg, read Robert Vineberg, “Welcoming Immigrants at the Gateway to Canada’s West: Immigration Halls in Winnipeg, 1872-1975,” *Manitoba History*, no. 65 (2011): 13.

individuals.⁸⁷ There is also mention of meetings with German immigrants.⁸⁸ Teaching immigrants English was one way to Canadianize immigrants. The use of the English language as an assimilation tool was a widespread practice across North America, not unique to Winnipeg nor the YMCA in Canada. Similar initiatives were undertaken by American entities such as Ford Motors to facilitate the Americanization of immigrant factory workers.⁸⁹

English language lessons became a feature at the North End Selkirk location in Winnipeg. The Selkirk location was operational between 1912 and 1926. When first built, The YMCA, commenting on the building along with the new Vaughan Street location, affirmed their “commitment to serving the highest interests of the city and country, maintaining that these buildings were open practically twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, for young men regardless of class, creed, or color.”⁹⁰ The Selkirk location was guided by the principle to assimilate the newly arrived European immigrants into Canadian society. In a historical sketch, the author noted, “The Selkirk Avenue Branch, which was up to date in every respect, was opened on April 21, 1912.” YMCA leaders intended that this branch should not only serve the northern part of the city but be, “an important factor in bringing together the non-Anglo-Saxon and the English-speaking communities.”⁹¹ Opposed to the Selkirk location the Central YMCA

⁸⁷ Fifth Annual Report of the Winnipeg YMCA, 1883, Archives of Manitoba.

⁸⁸ 10th Annual report (no. 2) of the Young Men’s Christian Association of the city of Winnipeg, 9th, April 1889, YMCA of Winnipeg annual reports, 1883-1893, P3797/3 YMCA of Winnipeg fonds, Archives of Manitoba, 200 Vaughan St Room 130, Winnipeg, MB R3C 1T5.

⁸⁹ For more information, see Stephen Meyer, “Adapting the Immigrant to the Line: Americanization in the Ford Factory, 1914-1921,” *Journal of Social History* 14, no. 1 (September 1, 1980): 67–82.

⁹⁰ Thirty-Fourth Annual Report of the Young Men’s Christian Association of the City of Winnipeg, YMCA of Winnipeg annual reports, 1912- 1929, P3797/5 YMCA of Winnipeg fonds, Archives of Manitoba, 200 Vaughan St Room 130, Winnipeg, MB R3C 1T5.

⁹¹ The Young Men’s Christian Association of the City of Winnipeg Historical Sketch 1879-1935, 1935, Historical Sketch, 1883-1935, P3812/2 YMCA of Winnipeg fonds, Archives of Manitoba, 200 Vaughan St Room 130, Winnipeg, MB R3C 1T5.

was in the heart of Winnipeg, an area with a high Anglo population that usually comprised the middle class. Winnipeg's ethnic districts delineated residence boundaries: immigrants settled in the North, the French in St. Boniface east of the Red River, Germans and Scandinavians in the Elmwood region, also east of the Red River, and the English mainly in the city's center, with many residing there.⁹²

In 1913, the YMCA reported 536 members at the Selkirk location.⁹³ One report noted that, “95 seniors and 63 juniors had already enrolled, representing ten nationalities.”⁹⁴ One proposed initiative for the Selkirk location was to organize immigrants to provide them with optimal information regarding Canadian citizenship. However, the idea for Selkirk to become a “melting pot” for all nations, encountered problems early on. President D.W. McKercher highlighted major challenges, including the economic constraints that prevented many poor immigrants from affording membership fees and the location’s distance from English-speaking people in the city’s North End.⁹⁵ These economic and urban realities therefore thwarted the growth of Selkirk’s membership, with the Vaughan Street location outnumbering Selkirk 3,658 to 542 members.

As noted, still operational, the Selkirk YMCA taught English classes and ran programs to help immigrants prepare for Canadian citizenship. For instance, in 1911, the YMCA initiated an English class specifically for “new Canadians,” encompassing “Russians, Swedes, Italians” to

⁹² Hiebert, “Class, Ethnicity and Residential Structure,” 7.

⁹³ Minutes of the Board of Director’s Meeting, May 19, 1913, Archives of Manitoba.

⁹⁴ Minutes of Board of Directors Meeting, 13th, May 1912, Archives of Manitoba.

⁹⁵ Thirty Fifth Annual Report of the Young Men’s Christian Association of the City of Winnipeg, 28th, May 1914, YMCA of Winnipeg annual reports, 1912- 1929, P3797/5 YMCA of Winnipeg fonds, Archives of Manitoba, 200 Vaughan St Room 130, Winnipeg, MB R3C 1T5.

facilitate conversation in the English language.”⁹⁶ In another report, the YMCA noted that nineteen men contributed to teaching English to approximately 300 foreign-born men at the Selkirk Avenue Branch. The YMCA recorded 310 English classes that year, with an average of 8 people per class and a total number of 1,301 participants.⁹⁷ In the same report, the YMCA highlighted its collaboration with the Polish Canadian Club (Oswinta), a non-sectarian organization focused on enhancing Polish citizens' reputation within the Dominion.⁹⁸ Oswinta ran lectures at the YMCA until 1916 on topics such as social purity and social welfare, “delivering them in English to ensure that Polish members did not fall behind English-speaking citizens”⁹⁹

Like Philadelphia, the YMCA in Winnipeg established its Inter-College Department, enlisting middle-class students from Manitoba University to provide voluntary assistance at settlement houses for low-income immigrants. One such settlement house operated at 156 Austin Street in the North End. In 1916, eighteen male students volunteered to teach English to 190 non-

⁹⁶ The Record of a Year, 1912, YMCA of Winnipeg annual reports, 1912- 1929, P3797/5 YMCA of Winnipeg fonds, Archives of Manitoba, 200 Vaughan St Room 130, Winnipeg, MB R3C 1T5. Other examples include recorded in the 1913 Annual report, “nineteen others assisted in the Selkirk Avenue Branch in teaching English to about 300 foreign born,” Thirty Fifth Annual Report of the Young Men’s Christian Association of the City of Winnipeg, Archives of Manitoba.

⁹⁷ Thirty-Fourth Annual Report of the Winnipeg YMCA, 1912-1929, Archives of Manitoba.

⁹⁸ “Education Campaign. Polish-Canadian Club Inaugurating Night Classes for Winer Months,” *The Winnipeg Tribune*, September 8, 1910, 3 <https://www.newspapers.com>.

⁹⁹ “Polish Lecturer Speaks on Hygiene. Dr. Doleseslaw Gerzabek Warns Public of Conditions That Menace Health of Children ,” *Manitoba Free Press*, February 10, 1915, 18 <https://www.newspapers.com>; “Giving of Alms, Miss Drelonkiewicz Addresses Polish Club on Charity and Social Relief,” *Manitoba Free Press*, February 2, 1915; <https://www.newspapers.com>; “Polish Women Congratulated,” *Manitoba Free Press*, January 31, 1916, 5 <https://www.newspapers.com>.

English-speaking men, while twenty-three students led boys' groups in church institutes across the city's North End.”¹⁰⁰

If teaching English to immigrants was a form of assimilation and nationalism, then sports education represented another avenue. Sports offered the chance to impart the values of the nation upon newcomers, values that YMCA leaders associated with the spiritual and physical development of young boys and men. Boxing emerged as a pivotal sport within the YMCA program. During the twentieth century, boxing experienced a transformation. Before 1914, the YMCA had deemed boxing as a healthy activity, but not a sport.¹⁰¹ However, in 1914 the YMCA began to send athletes to amateur boxing tournaments.¹⁰² During World War I, the YMCA organized boxing for soldiers on the warfront and charity boxing exhibitions on the home front, further boosting the sport's popularity.¹⁰³ By 1919, boxing had become a regular program at the

¹⁰⁰ Thirty-Seventh Annual Report of the Young Men's Christian Association of the City of Winnipeg, 30, May 1916, YMCA of Winnipeg annual reports, 1912- 1929, P3797/5 YMCA of Winnipeg fonds, Archives of Manitoba, 200 Vaughan St Room 130, Winnipeg, MB R3C 1T5. Similarly, the previous year, the YMCA recorded “31 students were enlisted in teaching English to 280 non-English-speaking men... this service has been directly supervised by students living in Settlement House”; Thirty-Sixth Annual Report of the Young Men's Christian Association of the City of Winnipeg, 1914-15, YMCA of Winnipeg annual reports, 1912- 1929, P3797/5 YMCA of Winnipeg fonds, Archives of Manitoba, 200 Vaughan St Room 130, Winnipeg, MB R3C 1T5.

¹⁰¹ For example, see “Heard in Y.M.C.A. Circles,” *The Winnipeg Tribune*, 6; “Boxing and Wrestling at ‘Y’” *The Winnipeg Tribune*, 6, “Winter Session of Boys' Club in Full Swing,” *The Winnipeg Tribune*, November 21, 1912, 6, <https://www.newspapers.com>.

¹⁰² “City Boys Capture All the Wrestling Championships,” *The Winnipeg Tribune*, May 28, 1914, 11, <https://www.newspapers.com/>. “Wrestling and Boxing Tourney Big Attraction,” *The Winnipeg Tribune*, October 26, 1914, <https://www.newspapers.com>.

¹⁰³ Charles Wallace Bishop, *The Canadian Y.M.C.A. in the Great War: The Official Record of the Activities of the Canadian Y.M.C.A. in Connection with the Great War of 1914-1918* (Toronto: National Council of Young Men's Christian Associations of Canada, 1924). For an American example, read Adam Park, “‘Fighting Spirit’: World War I and the YMCA's Allied Boxing Program,” *Religion and American Culture* 29, no. 3 (2019): 410, <https://doi.org/10.1017/rac.2019.10>. The YMCA, did not participate in any boxing tournaments during the War until 1917, read “Military Arranges Boxing Tournament for Bonspiel

YMCA and following its legalization in 1920, the YMCA became the second-largest amateur boxing club in the city. North American YMCAs were the first to incorporate the Four-Fold Program. This program was initially articulated in the 1866 New York City YMCA's mission statement, which aimed to improve the spiritual, mental, social and physical conditions of young men.¹⁰⁴ Likewise, in the Winnipeg YMCA's 1880 constitution, Article Two, read, "The object of this association shall be the improvement of the Spiritual, Intellectual, and Social condition of young men, and the promotions of Christian work in our city."¹⁰⁵ Similarly, The Four-Fold Program occurred at the same time as another YMCA revolution, which was influenced by the muscular Christian philosophy. Luther Gulick and his colleagues at Springfield Collage introduced the inverted triangle, which symbolized the integration of the spirit, the mind, and the body for men's health.¹⁰⁶ The Four-Fold Program mirrored the equilibrium of the inverted triangle, with the YMCA organizing its curriculum into four departments: Physical, Educational,

Week," *The Winnipeg Tribune*, January 10, 1917, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 12, <https://www.newspapers.com>. In April of 1917, and May of 1918 the YMCA hosted a Newsboys exhibition: "Newsboy Boxers Weigh in Tonight," *The Winnipeg Tribune*, April 2, 1917, 12; 1, <https://www.newspapers.com>; "Newsboys Box at 'Y,'" *The Winnipeg Tribune*, May 19, 1919, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 15. For other military events, see "Military Arranges 2-Day Program For Sports Carnival. Soldiers to Hold Athletic Tournament at Y.M.C.A Feb 19 and 20," *The Winnipeg Tribune*, February 2, 1918, 21, <https://www.newspapers.com>; "Military Program at Y.M.C.A.," *The Winnipeg Tribune*, February 19, 1918, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 12.

¹⁰⁴ Kenneth Steuer, *Pursuit of an 'Unparalleled Opportunity': The American YMCA and Prisoner-of-War Diplomacy among the Central Power Nations during World War I, 1914-1923* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 14, <http://www.gutenberg-e.org>.

¹⁰⁵ The Constitution and By-Laws of the Winnipeg Young Men's Christian Association, YMCA of Winnipeg constitution and by-laws, 1880-1985, P3797/1, YMCA of Winnipeg fonds, Archives of Manitoba, 200 Vaughan St Room 130, Winnipeg, MB R3C 1T5

¹⁰⁶ For more information read Clifford Putney, "Luther Gulick: His Contributions to Springfield College, the YMCA, and 'Muscular Christianity' Young Men's Christian Association)" *Historical Journal of Massachusetts* 39, no. 1-2 (2011): 144-69.

Social, and Spiritual. In North America, “The YMCA program was planned, promoted, and staffed to serve these ends.”¹⁰⁷

The lessons learned through sports and physical recreation were considered integral to a young man’s development. A healthy and strong youth would grow into a robust man. This reflected an embodiment of capitalist ideals—a strong man who grew into a business leader or an efficient industrial worker—and a symbol of a thriving city mirroring the strength of the nation. However, immigrants created a challenge for these national pursuits. On the one hand, corporations required low-income labourers in their factories, homesteads and new service sectors, yet immigrants had their own customs. The middle class often viewed immigrants through a lens that deemed their customs opposite to industrialized, progressive, Protestant and democratic North America. For the middle class, these groups were stereotyped as dirty—the men were feminine, lazy and could not speak English. These attributes were deemed incompatible with national homogeneity. Natives often referred to immigrants by three terms “ethnic” “alien” “foreigner”. These were used to describe persons that were outside the country’s Anglo-Saxon Protestant and French Canadian Roman Catholic communities—persons and groups “who were in the country, but not necessarily part of it.”¹⁰⁸ Teaching immigrants’ Canadian customs, such as the English language or sports, was in theory Canadianizing immigrants. The social purity movement exemplified this paradox, outwardly humanitarian, yet based on the assumption that immigrants were dirty, unintelligent, and backward and needing to adopt Canadian practices of hygiene, purity, and masculinity to become productive citizens. Leaders at the Winnipeg YMCA, while providing relief to immigrants, did not fully dismantle

¹⁰⁷ Marion Cuthbert, “Negro Youth and the Educational Program of the Y.W.C.A.” *The Journal of Negro Education* 9, no. 3 (1940): 363–71, 354. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2292607>.

¹⁰⁸ Avery, *Dangerous Foreigners*, 14.

social barriers. Nevertheless, adherence to YMCA principles offered one access to a broad network of sports and athletics, fostering social integration and community across class boundaries; allowing them to earn merit and recognition.¹⁰⁹ Boxing became one of many sports which facilitated these opportunities.

As seen above, the memberships rolls show that many members were first-generation immigrants from “desirable” countries. The desirability of an immigrant shifted from time to time,—for the most part Blacks, and the Chinese were seen as undesirable, while “Eastern and Southern European immigrants were allowed in the country because of their brawn and industry and they were granted basic civil rights; for Canadianization.”¹¹⁰ However, during World War One, the Great Depression, the Winnipeg Strike, and the rise of socialism, the desirability of immigrants shifted, for example Jews and Germans at times were seen as unwanted. The YMCA did aid populations, including Eastern European, Jewish, and Roman Catholic communities. YMCA leaders positioned themselves as tolerant towards different religions, willing to teach immigrants their Four-Fold way of life. This was evident in their acceptance of Jewish members.

By 1921 Winnipeg’s Jewish population was 14,449, or 8% of the population. More than 80 Percent of the Jewish population lived in the North End. For example, on Selkirk the same street as the North End YMCA 87.5 percent of the residents were Jewish.¹¹¹ Due to a lack of federal and provincial aids Jews in Winnipeg formed their own secular mutual aid societies, and for the most part “the north end Eastern European immigrants lived in self-contained

¹⁰⁹ For examples of how boxing fit into the four-fold program, see *Activities for the All Round Man*, 1912; *Manhood Building*, 1911-1912, 1911-1912 YMCA of Winnipeg Scrapbook, 1911-113 P3817/1 YMCA of Winnipeg fonds, Archives of Manitoba, 200 Vaughan St Room 130, Winnipeg, MB R3C 1T5; “New Y.M.C. A.... Building,” *The Winnipeg Tribune*, March 3, 1900, 1.

¹¹⁰ Avery, *Reluctant Host*, 8.

¹¹¹ Ross, *Communal Solidarity*, 70.

communities in which they read newspapers published in their native languages and participated in religious services, cultural events, political gathers, social activities, and meetings of mutual aid societies at which English was rarely used.” Nonetheless despite reservations about exposing children to Evangelicalism, Ross showed that Jews did partake in Methodist and Presbyterian missions.¹¹² Jew’s also went to the YMCA for recreational purposes and mutual aid. For example, Jewish athletes participated on YMCA basketball teams throughout the early twentieth century. For example, in the 1915-1916 season, an all-Jewish team won the YMCA championship. In 1919, Jewish athletes formed the Selkirk Team, which won the city title. Sam Pearlman was a notable Jewish basketball star.¹¹³ He was also on a 1917 YMCA baseball team that won a city title. Jewish team members included Bill Kahana from Romania and Joseph Silverman from Russia.¹¹⁴ The team also included Ronaldo Marinelli, an ethnically Italian Roman Catholic from the United States, Victor Nestor, a Roman Catholic from Austria, Alex Wiesner, a German from Russia and President William Sisler, a Scotsman from Ontario who was a member of the United Church of England.¹¹⁵ Like boxing, baseball coaches were typically

¹¹² Ross, *Communal Solidarity*, 76-77.

¹¹³ Leible Hershfield, *The Jewish Athlete: A Nostalgic View* (Winnipeg, Man.: L. Hershfield, 1980), 125, 133.

¹¹⁴ Katana, Bell L, Census of Canada, 1921, <https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=census&IdNumber=67231787&ecopy=e002885900>; Silverman, Joseph, Census of Canada, 1921, <https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=census&IdNumber=67473033&ecopy=e002891453>.

¹¹⁵ “Winnipeg Junior Baseball Champions, 1917,” *The Winnipeg Tribune*, October 6, 1917, <https://www.newspapers.com/>, 17. Ronaldo, Marinelli, Census of Canada, 1931; <https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=census&IdNumber=83572563&ecopy=e011720054>; Nestor, Victor, Census of the Prairie Provinces, 1926, <https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=census&IdNumber=71291264&ecopy=e011229567>; Weisner, Alex, Census of the Prairie Provinces, 1926, <https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=census&IdNumber=71726316&ecopy=e011229396>, Sisler, William G, Census of the Prairie Provinces, 1926, <https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=census&IdNumber=67475576&ecopy=e002891506>

from Anglo origins and protestant denominations.¹¹⁶ This was because the YMCA believed that trained YMCA coaches, typically from the middle-class, were best suited to teach young boys and men the rules and values of modern sports. For example, in discussion regarding a wrestling tournament, the YMCA noted that, “We believe that our supervision of competitive sports has been of great service in presenting and providing clean, gentlemanly exhibitions. By providing an opportunity to enjoy clean sport, we do away with any excuse for going into a lower class.”¹¹⁷ Consequently, the YMCA associated sports and leadership with new normative values of gender and class.

Despite apparent acceptance of Jewish members, by 1929, 91 senior members of the YMCA were Jewish, representing only 4% of its 1,961 total memberships. That year the YMCA rejected over half of the 130 Jewish applications received. Just two years after proclaiming a commitment to diversity, the Executive Committee limited the number of Jews at the club, imposing a 5% capacity on Jewish membership. In what they considered good faith, they also restricted entry to certain “Gentiles.”¹¹⁸ The YMCA promised to refer the declined Jewish members to a non-specific Hebrew organization, but most likely the Young Men’s Hebrew Association (YMHA).¹¹⁹ This example illustrates why ethnic minorities went on to form their

¹¹⁶ For example, boxing coach George Aikens, son of the YMCA founder, came from Ontario, had Irish ancestry, and belonged to Christian Science, Aikens, George W, Census of Canada, 1921, [https://recherche-collection-search.bac-](https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=census&IdNumber=67544691&ecopy=e002893176)

[lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=census&IdNumber=67544691&ecopy=e002893176](https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=census&IdNumber=67544691&ecopy=e002893176)
¹¹⁷ Thirty-First Annual Report of the Young Men’s Christian Association of the City of Winnipeg, 1909-1910, YMCA of Winnipeg annual reports, 1912- 1929, P3797/5 YMCA of Winnipeg fonds, Archives of Manitoba, 200 Vaughan St Room 130, Winnipeg, MB R3C 1T5.

¹¹⁸ YMCA of Winnipeg Board of Directors minutes, 1923-1938, YMCA of Winnipeg fonds, Archives of Manitoba, 200 Vaughan St Room 130, Winnipeg, MB R3C 1T5

¹¹⁹ Minutes of Board of Directors Meeting Held in the Vaughan Street Building, 26, September 1929; Minutes of Board of Directors Meeting Held in the Vaughan Street Building, 25, November 1929; Secretary’s Report, 30, January 1930, YMCA of Winnipeg Board of Directors minutes, Archives of Manitoba.

own clubs. Anti-Jewish sentiment at the YMCA corresponded with immigration policies targeted to curb Jewish Immigration to the country. As Ross shows between 1920 and 1930 organizations such as the Winnipeg Department of Jewish Immigrant Aid Society (WDJIAS) “succeeded in circumventing a series of regulations crafted to restrict Jewish immigration to Canada. Between 1903- 1926, Jewish immigrants established over fifty mutual aid societies in Winnipeg.¹²⁰ That being said, while some Jews may have sought membership elsewhere or had been denied outright, others chose to remain, such as David Decter, who boxed at the YMCA in the 1930s. Born in Russia around 1917, Decter's family had migrated to Winnipeg, possibly motivated by the migrations when many Jews fled Russia and Ukraine, particularly cities such as Odessa during pogroms. Decter was a student in 1931, and his father earned a decent living during the Depression as a motorman on the street railway.¹²¹ Despite membership restrictions, Jews like Decter continued to engage with the YMCA. This did not necessarily mean that non-Anglo and protestant members no longer kept their ethnic, and religious Identity. While some, like wrestler John Endleman, converted to Protestantism, others like Sam Pearlman and wrestler Louis Romalis maintained their Jewish identity.¹²²

¹²⁰ Ross, *Communal Solidarity*, 247-49.

¹²¹ Decter, David, Census of Canada, 1931, <https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=census&IdNumber=83498942&ecopy=e011718507>

¹²² Pearlman, Sam, Census of Canada, 1931, <https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=census&IdNumber=83416252&ecopy=e011716787>; Endleman, John, Census of Canada, 1931, <https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=census&IdNumber=83509725&ecopy=e011718735>; Romalis, Louis, Census of Canada, 1931, <https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=census&IdNumber=83426973&ecopy=e011717011>

Chapter 2

Jews, Porters, Newsboys and Anglos at the YMCA: Mapping Boxing, Class, and Masculinity in Early Twentieth Century Winnipeg.

In 1927, crippled by debt, leaders at the Winnipeg YMCA created a campaign to raise \$250,000. The campaign took place over 2 years and coincided with the organization's fiftieth anniversary. 'Boy membership' was one focus of the campaign. In a brochure titled, *What is a Boy Worth*, a map of Winnipeg was featured that displayed the distribution of boy membership across eight city districts. Specifically, a table below the map showed the number of boys per

district and their religious affiliation. The graph highlighted that many boys were of Anglo-Protestant faiths, such as the United Church, Baptist Church, Presbyterian, and Church of England, albeit there were also Jewish, and Catholic affiliations.

The author made three propositions. First, "the membership of the Boy's Department comes from

all sections of Greater Winnipeg— here rich and poor mingle together on an equality." Second, "Out of the 1,068 boys, only 75 have no church affiliations." Third, "tolerance of the views of others becomes an important factor in the development of the boy. Here the boy is taught, under

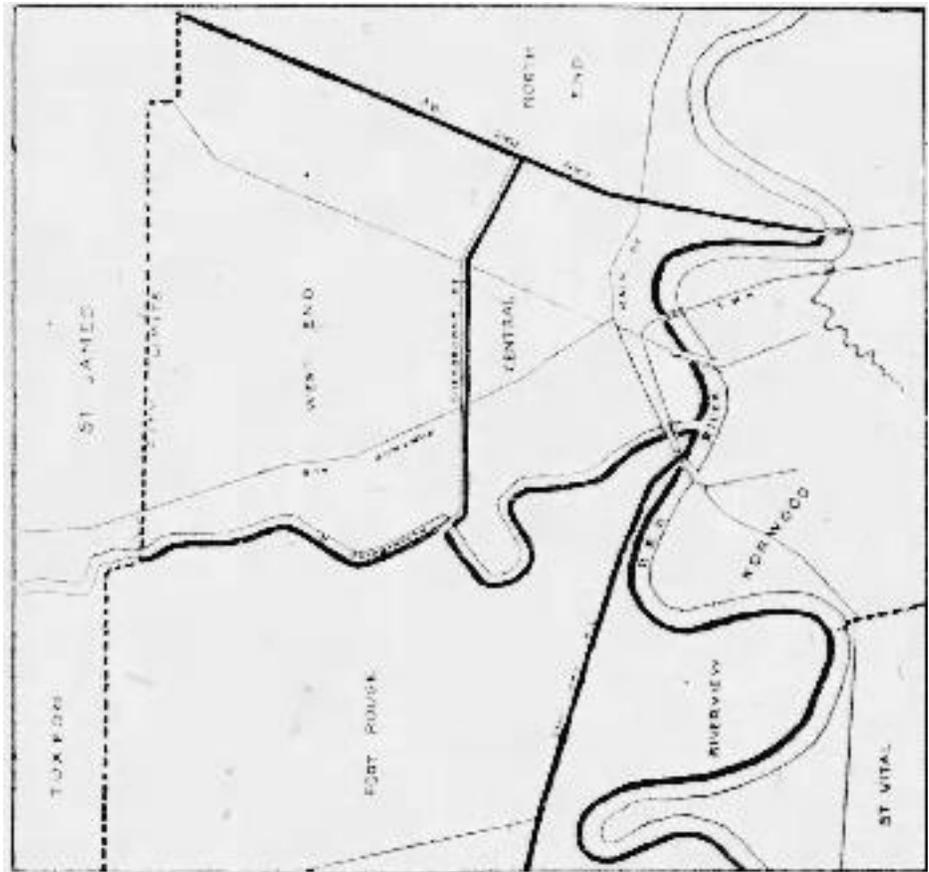


Figure 21. *What is a Boy Worth*, 1927, YMCA of Winnipeg Financial Material, 1922-1985, P3807/2 YMCA of Winnipeg fonds, Archives of Manitoba, 200 Vaughan St Room 130, Winnipeg, MB R3C 1T5.

all circumstances, to play fair with others and the value of team play— a sound foundation on which to build the super-structure of life.”¹²³

A Salesman’s Handbook shows that the brochure was created by the YMCA and was intended to target Winnipeg families. The *Handbook* was a YMCA employee manual offering salesmen statistics and scripts. In 1927, the YMCA created a large sales team to canvas the city and *What is a Boy Worth* was one of three mailing pieces used during the fundraising drive. Another section of the *Handbook* focused on rebuttals to specific questions the YMCA believed agents might face in their door-to-door sales. Salesmen were to use *The What is a Boy Worth* to refute the statement, “the Y.M.C.A. is not reaching the men and boys who need it most.”¹²⁴ While the two-year marketing campaign targeted all boys living in the city, regardless of faith or socioeconomic status, the YMCA leaders also recommended a five percent capacity limit for Jewish membership.¹²⁵ Furthermore, they closed the Selkirk location, a gym located in the North End, known as a space for immigrants and underprivileged boys. This chapter considers several questions related to the marketing campaign:

- 1) What was the socioeconomic status of boy members? Did the Winnipeg YMCA target and support both wealthy and poor boys?
- 2) What was the geographic distribution of boy members? Did the Winnipeg YMCA target and support boys from all parts of the city?

¹²³ *What is a Boy Worth*, Archives of Manitoba.

¹²⁴ *Salesman’s Handbook Y.M.C.A., 1927*, YMCA of Winnipeg Financial Material, 1922-1985, P3807/2 YMCA of Winnipeg fonds, Archives of Manitoba, 200 Vaughan St Room 130, Winnipeg, MB R3C 1T5.

¹²⁵ Minutes of Board of Directors Meeting, September 26, 1929, YMCA of Winnipeg Board of Directors Minutes, 1923-1938, YMCA of Winnipeg fonds, Archives of Manitoba, 200 Vaughan St Room 130, Winnipeg, MB R3C 1T5.

- 3) What was the religious affiliation of boy members? Did the Winnipeg YMCA segregate their membership based on religion?
- 4) How and why did the YMCA position sports as an important field for nationalism and assimilation?

This chapter shows that YMCA leaders supported a wide range of boys and men from different classes and religious affiliations and forged a community between the groups. While this chapter addresses many sports, it focuses on boxing.

Examining the YMCA's boy work is one way to further understand the extent to which the Winnipeg YMCA fostered diversity in their clubs. Leaders at the YMCA worried that the dangers of the urban environment were particularly threatening to young boys who had no spaces

or places to
 expend tireless
 energy.
 Reformers,
 particularly in
 middle-class
 religious circles,
 worried that



Figure 22. "Free Press Morning New Boys Entertained at YMCA," *Free Press Evening Bulletin*, April 9, 1926, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 6.

boys who lacked social, religious, and physical direction would turn to gang culture, attend saloons and hotels, and endanger themselves and social order. They also believed that reforming a youth's malleable mind was easier than achieving the same for an adult. Without reform, they felt that these boys would be useless to the cities or the country's future. Therefore, helping boys

was theoretically beneficial to the city, thereby enhancing the image, prestige, and glory of the country and its men.

In June 1923, the YMCA distributed to its members their *Annual report of the Community Boy's Work Secretary for the year ending April 30th, 1923*. The report would later be published in *The Winnipeg Tribune* in September of the same year. The report detailed the community or extension work of the YMCA. The Boy's department focused, "purposely and specifically...for the community boys who are not necessarily reached by the routine program of the association work." They noted splitting their work into seven fields: 1) Delinquent, 2) Under-Privileged Boys, 3) Industrial Boys, 4) Chinese Boys, 5) Newsboys, 6) Co-operation with the Churches, Camp, and 7) Community Service. Like other YMCA departments, Boy's work leaders connected their work to nationalism. In one article, it was noted that, "the secretary had always been ready to assist any boy, in any way, anywhere at any time, and is ready to co-operate with any organization or any movement which seeks the welfare of our youth and the making of right citizenship."¹²⁶ The boy work secretary at the time was W.J. Moor. Moor also helped run the Rotary Club boy work department.

The Winnipeg Rotary Club opened in 1910 as the first international Rotary Club. Originating in Chicago in 1905, the Rotary Club was established to bring together men from diverse professional backgrounds to foster community. The Rotary also formed a boxing club in the city. Over the years, they also worked with the YMCA and its Big Brother Program to mentor troubled boys, who were often referred from juvenile courts, teaching them the values of

¹²⁶ "Bill' Moor, Popular Boys' Leader, Goes Well-Known 'Y' Worker Takes New Post Has Notable Success among Lads for Decade," *The Winnipeg Tribune*, September 8, 1923, 7; Annual Report of the Community Boys' Work Secretary for the year ending April 30th, 1923, 20th, June 1923, YMCA of Winnipeg annual reports, 1912- 1929, P3797/5 YMCA of Winnipeg fonds, Archives of Manitoba, 200 Vaughan St Room 130, Winnipeg, MB R3C 1T5.

sports. George H. Stewart, president of the Manitoba Boys Work Board, wrote that the Rotary Club was a “defence” tool, arguing that, “boys are not inherently bad.” Similarly, YMCA leaders throughout America and Canada opined that boys were not innately wicked— instead, the conditions of urban cities created criminals.¹²⁷ The YMCA felt that boys were at risk of succumbing to “gang spirit.” Stewart argued, “If the leadership of the gang is good, fine; if not good, the effect on the boys is not good and too often leads them into trouble.”¹²⁸ The YMCA emphasized the relationship between troubled youths and gangs by noting, “60 different boys from the Juvenile Court have been under supervision during the year, and through them we have gained access into three “gangs” and are helping guide their activities. There is no finer bit of social community service, nor any that is more important.”¹²⁹ Stewart further emphasizes the positive impact of the collaborative work of the YMCA and Rotary Club in the following quote:

What this club really does is to provide good leadership. It is surprising what a tremendous influence for good a few hours each week spent with the boys will do to teach them the spirit of fair play and clean sports, even though each boy is granted the privilege of only one or two nights per week at the club. It develops a “gang spirit” founded on Christian principles that gives companionship, an outlet for energy, develops clean thinking and helps the boys learn the value of team play.

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The YMCA ran various athletic and recreational activities for boys. One program was a swimming campaign for schoolboys, which began in the 1920s. Working with public schools in the Greater Winnipeg area, principals and teachers selected students who wished to swim in the program. In 1927, 1,654 students had registered in the program, representing 47 schools

¹²⁷ Macleod, *Building Character in the American Boy*, 33.

¹²⁸ What Is a Boy Worth, Archives of Manitoba.

¹²⁹ What’s Happening at the Winnipeg Y.M.C.A., 1927, YMCA of Winnipeg Financial Material, 1922-1985, P3807/2 YMCA of Winnipeg fonds, Archives of Manitoba, 200 Vaughan St Room 130, Winnipeg, MB R3C 1T5.

¹³⁰ What Is a Boy Worth, Archives of Manitoba.

throughout the city. The YMCA demonstrated the geographic distribution of the students using the exact boundaries as the 1927 map. The majority hailed from the North End (500) and the West End (438). This was followed by the Centre District (252), Miscellaneous areas (187), Elmwood (131), Riverview (84), Fort Rouge (45), and Tuxedo (8).¹³¹ The boys' ethnicity and religious affiliation were not noted. While the data shows that the YMCA's swimming program reached boys throughout the city, they also suggest that more boys came from districts that were closest to the gyms. These districts also had relatively greater population densities.

One area of focus for the YMCA's extension work was its involvement with the city's newsboys. Newsboys were young boys who sold the morning paper, typically immigrant boys from working-class families. The 1928 annual report noted, "Thirty Morning Free Press Street newsies attended regularly their special classes. Two gym and swim periods a week have been provided for them, and they have occupied the Game Room each morning and afternoon. Seven special luncheons have been provided for them by the Press in our quarter. We have provided the program."¹³² The YMCA hosted concerts, picnics, and other social events for newsboys. It supported the Newsboy Association by offering not just meeting rooms but athletic programs.¹³³

¹³¹ Forty-Ninth Annual Report of the Young Mens Christian Association of the City of Winnipeg, 1928, YMCA of Winnipeg annual reports, 1912- 1929, P3797/5 YMCA of Winnipeg fonds, Archives of Manitoba, 200 Vaughan St Room 130, Winnipeg, MB R3C 1T5.

¹³² Forty-Ninth Annual Report, Archives of Manitoba.

¹³³ For example, read "Membership Drive of Y.M.C.A Gets off to Good Start," *Free Press Evening Bulletin*, October 1, 1927, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 8; "Newsboys of Free Press At 'Y' Dinner," *Free Press Evening Bulletin*, October 22, 1926, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 26; "Newsboys' Picnic," *Manitoba Morning Free Press*, August 4, 1906, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 22; "Coming Events," *The Winnipeg Tribune*, October 11, 1905, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 10; "Winnipeg Newsboys' Club. Supper and Concert Given by the C.E. of the Central Church," *The Winnipeg Tribune*, March 18, 1907, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 2; "Y.M.C.A Physical Department Which Has Been Doing Such Splendid Work in Past Preparing for Another Active Year," *Free Press Evening Bulletin*, September 15, 1923, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 16; "Winnipeg Newsboys Entertained by

In 1917, the president and vice-president of the Newsboy Association were Samuel Rosen from Poland and Julius Levick from Russia; both were Jewish. Levick's brothers would both later join the YMCA's newsboy athletic teams.¹³⁴

When operational, the North End Selkirk YMCA location ran several events for newsboys in sports and athletics, including gymnastics, basketball, and boxing. By examining attendance records of four of these events—a pair of basketball games in 1925, a charity boxing event among newsboys in 1917, and a Vaughan Street Boys' Division membership drive—it becomes evident that a significant number of the newsboy athletes were Jewish. Some hailed from the same families and a notable concentration resided near the Selkirk location. In contrast, Vaughan Street Boys' Division members who paid for gym access predominantly originated from the British Isles, held working-class backgrounds, and lived close to the Central YMCA. Newspapers also provide valuable insights into YMCA membership trends. One aspect of the modernization of sport was the quantification of data.¹³⁵ Globally, newspapers recorded scores, team rosters, points, wins and losses amongst other forms of data. In Winnipeg, newspapers published YMCA sports information each time an event occurred. It is possible to visually observe these data using ArcGIS with the boundaries depicted on the 1927 map. To explore additional connections, the 1917 Selkirk baseball team was also examined. While most of the

Boys Division of Y.M.C.A.," *The Winnipeg Tribune*, June 9, 1921, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 6.

¹³⁴ "Newsboys Deny Pastor's Charge," *The Winnipeg Tribune*, April 17, 1917, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 5; Rosen, Samuel, Census of Canada, 1921 <https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=census&IdNumber=67190076&ecopy=e002884949>; Levick, Julius, Census of Canada, 1921, <https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=census&IdNumber=67468904&ecopy=e002891367>.

¹³⁵ For more information, see Allen Guttman, *From Ritual to Record: The Nature of Modern Sports* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 47-50.

1917 baseball players were not found in the 1916 Prairie Census, two players were identified, Sam Pearlman and Joseph Silverman (see Appendix 3), who lived in the North End and were Jewish.

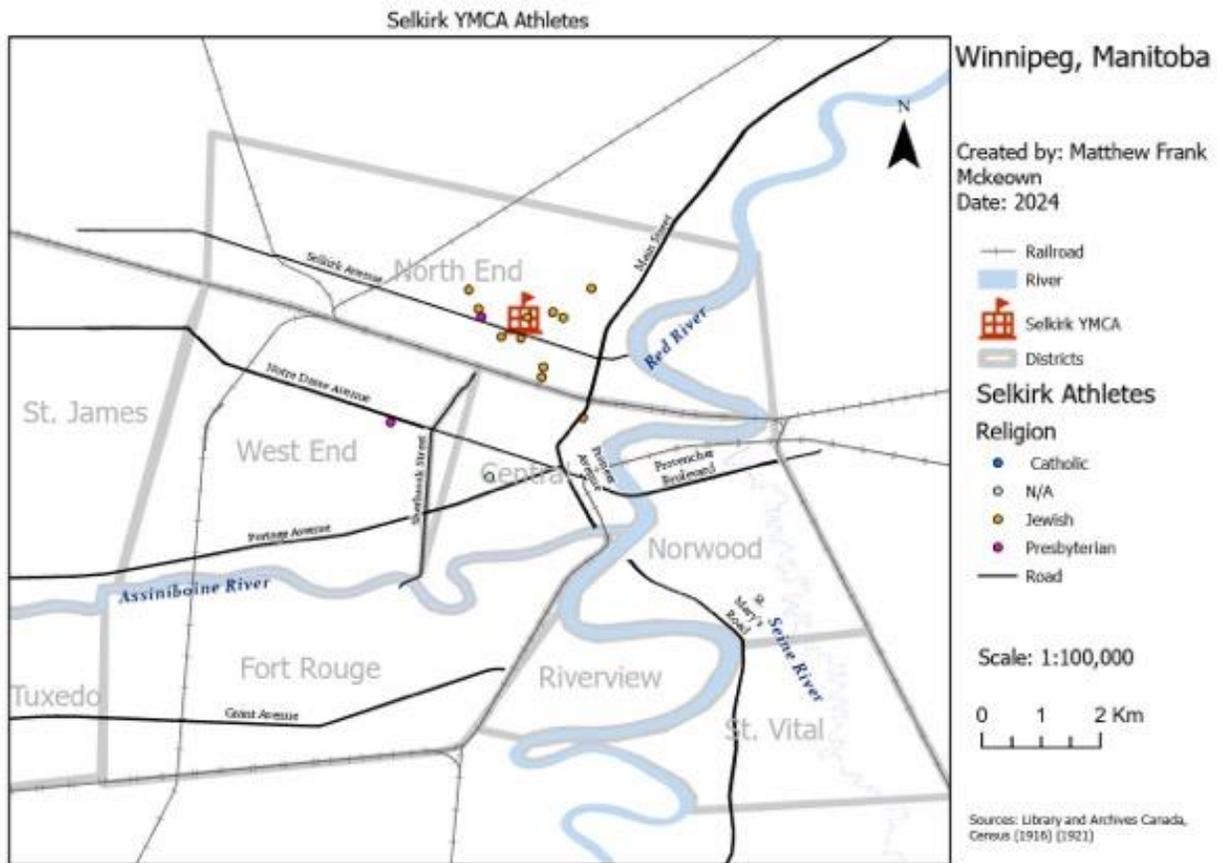


Figure 23. "Winnipeg Junior Baseball Champions, 1917," *The Winnipeg Tribune*, October 6, 1917, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 17; "Newsboy Boxers Provide Thrills at Selkirk 'Y,'" *The Winnipeg Tribune*, April 4, 1917, <https://www.newspapers.com>.

The map in Figure 23 shows that most of the athletes lived near the Selkirk Location. Almost all were Jewish, most hailing from Russia. By the 1920s, Winnipeg had specific ethnic

enclaves, with the North End recognized as a hub for new immigrants.¹³⁶ While YMCA leaders acknowledged their perceived failure in supporting the North End populations, they did provide support for first- and second-generation immigrant boys in the area for fourteen years. Those helped only represent a small number of boys who came to the Selkirk location. However, it reinforces the idea that the YMCA's outreach extended beyond the Anglo middle class. This map does not indicate membership from all regions but suggests potential segregation at the Selkirk location. To draw more definitive conclusions, a broader range of events and teams from both Selkirk and Vaughan Street locations would need to be analyzed alongside census data.

It is difficult to conclude if first-generation immigrants used the central Vaughan Street location.

In 1926, the Boys' Division held a membership drive, which was connected to the 1927 jubilee fund. The YMCA created thirty-five teams, each consisting of five men and a captain. The teams were tasked with canvassing the city for new membership. The drive lasted nine days in total. The team who signed up the most members were rewarded with a chicken dinner and an evening at the Capitol. *The Winnipeg Tribune* recorded the list of thirty-five captains. The Boys' Division differed from outreach programs that targeted newsboys.¹³⁷ The Division consisted of regular YMCA members who paid annual fees ranging from \$2.00 to \$6.00 a year.¹³⁸ Marketing for the Boy's Division typically targeted middle-class families.¹³⁹ The work within the Division often involved training middle-class boys to become businessmen and city leaders. I identified

¹³⁶ Hiebert, "Class, Ethnicity and Residential Structure," 7.

¹³⁷ "Boys' Division of 'Y' To Go After New Members, Thirty-Five Teams Will Undertake Intensive Campaign Next Week," *The Winnipeg Tribune*, September 25, 1926, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 8.

¹³⁸ Salesman's Handbook, Archives of Manitoba.

¹³⁹ For more information, read David Macleod, "A Live Vaccine the YMCA and Male Adolescence in the United States and Canada 1870-1920," *Histoire Sociale*, May 1978, 5-25; Macleod, *Building Character in the American Boy*.

28 boys from *The Tribune* and located them in the Census, documenting their location, ethnicity, religion, and their future occupations or their fathers' occupations as found in the previously noted Censuses (see Appendix 4). The 1926 Census did not provide occupational or religious statistics. Therefore, I used the 1931 Census to ascertain the occupations these boys held five years later or their fathers' occupations to understand their social class. This approach has its limitations, as a boy might have experienced social mobility over five years and it assumes that the head of household reflects the social position of the entire household.¹⁴⁰ Furthermore, the 1931 Census also provided religious affiliation. If I did not locate a boy member in the 1926 Census, I attempted to find them in the 1931 Census, I also consulted the 1921 Census, which included occupation statistics.

Many of these boys were ethnically from the British Isles, particularly Britain. Only two had ethnicities from outside the British Isles: one boy was Icelandic and another French. A large majority were from Manitoba, and the rest were from North America; only a boy from England was born outside North America. A majority of the boys came from the major Protestant denominations in the city— only one was Catholic. All boys were from middle-class families.

¹⁴⁰ Hiebert, "Class, Ethnicity and Residential Structure", 57. Hiebert makes this comment in terms of class.

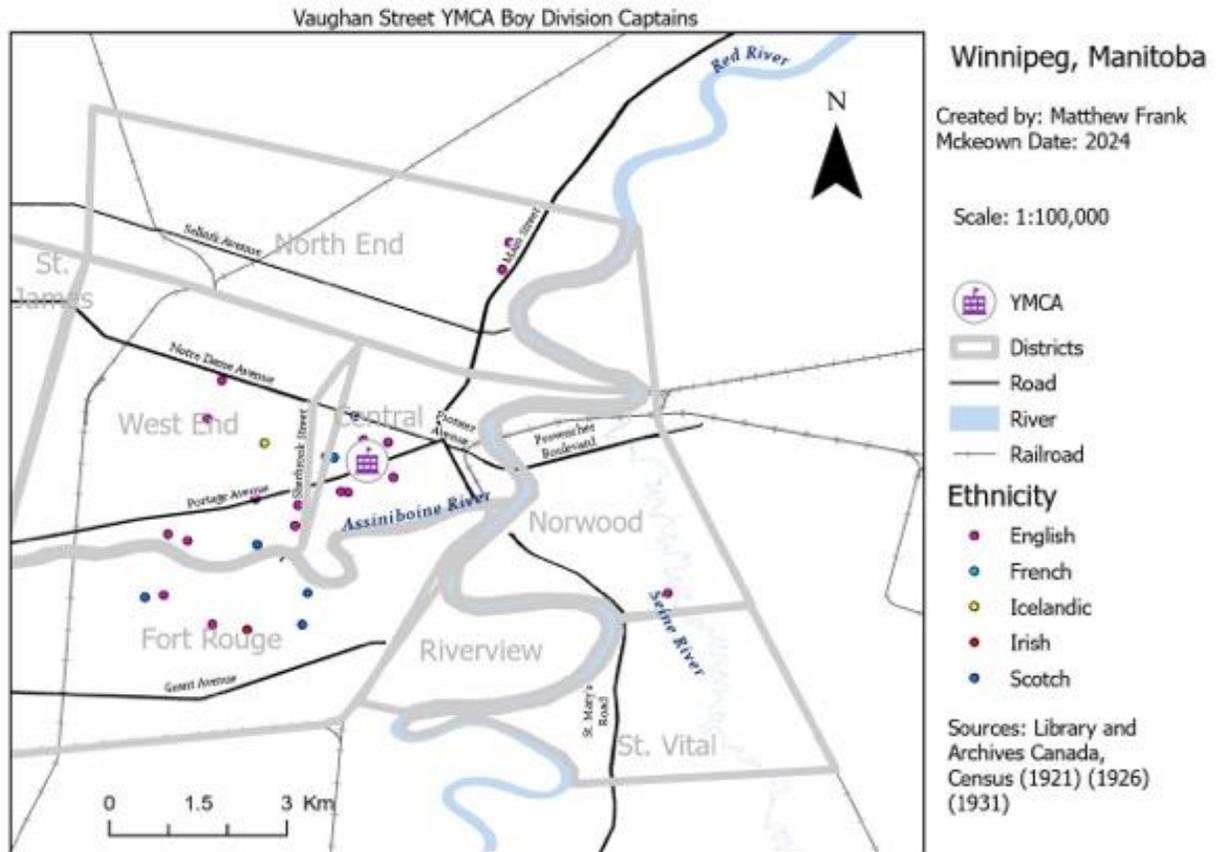


Figure 24.

The map above Figure 24 shows that almost all the boys lived close to the central gym, with a majority living in the West End and the Central district. Compared to the map of Selkirk athletes, boys generally frequented the gym closest to their residence. This might explain why the Selkirk location evolved into a hub for boy extension work—presumably due to its proximity to what was perceived as the most troubled population. Alternatively, it could be attributed to middle-class members' reluctance to have immigrant and non-Christian boys utilize the club. Before the closure of the Selkirk location, the building and its furnishings were purchased by the Columbus Club, a Catholic organization.

Furthermore, a Jewish Club organized by the YMHA opened in 1926. This was around the time the Selkirk location closed and a few years before the YMCA began implementing capacity limits on Jewish membership.¹⁴¹ It appears that prior to 1927, the Selkirk location was an essential gym for the immigrant populations. When it closed, non-Anglo organizations tried to continue to serve these demographics. The two maps Figure 23 and Figure 24 show that members typically came from the West side of the river and usually went to the gym closest to where they lived. The findings in the maps illustrate that the gyms catered to the demographics of the area. However, as discussed, the YMCA included non-Anglo groups, such as newsboys, in specific events, and Selkirk athletes competed against Vaughan Street athletes.

Boxing became a sport capable of bridging Anglo and non-Anglo groups together. Through this sport, further insight can be gained into the demographics of YMCA membership. By examining the names associated with boxing events from 1924 and 1936 (see Appendix 1), we can determine if the YMCA functioned as multi-ethnic, religious, and class-integrated organization and if members came from all areas of the city. Of note, wrestlers in this study are categorized as boxers since boxing and wrestling were synonymous at this time. Boxers and Wrestlers were a part of the same teams and participated together in nearly all events, exhibitions, and tournaments.

YMCA Member Boxing: Ethnicity and Place of Birth

¹⁴¹ “140 Students Attend St. Pauls College,” *The Winnipeg Tribune*, October 23, 1926, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 45; “Knights Take over North ‘Y’ Home and Stock,” *The Winnipeg Tribune*, July 31, 1926, 43, <https://www.newspapers.com>; “North ‘Y’ Boys Will Transfer to Vaughan St.,” *The Winnipeg Tribune*, July 24, 1926, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 43; “Hebrews Form Athletic Club and Open Rooms,” *The Winnipeg Tribune*, August 21, 1926, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 41.

Figures 26 and 27 show that while YMCA members were ethnically from the British Isles, those connected to boxing had diverse ethnic backgrounds. For example, David Decter, Nathan Fenson, and Louis Romalis were all ethnically Jewish.¹⁴² Further, while John Endleman, a wrestler, was described as Scotch and Presbyterian in the 1931 census, a study on urban Jewish

Athletes identified him as Jewish.¹⁴³ Over half of those associated with boxing were born in Manitoba; more than fifty percent of these individuals were second-generation immigrants. For example, Joe Witowski was a Polish Catholic Student born in Manitoba whose parents had immigrated to Canada in 1907 and 1909. Equally, Hugh Cowan's mother was born in

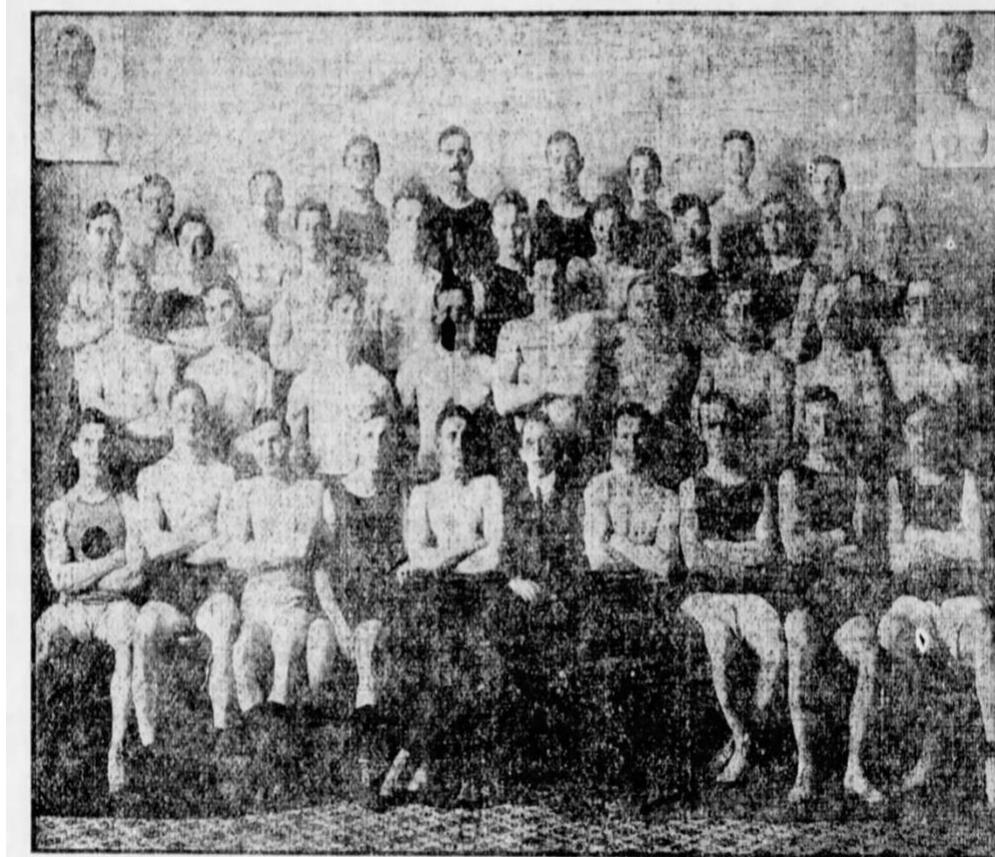


Figure 25. "Boxing and wrestling at 'Y' in Very Flourish Condition," *The Winnipeg Tribune*, October 14, 1911, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 6.

the United States and was a daughter of Norwegian parents.¹⁴⁴ Frankie Battaglia's parents were

¹⁴² Fenson, Nathan, Census of Canada, 1931, <https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=census&IdNumber=83486812&ecopy=e011718254>

¹⁴³ Leible Hershfield, *The Jewish Athlete: A Nostalgic View* (Winnipeg, Man.: L. Hershfield, 1980), 162.

¹⁴⁴ Witowski, Joe, Census of Canada, 1931, <https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=census&IdNumber=83437573&ecopy=e011717229>; Cowan, Hugh, Census of Canada, 1931, <https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=census&IdNumber=83561474&ecopy=e011719820>; Randy Cowan, Census of Canada, 1931, <https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=census&IdNumber=83561474&ecopy=e011719820>

born in Italy and immigrated to Canada at the turn of the century. The remaining half were thus born outside of Manitoba, many of whom were first-generation immigrants. For example, Alexander Turk was born in Ireland, Frank Garrod was born in England, and Frank Runge was born in Austria. Figures 26 and 27 demonstrate that although a high percentage of boxers were born in Manitoba, many came from diverse ethnic backgrounds. Winnipeg, primarily Anglo and predominantly Protestant with British, Scottish, and Irish heritage, represented the majority of the city's population. However, the demographics associated with boxing reveal a different facet of the city's composition. The data taken from boxing cards, reveals individuals of Italian, German, Jewish, and Russian descent. These data, spanning a small sample over 12 years, contrasts with previous studies that indicated that boys and men from different countries often stuck to their communities. However, these data show a significant number of ethnically diverse boys and men joining Anglo-centric organizations like the YMCA and assimilating into its culture.

lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=census&IdNumber=83561471&ecopy=e011719820; Battaglia, Frank, Census of Canada, 1931, <https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=census&IdNumber=83594020&ecopy=e011720506>; Turk, Alexander, Census of Canada, 1931, <https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=census&IdNumber=83376265&ecopy=e011715961>; Garrod, Frank, Census of Canada, 1931, <https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=census&IdNumber=83352859&ecopy=e011715476>; Runge, Frank Joesph, Census of Canada, 1931, <https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=census&IdNumber=83423837&ecopy=e011716945>.

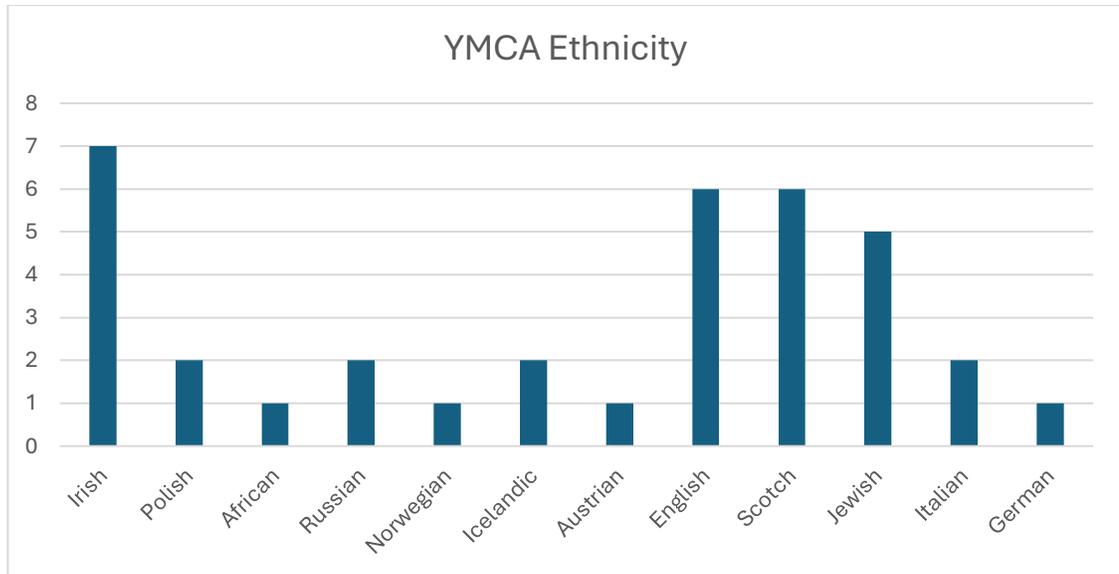


Figure 26. Census of the Prairie Provinces, 1926, Census of Canada, 1921, 1931.

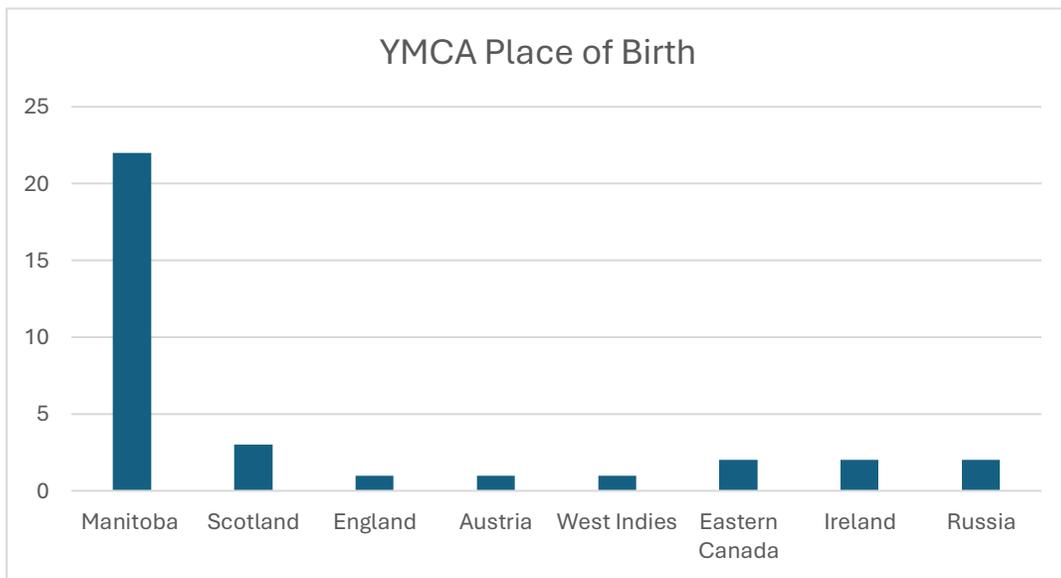


Figure 27. Census of the Prairie Provinces, 1926, Census of Canada, 1921, 1931.

YMCA Member Boxing: Occupational Diversity

Figure 29 shows that boxers came from diverse occupational backgrounds. Some were very young—Frankie Battalia was only 14 when he began his amateur career and later became a

successful professional fighter. Professional sports offered not just a community for the young, like-minded working class and first- and second-generation immigrants, but also financial rewards, fame, and social advancement. Other amateur boxers maintained traditional occupations: Guy Gostling, was an office manager; Stanley Townsend, a steam Fitter; and John McLauchlan, a dairy driver.¹⁴⁵ The YMCA provided a space for these men to meet and form community. While they did not endorse boxing as a career, they facilitated training and education in boxing skills, enabling athletes to potentially turn professional and earn a living through fighting. Many of their coaches were professional boxers, who might have encouraged a career in boxing. The YMCA thus played a crucial role in connecting individuals from diverse classes and occupational backgrounds. It is important, however, to interpret data around occupational status with caution as individuals might have held different jobs, simultaneously, but also over time. Sam Pearlman, for instance, was registered as a milkman in the 1931 census—however, he was also a journalist

Religious Diversity in YMCA Boxing

The previously analyzed 1927 map suggests that YMCA boy members in Winnipeg came from a variety of religious affiliations. Figure 28 similarly shows that boxers represented a diversity of religious denominations, ultimately reflecting the religious diversity of the club.

¹⁴⁵ Gostling, Guy S N, Census of Canada, 1931, <https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=census&IdNumber=83506066&ecopy=e011718659>; Townsend, Stanley, Census of Canada, 1931; <https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=census&IdNumber=83589827&ecopy=e011720419>; McLauchlan, John, Census of Canada, 1931, <https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=census&IdNumber=83494277&ecopy=e011718409>.

Many fighters belonged to significant Protestant affiliations. However, there were also fighters who were Catholic and Jewish.

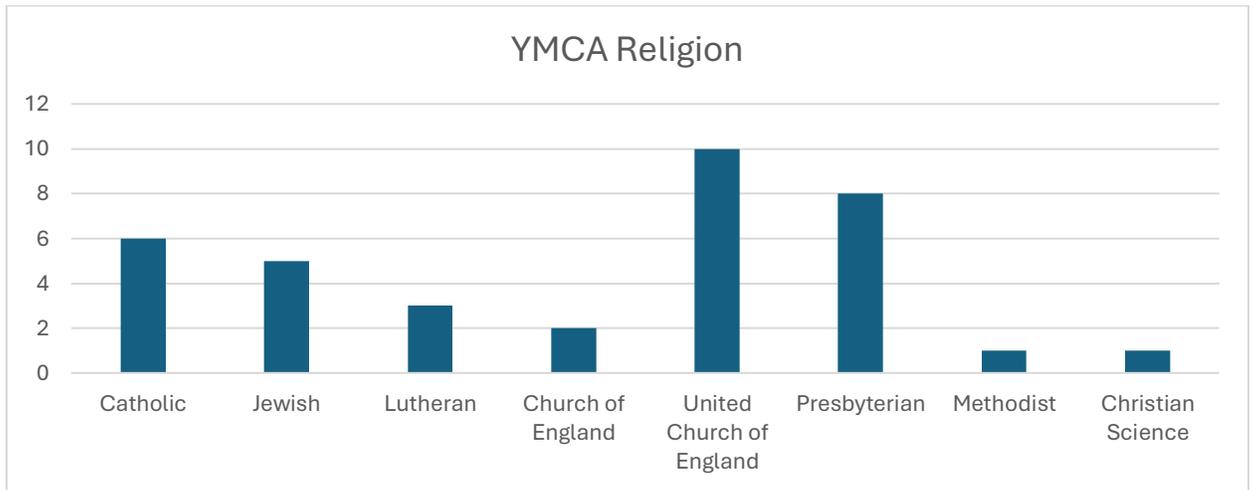


Figure 28. Census of the Prairie Provinces, 1926, Census of Canada, 1921, 1931.¹⁴⁶

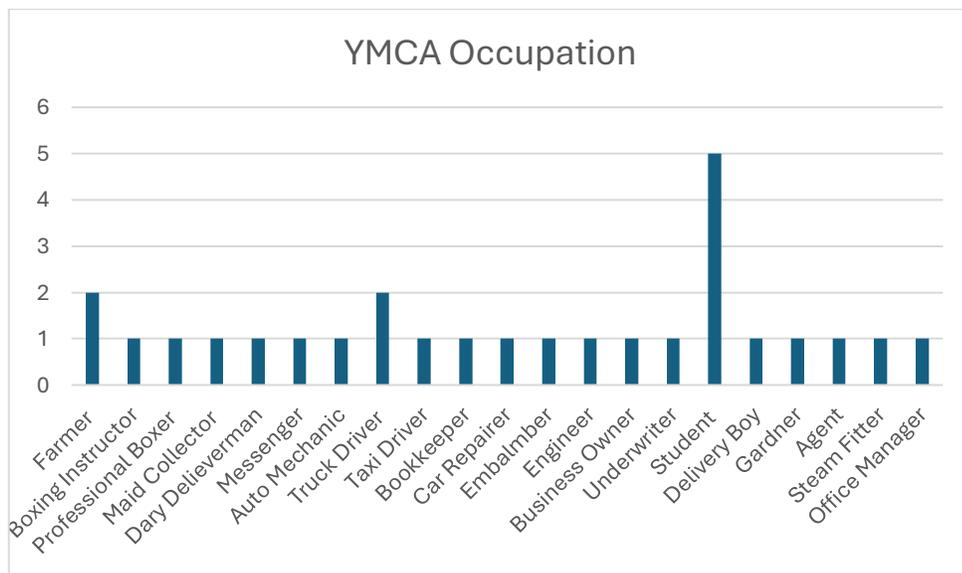


Figure 29. Census of the Prairie Provinces, 1926, Census of Canada, 1921, 1931.

¹⁴⁶ The United Church of England, and the Church of England are two different denominations. The Census Reports made no reference that the United Church of England by 1931 most likely United Church of Canada formed in 1925.

Geographic Distribution and YMCA Boxing Participation in Winnipeg

Using ArcGIS to geolocate the origins of fighters can help shed light on whether YMCA members indeed hailed from all parts of Winnipeg. However, it is important to note that this approach may not present an accurate picture due to residential mobility. It is difficult to ascertain when fighters were actively boxing and where they lived, so there can be errors in assuming a fixed address during their boxing careers. The data does, nonetheless, provide some insight into geographic distribution of YMCA fighters during the time periods studied.

The following maps illustrate that individuals involved in boxing came from across Winnipeg. Figure 30 shows that fighters generally originated from different parts of the city, with a concentration mostly in the West End along the river. As noted previously, boxers typically came from the immediate vicinity of the two YMCA locations. The map thus suggests that fewer men and boys attended YMCA for boxing as geographic distance from the gym increased.

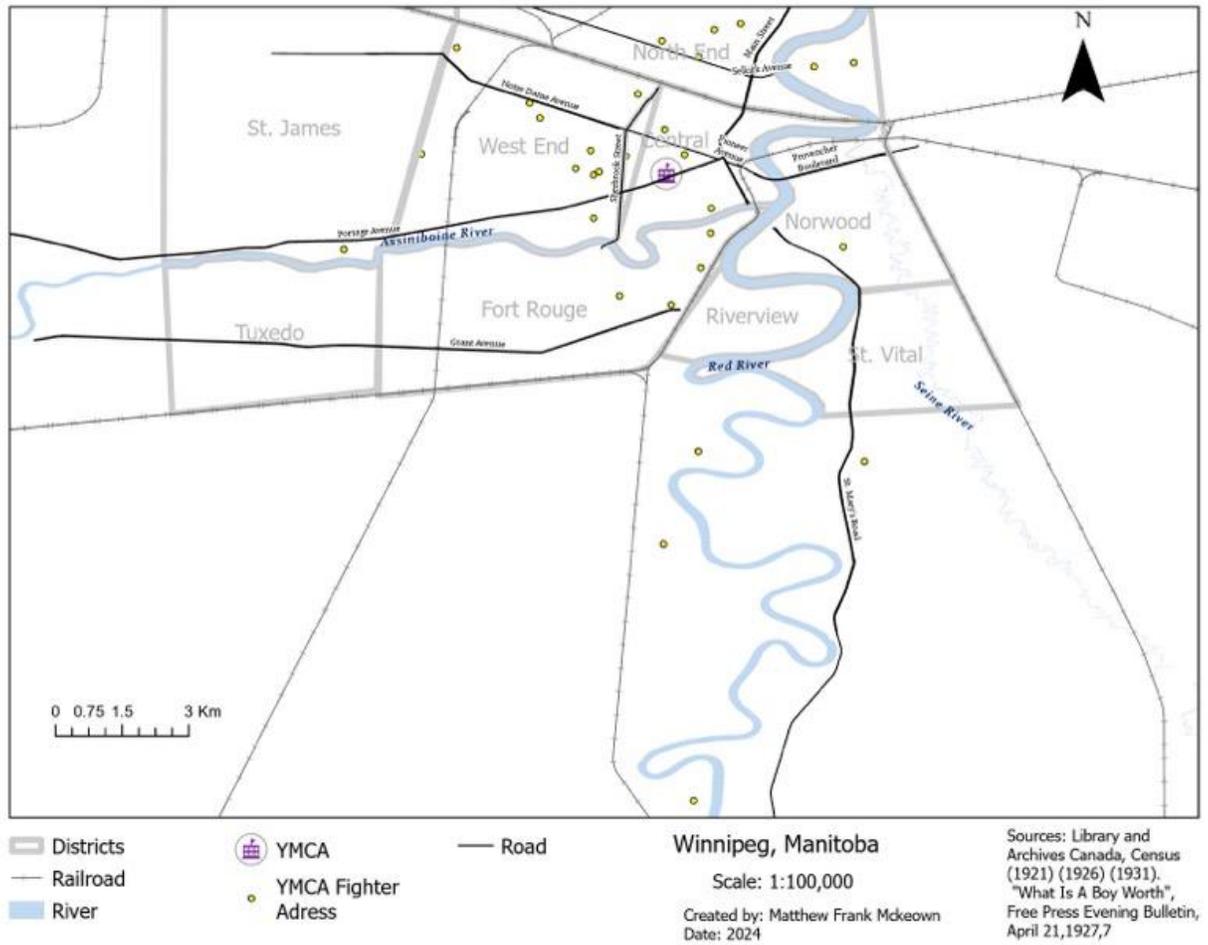


Figure 30.

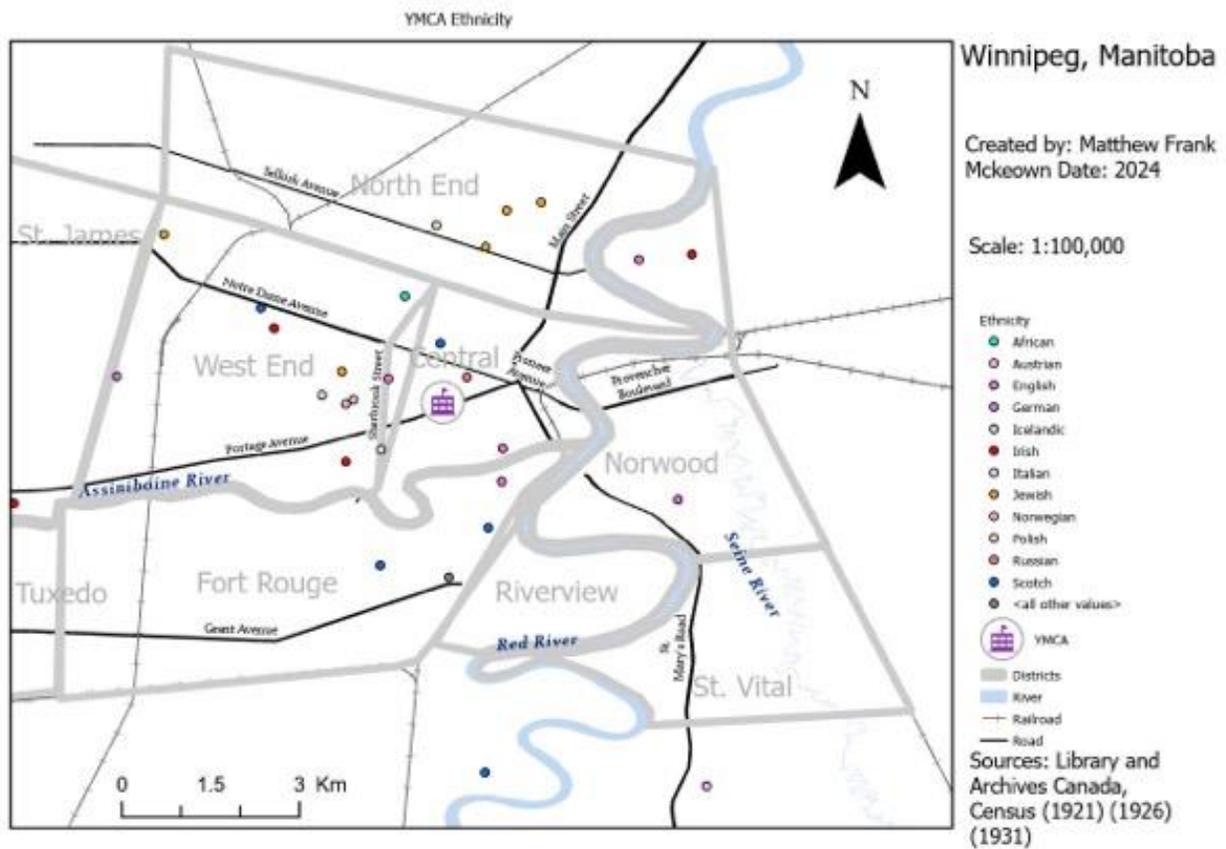


Figure 31

Figure 31 highlights the geographic dispersion of YMCA members by ethnicity. Consistent with previous maps, most Jewish Athletes lived in the North End of Winnipeg. Additionally, second-generation immigrants resided near the Vaughan Street location, which suggests that non-Anglos were using this club, particularly following the closure of the Selkirk location, and the central location becoming the headquarters of the boxing team. Furthermore, the map suggests that Anglos were evenly distributed across The Fort Rouge, West End and Central districts; only one Anglo lived in the North End.

As noted, the graphs do not clearly indicate mobility. However, examining the case of fighter Percy Haynes could offer a greater understanding a boxer’s movement throughout the

city. Haynes lived in the North End and would have traveled to the Vaughan Street location for boxing. An analysis of his movement throughout 1933 might help reveal how Haynes' involvement in boxing and baseball influenced his movement throughout Winnipeg.

Piercy Haynes was born in British Guyana in 1910 and moved to Winnipeg at the age of



one. Hayne's achievements include becoming the first African Canadian to join the Navy, despite initial rejection. He was also a pianist and successfully operated a restaurant with his wife Zena. An active member in his community, Haynes was a porter for twenty-nine years, and a member of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railways Employees. Hayne's was part of a small community of African Canadians in Winnipeg, which consisted of approximately 1000 people in 1940. Despite the relatively small population, African Canadians, dominated the service industry of the two major railroads. Haynes served as a judge for professional boxing and ran for political office twice as a Liberal.¹⁴⁷ He began athletics at a

Figure 32. "Yeggs Get Big Haul Cracking Laundry's Safe," *The Winnipeg Tribune*, October 18, 1937, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 1.

¹⁴⁷ Celebrating the Life of Piercy Augustus Haynes, 28, July 1992, Obituaries for members of Winnipeg's Black community, 1978-1995, P6898/14, "Back Tracks to Railroad Ties" exhibit and black history research collection, Archives of Manitoba, 200 Vaughan St Room 130, Winnipeg, MB R3C 1T5.

young age,¹⁴⁸ ran track in school, but Haynes also played basketball and competitive baseball as a pitcher in the amateur, “Diamond Baseball League.”¹⁴⁹ This was a diverse baseball league that included a YMHA team and Jewish board members, along with a Canadian National Rail (CNR) team. The location of the league was at Wesley Park, located beside Wesley College, a section of the University of Manitoba, and the old Osborne Stadium located near Parliament. The stadium sat over 6,000 people and was one of the first lighted stadiums that would become the home of the Winnipeg Blue Bombers. In addition to above, Haynes was also an amateur boxer who fought for the YMCA.

In 1933, Haynes is recorded in the Winnipeg newspaper nine times (in the context of boxing and baseball), at six locations. The first recordings were March 5th at the One Big Union (OBU) for the City Championships and March 6th at the Orpheum Theatre where he would win the Welterweight Title.¹⁵⁰ On March 20th, the newspaper recorded him at a birthday party where he was accompanied by two of his boxing teammates, Ted Keating, and Stan Olinkin. While boxing is an individual sport, the YMCA made it a focus to promote it was a team sport.¹⁵¹ While there are no documents describing Haynes’ relationship to his boxing teammates, documents do show that they travelled together to the same tournaments. In April, the newspaper recorded Hayne at a boxing exhibition in Transcona. Boxing was a winter sport, which consequently saw Haynes switch to baseball in the spring and summer months. On June 1st and

¹⁴⁸ “Rally Day Is Success at Maclean Mission,” *The Winnipeg Tribune*, September 30, 1929, 3, <https://www.newspapers.com>.

¹⁴⁹ “Provincial Champions Drop First Playoff Game to West End Maroons Y.M.H.A Regains Senior Diamond Ball League Championship,” *The Winnipeg Tribune*, September 7, 1932, 14.

¹⁵⁰ “Tyros Show Promise in City Championships,” *The Winnipeg Tribune*, March 4, 1933, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 20; “New City Amateur Boxing Champions Are Crowned,” *The Winnipeg Tribune*, March 7, 1933, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 13.

¹⁵¹ “Birthday Party,” *The Winnipeg Tribune*, March 20, 1933, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 6.

3rd respectively, Haynes played baseball at Westly Park and at Osborne Stadium.¹⁵² As winter approached, he returned to boxing and the newspaper recorded him on three instances (October, November and December) at the Labour Temple, each time with his YMCA teammates, including Keating and Olinkin.¹⁵³

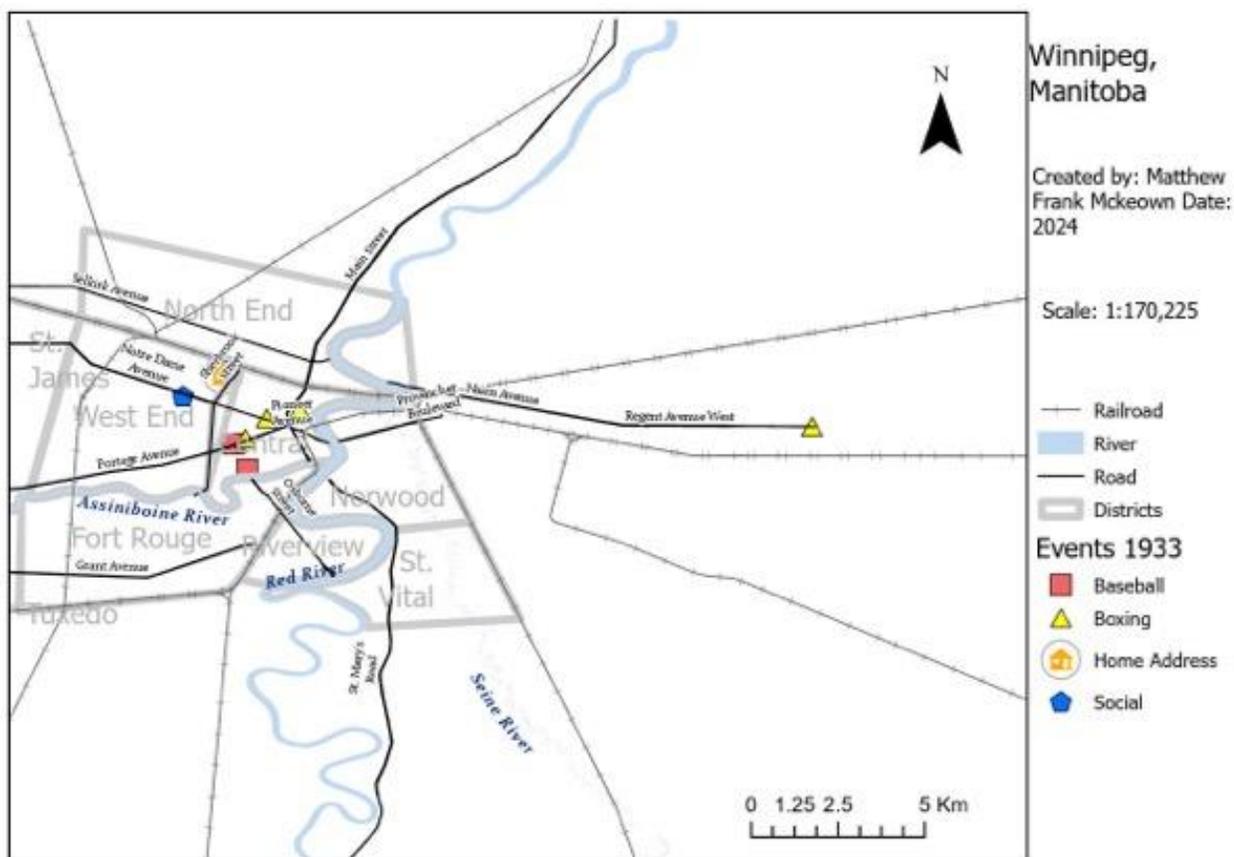


Figure 33.

¹⁵² "Winnipeg Stay out in Front," *The Winnipeg Tribune*, June 3, 1933, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 15; "Falcons and Hawks Take Close Games. Haynes Hold' Pegs to One Hit—Leafs Lose in Eight," *The Winnipeg Tribune*, June 1, 1933, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 16.

¹⁵³ "Leafs Offer Splendid Card," *The Winnipeg Tribune*, October 25, 1933, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 15; "Leafs Move Downstairs," *The Winnipeg Tribune*, November 1, 1933, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 15; "Benefit Ring Show Is Carded," *The Winnipeg Tribune*, December 12, 1933, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 12.

As the map above shows (Figure 33), in 1933, Haynes' documented travels were mostly within the city centre, which is where most sporting events took place. His participation in sports thus led him to various locations and events where Piercy interacted with individuals from diverse working-class and ethnic backgrounds. His home on Lulu Street, though south of the tracks, was technically in Winnipeg's North End. Boxing at the YMCA connected Hayne's to people with whom, historians argue African Canadians might not have otherwise socialized with, because of his neighborhood, his race and his occupation as a milk man and porter. Through participation in boxing, Hayne's appeared to gain new relationships with his teammates. This is in contradiction to what one historian of Winnipeg argued: "the rules of social life in the 1920s and 1930s were strictly enforced—whites and Blacks could play together on the same team, they could go to the same school, but they would rarely, if ever, socialize."¹⁵⁴ Although Avery argues those of African and Asian descent were the "Dominions untouchables," the case of Haynes like that of the YMCA's treatment to the Chinese, perhaps raises new questions. Clearly, identity aspects, such as athleticism, health, strength, and teamwork to name a few; aspects outside of Hayne's race and occupation, connected him with others—and these are the aspects that formed YMCA culture and community.¹⁵⁵ While a newspaper report of Haynes in attendance at birthday party with predominantly white, working-class Protestants and teammates does not illustrate the type of quality of their interactions, it raises questions about sport as a possible arena for change in a social agents' community.

¹⁵⁴ Allan Bartley, *The Ku Klux Klan in Canada: A Century of Promoting Racism and Hate in the Peaceable Kingdom.* (Halifax: Formac Publishing Company Limited, 2020), 44.

¹⁵⁵ Avery, *Dangerous Foreigners*, 7.

Chapter 3

Boxing and the Police: Community Development and the Growth of Amateur Boxing

City and provincial boxing tournaments were significant events in Winnipeg; cheap prices meant most could buy a ticket. Intentionally set at a low price, anyone interested in watching boxing could attend. Tickets cost approximately \$1.50 - \$2.00 for a ringside seat, and between \$.50 - \$1.00 for cheaper seats.¹⁵⁶ The province hosted the 1934 Amateur Provincial Tournament at the Dominion Theatre, a familiar spot for boxing events.¹⁵⁷ There was much



Figure 34. *The Winnipeg Tribune*, May 3, 1932, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 14.

anticipation for this event.

Emmanuel Battaglia, an Italian and Roman Catholic fighter, showed promise, particularly as the brother of the famed YMCA fighter Frankie.

The favourite for the tournament was Piercy Haynes, the recent City Champion and member of the YMCA. Haynes, a porter for the Canadian National Rail (CNR),

lived just a three-minute walk from

¹⁵⁶ For example, between 1916 to 1931 the prices intentionally remained the same, see “Splendid Card For Patriotic Boxing,” *Manitoba Free Press*, February 3, 1916, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 6; “Popular Prices For Amateur Ring Tourney,” *The Winnipeg Tribune*, April 13, 1921, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 19; “Entries for Police Boxing and Wrestling Tourney Close Dec 5,” *Free Press Evening Bulletin*, November 3, 1923, <https://www.newspapers.com> 24; “Boxing and Wrestling Manitoba Amateur Championships,” *The Winnipeg Tribune*, April 15, 1931, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 28.

¹⁵⁷ “Provincial Title Bouts to Be Staged May 12, 14,” April 28, 1934, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 22; “Abundance of Class on Ring Card Saturday,” *The Winnipeg Tribune*, May 11, 1934, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 22. Here is an example of the variety of different clubs which signed up to these events: “Amateur Bouts Open Tonight,” *The Winnipeg Tribune*, May 12, 1934, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 22.

his residence on Lulu St. Like other fighters in the 1930s, Haynes faced hardship, earning only \$180 in 1931.¹⁵⁸ His father, an unskilled laborer who worked odd jobs, had earned more than double that amount in 1921.¹⁵⁹ Haynes's opponent in the 1934 tournament was Maurice Camyree, a French Canadian and member of the Windsor Park Athletic Club (WPAC), established in 1932.¹⁶⁰ Windsor Park, located at 10 Hindly, was situated at the south end of the St. Vital region, east of the Red River, symbolically dividing French and English communities. The Club's two founders were Reeve Wyatt and William Howarth. Wyatt, formally known as Henry George, was a St. Vital resident. Like Haynes, he also worked on the railroad as a trace clerk. He had immigrated to Canada from Wales in 1910 and practiced Presbyterianism. Howarth, a St. Vital Councillor, was also an immigrant. He settled in Canada in 1910 from Derbyshire, England. He also worked on the Railroad as a carpenter and was a member of the Church of England.¹⁶¹

It was not uncommon in Winnipeg for African Canadians, like Haynes, to achieve success in the sport of boxing. Joe Wilson, the Light-Weight Coloured Champion, participated in exhibition matches, such as one in 1921 held by the WCPAA.¹⁶² Wilson was born in the United

¹⁵⁸Haynes, Percy, Census of Canada, 1931, <https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=census&IdNumber=83478269&ecopy=e011718075>

¹⁵⁹ Haynes, William, Census of Canada, 1921, <https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=census&IdNumber=67384186&ecopy=e002889481>

¹⁶⁰ "Windsor Park Athletic Club Open for Season," *The Winnipeg Tribune*, November 5, 1932, 15.

¹⁶¹ Wyatt, Henry George, Census of Canada, 1931, <https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/home/record?app=census&IdNumber=83547073> ; Howarth, William, Census of Canada, 1931, <https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/home/record?app=census&IdNumber=83555148>. For more information on Howarth look at "Three Wards at St. Vital to Be Contested," *The Winnipeg Tribune*, November 30, 1933, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 11.

¹⁶² 10 November 1920, P1040/1, Winnipeg Police Association, Winnipeg City Police Athletic Association Minutes 1919-31, Archives of Manitoba, 200 Vaughan St Room 130, Winnipeg, MB

States. While there is no evidence to indicate when he moved to Manitoba, in 1916 he lived just outside of the city in the Springfield region. He was a common labourer and affiliated with the Baptist faith.¹⁶³ Alongside Wilson, Joe Gans also appeared on an early police exhibition card, earning \$50. Amateur fighter from the OBU, Burrell Jones, also achieved success in the sport of boxing. Jones's father, a brakeman for the railroad, immigrated to Manitoba from the United States.¹⁶⁴ They were members of the Church of England. Unfortunately, Jones met an early death at the age of twenty-two, and there is no information about his occupation.¹⁶⁵ Jones's went toe-to-toe on several occasions against the Manitoba champion Paul Frederickson.¹⁶⁶ Frederickson fought initially for the OBU but eventually moved to the YMCA. Born in 1910 in Manitoba, he lived in the city's South End. Frederickson worked as a salesman in a department store and was a member of the Lutheran faith. Ethnically, he was Ukrainian, a group which comprised a significant population in Winnipeg.¹⁶⁷ Another fighter during this time was Cecil Lewsey. Born in 1912 in Manitoba, Lewsey was a porter and lived in the North End. Uniquely, Lewsey belonged to the Salvation Army, an astutely anti-boxing religious organization. He was a

R3C 1T5; "Winnipeg City Police Athletic Association Boxing and Wrestling Tournament," *The Winnipeg Tribune*, April 7, 1920, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 15.

¹⁶³ Wilson, Joseph, Census of the Prairies Provinces, 1916, <https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/home/record?app=census&IdNumber=43324074>.

¹⁶⁴ Jones, Burrell Nathaniel, Census of Canada, 1921, <https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=census&IdNumber=67408738&ecopy=e002889990>;

¹⁶⁵ "Deaths," *The Winnipeg Tribune*, May 27, 1929, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 18.

¹⁶⁶ For example, Frederickson got the better of Jones several times, see "Empty Stocking Boxing Show Produces Snappy Bouts," *The Winnipeg Tribune*, December 8, 1926, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 13; "Good Bouts at Police Boxing," *The Winnipeg Tribune*, February 8, 1927, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 13; "Amateur Boxing Card Produces Keen Contests," *Free Press Evening Bulletin*, January 13, 1927, <https://www.newspapers.com>.

¹⁶⁷ Frederickson, Paul, Census of Canada, 1931, <https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=census&IdNumber=83594278&ecopy=e011720513>.

member of the OBU. It is important to note that this chapter does not argue that fighters did not

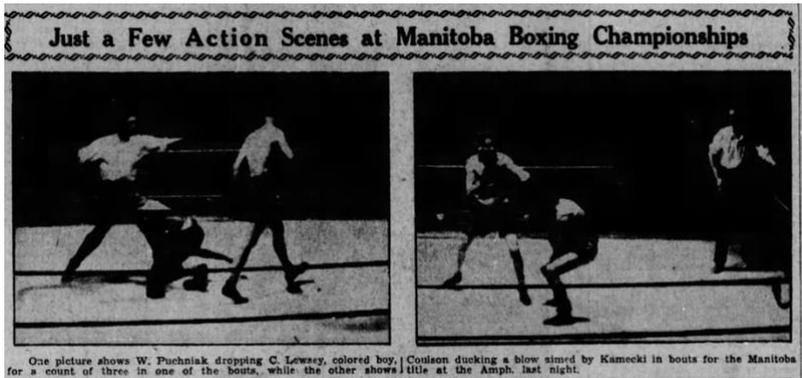


Figure 35. *The Winnipeg Tribune*, May 18, 1931, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 19.

experience racism. For example, newspapers in Canada usually referred to African Canadians by skin colour, with “dusky” being a common adjective used. Haynes was referred to as dusky, Jones as the “coloured lad”, and Lewsey as

the “colored amateur boy.”¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁸ For a look into the struggle for porters for equality, please look at the oral history and museum collection “Back Tracks to Railroad Ties” exhibit and black history research collection, Archives of Manitoba, 200 Vaughan St Room 130, Winnipeg, MB R3C 1T5. For example, read Lee William’s oral history; Track Trainmen “oral history project outline and summarized interviews, 1993, P6899/1, “Back Tracks to Railroad Ties” exhibit and black history research collection, Archives of Manitoba, 200 Vaughan St Room 130, Winnipeg, MB R3C 1T5. Also located in the fond series are several articles; see Sleeping Car Porters in Canada: an Ethnically Submerged Split Labour Market, Souvenir Programs and Photocopied articles about the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, P6898/7.1952-1983, Back Tracks to Railroad Ties” exhibit and black history research collection, Archives of Manitoba, 200 Vaughan St Room 130, Winnipeg, MB R3C 1T5. For the most compelling take on African Canadian porters, see Sarah-Jane Mathieu’s, *North of the Color Line: Migration and Black Resistance in Canada, 1870-1955* (Toronto: CNIB, 2021). For the example of Winnipeg boxers, see Amateur Boxing Card Produces Keen Contests,” *Free Press Evening Bulletin*, January 13, 1927, <https://www.newspapers.com>; “Keating and Camyree Lose Boxing Finals,” *The Winnipeg Tribune*, April 18, 1934, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 15; “All Clubs Will Be Represented in Title Bouts,” *The Winnipeg Tribune*, May 10, 1934, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 13; 1. “Two Knockouts Mark Provincial Ring Tourney,” *The Winnipeg Tribune*, May 14, 1934, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 14; “Packed House Enjoys Police Boxing Bouts,” *The Winnipeg Tribune*, January 20, 1931, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 13. For a Toronto example of the use of the word dusky please refer to, Ornella Nzindukiyimana, ““That’s Jean Lowe’: On Being a Black Canadian Female Track Athlete in 1940s Toronto.” *International Journal of the History of Sport* 37, no. 14 (2020): 1371–87. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09523367.2020.1828362>.

The ethnic, religious and class fluidity within Winnipeg's boxing league does not imply that the city was free from class, ethnic, or religious tensions. Rather, Winnipeg was a uniquely diverse city, and the diversity reflected within these boxing events speaks to the city's multiplicity. By the early twentieth century, Winnipeg had become the most ethnically rich city in Canada, home to large Ukrainian, Icelandic, Finnish, Scottish and British population. Many Eastern Canadians moved to the city to obtain new business positions in its Central Business District (CBD) or to work on the railroad. Similarly, many Americans immigrated to Winnipeg for comparable reasons. The city also attracted people persecuted for their race, ethnicity, or religion, including Jews and Roman Catholics from Eastern Europe, as well as African Americans escaping mistreatment in the southern United States. Winnipeg was a hub for immigrants, bolstered by its pivotal role as a railroad junction. It grew to become the largest city in Western Canada, rivalled in population and industry by only Montreal and Toronto.

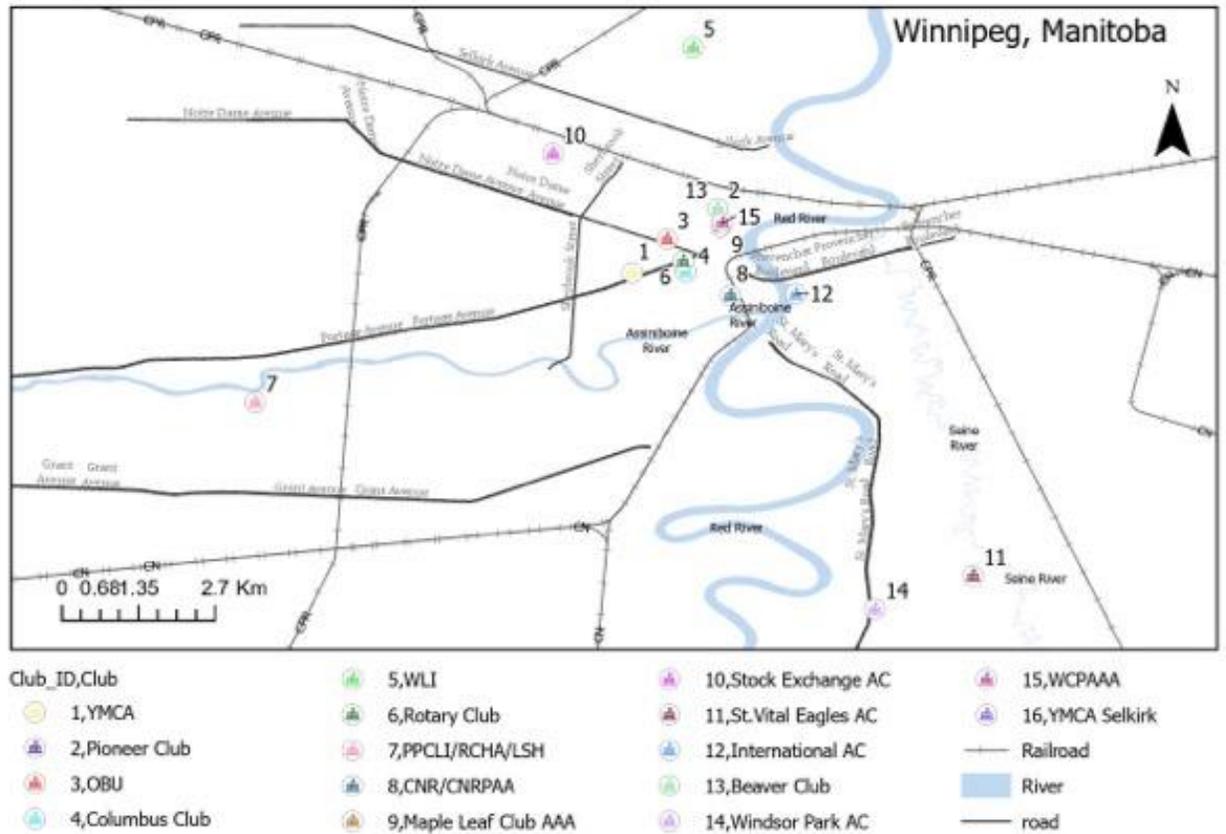


Figure 36.

The map above (Figure 36) highlights physical barriers within the city, such as the railroad tracks, which separated poor immigrant neighbourhoods in the north and the middle-class neighbourhoods, typically British Isles and Protestant, in the south. The Red River also served to divide the English-speaking west and the French-speaking east end, exacerbating religious tensions. The map also shows the distribution of over fourteen boxing gyms in the city, strategically situated near transportation lines and integrated within residential and industrial areas. These gyms were easily accessible and located in densely populated areas, facilitating membership support and making it easy to organize events and competitions.

During the Inter-War period, numerous boxing gyms emerged throughout the city as means to build community and contribute to urban revitalization. Many individuals opened these

clubs to serve the specific local populations, or in the case of labour gyms, to cater to workers of particular companies. Most of these gyms were centrally located in the heart of the city, with fewer appearing further from the center. These gyms (except for the YMCA and OBU, who served broader demographic and geographical areas) were formed to meet the needs of distinct communities or social groups. For example, four Military clubs, each forming their own team either before or after the war, were part of a single association. As detailed in the first chapter, sports became a critical social practice for soldiers on the front lines and for returning soldiers eager to continue their newfound passion. What started as a means to maintain discipline among soldiers during the war became a way to keep soldiers connected upon their return and to support the war effort. Military groups quickly began to organize and host boxing events within their own organizations and in collaboration with external organizations like the YMCA and OBU.¹⁶⁹ Each organization independently fostered connections among its members; many soldiers shared experiences from the war, possibly serving in the same battalion or fighting alongside one another. While most soldiers were of British Isles descent and Protestant faith, there were also instances of Catholic soldiers. Despite differences in religion, a shared wartime experience, residence in the same city, belonging to the same battalion, and a mutual passion for boxing often outweighed religious affiliations. These thick and thin identities suggest that the

¹⁶⁹ The Military Athletic Association formed in 1924, see “Military Athletic Assn Is Formed,” *The Winnipeg Tribune*, September 25, 1924, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 12. A boxer affiliated with a military organization was almost virtually in any amateur event. For several examples of their involvement in amateur boxing, see “Local Soldiers to Settle Rivalry in the Ring Tonight,” *The Free Press Evening Bulletin*, April 17, 1924, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 17; “Military Athletic Meeting Tuesday,” *The Winnipeg Tribune*, January 8, 1917, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 10; “Keen Rivalry Exists Among Khaki Boxers,” *The Winnipeg Tribune*, February 7, 1917, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 16; “Soldier Boxers at Carnival Opening,” *Free Press Evening Bulletin*, April 26, 1924, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 19.

relationships among military members were multifaceted. Further, perhaps boxing gyms were not the only place they met, as emphasized by the report of Piercy Haynes attending a birthday party with his teammates in the previous chapter. The organizations did draw a line on membership, however. To be a member of one of these military clubs, one had to be part of the battalion, thus creating segregation on these terms. Soldiers had opportunities to meet others from different backgrounds through boxing events (*publics*) and charity events. For example, charity events became a way for the military community and that of the YMCA (who also served soldiers and veterans) to collaborate.¹⁷⁰ Shortly after the end of the war, military organizations began participating in city and provincial tournaments, while also engaging in local monthly and weekly circuits. Therefore, in Calhoun's terms, one military organization could have several connections to strengthen member bonds: local community, the barracks, the warfront and more. Multiplexity, which includes factors like religion and ethnicity, often leads to strong bonds among members, (i.e., being both a veteran and a boxer/wrestler). Systematicity helped these military groups connect with each other and ultimately form their single association. Their association created an *esprit de corps*, a motto and culture to live and follow. Their focus on amateur sports and the competition also brought them into contact with other boxing organizations in the city.

The map above does not depict all the gyms that emerged in the city between 1924 and 1936, but it does include many of them. The two largest gyms in the city were the YMCA and the OBU. During this period, the OBU was the most active and successful in boxing tournaments, while the YMCA, typically excelled in wrestling. The effort to create monthly, bi-weekly and weekly inter-club boxing matches began around 1924. Various organizations aimed

¹⁷⁰ "Military Arranges 2-Day Program," *The Winnipeg Tribune*, 21.

to foster the sport's growth, believing that forming a boxing league would promote it further. Furthermore, they connected the expansion of boxing with gender dynamics, community morale and urban development.¹⁷¹

During and after 1924, several clubs began holding inter-club events to promote boxing, pay for club upkeep and for charity purposes.¹⁷² The OBU emerged as the most active, initiating weekly events featuring entertainment, including bands and a mix of amateur and professional fighters.¹⁷³ Usually held on Fridays and lasting through the night, these events could attract 600 people to Plebs Hall. While not as large as the annual city and provincial tournaments, these events drew enthusiastic crowds and were organized by the OBU for several years.¹⁷⁴ One possible reason for the OBU's large boxing team was its policy allowing non-members to join the team. The OBU, a left-leaning labor organization formed by working-class reformers in Winnipeg after the 1919 General Strike, attracted members from the working-class community.¹⁷⁵ The OBU ideologically opposed the YMCA, and the Winnipeg City Police

¹⁷¹ For example, read "Sports Column," *The One Big Union Bulletin*, January 31, 1924, 2; "Sport Salad," *The Winnipeg Tribune*, January 9, 1925, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 10.

¹⁷² For example, see "Many Enter Police Boxing Competition," *The Winnipeg Tribune*, December 11, 1925, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 22. Empty stocking funds occurred every year and was a means for the clubs to come together for charity purposes, look for example, see "Entries Pour in for Amateur Boxing-Wrestling Show," *The Winnipeg Tribune*, November 30, 1926, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 23. Police smokers were held in 1923, and where the some of the first large inter-mitt tournaments, see "Snappy Boxing Is Staged at Police Smoker," *The Winnipeg Tribune*; February 17, 1923, 3; "Lovely Bouts at Police Smoker," *The Winnipeg Tribune*, March 15, 1923, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 15. The police also held a smoker in 1925 8th. Oct. 1925, Winnipeg City Police Athletic Association Minutes, Archives of Manitoba.

¹⁷³ For example, see "O.B.U. Athletic Club Notes," *One Big Union Bulletin*, May 1, 1924, 2; "Boxing Bouts This Eventing," *The Winnipeg Tribune*, January 22, 1926, <https://www.newspapers.com>; "Boxing and Wrestling at the 'Y'," 16; "Large Crowd at O.B.U. GYM," *The Winnipeg Tribune*, January 27, 1930, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 10; "O.B.U. Athletic Club Notes," *One Big Union Bulletin*, December 23, 1924, 2.

¹⁷⁴ "O.B.U. Athletic Club Notes," *One Big Union Bulletin*, May 1, 1924, 2.

¹⁷⁵ For the largest work done on the OBU in Canada, see David Jay Bercuson, *Fools and Wise Men: The Rise and Fall of the One Big Union* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1978).

Athletic Association (WCPAA) as they saw one as representation of capitalist exploitation and the other as an interference and representation of authoritarian control. One study has detailed the precarious relationship the OBU had with both organizations. In 1925, for example, The Manitoba Amateur Athletic Association's refusal to allow the WCPAA to host an open boxing and wrestling tournament led to the WCPAA pulling out of the city championship, which was then won by the OBU. In response, the WCPAA held a dance event, which the OBU perceived as a provocation.¹⁷⁶ Similarly, the WCPAA occasionally interfered in OBU affairs, creating dissonance. Nonetheless, the OBU also acknowledged the WCPAA's role in promoting amateur boxing and endorsed their joint efforts to uphold sportsmanship in the city.¹⁷⁷ Similarly, despite ideological differences, both the OBU and YMCA would collaborate on charitable initiatives, as already discussed.¹⁷⁸

While the YMCA and the OBU were the largest boxing gyms, their size did not necessarily mean that they played the leading role in boxing's Golden Age; this was largely attributed to the WCPAA. The police association ran most city and provincial tournaments, hosting matches on a monthly basis. They kept ticket prices affordable to maintain accessibility for all. This was exemplified in April 1921, when Sergeant J. McDowell, the president of the WCPAA, stated the association's policy, "in arranging prices for the coming Boxing and Wrestling Amateur championships of Manitoba, which are being held in the Board of Trade Building, April 22 and 25, is to give the public of Winnipeg good amateur sport for the least possible outlay. The association is not out merely for the purposes of increasing its bank account,

¹⁷⁶ For information on the nature of the declined tournament, see Wed. 21st, Jan. 1925, Winnipeg City Police Athletic Association Minutes, Archives of Manitoba.

¹⁷⁷ Hatton, *Thrashing Seasons*, "One Big Union."

¹⁷⁸ For another example of Empty Stocking Funds, see "Thrills and Action Feature Stocking Fund Bouts," *The Winnipeg Tribune*, December 1, 1925, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 18.

but towards the increase of amateur athletics in the city.”¹⁷⁹ This demonstrates the active role of the police in fostering amateur boxing as a community event.

Several studies have explored the intersection between police work and athletics, examining how they interconnect with duty and leisure. In Britain, two studies highlight how leisure activities for police were used as a means of control by elites and police superiors to maintain discipline. As one study notes, “the police authorities had a pragmatic purpose in mind – to mould and shape a certain type of employee, strong, stable, obedient respectable, cooperative, and on good terms with his colleagues and with the community he policed.”¹⁸⁰ This mirrors the creation of the United States Railway athletic associations, as discussed earlier, in connection with YMCA leaders and working-class immigrants.¹⁸¹ Nonetheless, like studies on the YMCA, this study illustrates that this was not a simple form of domination and that, in some cases, policemen resisted submission and assimilation. Further, another study focused on class dynamics within the Toronto Police Amateur Athletic Association, illustrating how the police occupied a precarious class position in Toronto society. The article concentrated on several social arenas, including sports, noting how the Toronto Police fostered sporting opportunities to create an *esprit de corps*. It also highlights the association as a means of upward mobility within

¹⁷⁹ “Police Athletes Boost Boxing Bouts,” *The Winnipeg Tribune*, April 9, 1921, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 24.

¹⁸⁰ Haia Shpayer-Makov, Haia Shpayer-Makov, “Relinking Work and Leisure in Late Victorian and Edwardian England: The Emergence of a Police Subculture.” *International Review of Social History* 47, no. 2 (2002): 213–41, 240 <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020859002000615>.

Also, see ,Shane Ewen, “Civic Identity and Police Leisure in Birmingham during the Inter-War Years,” *The International Journal of Regional and Local Studies* 1, no. 1 (2005): 44–62, <https://doi.org/10.1179/jrl.2005.1.1.44>.

¹⁸¹ For more information on Railroad organizations and its connection to work and leisure, see Gerald R. Gems, “Welfare Capitalism and Blue-Collar Sport: The Legacy of Labour Unrest.” *Rethinking History* 5, no. 1 (2001): 43–58. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13642520010024154>.

the force, emphasizing its role in encouraging camaraderie and solidarity through sports.¹⁸² This echoes concepts such as Weber's discussion of communal relations within closed groups and Tönnies' delineation of *Gemeinschaft* within *Gesellschaft*.

Limited studies have explored policing, athletics and its intersection with cultural constructs in Winnipeg. However, a few studies provide helpful information about the history and origin of the Winnipeg police. One study mirrors findings from the Toronto study, noting that while, “Winnipeg policemen of the late nineteenth century collectively situated themselves safely within the lower middle class... a policeman was never really able to dissociate his role as a “police officer” because his personal identity and character were inherently defined by his membership of the force.”¹⁸³ Like the YMCA, Winnipeg policemen formed their own community, which they connected to both their career and their ethnic and cultural identities (mainly British Isles and Protestants, and middle-class). Like Toronto, Police in Winnipeg mainly came from Scotch, British and Irish origins and ethnicity during the late nineteenth century. This phenomenon continued well into the twentieth century.¹⁸⁴

A search of the 1931 census (see Appendix 6) was conducted focusing on the following occupational terms: police, constable, and police officer. The search was not limited to Winnipeg and included Manitoba. The data revealed that 565 men and one woman worked in various

¹⁸² M. Greg Marquis, “Working Men in Uniform: The Early Twentieth-Century Toronto Police,” *Social History* 20, no. 40 (November 1987): 259–77.

¹⁸³ Megan Kozminski, “Empty-Handed Constables and Notorious Offenders: Policing an Early Prairie City ‘According to Order,’” essay, Esyllt W. Jones, and Gerald Friesen. *Prairie Metropolis : New Essays on Winnipeg Social History*. Edited by Esyllt W. Jones and Gerald Friesen. Winnipeg, Manitoba: University of Manitoba Press, 2009, 45-62, 50. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9780887553578>. For general information on the police in Winnipeg, see Robert Hutchison, *A Century of Service: A History of the Winnipeg Police Force, 1874-1974* (Winnipeg: City of Winnipeg Police Force, 1974).

¹⁸⁴ Marquis, “Working Men in Uniform,” 47.

policing roles. Determining their specific work locations was, however, challenging. Some records clearly specified roles. For example, "city" policemen served in multiple cities across Manitoba, while "policemen" were stationed in numerous villages, towns, and municipalities. Provincial employees worked for the government of Manitoba, and federal employees were part of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP). Additionally, police officers were employed by various railroad companies, often forming associations linked to their respective railways. Finally, a small number of private constables worked for small labour organizations and companies. The following graphs present data for place of origin, ethnicity and religion (Figures 37-39). Of note, individuals for whom occupational details were unclear were excluded from the data, posing challenges for analysis of Winnipeg data.

While most police members were born in the British Isles (see Figure 37), many were also born in Eastern Canada (particularly Ontario and Quebec) and in the Western provinces. Similarly, almost all identified ethnically as either Scotch, English or Irish (see Figure 38).



Figure 37. Census of Canada, 1931.



Figure 38. Census of Canada, 1931.

Figure 39 illustrates that almost all police officers belonged to one of the major protestant dominations. While there is evidence of religious diversity, the majority identified as being part of the Church of England, the Presbyterian Church, or the United Church of England.

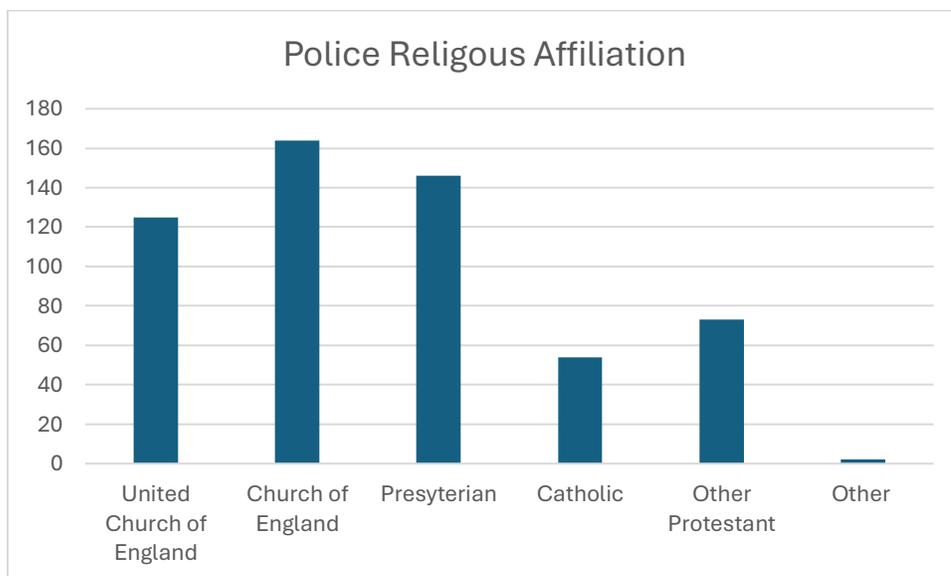


Figure 39. Census of Canada, 1931.

These demographic trends persist when focusing upon the City of Winnipeg Police. Despite the formation of clear ethnic zones in the city, police mostly comprised individuals born in the British Isles or Canada (see Figure 40), and were mostly of Scotch, English and Irish ethnicity (see Figure 41). A majority identified as Presbyterian, most likely because of the high Scotch representation (see Figure 42).

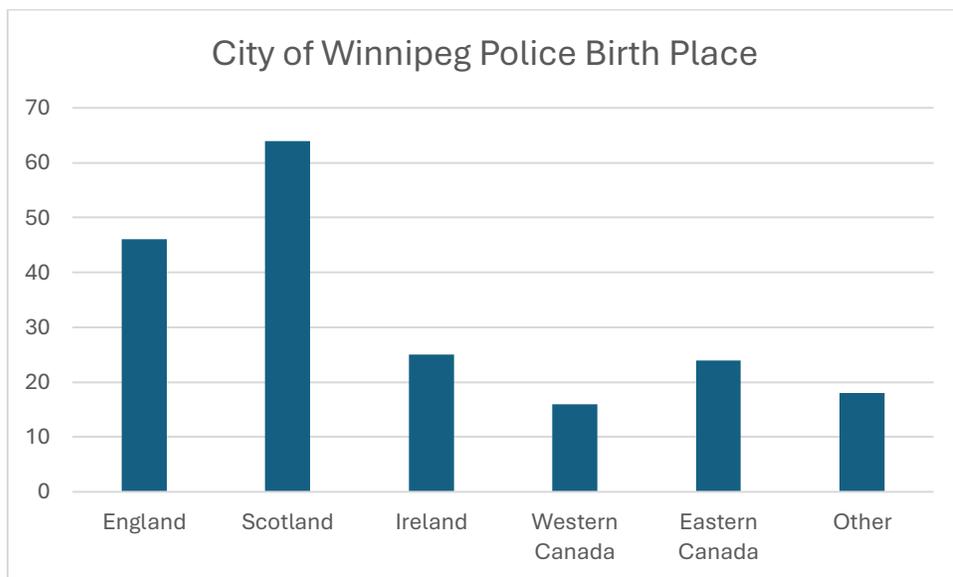


Figure 40. Census of Canada, 1931.

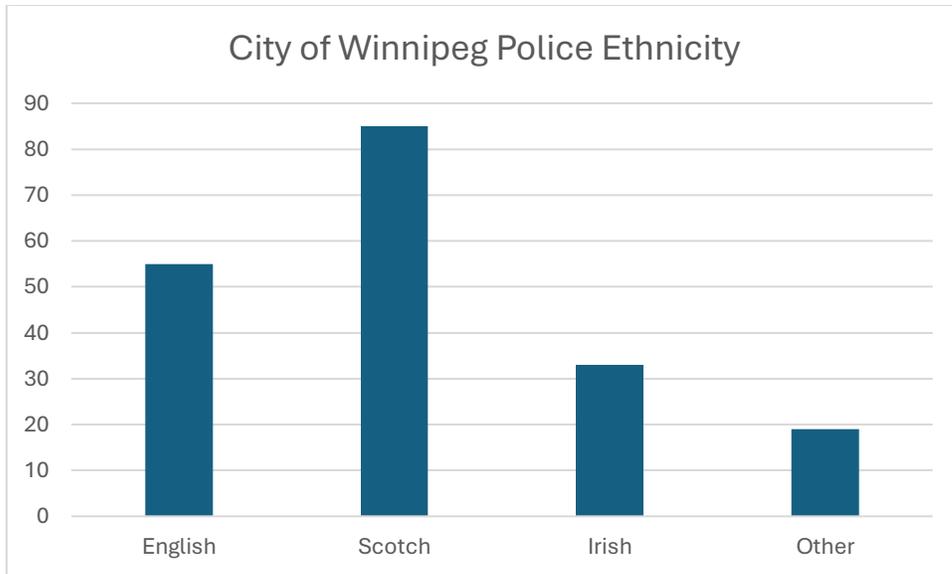


Figure 41. Census of Canada, 1931.

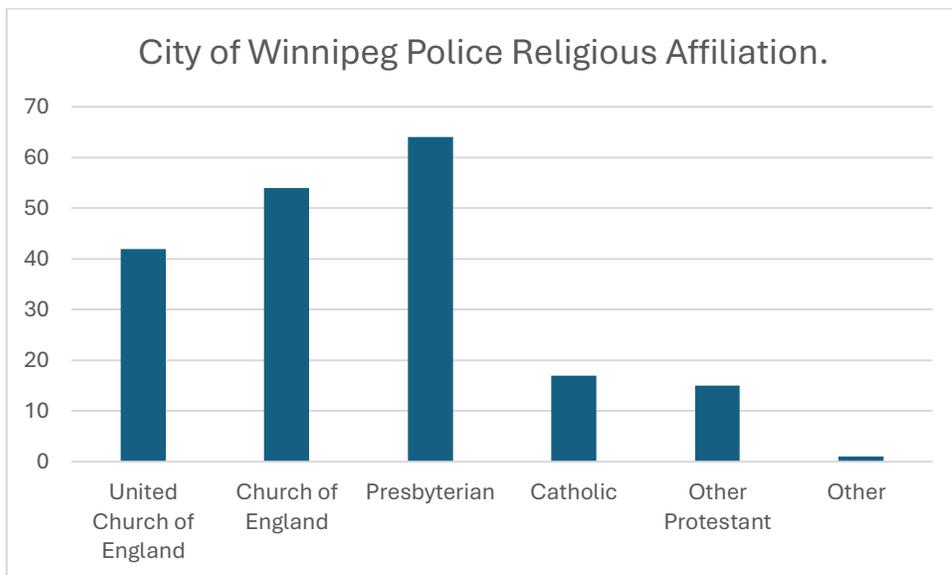


Figure 42. Census of Canada, 1931.

Additional research is needed to understand if the Winnipeg police mainly targeted these demographics in their recruitment practices, as they did in Toronto.¹⁸⁵ The census data provides valuable insights into the social composition of the police force, however it remains incomplete. Future research could focus on if and how police targeted certain demographic groups in the

¹⁸⁵ Marquis, "Working Men in Uniform," 263.

twentieth century. It could also explore the spatial distribution of these groups based on their religious, ethnic, and origin backgrounds, examining associated issues of class and social mobility. Although the census data illustrated limited origin, religious, and ethnic diversity, the police were perhaps the largest promoters of amateur boxing and the mushrooming of a multi-ethnic, religious, and class boxing league. This is also a particular example of how a community can be formed by both thin and thick identities, which is important to consider when studying dense, multiplex, and systematic relationships. Examining the demographics of WCPAA board members who attended a 1930 meeting (Appendix 7) and geolocating their residences can shed further light on their community dynamics. Specifically, it can reveal the existence of any spatial connections between where WCPAA members lived and their ethnicity and religion.

Similar to findings documented above, WCPAA members who attended the meeting were mostly immigrants from the British Isles; one was born in New Zealand and only six were born in Canada (see Figure 43).

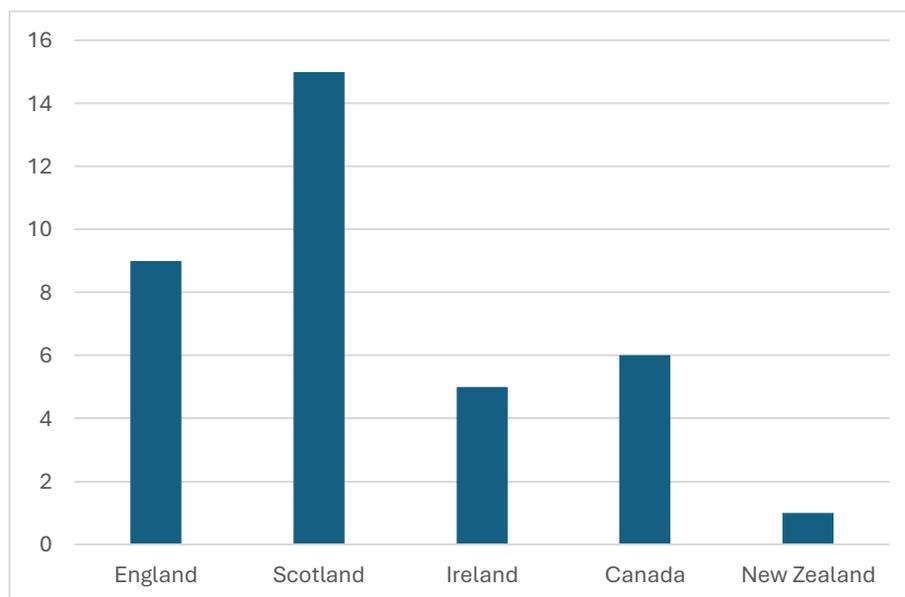


Figure 43. Police Board Members Origin 1931. Census of Canada, 1931. 29th. September 1930, P1040/2 Winnipeg Police Association, Winnipeg City Police Athletic Association Minutes 1919-31, Archives of Manitoba., 200 Vaughan St Room 130, Winnipeg, MB R3C

Board members held privileged class positions during the Great Depression, as evidenced by their income compared to those who participated in boxing events in 1931. Depending on their rank, such as constable, detective, and sergeant, some police members earned more than others. In 1930, the average and median income for 36 board members was \$1929 and \$1900, respectively (range: \$1500-\$2300). Further, all board members held steady work throughout the Depression. This contrasts sharply with individuals generally involved in boxing between 1924 and 1936. For the 120 individuals for whom salary data were available, the average and median income was \$975 and \$858, respectively (range: \$60-\$3600). 4445 While some of these individuals earned more than board members, others earned little to no money due to the Depression. For instance, Jack Harris of the YMCA, who worked as an auto mechanic, had no employment for 52 weeks. Albert Pember of the OBU, employed as a grocery delivery boy, also had no work throughout the year. Additionally, Tom Walker, a member of the C.N.R. boxing

team, missed ten weeks of work and earned only \$425.¹⁸⁶

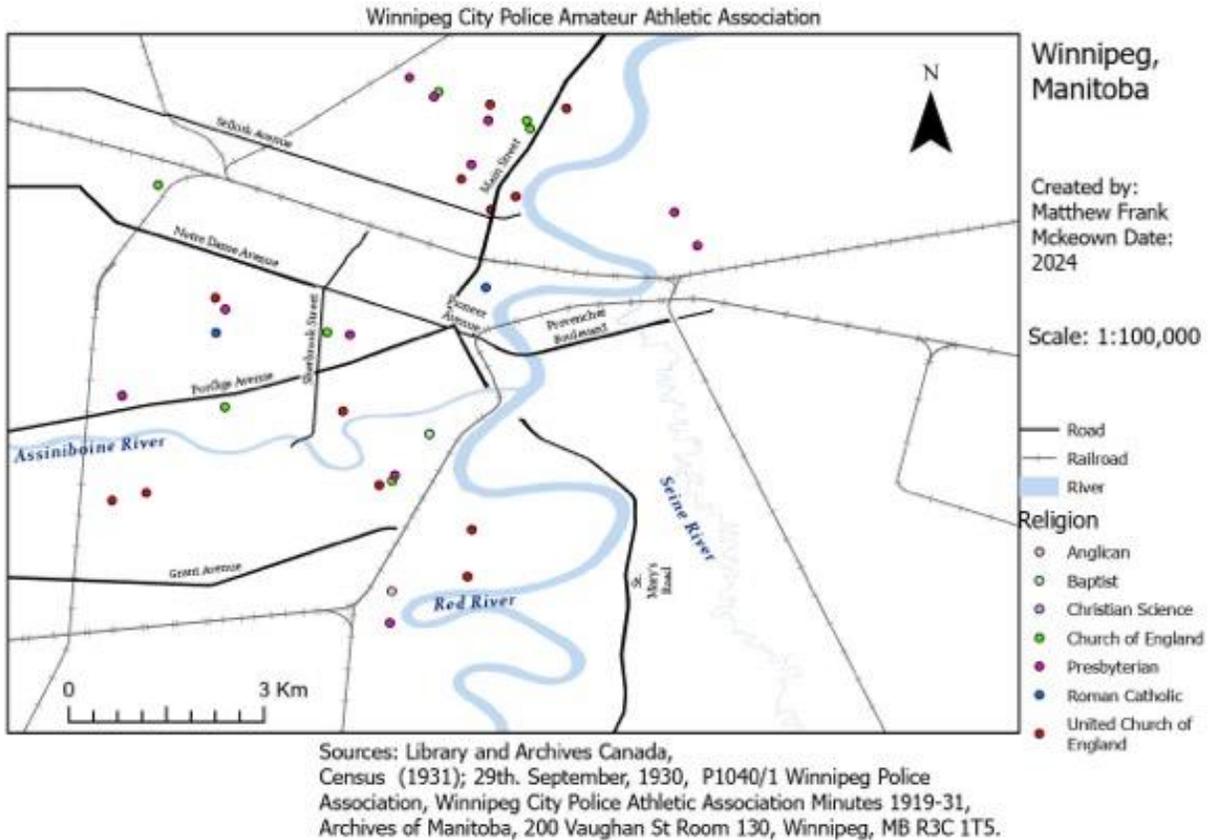


Figure 44

Spatially, it is apparent that board members lived in both the North and South Ends of Winnipeg (Figure 44). A noticeable proportion of these officers lived next door to one another; not only were they apart of the same organization, but they lived in the same neighbourhoods. This demonstrates dense, multiplex and systematic links among them. Members of the board also shared several links that connected them by geography, organization, sport, and religion. Only a

¹⁸⁶ Harris, Jack, Census of Canada, 1931, <https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=census&IdNumber=83475990&ecopy=e011718027>; Pember, Albert, Census of Canada, 1931, <https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=census&IdNumber=83411175&ecopy=e011716683>; Walker, Tom, Census of Canada, 1931,

few officers resided east of the Red River. The majority were affiliated with the main Protestant denominations, with only two being Roman Catholic. Protestantism is not a uniform and homogenous set of beliefs; it encompasses various denominations with historically wide and irreconcilable, divergent views. However, it might have facilitated connections among officers, despite their different sects.

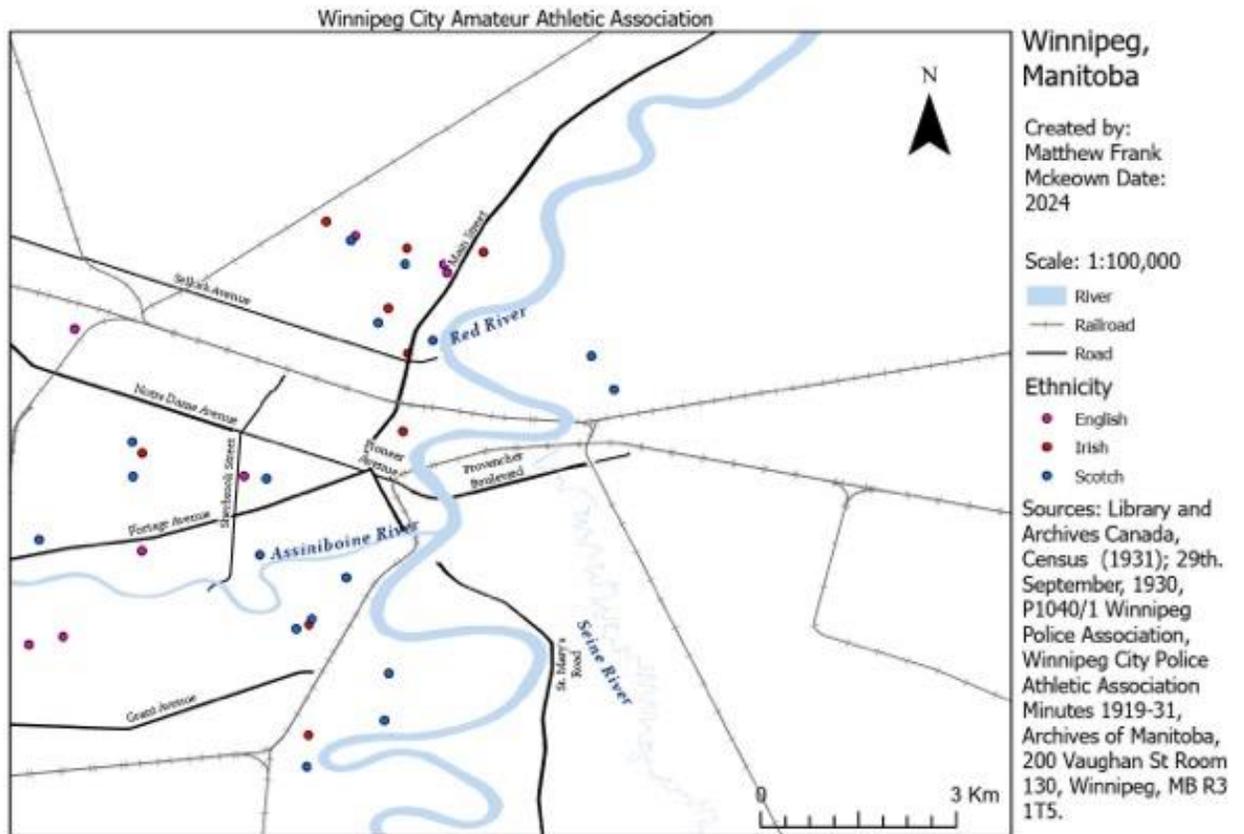


Figure 45.

Ethnically, officers came from solely British Isles backgrounds, with the majority being of Scotch heritage (Figure 45). Similar to a previous study, those of British heritage were dispersed throughout the entire West End of the city. It is noticeable that a significant proportion also lived in the North End, which was traditionally considered a non-British and immigrant dense location.

Thus, the Board comprised segregated men, of whom almost all were of British Isles heritage, were predominantly Protestant, immigrant and earning decent incomes. Organizations naturally segregate by networks. However, a segregated or knish community can interact with other communities in the public sphere. Police members shared the same heritage, occupation, religion, and city. Now they had two systematicities: the Force and the Athletic Association. Many connections formed these networks. For example, officers established a new connection through athletics, boxing and wrestling. These identities formed and adapted their community. Communities segregate as a means to find shared meaning. It is in the public spaces, such as boxing rings, where the police world intersects with that of the OBU or YMCA. One can argue that the police were fulfilling a rational, civic duty by promoting the amateur sport and generating income to support themselves and their families. Therefore, their role in uniting men from diverse backgrounds can be considered inauthentic. Nonetheless, whether fulfilling their civic duty or cementing their legacy as Winnipeg's watchmen, this reflects the Mechanical Solidarity, or the Functional Interdependence, that Calhoun discusses: It is, "characteristic of differentiated societies with a complex division of labour, considerable variation among individuals and constituent groups formed on different principles."¹⁸⁷

The police consciously attempted to bring different communities together to promote amateur sport. The WCPPA formed in 1919, the same year as the OBU, and its formation, like that of the OBU, is directly connected to the Winnipeg General Strike. Its purpose was, "...promoting athletics, social entertainment and mutual welfare for the members of the Association, their wives and family members of the police."¹⁸⁸ Thus, the WCPPA was dedicated to its community,

¹⁸⁷ Calhoun, "Imagining Solidarity," 158, 160.

¹⁸⁸ 2nd October 1919, Winnipeg City Police Athletic Association Minutes, Archives of Manitoba.

exemplifying communal support. Organizations like the WCPA build collective culture. While there is limited research on the Association, one work highlights it as a key association in amateur wrestling and its role as an organizer in boxing, which are closely related sports. “By the 1920s, the WCPA had become the province's primary sponsor of prominent amateur boxing and wrestling competitions.” The Association, while catering to its own members’ needs, also extended its help to other social classes by providing them spaces for sport and the formation of a public sphere. Moreover, it supported Winnipeg's society by offering affordable tickets, sponsoring local athletes through newspaper advertisements, and organizing social events that

REPORT OF THE 1927 BOXING RESULTS
BOXING
Bantamweight
 F. Battaglia, Y.M.C.A., defeated T. Walpole, W.L.I., Winnipeg.
 P. Schifer, O.B.U. club, Winnipeg, beat J. Lovallo, Y.M.C.A., Winnipeg.
Featherweight
 S. Hackett, Classic club, Toronto, defeated F. Nelson, unattached, Winnipeg, Nelson failing to answer for the third round.
Lightweight
 G. Holtslag, Carman, Man., beat J. Forbes, C.N.R. police, Winnipeg.
 Y. Ellett, Y.M.C.A., Winnipeg, knocked out H. Currie, 52nd Athletic club, Fort William, in first round.
 K. McLean, unattached, St. James, was beaten by M. Thorgerson, W.L.I., Winnipeg.
 E. Hossack, O.B.U., Winnipeg, beat J. L. Wilson, Y.M.C.A., Winnipeg.
 F. Volkert, Montreal, defeated N. Lyster, P.P.C.L.I., Winnipeg.
 Y. Ellett, Y.M.C.A., defeated G. Holtslag, Carman, Man.
Welterweight
 H. Smith, Montreal, beat D. Potter, C.N. Police A.A., Winnipeg.
 J. Steel, R.C.H.A., Winnipeg, beat J. Garrick, Y.M.C.A., Regina.
Middleweight
 P. Bleakney, C.N. Police A.A., Winnipeg, beat J. Richards, Y.M.C.A., Winnipeg.
 L. Peppin, O.B.U., Winnipeg, beat J. Forde, Y.M.C.A., Winnipeg.
Light Heavyweight
 Harry Cobb, R.C.H.A. force, Camp Borden, Ont., knocked out L. P. Roquette, W.C.P.A.A., Winnipeg.
 J. Ruelle, Police A.A., Montreal, knocked out A. McKenzie, C.N. Police A.A., Winnipeg.
WRESTLING
Bantamweight Class
 J. Trifunov, Regina Y.M.C.A., won from W. F. Katcheson, O.B.U., with a bar arm and half nelson in 2:05.
 O. Mason, Y.M.C.A., St. Thomas, Ont., won from H. L. White, unattached, with a wrist hold and half nelson, in 29 seconds.
Featherweight Class
 J. Endelman, Y.M.C.A., won from G. Stapleton, Rotary Boys' club, with a double arm hold in 5:49.
 E. Romulus, Y.M.C.A., won from G. Baker, O.B.U., with a cradle hold, in 6:44.
Lightweight Class
 L. Romulus, Y.M.C.A., won from O. Gislason, Reykjavik, Man., on points.

provided opportunities for interaction outside of work and home environments (which may have been segregated) and into social spaces with other communities.¹⁸⁹

Spatial Analysis of Boxing Participant Diversity in Winnipeg

While there is limited evidence to show who attended boxing events, examining boxing participants from the 1920s to the mid-1930s provides a glimpse into the diversity of the then growing amateur boxing scene. The following sample of participants was derived from boxing cards (see Figure 53) and the local newspapers. Approximately 193 boxers, wrestlers and individuals involved with the sport were documented between 1924 and 1936 (see Appendix 1). While the maps allowed for the categorization of participants by ethnicity and religion, the

Figure 46. *Free Press Evening Bulletin*, May 3, 1927, <https://www.newspapers>

¹⁸⁹ Hatton, *Thrashing Seasons*, “Winnipeg city Police.”

appendix offers additional qualitative data about their labour, origins, age, and family history. Other fighters were identified, however, in some cases, census reports revealed multiple individuals with identical names, making it difficult to pinpoint specific identities. Additionally, discrepancies in spelling within newspapers further complicated identification efforts. The analysis included three census reports (the National Census of 1921 and 1931 and the Prairie Census of 1926) and aimed to accurately detail where the fighters lived during their active years. Many fighters showed mobility, relocating frequently, which warrants further investigation in future studies. Thus, rather than creating individual maps for each address, the most representative dwelling location corresponding to a fighter's active boxing years was selected. To fully explore the impact of sports in fostering community and a diverse public sphere, a larger sample encompassing a multitude of sports in Winnipeg would be necessary. A more comprehensive study could also explore connections between Winnipeg, Montreal, Toronto, New York, and Chicago. Furthermore, investigating the occupational backgrounds of those involved in boxing events could reveal spatial patterns relevant to class distinctions.

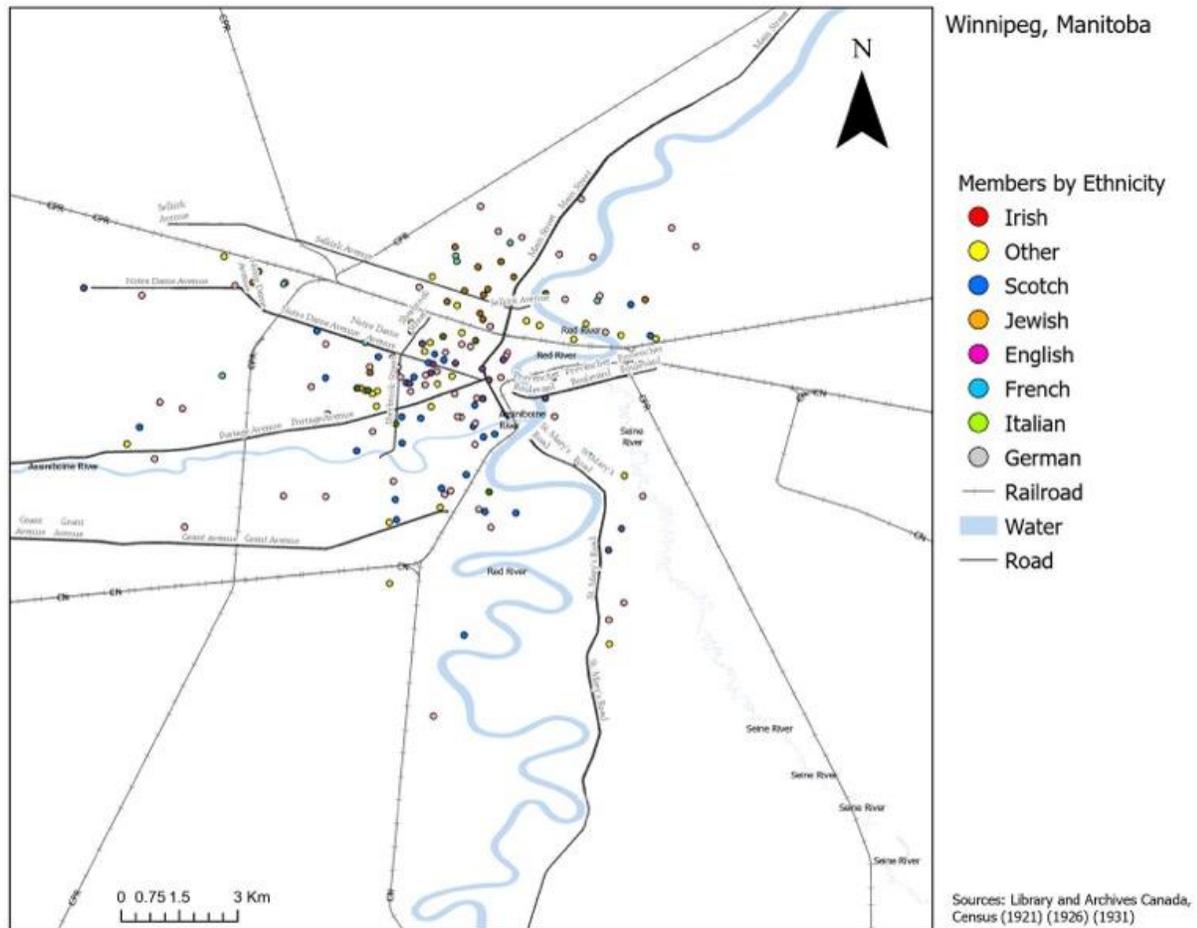


Figure 47.

An analysis of the ethnic and religious composition (Figure 47 and 48) of 193 fighters and individuals associated with boxing in Winnipeg during the 1920s and 1930s reveals a diverse mix of backgrounds, with most clustered in the city center. While a majority came from Protestant backgrounds, there was also participation by Catholics, Lutherans and Jews, reflecting the city’s diverse religious landscape. While the maps show diversity, they do not highlight how participants met or interacted in third places, nor do they explain how boxing events became multicultural. They show that city inhabitants were diverse, but do not explain how boxing managed to appeal to such a multicultural audience.

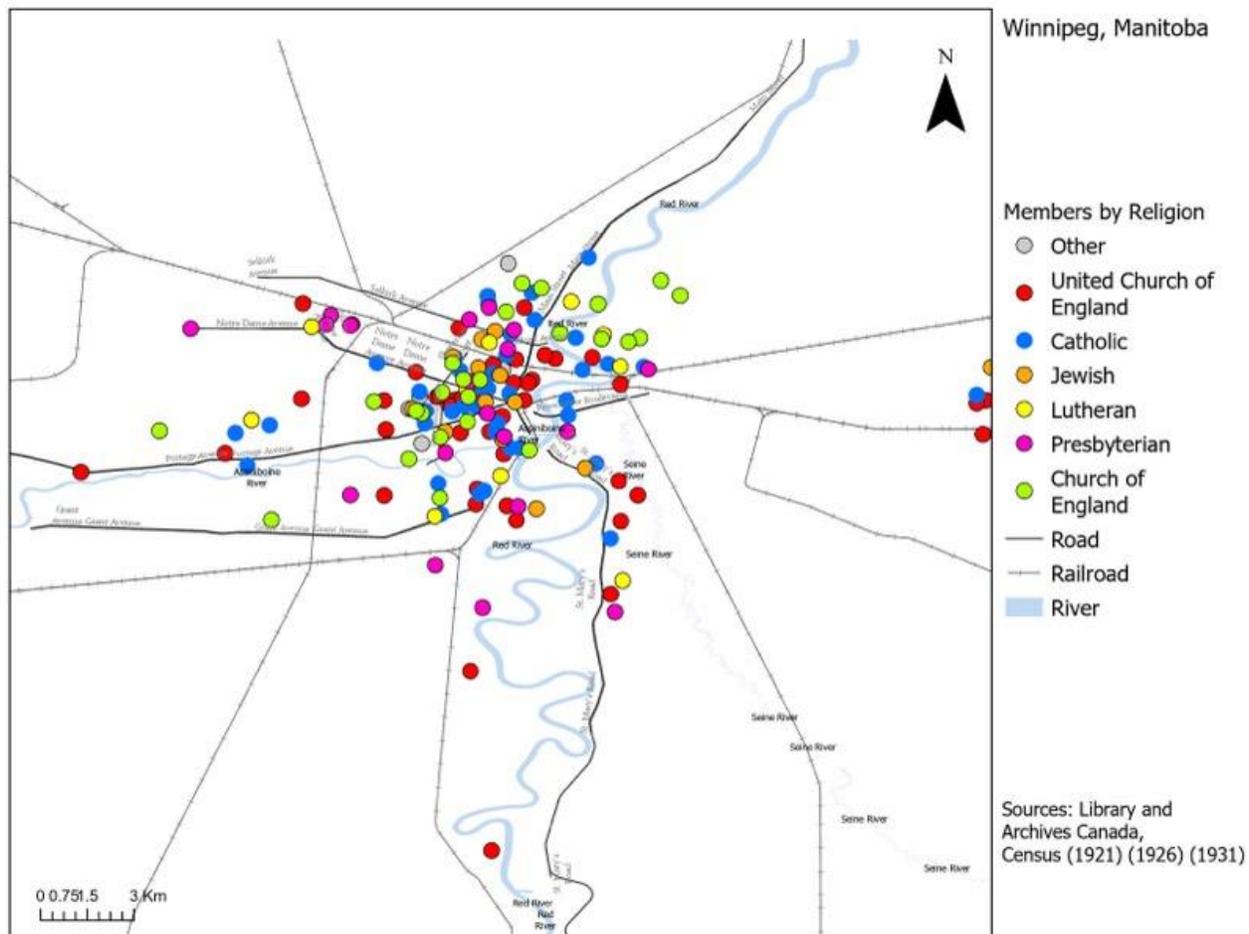


Figure 48.

Upon examination of the fighters' religious affiliations (Figure 48), it is evident that they represented various denominations. While the majority came from Protestant backgrounds, Catholics (both Roman and Greek) and Jews also participated). As found previously, the proximity of fighters to their gyms is notable, with greater diversity observed closer to the city center. This analysis is based on a sample of fighters over 12 years; a broader study across all sports during this period would help draw definitive conclusions about the appeal of boxing to a diverse audience. Even though not all fighters necessarily knew each other or competed against one another, organizations provided the framework for these interactions. A more extensive study might demonstrate that boxing was uniquely diverse due to its ability to attract men from diverse communities. Yet, similar diversity might also be found in sports such as hockey,

basketball, track-and-field, and baseball, all of which are extensively covered in Winnipeg newspapers. While finding primary evidence to explain why individuals chose the YMCA over the OBU and opted for boxing instead of tennis poses challenges, newspapers can provide valuable clues, including qualitative and quantitative data to further tell the story.

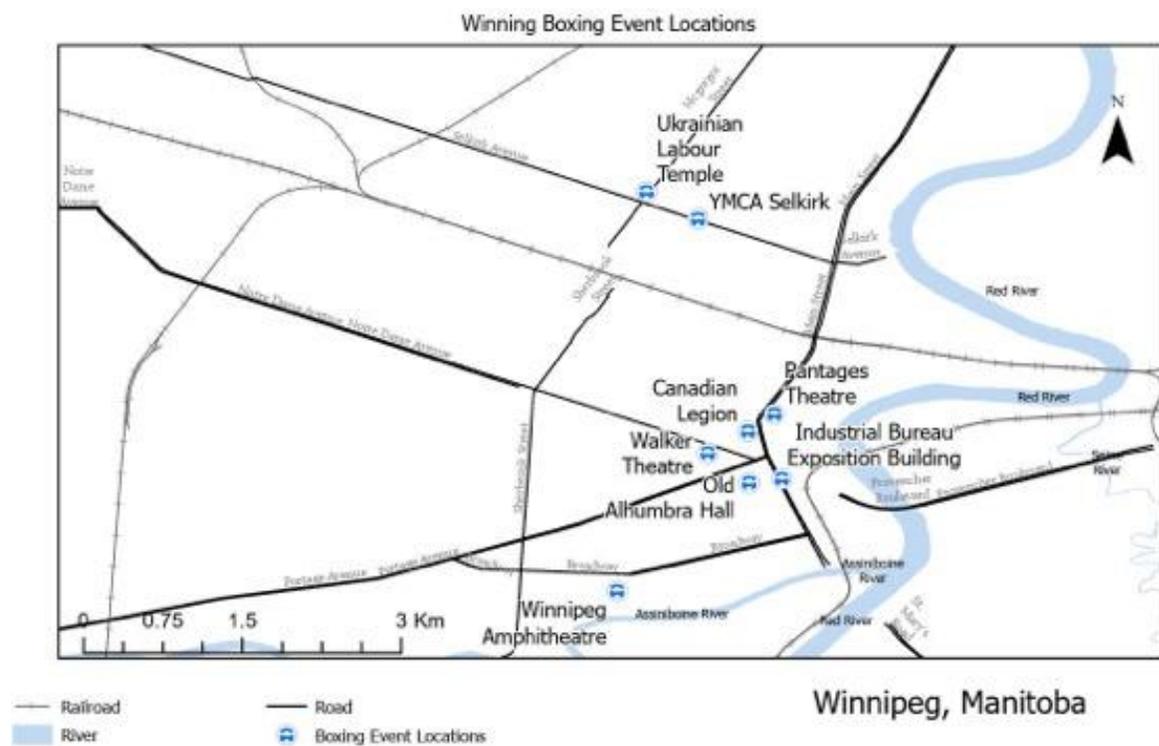
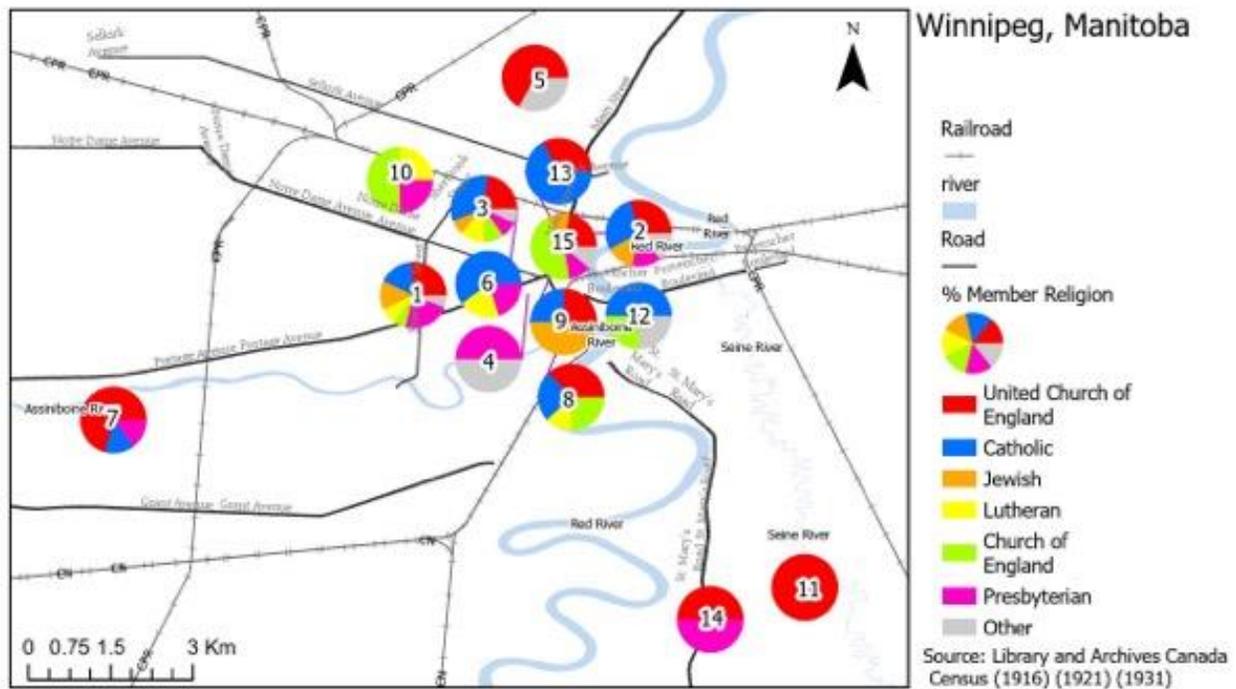


Figure 49.

The map in (Figure 49) illustrates the venues of most boxing events during the time period (see Appendix 5). These venues were close to the city center, where most boxers and those associated with the sport lived. These were the places where different clubs could convene and foster diversity. Many of these events hosted over 500 people; city and provincial tournaments were reported in newspapers months before they took place. Winners became

celebrities in the city, and Winnipeg or provincial tournaments opened avenues for fighters to pursue professional careers (and earn income) or aim to make the Canadian Olympic team. These events also generated income for owners and vendors, who received licenses to sell their products. Furthermore, the purchase of equipment supported local businesses. Profits were channeled into organizations to support their members, keep clubs up-to-date, aid injured fighters and assist amateur fighters travelling across Canada and the United States. In addition, annual charity events generated revenue to support low-income city residents. These events were designed with community development in mind, marking nearly twenty years of a golden age of boxing.



Club_Name	Club_ID
YMCA	1
Pioneer Club	2
OBU	3
Columbus Club	4

Club_Name	Club_ID
WLI	5
Rotary Club	6
PPCLI/RCHA/LSH	7
CNR/CNRPAA	8

Club_Name	Club_ID
Maple Leaf Club AAA	9
Stock Exchange AC	10
SLVital Eagles AC	11
International AC	12

Club_Name	Club_ID
Beaver Club	13
Windsor Park AC	14
WCPAAA	15

Figure 50.

The maps displayed in (Figures 50 and 51) further demonstrate that over the years, gyms like the YMCA and OBU catered to diverse religious denominations and ethnic groups. These were the two most frequented clubs in Winnipeg because they were able to accommodate larger groups of people. As already mentioned in Chapter One, the YMCA was a social welfare organization, and its leaders attempted to Canadianize immigrants through educational and recreational programs. This was a way to solve what they perceived as a growing immigrant problem, labour unrest, and moral issues. YMCA leaders came from the Anglo and Protestant majority. They opined that their class, ethnic and religious backgrounds naturally positioned them as city leaders. They also considered that physical recreation was an excellent means to masculinize the Anglo majority who had transitioned from physically intensive farm work into white-collar and non-labour jobs. Furthermore, they were concerned with what they perceived as a growing youth delinquency. They believed that sports, supervised by ethnic and religious community members, along with Protestant and British Isles men, would protect the boys from the dangers of urban life. Since the YMCA made a concerted effort to reach men from all ends of the city for these reasons, they subsequently established a large boxing team.

Clubs that experienced greater segregation, like the Columbus Club (a Catholic organization) or the railroad clubs, only catered to specific demographics and were thus smaller. Nonetheless, as evidenced by the WCPAA, size and community ideology did not always correlate with segregation. The WCPAA facilitated diversity by providing opportunities to fighters from varying ethnic, religious and class backgrounds to meet and interact. Again, most of these gyms were located near the city centre and on the west side of the river.

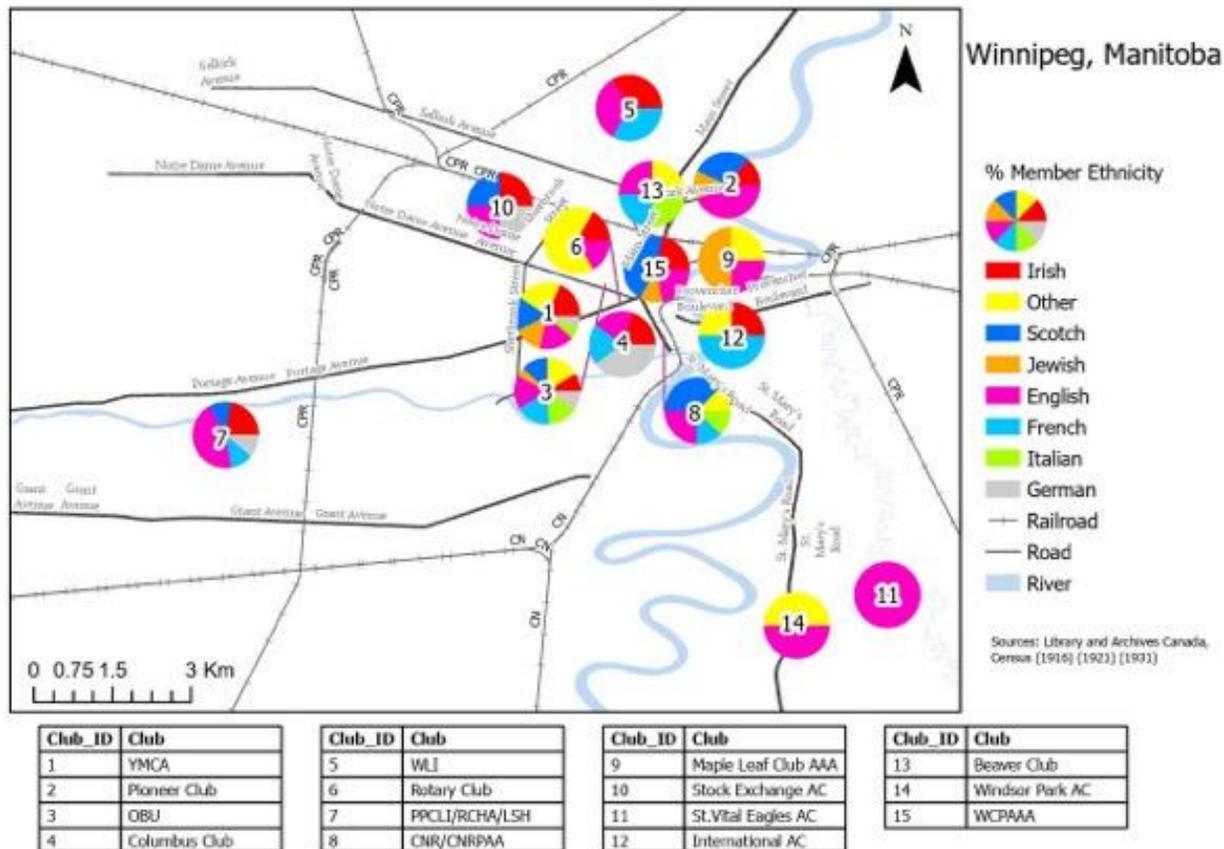


Figure 51.

One can observe the same phenomenon with ethnicity (Figure 51). The map above reinforces the notion that the YMCA and OBU were the most ethnically diverse clubs, while those singularly driven by specific ideologies or confined to small locations, like the PPCLI or St. Vital, tended to be less diverse and much smaller. These maps show that areas rich in third places, close to the central business district, near transportation lines, and residential areas create built environments that foster diversity. However, it also requires efforts from community members to facilitate such change. Reformers at the YMCA aimed to improve the health of men and boys and believed in social welfare, striving to help a diverse group of men and boys adjust to Canadian and industrial society. Boxing became an important means to achieve this. The OBU aimed to unite men from various working-class backgrounds, using sports to showcase solidarity

and community, while also providing recreation, cultural enrichment and creating a revenue stream to sustain their organization. The OBU, like the YMCA and WCPAA, connected amateur boxing to masculinity and clean sport. Military organizations and that of the Police Athletic Association might have initially represented a form of hierarchy to maintain discipline among men. However, an *esprit de corps* formed, and the WCPAA not only supported policemen and their families, but also other fighters in different organizations, promoting camaraderie and pride across the divisions.¹⁹⁰ Meanwhile, the Columbus Club aimed to unite Catholics and create a space for them in the city, while the Rotary Club created an organization for like-minded businessmen to meet and support one another. All these clubs prioritized social service, and many of them collaborated to support the city and its residents. Boxing was seen as an avenue to help with community development and urban revitalization. Competition in boxing brought these men and boys together. It did not necessarily mean they were friends or got along outside of boxing contexts, but it facilitated face-to-face interactions and contact, which is crucial for civil society.

¹⁹⁰ Look for example at the charity benefit for Norman Grills and injured fighter, see “Police Stage Sports to Aid Injured Boxer,” *The Winnipeg Tribune*, February 12, 1924, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 6.

Conclusion

In this study, I focused on community development and urban revitalization through sports and social organizations in early twentieth century Winnipeg. In the introduction I argued that a conceptual definition of community is integral to understanding how to analytically understand community in a historical context and I addressed the evolution of the definition of community and assessed the field. I sought to understand how communitarian theorists have studied community and how the definition has changed overtime. Understanding the scholarly tradition of community is more than a study about who and how; it is a history of the connection between the evolution of cities and the built environment and scholastic tradition and how they interlink with the social environment. I concluded with the work of Craig Calhoun, who argues that communities are “dense, multiplex and systematic webs of relationships.”¹⁹¹ I zoomed in, not just on his framework. Calhoun argues that a study on community cannot be isolated on its own but “needs to [be] complemented by more direct attention to the social bases of discursive public that engage people across lines of basic difference in collective identities.”¹⁹² He argues that to understand community, the public sphere, nationalism and civil society there needs to be a deep historical context. Influenced by Bourdieu and his theories of *habitus*, *field*, and *capital*, Calhoun revolutionized the concept of community by, like Bourdieu, bridging the social science divide between structuralism and phenomenology. Not only does his work show that communities, the third place, civil society and the public sphere are vital for democracy, as opposed to nationalism and multiculturalism, which focus on individualism and thin identities,

¹⁹¹ Craig Calhoun, “Community without Propinquity Revisited: Communications Technology and the Transformation of the Urban Public Sphere,” *Sociological Inquiry* 68, no. 3 (1998): 373–97, 374. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-682X.1998.tb00474.x>.

¹⁹² Calhoun, Community without Propinquity Revisited, 374.

but he created a framework for community which historians can use today to create compelling and relevant studies, that can build from one and another.

While the map of 1927 was a piece of propaganda created to target families to support the YMCA for its focus on improving the physical and mental wellness of all boys living in the city, the YMCA during the first quarter of the twentieth century supported both the rich and poor, the Anglo and the non-Anglo, the Protestant, and the non-Protestant. Members came from various parts of the city to participate in sports and communal events, and the YMCA was a vital third place for city inhabitants. The YMCA attempted to unite all for the purpose of community development and urban revitalization. The membership rolls showed that, for the most part, YMCA members were typically first-generation immigrants from the British Isles and Eastern Ontario. However, as Winnipeg's population increased and the city's centre changed, so did the focus of the YMCA. During the twentieth century, the YMCA shifted focus from a bible club to an amateur sports powerhouse which targeted both the middle class and minorities. YMCA reformers believed sports were among the best methods to challenge urban concerns, which they opined were caused by immigration, changes in labour, and the transition from an agrarian to an industrial city. These reformers found expression in gendered constructs such as Muscular Christianity, which argued that the present social situation could be remedied if boys and men balanced four squares of life: physical, educational, spiritual, and social. The YMCA found meaning through social welfare. Reformers positioned themselves as the teachers to show boys and men how to act and behave. By doing so, they attempted to cement their class and gendered position while also arguing that their values and constructs were national ones. YMCA reformers strived to include non-Anglos and Non-Protestants in their organization. They appeared to have humanitarian ends in mind, and through a wide array of programs, they supported immigrants

and the working class. It positively affected both boys and men who had the opportunity to play sports and form a community.

Chapter One showed the development of Winnipeg, and how as the city grew in both population and ethnic, religious and class demographics so too did the YMCA which went from an all British-Isles association to a multi-ethnic and religious organization that had Jewish and Catholic athletes. Chapter Two showed with the example of Jewish members as non-Protestants did use the club—however, their participation seemed isolated to the North End location. The map of the Newsboys' athletes showed that the YMCA was running programs for immigrant working-class boys, further suggesting that the YMCA made, at the very least, an attempt to support non-Protestant Anglos. While these boys were not necessarily provided full membership, the YMCA offered them recreational spaces and a chance to play with their peers, meet new people, and, in the process, form a new community. The second map showed that the Vaughan Street Boy members were from the middle class and ethnically from the British Isles and typically did not reside in the North End. While the YMCA seemed to want to grow its immigrant department and support Jewish athletes, by 1929, the YMCA regulated Jews to a 5% limit, and the Selkirk location shut down. Whereas the two maps suggest that members typically went to the location closest to them, and because Winnipeg was divided by certain ethnic sections, it seems that athletes remained in their own socioeconomic and religious circles. However, the boxing example demonstrated that boys from different ethnic, religious and class backgrounds were on the same team. Piercy Haynes travelled around the city to participate in sport, where he formed relations and socially interacted with many different people. Perhaps Haynes was exceptional and had middle-class attributes. Nevertheless, there were many African Canadians as evidenced in the oral history project of “Back Tracks To Railway Ties” that

confirm African Canadians exceptional role in Winnipeg's sports scene. Piercy's rise to boxing dominance and his travels with white fighters was also during a period of incessant labour disputes and racism towards African Canadian Porters.

Perhaps the legacy of Piercy Hynes and company mutual aid connects to the rise of one Halifax native who came to Winnipeg to work on the rail lines, Al Sparks. Sparks was born in Dartmouth Nova Scotia and grew up in Cherrybrook. He was an all-around athlete and played football, hockey and learned how to box at the age of eight. Sparks would move to Winnipeg in 1952. In the city, he worked as a porter for Via Rail. During his boxing career, he continued with his full-time job on the trains. Although Sparks was an excellent boxer known as "the King" he seems to have never made the mainstream. While *Ring Magazine* did name him fighter of the month. Sparks was first approached by a C.N.R employee who "asked him if he could fight." That was the first time he "wondered if he shouldn't explore the sport of pugilism." Following in Haynes footsteps, after three amateur fights he won the Manitoba Amateur Title. He turned pro in 1958, and ten years later he won the 1968 Canadian Light-Heavy Weight title over Montreal's Les Borden. After losing the title in 1969 he won it back in his hometown of Winnipeg. Perhaps due to the popularity of the heavyweight division and the prospects of making real economic gain, Sparks moved to heavyweight, but had little success. He was 6'1 but only 175lbs, therefore he would have had a tough time fighting against men much larger. Sparks was captioned as the "pride and Joy" of the city. He was a smart fighter and would spend hours watching "his opponent closely" He further stated "I studied his body structure his reflexes, his movements, I listened to his speech. These all told me about his thinking processes."

Sparks hard work is evident, having held the title for ten years. One commentator captioned him as "he had a face and body of a fighter, the voice of a scholar and the air of

mystery.” In his obituary, Sparks was said to love gardening and cooking. He was an active member at Pilgrim Baptist Church, and he belonged to the choir. Sparks like many Canadian men followed the principles of God, family and sports. After his boxing career, he became a mentor and trainer in the sport. Also, the incredible athlete that he was, after his boxing career, he taught physical education at National Hockey League (NHL) camps. Sparks came to Winnipeg in a time of social change, created in the era of YMCA reform and boxings golden age, his memory of the railroad perhaps speaks to that change. He worked for VIA for thirty-one years and stated, “I love the railway and the people.” I feel right at home on the train.” There is not much left in public hands of Al’s legacy, but he is not fully “invisible.” There is a documentary by CBC titled *The Boxer* which exists, and he was also inducted into the Canadian Boxing Hall of Fame.¹⁹³

The YMCA transformed boxing into a sport that could fit its Four-Fold program. The YMCA created the standard that their middle-class and Protestant values were national, and for the middle class to recognize one as a worthy citizen, man, or athlete, the route was to follow their protocol. One way of doing this was ensuring YMCA leaders were from evangelical backgrounds. However, immigrant and working-class athletes could have joined organizations particular to their religion or class yet continued to sign up at the YMCA. Even when the YMCA placed the capacity limit on Jewish membership, Jews continued to sign up at the YMCA. By

¹⁹³ Please read newspaper articles about Black Canadian athletes, “King of the light-heavyweight boxers in Canada.”; Friday, June 28, 1968, “Will Sparks Fly Tuesday.”; Jun, 18, 1990 “ VIA Employee is ex-Canuk Boxing Champ.”; Sparks Posts 26th win Against Indian Tommy.”; Sparks Expects Battle.”; Two Bouts Arranged for Sparks.”; “Solid Ring Card Arranged-Runner.”; “Sparks Shoots for Olympics.”; Gloves’ll Talk Tomorrow”; La Crosse Card Set.”; November, 1983, “On Track”. 1957-1983, P6898/16. Back Tracks to Railroad Ties” exhibit and black history research collection, Archives of Manitoba, 200 Vaughan St Room 130, Winnipeg, MB R3C 1T5.

focusing on uniting men from different backgrounds, the YMCA's community evolved—in a matter of time, the YMCA went from a small Protestant-only organization which disapproved of boxing to a multi-ethnic, religious and class organization which championed boxing as a healthy and manly sport.

Chapter Three extended the work of GIS scholars who look at community and the work of Calhoun. This chapter used GIS as a methodology to look at a case study of boxing in early twentieth century Winnipeg, and how clubs linked community development to the growth of the sport. It argued that while communities segregate on certain factors, both subjectively and objectively like the WCPAA, which was an organization only for cops and their families, they can simultaneously seek to support people from different socioeconomic backgrounds. The WCPAA was a majority British-Ilse and Protestant association, and its members formed the middle class. Nonetheless, the WCPAA took it upon themselves to promote boxing not only for their own group, but to support the city and the various communities within it. The WCPAA examples shows the importance of a discursive public sphere, and how citizens need to take it upon themselves to create these spaces for social integration and democracy. The Winnipeg example demonstrated that the Police's organization of boxing events brought together men and boys from different regions of the city, and different religious, ethnic and class backgrounds. A larger study can look if there were other spaces like boxing that offered such diversity.

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YMCA of Winnipeg fonds, Archives of Manitoba, 200 Vaughan St Room 130, Winnipeg, MB R3C 1T5.

Back Tracks to Railroad Ties" exhibit and black history research collection, Archives of Manitoba, 200 Vaughan St Room 130, Winnipeg, MB R3C 1T5

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Appendix 1
Information on Boxing Clubs and Fighters

Club	Club	ID
	YMCA	1
	Pioneer Club	2
	OBU	3
	Columbus Club	4
	WLI	5
	Rotary Club	6
	PPCLI/RCHA/LSH	7
	CNR/CNRPAA	8
	Maple Leaf Club AAA	9
	Transcona CNRA	10
	Stock Exchange AC	11
	St. Vital Eagles AC	12
	International AC	13
	Beaver Club	14
	Windsor Park AC	15
	WCPAAA	16
	Other	17

Legend Religion	Denomination	ID
	Other	30
	United Church of England	31
	Catholic	32
	Jewish	33
	Lutheran	34

	Presbyterian	35
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Legend Ethnicity	Ethnicity	ID
	Irish	20
	Other	21
	Scotch	22
	Jewish	23
	English	24
	French	25
	Italian	26
	German	27

Fighter Name	Club	Sport & Other	Address	Ethnicity	Religion	Job	Father Job	Club
Fred Lipson	4	Boxer		20	30	Farming		
Leslie G. Martin	3	Boxer		22	31	Labourer		
Robert McCurdy	3	Boxer	566 Walker Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3L 1C4	20	30	None	Machinist	
Charles Mewha	1	Boxer	183 Chestnut St, Winnipeg, MB R3G 1R5	20	31	None	Salesman	
George Akins	1	Boxer	109 Cauchon St, Winnipeg, MB R3L 1X1	24	30	Boxing Instructor		
Frank Battaglia	1	Boxer	801 Ellice Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3G 0B9	26	32	Professional Boxer		
Percival G Buzza	17	Boxer	640 Beverley St, Winnipeg, MB R3E 2A5	24	31	Carpenter		
Louis Romalis/ Romolus	1	Wrestler	483 Boyd Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2W 1P7	23	33	Maid Collector		
Sam Pearlman	1	Judge/ Journalist	470 Pritchard Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2W 2J7	23	33	Dary Deliveryman		
Paul Schiffer	3	Boxer	509 Dufferin Ave., Winnipeg, MB R2W 2Y7	23	33	None	Mixer	
Nathaniel Burrell Jones	3	Boxer	785 Ellice Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3G 0B7	21	31	Student	Brakeman	

Walter Kraushar	6	Boxer	235 Midwinter Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2L 0T9	21	34	None	Carpenter
Norman Akerstream	6	Boxer	425 Nairn Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2L 0X1	21	35	Carpenter	
Sam Cisyk	6	Boxer	104 Eaton St, Winnipeg, MB R2L 1V1	21	32	Farming	
Albert Harry Vale	3	Boxer	460 Balmoral St, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2P8	24	31	Janitor	
Bruno Hugo Peterson	3	Boxer	196 Johnson Ave W, Winnipeg, MB R2L 0H6	27	31	Student	
Marshall Batt	3	Boxer	2706 Dugald Rd, Winnipeg, MB R2C 3H2	24	31	Labourer	
Oscar Paulin	3	Boxer	452 Kennedy St, Winnipeg, MB	25	32	Paper Ruler	
Gordon Broadhurst	3	Boxer	532 Ellice Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3B 1Z2	24	32	Shipper	
Ronald Curry	17	Boxer	401 Pacific Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3A 0M4	20	32	Labourer	
Percy Seabrook	1	Boxer	118 Hespeler Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2L 0L4	24	31	Messenger	
George E Holden	1	Boxer		20	35	Farming	
Jack Harris	1	Boxer	496 Bannatyne Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3A 0G3	22	31	Auto Mechanic	
Michael Wysocki	3	Boxer	92 Prince Edward St, Winnipeg, MB R2W 3K3	21	Unknown	None	
Alexander Bradfield	1	Boxer	1113 Garfield St N, Winnipeg, MB R3E 2N9	20	31	Student	Taxi Driver
Frederick Confrey	3	Boxer	547 Hethrington Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3L 0V7	24	31	None	Labourer
Albert Pember	3	Boxer	20 Derby St, Winnipeg, MB	24	31	Delivery boy	
Micheal Bilensky	3	Wrestler		21	32	Farming	
Edward Kline	3	Boxer	361 Kennedy St, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2M9	21	34	Elevator Operator	

Frederick Blockridge	3	Boxer		21	Unknown	None		
Arni Johanneson	1	Boxer		21	34		Labourer	
Alexander Turk	1	Boxer	191 Chalmers Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2L 0E7	20	31	Truck Driver		
William Puchniak	1	Boxer	705 Scotland Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3M 1W7	21	32	Taxi Driver		
Eddie Noa	3	Boxer	376 Broadway, Winnipeg, MB R3C 0T6	20	31	Steam Fitter		
Alfred Cleven	1	Boxer	412 Toronto St, Winnipeg, MB R3G 1S5	21	34	Bookkeeper		
Jack Decosimo	3	Boxer	436 Beverley St, Winnipeg, MB R3G 1T8	26	32	Planier Stone		
Lester H Lavers	3	Boxer	431 McDermot Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3A 0B3	22	31	Student	Barber	
Nicolas Schmeling	17	Boxer	871 Notre Dame Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3E 0M4	27	32	Professional Boxer		
Samuel McCart	1	Boxer	163 Parkview St, Winnipeg, MB R3J 1S2	20	35	Car Repairer		
Abraham Mantell	3	Boxer	336 Dufferin Ave., Winnipeg, MB	23	33	Barber		
Joseph Wakeham	3	Boxer	355 Pacific Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3A 0M2	24	31	Matress Maker		
Joseph Faraco	3	Boxer	453 Glasgow Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3L 0S8	26	32	Clerk		
Lloyd Moon	3	Boxer	188 Kilbride Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2V 0Z8	24	35	Barber		
Archie McLaughlin	3	Wrestler		22	31	Farming		
Joseph Fahey	17	Other	46 Lily St, Winnipeg, MB R3B 0Z9	20	32	Retired		
Marcel Durier	3	Boxer	32 Crystal Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2M 0P6	25	32	Student	Cattle Deliver	
Francis Derowin	3	Boxer	84 Dagmar St, Winnipeg, MB	25	32	Student	Baker	

Frederick Helmer	3	Boxer	639 College Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2W 1N3	27	34	Apprentice	
David Wales	3	Boxer	481 Notre Dame Ave, Winnipeg, MB	22	35	Riveter	
Samuel Zamick	9	Boxer	363 Magnus Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2W 2B9	23	33	Student	Peddler
Percey Haynes	1	Boxer	257 Lulu St, Winnipeg, MB R3E 1Y1	21	31	Truck Driver	
Wallace G Thomson	3	Boxer	566 Ingersoll St, Winnipeg, MB R3G 2J4	24	31	Clerk	
Rosilo Stroppa	3	Boxer	161 Glenwood Crescent, Winnipeg, MB R2L 1J8	26	32	Apprentice	
Frank Wolfram	3	Boxer	370 Bannerman Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2W 0V3	27	Unknown	Unknown	
Gene Favell	7	Boxer	236 Garry St, Winnipeg, MB	25	32	Machinist	
Eddie Fingard	17	Boxer	292 College Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2W 1M1	23	33	Life Insurance Agent	
Stanley Zedd	1	Boxer	378 Hargrave St, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2J9	21	32	None	
Edward Chapman	17	Boxer	365 Pritchard Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2W 2J5	23	33	None	
Earnest Heatherington	8	Boxer	20 McMeans Ave E, Winnipeg, MB R2C 0W7	24	31	Boiler Maker Helper	
Cecil Lewsey	3	Boxer	59 Gallagher Ave W, Winnipeg, MB R2R 0J6	21	30	Porter	
Nelson Jackson Crossley	2	Boxer	602 McAdam Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2V 0A9	24	30	Motor Man	
Nathan Fenson	2	Boxer	737 Sargent Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3E 0B3	23	33	Salesman	
Herbert Starr	2	Boxer	226 Roger St, Winnipeg, MB R2H 1E1	24	32	Student	Clerk

Paul Warburg	17	Other	195 River Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3L 0B2	22	35	Newspaper Editor	
Clement Shields	17	Other	61 Furby St, Winnipeg, MB R3C 2A2	22	32	Journalist	
Maurice Scully	3	Boxer	331 Nairn Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2L 0W8	20	32	Clerk	
Benjamin Crooks	7	Boxer	416 Grenadier Dr, Winnipeg, MB R3N 0L8	24	31	Soldier	
William Stelfox	7	Boxer	69 Archibald St, Winnipeg, MB R2J 0V7	27	31	Student	
Arthur Heintz	3	Boxer	563 Maryland St, Winnipeg, MB R3E 3G6	27	34	Printer	
Patrick Tupper	7	Boxer	416 Grenadier Dr, Winnipeg, MB R3N 0L8	22	35	Soldier	
Walter Milo	6	Boxer	260 Carlton St, Winnipeg, MB	20	32	Mason	
Frederick Pengelly	7	Boxer	630 Fleet Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3M 1L1	24	31	Truck Driver	
Joseph. C Mason	7	Boxer	416 Grenadier Dr, Winnipeg, MB R3N 0L8	20	31	Soldier	
Donald C. Morgan	7	Boxer	338 Alexander Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3A 0N1	24	31	Student	Minster
Peter Kereluk	6	Boxer	108 Granville St, Winnipeg, MB R2W 2P2	21	32	Student	Carpenter
H. Mansfield	7	Boxer	416 Grenadier Dr, Winnipeg, MB R3N 0L8	24	31	Soldier	
Ingle Burton Blanchard	17	Boxer	Village of Miami	24	31	Student	
Thos George Ormonde	16	Boxer	531 Furby St, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2V9	22	31	Policeman	
Leon Elfenson	16	Wrestler	490 Larsen Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2K 1R3	23	33	Policeman	
Fredrick Ross McIntyre	16	Wrestler	19 Carlton St, Winnipeg, MB R3C 1N7	22	31	Policeman	

Stuart SinClair	16	Wrestler	49 Home St, Winnipeg, MB R3G 1W7	22	31	Policeman	
James Paddison	16	Wrestler	860 Sherburn St, Winnipeg, MB R3G 2L4	22	30	Policeman	
James S Mulholland	16	Wrestler	737 Sargent Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3E 0B3	20	35	Policeman	
Reginald B Penwarden	1	Boxer	3 Holly Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3T 0L5	22	31	Embalmer	
Lorenzo Dargis	3	Boxer	477 Notre Dame Ave, Winnipeg, MB	25	32	Student	Carpenter
Herman Marquart	3	Boxer		27	34	Farming	
Walter Romanik	9	Boxer	997 Lorette Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3M 1V4	21	32	Student	Janitor
Hymie Zimmerman	17	Boxer	53 Charles St, Winnipeg, MB R2W 4A1	23	33	Cutter	
Jack Reed	17	Boxer	347 Maplewood Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3L 1A8	22	31	Salesman	
Frank Garrod	1	wrestler	53 Rue St Pierre Street, Winnipeg, MB R3V 1J8	24	31	Engineer	
Jack Otto	1	Wrestler	1065 St James St, Winnipeg, MB R3H 0K6	27	35	Unknown	
Frank Runge	1	Wrestler	333 Dakota St, Winnipeg, MB R2M 3K3	21	32	Business Owner	
John McLauchlan	1	Wrestler	1343 Downing St, Winnipeg, MB R3E 2R8	22	35	Dairy Driver	
Joseph Cummings	16	Boxer		20	31	Farming	
Laurie Peppin	3	Boxer	14 Humboldt Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2M 0M1	25	32	Salesman	
Maurice Peppin	3	Boxer	937 Lorette Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3M 1V3	22	32	Yardman	
Rudolph Fibiger	1	Boxer	178 Champlain St, Winnipeg, MB R2H 2K1	27	35	Underwriter	

Raymond Henry Bousquet (Del Fontaine)	13	Boxer	99 Notre Dame Ave, Winnipeg, MB	25	32	Labourer	
Kenneth Helfrich	3	Boxer	263 River Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3L 0B5	22	32	Student	
William Lorne Curry	3	Boxer	857 Grosvenor Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3M 0M4	20	31	Clerk	
Sam Bookbinder	3	Boxer		23	33	Clerk	
Peter Rash	3	Boxer	520 Alexander Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3A 0N8	26	32	Student	Car Repairer
Herbert Waters	3	Boxer	450 King Edward St, Winnipeg, MB R3J 1L8	24	31	Student	Chauffer
Joseph Morris Camyre	17	Boxer	567 Main St E, North Bay, ON P1B 1B7	25	32	Salesman	
Philip E Watts	7	Boxer	416 Grenadier Dr, Winnipeg, MB R3N 0L8	20	31	Soldier	
Clarence Nesby	8	Boxer	70 Victoria Ave E, Winnipeg, MB R2C 0E2	21	34	Labourer	
Walter A Hughes	16	Boxer	113 Atlantic Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2W 0P7	24	31	Policeman	
Harold Shingleton	16	Boxer	448 Polson Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2W 0N6	24	31	Policeman	
Marie Pascoe	3	Boxer	556 Bannatyne Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3A 0G6	21	32	Homemaker	
John Toffin	3	Boxer	152 Stephens St, Winnipeg, MB R2W 3H2	21	32	Student	Labourer
Peter Sutherland	17	Boxer		21	31	Labourer	
Frank Gerbasi	1	Boxer	207 Sherbrook St, Winnipeg, MB R3C 2B7	26	32	Student	Storekeeper
Joseph Vermette	3	Boxer	210 Rue Aubert, Winnipeg, MB R2H 0B3	25	32	Driver	
Max Avren	9	Boxer	416 McKenzie St, Winnipeg, MB R2W 5B5	23	33	Student	Merchant

Lee Chew Lee	3	Boxer	2nd ave, Swan River	21	31	Student	
Arthur Kaplan	1	Boxer	409 St Johns Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2W 1H5	23	33	Student	Merchant
Angus E Wallace	17	Wrestler	264 Furby St, Winnipeg, MB R3C 2A9	22	35	Student	Fireman
Thomas McPherson	17	Wrestler	349 Arnold Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3L 0W7	22	31	Butcher	
Herbert Robertson	17	Boxer	416 Grenadier Dr, Winnipeg, MB R3N 0L8	24	31	Soldier	
John Symaka	17	Boxer	302 Laura St, Winnipeg, MB R3A 1C5	21	34	None	Labourer
James Vipond	17	Boxer	503 Parkview St, Winnipeg, MB R3J 1S8	24	31	Student	Blacksmith
James R Jamieson	17	Other	346 Oxford St, Winnipeg, MB R3M 3J7	20	31	Manger	
Thomas Brade	9	Boxer	216 Smith St, Winnipeg, MB R3C 1M5	24	31	Elevator Operator	
Hugh Cowan	1	Boxer	33 University Crescent, Winnipeg, MB R3T 2N5	20	35	Delivery boy	
Harry Zillman	11	Boxer	1436 Alexander Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3E 1L6	27	34	None	Driver
Frederick Smart	11	Boxer	1803 Bannatyne Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3E 0W8	24	31	None	Carpenter
Samuel McClements	11	Boxer	Airport, Winnipeg, MB R3J 2M8	20	31	None	Pipe Fitter
Thomas Fotheringham	11	Boxer	683 Ross Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3E 1C5	22	35	Student	Labourer
Archie Graham	3	Boxer		22	31	Farming	
Harold Bunston	17	Boxer	121 Lombard Ave, Winnipeg, MB	20	31	Student	Brakeman
Alfred William Canty	17	Boxer	495 Oakview Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2K 0S6	24	31	Salesman	

Alfred Black	1	Boxer	904 Jessie Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3M 1A8	22	31	Gardner	
William Crossley	5	wrestler	401 Broadway, Winnipeg, MB	24	31	Engineer	
William McCorrister	2	Boxer	313 Greene Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2K 0L9	24	35	Student	Labourer
Gordon Verner	3	Boxer	454 Rue Valade, Winnipeg, MB R2H 2G3	24	35	Office Boy	
James Howitt	1	Boxer		22	35	Agent	
Albert Peler Mathews	17	Boxer	1234 Rosemount Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3T 0V8	21	35	Fireman	
Martin Kokran	4	Boxer	604 Boyd Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2W 1R3	27	Unknown	Unknown	
Charlie Stewart	3	Boxer	722 Maryland St, Winnipeg, MB R3E 1W2	20	31	Salesman	
William Gooch	2	Boxer	695 Stella Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2W 2V8	20	32	Apprentice	
James Oakes	3	Boxer		22	31	Ledger Keeper	
Bert O'donnell	3	Boxer	464 Edmonton St, Winnipeg, MB R3B 0A4	24	Unknown	Unknown	
Adelard Demuele	4	Boxer	593 William Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3A 0K1	25	Unknown	Unknown	
Stanley Townsend	1	Wrestler	573 Sherbrook St, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2W9	24	31	Steam Fitter	
George McBeth	17	Other	370 Union Ave W, Winnipeg, MB R2L 0C8	22	35	Policeman	
Fred E Law	17	Other	356 Niagara St, Winnipeg, MB R3N 0V4	24	31	Clerk	
William Thorogood	17	Other	190 Balmoral St, Winnipeg, MB R3C 1X6	22	31	Clerk	
William Black	17	Other		22	35	Medical Doctor	
Norman Harod Grills	17	Boxer		24	31	Farmer	
Hugh C Newton	17	Other	448 William Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3A 0J6	24	31	Police Signal Operator	

Donald Stanley Munn	2	Boxer	642 Warsaw Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3M 1C6	22	31	Fireman	
Fred D Saltel	17	Boxer	568 Langside St, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2T7	25	32	Upholster	
Jack Reid	3	Boxer	153 Donald St, Winnipeg, MB R3C 3H3	22	35	Electrician	
Frederick Gregory	17	Boxer		24	31	Farming	
Thomas Elder	2	Boxer	526 Young St, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2S6	22	31	Foreman	
Joseph G Watanabe	17	Ju Jitsu	234 Rutland St, Winnipeg, MB R3J 1X7	21	31	Engineer	
John L Eccles	17	Other	105 Scotia St, Winnipeg, MB R2W 4Z1	24	31	Street Car Operator	
Edward Stubbington	14	Boxer	323 Polson Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2W 0N2	24	31	Yeoman of Signals	
Thomas Walpole	5	Boxer	556 Balmoral St, Winnipeg, MB R3B 1V7	20	31	Printer	
Herman Wilson	17	Boxer		21	31	Farming	
David Rock	17	Boxer	611 Maryland St, Winnipeg, MB R3E 1W1	22	31	Labourer	
William Surtees	17	Other	113 Egerton Rd, Winnipeg, MB R2M 2V9	24	35	Clerk	
Joe Witowski	1	Boxer	656 Manitoba Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2W 2H4	21	32	Student	Labourer
Patrick Burke	3	Boxer	562 Elgin Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3A 0L3	21	32	Farming	
Donald Alfonso	3	Boxer	701 Alexander Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3E 1J1	26	34		Homemaker
John Endleman	1	Wrestler	474 Jessie Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3L 1Z7	22	35	Bookkeeper	
Alfred Capel Gostling	1	Wrestler	30 Hargrave St, Winnipeg, MB R3C 1N1	24	Unknown	None	

Guy Gostling	1	Wrestler	30 Hargrave St, Winnipeg, MB R3C 1N1	24	31	Office Manager	
Ray Hollands	6	Wrestler	971 Downing St, Winnipeg, MB R3G 2P9	24	Unknown	None	
Tom Walker	8	Boxer	723 Toronto St, Winnipeg, MB R3E 1Z7	22	31	Packer	
George H Lucas	8	Boxer	437 Simcoe St, Winnipeg, MB R3G 1W3	24	31	Stenographer	
Melvin Dawson	3	Wrestler	644 Sherbrook St, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2X1	20	32	Farming	
Alex Jensen	3	Boxer	332 Victor St, Winnipeg, MB R3G 1P6	21	34	Mechanist	
John Fedora	3	Boxer	445 Dufferin Ave., Winnipeg, MB R2W 2Y4	21	35	Labourer	
Lawrence faso	3	boxer	1603 Logan Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3E 1S6	26	32	Salesman	
Arnold McMillan	3	Boxer	543 Herbert Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2L 1E7	22	31	Student	
Tony Sitybell	17	Boxer	1435 Alexander Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3E 1L5	21	32	Student	Labourer
Clifford Macey	17	Boxer		24	31	Student	Foreman
Albert Wilding	12	Boxer	41 Hindley Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2M 1P5	24	31	Apprentice	
Harry Marrese	10	boxer	88 Regent Ave W, Winnipeg, MB R2C 1P9	25	32	Student	Business Owner
Merilda Turgeon	13	Boxer	111 Rue Masson, Winnipeg, MB R2H 0H3	25	32	None	Candy Maker
Thos Harrold Gregg	13	Boxer	351 Daly St N, Winnipeg, MB R3L 2K5	20	31	Minning	
Raymond Halldorson	13	Boxer	288 Colony St, Winnipeg, MB R3C 1W6	21	30	Labourer	
David Beaver	14	Owner	357 Logan Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3A 0P8	26	32	Gym Owner	

Paul Frederickson	1	Boxer	460 Victor St, Winnipeg, MB R3G 1P9	21	34	Salesman	
William Howarth	15	Owner	74 Berrydale Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2M 1L9	24	31	Carpenter	
Henry George Wyatt	15	Owner	148 Fifth Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2M 0B2	21	35	Clerk	
David Decter	1	Boxer	1588 Ross Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3E 2G2	23	33	Student	Motorman
Henry Fontaine	17	Boxer	335 Main St, Winnipeg, MB R3C 1C2	25	32	Machinst	
Herb Weatherhead	8	Boxer	482 Main St, Winnipeg, MB R3B 1B7	25	32	Clerk	
James Norquay	8	Boxer	350 Ferry Rd, Winnipeg, MB R3J 1W4	22	31	Salesman	
Joseph Gallo	8	Boxer	146 Moray St, Winnipeg, MB R3J 0N8	26	32	None	Labourer
Percival Bleakney	8	boxer	114 Ravelston Ave W, Winnipeg, MB R2C 1V7	22	31	Tinsmith	

Appendix 2
Membership Rolls

Associate Members 1883

Name	Birthplace	Ethnicity	Religion	Job	Age
Alf W. Austin	Ontario	Irish	Methodist	Speculator	23
John Agnew	Ontario	Scotch	Presbyterian	Student	17
George Ashdown	Ontario	English	Episcopal	Merchant	28
James Barr	Manitoba	Scotch	Baptist	Farmer	40
James Brown lee	Ontario			Labourer	22
John Carter	Ontario		Presbyterian	Farmer	24
William Dalton	England	English	Congregationalist	Architect	26
James Drury	Ireland	Irish	Roman Catholic	Farmer	44
Thomas Hay	Ontario	Scotch	Presbyterian		20
H.R Jones	England	English	Church of England	Clerk	26
Robert Johnstone	Scotland	Scotch	Presbyterian		28
Neil Matheson	Prince Edward Island	Scotch	Presbyterian		27
James Matheson	Ontario	Scotch	Presbyterian	Farmer	29
John Mccrossan	Ontario	Scotch	Methodist	Clerk	
Neil McDougall	Ontario	Scotch	Presbyterian		20

H.E Neelands	Ontario	English	Presbyterian	Druggist	22
George Ryan	Ontario	Irish	Methodist	Blacksmith	21
W.H. Saunders	Ireland	Irish	Methodist	Painter	24
George Wishart	Manitoba	English	Methodist	Farmer	22
Walter Wilson	Ontario	English	Church of England	StoreKeeper	29
John Wheeler	Ontario	Irish	Methodist	Shoemaker	23

Active Members 1883

Name	Birthplace	Ethnicity	Religion	Job	Age
Alf W. Austin	Ontario	Irish	Methodist	Speculator	23
John Agnew	Ontario	Scotch	Presbyterian	Student	17
George Ashdown	Ontario	English	Episcopal	Merchant	28
James Barr	Manitoba	Scotch	Baptist	Farmer	40
James Brownlee	Ontario			Labourer	22
John Carter	Ontario		Presbyterian	Farmer	24
William Dalton	England	English	Congregationalist	Architect	26
James Drury	Ireland	Irish	Roman Catholic	Farmer	44
Thomas Hay	Ontario	Scotch	Presbyterian		20
H.R Jones	England	English	Church of England	Clerk	26
Robert Johnstone	Scotland	Scotch	Presbyterian		28
Neil Matheson	Prince Edward Island	Scotch	Presbyterian		27
James Matheson	Ontario	Scotch	Presbyterian	Farmer	29
John Mccrossan	Ontario	Scotch	Methodist	Clerk	
Neil McDougall	Ontario	Scotch	Presbyterian		20
H.E Neelands	Ontario	English	Presbyterian	Druggist	22
George Ryan	Ontario	Irish	Methodist	Blacksmith	21
W.H. Saunders	Ireland	Irish	Methodist	Painter	24
George Wishart	Manitoba	English	Methodist	Farmer	22
Walter Wilson	Ontario	English	Church of England	StoreKeeper	29
John Wheeler	Ontario	Irish	Methodist	Shoemaker	23

Associate Members 1892

Name	Birthplace	Ethnicity	Religion	Job	Age
Albert. W Austin	Ontario		Methodist	Railway Manger	33
William Bentley	Ontario		Methodist		20
Robert Nels Barber	England		Church of England		22
John Bayne	Scotland		Presbyterian	Father, Farmer	15
Thomas Clouston	Scotland		Presbyterian	Cashier	30
Collin. J Campbell	Ontario		Presbyterian	Bookstore	20
John Coltart	Scotland		Presbyterian	Clerk	30
Hugh Dalziel	Scotland		Presbyterian	Clerk	32
Thomas Davie	Scotland		Methodist	Milk Dealer	23
William Davie	Scotland		Methodist	Milk Dealer	25
John. S Ewart	Ontario		Presbyterian	Barrister	41
George Garwood	Ontario		Congregationalist	Grocery Store	19
Gilbert. A Henson	England		Church of England	Cashier	24
William Hillman	Prussia		Methodist	Farmer	47
Chas Ed Kerr	Ontario		Presbyterian	Agent	32
Elmer Lightcap	United States of America		Congregationalist	Bookkeeper	20
Alex H. Logan	Manitoba		Church of England	Clerk	18
A.T Lawson	Ontario		Church of England	Accountant	23
Edward Metcalf	England		Methodist	Farmer	43
William Morden	Ontario		Methodist	Labourer	30
Joseph Mitchell	Ontario		Methodist	Blacksmith	40
Robt Thos Riley	England		Methodist	Manager	40
James Rushton	Nova Scotia		Methodist	Farmer	22
Eustace A Smeed	Ontario		Baptist	Clerk	17

James Tees	Ireland		Methodist	Broker	30
Richard Vint	England		Methodist	Farmer	19
Robt. R Wilson	Ireland		Methodist	Bookkeeper	34
Harry Worsley	England		Church of England	Clerk	27
Frank Workman	England		Church of England	Printing Pressman	18

Active Member 1892

Name	Birthplace	Ethnicity	Religion	Job	Age	
John. S Aikins	Ontario		Methodist		41	
James Aikins	Ontario		Methodist	Labourer	22	
Wm. A Allan	Ontario		Baptist	Clerk	27	
Joseph Acton	Scotland		Congregationalist	Merchant	30	
Frank Attwood	United States of America		Methodist		15	
W.D Bayley	Manitoba		Methodist	Student	12	
J.H Brock	Jamaica		Episcopal		41	
Elvin. A Blakely	Ontario		Methodist	Physician	36	
A.F Banfield	Quebec		Methodist	Merchant	38	
Saml. B Blackhall	England		Baptist	Bookkeeper	34	
Angus Brown	Nova Scotia		Presbyterian	Wood Dealer	46	
Edward. T Boyce	England		Church of England	Clerk	25	
WL Brock	Ontario		Episcopal		30	
W. J Baker	England		Methodist	Farmer	27	
Colin. H Campbell	Ontario		Presbyterian	Barrister	30	
Chas. W Clark	New Brunswick		Baptist	Physician	46	
Albt. W Cairns	Quebec		Methodist		36	
Geo. H Campbell	Nova Scotia		Methodist	Agent	32	

C. M Copeland	Ontario		Presbyterian	Secretary	35	
Herbert Crowe	Nova Scotia		Presbyterian	Merchant	34	
Eddie Coleman	Ontario		Church of England	Student	18	
Arthur. W Clark	Ontario		Church of England		22	
William Crook	England		Methodist	Soap Cutter	25	
Joseph Cowan	Ireland		Presbyterian	Lumberman	45	
Robert D Campbell	Ontario		Presbyterian	Book Store	34	
Edwin Cann	Ontario		Methodist	Pattern Maker	35	
John Clinton	Ontario			Student	25	
N. N Cole	England		Methodist		40	
John D Clark	England		Church of England		26	
A.B Cail			Baptist		47	
Wennys S Chisholm	Ontario		Presbyterian	Bank Teller	26	
W.H Deacon	Ontario		Methodist	Tailor	37	
John. Wm Driscoll	Ireland		Methodist		48	
Robt. B Douglas	Ontario		Presbyterian	Clerk	32	
Geo. S Dingle	Ontario		Methodist		19	
Wm. H Dingle	Ontario		Methodist	Labourer	28	
Alfred E Davey	England				18	
Fred E Elliott	Ontario		Methodist	Student	18	
George. G Elliott	Ontario		Methodist	Barrister	23	
Chas. M Eddington	Ontario			Druggist	30	
Ernest. E Elson	Ontario		Methodist	Salesman	22	
James. H Fairchild	Ontario		Presbyterian		42	
John. B Ferguson	Ontario		Methodist	Merchant	40	
Hubert Gill	England		Church of England	Farmer	34	
John Gray	Ireland		Presbyterian	Physician	40	

M.L Grimmett	England		Presbyterian	Barrister	40	
JH Housser	Ontario		Methodist		42	
Wm Hazlet	Ireland		Church of England	Stationer	36	
BF Hillis	Ontario		Congregationalist		30	
Robert Horrell	England		Methodist	Tailor	41	
Charles. H Heartland	England		Church of England		29	
James Humphris	Ontario		Methodist	Agent	26	
John Hardie	Ontario		Presbyterian	Farmer	32	
John Harvey	United States of America		Presbyterian	Farmer	59	
Kenneth. J Jonston	Ontario		Presbyterian		33	
Arbuckle Jardine	Ontario		Episcopal	Bookkeeper	35	
Frank. F Kerr	New Brunswick		Presbyterian	Teacher	30	
Charles Keenleyside	Ontario		Methodist	Agent	34	
Charles Lumsden	Scotland		Presbyterian	Carpenter	34	
Martin Love	Ontario		Methodist	Bookkeeper	30	
Geo Lenton	England		Church of England	Gardener	22	
W. Moise	England		Methodist	Printer	24	
James. B Mitchell	Ontario		Methodist	Printer	25	
Wm. R Mulock	Ontario		Church of England	Barrister	41	
Albert Millin	England		Methodist	Teacher	22	
Duncan MacArthur	Scotland		Presbyterian		50	
JY McNaught	Scotland		Presbyterian	Clerk	32	
Alexr C McRae	Ontario		Presbyterian		27	
James. H McConnell	Ontario		Presbyterian	Brakeman	28	
Fred. J Nixon	Ireland		Church of England	Clerk	30	
Saml. R Persons	Ontario		Methodist	Merchant	36	

W.D Pettigrew	Scotland		Methodist	Merchant	43	
Issac Pitblado	Nova Scotia		Presbyterian	Barrister	24	
John. SB Persses	Ireland		Church of England	Merchant	29	
Walter Pulford	Australia		Presbyterian	Druggist	29	
W.H Parr	Ontario		Methodist	Agent	27	
William Pullar	Scotland		Presbyterian	Photographer	23	
Henry Price	England		Presbyterian		15	
Thos M Parker	England				37	
William Palk	England		Methodist		16	
JK Pickett	Ontario		Methodist		17	
Robt D Richardson	Ontario		Church of England		37	
Edgar Rugg	England		Methodist	Printer	31	
Owen Ross	Ontario		Presbyterian	Barber	47	
Herbert Radford	England		Presbyterian	Writer	28	
Hope. F Ross	Ontario		Presbyterian	Clergyman	24	
John. B somerset	Ireland		Methodist	Manager	46	
Fred. H Stewart	Ontario		Baptist	Clerk	18	
Thos. S Smith	Ontario		Presbyterian		28	
Robt. C Scott	Quebec		Church of England	Clerk	24	
Duncan. D Stewart	Ontario		Presbyterian	Salesman	24	
Fred. J Scott	Ontario		Presbyterian		19	
Wm. L Smith	Ontario		Church of England	Student	22	
Thos. A Smeed	England		Baptist	Clerk	19	
Neil Shaw	Scotland		Presbyterian	Carpenter	40	
Amos Taylor	Quebec		Methodist	Letter Carrier	57	
William Tomalin	England		Methodist	Gardener	38	
H.S Wesbrook	Ontario		Baptist	Merchant	48	
Herbert. W Wadge	Ontario		Methodist		18	

John. P Wadge	Ontario		Methodist		15
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Active Members 1911

Name	Birthplace	Ethnicity	Religion	Job	Age
John. D Cameron	Ontario	Scotch	Presbyterian	Farmer	45
Michael James Cassidy	Ireland	Irish	Catholic		27
William. Jo Aiken	Manitoba	Scotch	Presbyterian	None	14
Arthur Daw	Manitoba	English	Anglican	None	21
Ernest. S Dutton	England	English	Anglican	Bookkeeper	23
George. B Forsyth	Ontario	Scotch	Presbyterian		29
Ellwood Honeyman		Scotch	Baptist	Farmer	15
Leon Ingraham	American		Methodist		33
George. C Maclean	Scotland	Scotch	Presbyterian		23
Dave McCormick	Ontario	Scotch	Presbyterian	Machinist	35
Findley William McKinnon	Ontario	Scotch	Baptist	Student	31
John. A Miller	Ontario	Scotch	Baptist	Farmer	37
Geo. F Penness	England	English	Anglican		23
Arthur Priddy	England	English			26
Sidney Quinton	England	English	Episcopal	Salesman	25
Joseph Rinn	Iceland	Irish	Anglican	Farmer	62
Hoburt Rust	United States of America	German	Presbyterian	Labourer	16
George. W Todhunter	England	English	Presbyterian		26
Edward Gyles	Ontario	English	Anglican	Clerk	18
Jack Hack	England	English	Anglican		28
John. W Johnson	Nova Scotia	Scotch	Presbyterian		29
Hefan. G Stefanson	Iceland	Icelandic	Lutheran		35
William. S Watson	Ontario	Scotch	Presbyterian		21
Frank. S Corley			Anglican		
Chas. C Falconer	New Brunswick	Scotch			32
Bruer. B Jones	Prince Edward Island	English	Presbyterian		24
Stanley Boone	Scotland	Scotch	Presbyterian	Clerk	20

John. T Campbell		Scotch	Scotland	Carpenter	27
Fred. J Alderson	Manitoba	English	Anglican		29
Alvin Baxter	Ontario	American	Methodist	Farmer	59
Robert. J Cameron	Ontario	Scotch	Baptist	Labourer	33
Wesley Fluke	Ontario	Irish	Anglican	Farmer	29
Sigurin. G Goodson		Icelandic	Baptist		16
Charles. W Heart	United States of America		Baptist	Farmer	17
Wm. B Hickman	England	English	Presbyterian		27
William. H Jones	Wales	Welsh	Methodist		31
George McKelney	Manitoba	Irish	Seventh Day Adventist	Farmer	31
William Punkhurst	England	English	Methodist		23
Arthur. G Parker		English	Anglican		27
Harold Pearson	England	English	Anglican		44
Albert Rose	England	English	Anglican		29
Frank. W Suter	England	English	Anglican	Labourer	26
Robert. J Thomson	Ontario	Scotch		Housekeeper	39
Chas. S Walley	England	English			30
Edward. H Williams	Scotland	Scotch	Presbyterian	Bookkeeper	26

Appendix 3
Newsboy Information

Newsboy Basketball Team

Name	Religion	Address
Victor Borax	Catholic	644 Mountain Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2W 1L3
Barney Mogel	Jewish	353 Redwood Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2W 1S3
Nathan Lepkin	Jewish	742 Alfred Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2W 1Y9
George Cuthbert	Presbyterian	783 Beverley St, Winnipeg, MB R3E 2A7
Marcus Trester	Jewish	442 Aberdeen Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2W 1V7
Alexander Hossack	Presbyterian	642 Pritchard Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2W 2K5

Jake Levick	Jewish	49 Aikins St, Winnipeg, MB R2W 2Y3
Louis Hershfield	Jewish	524 Magnus Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2W 2C4
Samuel Fogel	Jewish	666 Manitoba Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2W 2H4
Alec Walters	Jewish	645 Main St, Winnipeg, MB R3B 1E3

News Boy Boxing

Name	Ethnicity	Address
Charles Hershfield	Jewish	524 Magnus Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2W 2C4
Jack Levick	Jewish	49 Aikins St, Winnipeg, MB R2W 2Y3
Frederic O'Leary		446 Ellice Ave, Winnipeg, MB
Morris Striker	Jewish	109 Robinson St, Winnipeg, MB R2W 4C6
Isador Dorfman	Jewish	385 St Johns Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2W 1H5
Raphael Vogel	Jewish	397 Alfred Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2W 1X7

Appendix 4
Team Captain Information

Vaughn Street Team Captains

Name	Ethnicity	Origin	Address	Religion	Occupation
Stanley Pye	English	Nova Scotia	274 Bannerman Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2W 0T7	Methodist	Clerk
Charles Benson	Icelandic	Manitoba	518 Beverley St, Winnipeg, MB R3G 1V2	Lutheran	Father, Lather
Charles E Cloutier	French	Manitoba	478 Langside St, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2T7	Roman Catholic	Clerk
Frederick F Langdale	English	Manitoba	423 Charles St, Winnipeg, MB R2W 4B6	Church of England	Clerk
Charles A Proudfoot	Scotch	Manitoba	630 Balmoral St, Winnipeg, MB	United Church of England	Father, Manager
George Wilcox	English	United States	364 Kennedy St, Winnipeg, MB R3B 3H2	Presbyterian	Sales

Leslie Wheelock	English	England	135 Morier Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2M 0C8	Church of England	
William D McKibbin	Irish	Alberta	1046 McMillan Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3M 0V8		
Linden Gay	English	Manitoba	224 Oak St, Winnipeg, MB R3M 3R4	Methodist	
Earnest Locke	English	Ontario	720 Broadway, Winnipeg, MB R3G 0X1	United Church of England	Bookkeeper
Wynne J Campbell	Scotch	Manitoba	853 Wolseley Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3G 1E1		
James Morley Master	English	Manitoba	1179 Grosvenor Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3M 0N1	United Church of England	Salesman
Forbes A Rankin	Scotch	Manitoba	236 Waterloo St, Winnipeg, MB R3N 0S5	United Church of England	Father, Manager
Mervyn Sprung	English	Manitoba	450 Greenwood Pl, Winnipeg, MB R3G 2P3		
Harold Tucker	English	Manitoba	129 Garfield St S, Winnipeg, MB R3G 2L7	United Church of England	Father, Manager
Eliot Davis	Scotch	Manitoba	829 Grosvenor Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3M 0M3	United Church of England	Father, Lawyer

Merland Collison	Irish	Manitoba	317 Kennedy Ave, Toronto, ON M6P 3C4	Methodist	Father, Electrician
George Hammersley	English	Saskatchewan	357 Carlton St, Winnipeg, MB R3B 1W9		
Gordon Wilcox	English	Saskatchewan	231 Balmoral St, Winnipeg, MB R3C 1X7	United Church of England	
Bruce Dodds	Scotch	Saskatchewan	391 Young St, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2S4	Presbyterian	Clerk
Munro Dale	English	Manitoba	955 Lipton St, Winnipeg, MB R3E 2L7		
Walter Mott	English	Manitoba	129 Maryland St, Winnipeg, MB R3G 1K9	Anglican	Designer
Bruce Laking	English	Manitoba	946 Ingersoll St, Winnipeg, MB R3E 2L9	Church of England	Office boy
John Rezac	English	Manitoba	206 Edmonton St, Winnipeg, MB R3C 1R7		
Howard Boswell	Scotch	Manitoba	286 Berry St, Winnipeg, MB R3J 1N2	Church of England	Clerk
William Palk	English	Manitoba	229 Spence St, Winnipeg, MB R3C 1Y5	United Church of England	Father, Secretary
Edmond D Millican	English	Manitoba	237 Simcoe St, Winnipeg, MB R3G 1V9	Anglican	Clerk

Frederick McRae	Scotch	Manitoba	910 Jessie Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3M 1A8	United Church of England	Auto Garage
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Appendix 5
Boxing Locations

Boxing Location	Latitude	Longitude
Pantages Theatre	49.89901	-97.13774
Old Alhumbra Hall	49.89321	-97.13987
Walker Theatre	49.89571	-97.14338
Winnipeg Amphitheatre	49.88405	-97.15107
Ukrainian Labour Temple	49.91781	-97.14856
Industrial Bureau Exposition Building	49.89354	-97.1371
Canadian Legion	49.89755	-97.13996
YMCA Selkirk	49.91552	-97.1442

Appendix 6
Police in Manitoba

Legend Origin	Origin		ID
	England		1
	Scotland		2
	Ireland		3
	Western Canada		4
	Eastern Canada		5
	Other		6

Legend Religion	Denomination	ID
	United Church of England	1
	Church of England	2
	Presbyterian	3
	Catholic	4
	Other Protestant	5
	Other	6

Legend Ethnicity	Ethnicity	ID
	English	1
	Scotch	2

	Irish	3
	Other	4

Name	Origin	Ethnicity	Religion	Institution
Edward Hewins	1	1	5	N/A
Henry Parr	1	1	2	1
George Edward	2	2	3	N/A
Joseph G, Jenkins	3	3	3	1
Alexander Grieves	2	2	3	N/A
Richard E Flower	1	1	2	N/A
William Ernest Dickson	5	2	1	1
James Semple	3	3	1	1
Jack Jackes Mackay	2	2	3	N/A
Leonard Thacker	1	1	2	RCMP
Charles Klapecki	4	4	4	Provincial
David Sword	2	2	3	Railroad
John Potts	1	1	2	1
Geo Thomas Stokes	5	1	2	1
Jesse Dunkly	1	1	5	Railroad
Arthur W Jaggard	1	1	2	RCMP
Harold Shingleton	1	1	2	1
George Thos, Ormonde	2	2	2	1
Ewen Campbell	2	2	1	N/A
Jean Belletier	5	4	4	RCMP

John Van Dyke	6	4	3	1
James Gray	2	2	3	1
John Edward Lucas	1	1	2	Provincial
Joseph Arthur Boulgue	5	4	4	RCMP
John Oman	2	2	3	N/A
James william Cameron	5	2	5	N/A
Mark Moss	2	2	3	Railroad
George Lowry	5	3	3	Railroad
thomas Graham	3	3	1	Railroad
George Williams	1	1	2	Town/Village/Municipality
Henry James Blundell	4	1	2	1
Jacob Hudy	6	4	4	RCMP
Samuel Shaw	6	3	1	1
William Mac Nullen	3	3	2	1
Robert Foster	4	2	3	Railroad
Clarence W Anderson	4	1	5	RCMP
Arthur Pickering	1	1	2	1
Garfield Hegart	5	3	1	RCMP
William H Shew	3	3	3	N/A
James MacDonald	2	2	3	N/A
Alexander Riddell	2	2	1	1
Alexander Pirie	2	2	3	1
Charles Piper	6	2	3	Railroad
Edward Burke	5	3	4	RCMP
Charles John Bodie	5	2	2	Town/Village/Municipality
Roderick Skinner	2	2	1	N/A

Thomas Ivons Coley	1	1	2	Town/Village/Municipality
Christopher Spurgeon	1	1	4	Railroad
Emile Heyser	6	4	4	N/A
John Long Kelso	3	3	3	1
William L J Maloney	5	3	2	RCMP
Charles Olgivie	5	1	3	1
Walter Cudley	1	1	2	Town/Village/Municipality
John Jonas Samson	6	4	5	Provincial
Alfred Garner	1	1	1	Railroad
Lawson Ferguson	3	3	4	Railroad
Henry Godwin	1	1	5	Railroad
John Scully	5	1	5	Provincial
Clarence Spiers	4	3	3	RCMP
Donald McPhearson	2	2	1	1
Frederick Ralph Bond	1	1	4	1
Fred Bainbridge	1	1	2	Provincial
Frederick Benham	1	1	2	Provincial
Sim F Hall	1	1	5	RCMP
Edward Frederick Putnam	5	1	1	RCMP
William McPherson	2	2	3	N/A
Adam Smith	2	2	3	Railroad
Herbert Hartwell	6	4	2	1
Angus Hulkinson McDonald	2	2	1	1
Frank Millar	1	3	2	N/A
Peter Mitchell	2	2	3	Railroad

Bernard Dowling	1	1	4	N/A	
William Radcliff	1	1	2		1
John H Harmer	1	1	2	Town/Village/Municipality	
Albin W Wickberg	6	4	5		1
Herbert Green	1	1	5	RCMP	
Joseph Mitchell	2	2	3	Provincial	
Leon Elfenson	6	4	6		1
William T Garthard	1	1	5	Town/Village/Municipality	
Henry Edward Thomas Peach	1	1	5	N/A	
Francis E Smith	1	1	2	RCMP	
Rosecoe Burns	4	2	1	Provincial	
John Latimer Elliott	5	2	2	N/A	
James Gregg	3	3	2	Railroad	
Thomas Smith	1	1	1	Railroad	
Stuart Sinclair	2	2	1		1
Robert Dripp	3	3	5	N/A	
Murdo Maciver	2	2	3		1
Maurice Blove	1	1	2	N/A	
John Welmot	1	1	3	RCMP	
James Coubrough	2	2	3	RCMP	
John Garrick	2	2	1	Railroad	
Frederick Totten	1	3	5	Constable	
Thomas B Oxley	1	1	2		1
James Cunliffe	1	1	4	Railroad	
John Albert Hermiston	5	2	1		1

Alfred Voisey	1	1	2	Town/Village/Municipality
Bernard Sheeran	1	1	4	Provincial
Charles Lionel Cragg	1	1	2	1
Charles A Bruce	2	2	1	1
James Watt	2	2	1	N/A
Macolm McKellar	2	2	3	1
Josephat Tradette	4	4	4	Private
Clarence Evanson	6	4	2	RCMP
Jacob R Hanna	4	3	1	RCMP
John Evens	6	4	5	Railroad
John Mahers	1	1	2	Railroad
James P Scott	2	2	3	Railroad
Thomas Mitchell	1	1	1	N/A
John Charles Batch	1	1	2	Provincial
Wm J Buowre	5	3	3	RCMP
Michael Syron	3	3	4	N/A
James M Hobson	5	1	2	RCMP
Arthur Sutherland	4	1	2	1
Thomas Walter Colliss	1	1	2	N/A
Peter Carrabre	3	3	4	1
Robt Burns	4	2	1	1
Alexander Maciver	2	2	3	1
Finlay McDonald	2	2	3	1
Frederick George Paradice	1	1	2	Railroad
Alexander Larouque	4	4	2	RCMP

Verman McNaughton	2	2	3	1
William W Dunan	2	2	1	N/A
James Wales	2	2	1	1
Harry McCuaig	2	2	1	1
James S Ferguson	6	2	5	RCMP
Fredrick Ross McIntyre	4	2	2	RCMP
Mardock J Reid	4	2	3	Railroad
Jas Bolger	5	3	5	Railroad
George Wesley Cook	4	2	3	Railroad
Adelard Pateraude	5	4	4	1
Isaiah Clements	5	3	5	Town/Village/Municipality
John Adams	3	3	3	1
Alfred Thomas Badd	4	1	1	Railroad
Sidney Murray	5	2	1	Provincial
John collins	4	1	2	Parks Board
Robert A Foster	4	2	3	Railroad
James Edwards	4	2	1	RCMP
Patrick O'Brien	6	4	5	Railroad
Alexander Geddes	2	2	3	N/A
Frank Barrd	4	1	2	1
Alexander Duncan	2	2	1	N/A
John Knox	3	3	2	1
Robert Arthur Walker	1	1	5	Provincial
William Froser	2	2	5	1
Olna Roy Butner	6	4	4	1

Albert J C Stamour	5	4	4	RCMP
Adrien Desautees	4	4	4	1
Edward Calder	2	2	3	1
John Thomas Bergin	6	3	4	Railroad
John Stein	3	3	1	N/A
Robert Russell	2	2	3	N/A
william John Charne	6	4	4	Provincial
Maurice Lucid	5	3	2	1
Clarence Alexander Anderson	5	2	1	1
Robert Still	2	2	1	1
Walter George Kemble	1	1	2	Town/Village/Municipality
Peter Charleton	1	1	2	1
David Little	3	3	3	1
Frederick Gillingham	1	1	2	N/A
Wm H Owens	5		2	1
Ellis Graham	4	2	2	RCMP
L D Scammell	4	1	2	Railroad
Albert E Burhell	1	1	1	Town/Village/Municipality
Daniel Cooke	2	2	3	Provincial
Peter Hodjson	5	1	1	Railroad
Joesph Brune	5	4	4	N/A
Frank Rogal	4	4	2	Provincial
Wallace a Johnston	4	3	3	RCMP
William James Hardy	3	3	3	N/A
Arthur F C Ludor	1	1	2	RCMP

Joesph J Webb	3	3	2	Railroad
Alexander Clegham	2	2	3	1
William Mitchell	2	2	3	N/A
Herbert Dickenson	1	1	2	Provincial
James Milton	2	2	3	Town/Village/Municipality
Frank R Beehan	1	1	2	N/A
Germain Guilbert	5	4	4	N/A
Harry McPhail	5	2	3	1
Reginald Alcock	1	1	2	RCMP
Robert Grant	2	2	3	1
Charles Alfred Huett	1	1	1	Town/Village/Municipality
John Molloy	3	3	4	N/A
Joseph Thomas	6	4	4	N/A
Charles Thain	2	2	1	Town/Village/Municipality
John V Johnson	6	4	5	N/A
Adelard Guay	4	4	4	Town/Village/Municipality
George Robert Wishart	4	2	1	N/A
William Farley	1	4	2	Town/Village/Municipality
David Johnstone Brims	2	2	1	N/A
Helgi Albertson	6	4	5	Town/Village/Municipality
Jacob Hoogoven	6	4	1	Railroad
William Traquair	4	2	3	Railroad
John George Shaw	3	3	2	Provincial
Reginald Alfred Robinson	4	4	1	RCMP

Robert Weer	2	2	3	N/A
Walter Barratt	1	1	2	N/A
Archie L Outerson	2	2	3	Provincial
Oliver Marshall	2	2	1	N/A
Charles R Geardes	2	2	3	1
William Slimmon	5	2	3	Town/Village/Municipality
Joseph Fredrick Bellancy	1	1	2	RCMP
Malcom McDonald	2	2	3	Town/Village/Municipality
G W Snider	4	4	2	N/A
John Herbert Middleton	4	1	1	Town/Village/Municipality
Thomas Peter Kirk	3	3	4	Provincial
Milton Waters	6	4	1	1
Allan G Philips	5	1	1	Railroad
James Sloan	3	3	1	1
John George Sheilds	1	1	3	1
James Smith	2	2	3	Railroad
Gustave St Germain	4	4	4	1
Alexr Gwynee	3	3	1	1
Sylvia Bjarnason	4	4	5	N/A
Malcom McGoor	2	2	1	N/A
Harry Harrod	1	1	3	1
James Robert Johnston	5	2	1	Railroad
George Ernest Boal	3	3	3	Town/Village/Municipality
Samuel Coaper	1	1	2	Town/Village/Municipality
Sidney Frank Woodward	1	1	2	Provincial

Victory Ayres	5	1	1	1
Thomas Newton	1	1	2	Provincial
William Carson	2	2	3	1
James Campbell	3	3	3	N/A
Kenneth Mills	4	1	2	1
Frank Love	5	3	1	Railroad
James Beattie	2	2	3	N/A
John Haud	1	1	1	1
Adfred Edwin Price	1	1	2	1
Charles Lanceley	1	1	3	Railroad
Lawrence Holmes	5	3	1	Provincial
Samuel Purwis	3	3	2	Railroad
William W Morrice	4	1	5	Railroad
Ernest Lusty	1	1	2	1
Leonard Smith	6	2	2	1
Alexander Taylor	3	3	3	Town/Village/Municipality
Arthur Wiede	4	4	2	RCMP
Iasa A McNair	5	3	1	N/A
John H Reeves	1	1	2	1
James Mulvaney	5	3	4	1
Tom Kingdon	1	1	2	1
John Felde	6	4	5	N/A
Geo Reid	2	2	2	N/A
Robert Walker	3	3	5	Town/Village/Municipality
Ernest Dobbs	1	1	2	1
William McMeikan	2	2	5	Provincial
Edwin Simms	1	1	2	1

Forrest Tammersley	1	1	2	1
Donald McRitchie	2	2	3	1
William Milner	2	2	3	Railroad
William McKayseff	4	4	6	Provincial
John Anelac	6	4	4	Provincial
James H Clement	2	2	2	Railroad
Andrew Dunn	3	3	3	1
William Dunn	1	1	1	Town/Village/Municipality
James Graham	5	2	3	Town/Village/Municipality
Joseph Alexander	2	2	3	Railroad
David Budge	2	2	1	Railroad
John Sydney Crooksbachs	6	4	2	Provincial
James Burton	4	1	3	N/P
Donald MacDonald	2	2	4	1
Earnest Wareham	1	1	2	1
Harold Glendinning	6	2	1	1
George Rockey	5	1	2	1
John Kendall	1	1	2	1
Thomas Minshull	1	1	5	1
James Smyth	3	3	1	1
Saml E Siple	4	3	3	1
Graaf Peter Vander	6	4	5	1
Thomas J Stephenson	1	1	2	1
Herbert Stephen Lett	1	3	5	Provincial
Murdock Tillies	2	2	1	1

Raymond Ives	1	1	5		1
John James Jones	6		1	Railroad	
Charles Boswell	2	2	3		1
Joseph Mullholland	3	3	1		1
Matthew Lempson Shirkee	2	2	3	Provincial	
Donald Hooper	4	2	2	N/A	
Hugh Munro	2	2	5		1
Angus McIver	2	2	3	N/A	
Ernest Allan Bailey	1	1	2	Provincial	
John Christien	1	1	2	N/A	
William Collier	1	1	1	Town/Village/Municipality	
Ernest Cleagg Nuttall	1	1	2	Railroad	
Henry G Bond	1	1	2	Railroad	
Fred Hill	6	4	5	N/A	
Thomas Collister	6	1	2	Provincial	
James Beck	3	1	5	N/A	
Edmund Stanley	3	3	1	Railroad	
William C Linton	3	3	3		1
James Darwin	1	1	3	RCMP	
Joseph Anderson	2	2	3		1
Nelson Buhr	6	4	1		1
Nick Lyssey	6	4	4	Provincial	
Donald Sinclair	2	2	1		1
Fred W Whitmarsh	1	1	5	Provincial	
Chas Gee	1	1	5	N/A	
Oliver Matheson	5	2	3		1

Ernest Depaiva	1	1	4	N/A
Robt W Patton	3	3	3	1
Herbert Evens	5	1	2	Town/Village/Municipality
Norman Gateson	1	1	5	Provincial
Henry Cuss	4	4	5	N/A
Oliver Snowling	1	1	1	N/A
Benjamin Payne	1	1	2	1
Angus McKay	2	2	3	1
Robert Kirkhope	2	2	3	Railroad
Charles Maciver	2	2	3	1
John Caghill	2	2	3	1
Earle Tisher Gunter	5	1	5	Town/Village/Municipality
John Uprichard	3	3	5	N/A
George Bodley	1	1	2	1
William Percival Rosentreder	1	1	2	Town/Village/Municipality
George E Blow	1	1	1	N/A
William Johnston	3	3	2	1
william Barry	1	3	4	1
John Hogan	4	3	4	N/A
James S Mulholland	3	3	3	1
John Edward Curry	3	3	2	Railroad
Carl Tangstod	6	4	5	1
James Paddison	5	2	5	1
Thomas Beeby	1	1	5	1
Harry Wilks	1	1	2	Railroad
William A Milton	4	2	3	1

William Grant	2	2	1	1
Alex McDonald	2	2	3	1
Henry W Lambert	4	2	1	Railroad
Elmar Wilson	5	2	1	N/A
Robert Taft	5	2	1	1
William L McIntyre	5	2	4	1
David Hamilton	2	2	3	1
Thos Ellis Seddon	1	1	2	N/A
John Aird Aitken	2	2	2	Railroad
Donald Macdonald	2	2	3	Railroad
William Wood	2	2	1	1
James M Emslie	2	2	3	1
Allen Uray Anderson	4	2	5	N/A
John Humphris	1	1	2	Railroad
James Gray	2	2	3	1
Robert Dunn	6	3	5	1
William Brown	2	2	3	N/A
James Maitland	2	2	3	Provincial
George Rowe	4	2	1	1
David McIntosh	2	2	3	1
John R Watson	3	3	1	N/A
Reginald Fisher	1	1	2	1
John Robertson	2	2	3	N/A
Benjamin Newcombe	1	1	2	1
John Hibbert	1	1	1	Town/Village/Municipality
Stewart Cameron	2	2	3	N/A

Samuel Kollock	2	2	3	Railroad	
Cecil Bayfield	1	1	5	Provincial	
James Speed	2	2	3		1
Alexander Martin	3	3	3	Provincial	
William Morley	1	1	5	N/A	
Brenton Kilcup	5	2	5		1
Edward Dixon	1	1	2		1
George McBeth	2	2	3		1
John Renber Cumming	4	2	3		1
Thomas Johnstone	4	2	3		1
John W Duxbury	1	1	2		1
William A Addis	3	3	5	N/A	
Alexander Watters	2	3	4		1
Dick Clarke	1	1	2	N/A	
Earnest Brautigan	4	4	1		1
Harold Sundrist	5	4	5	RCMP	
Thomas Dundee	3	3	3		1
Charles Fyfe	3	3	2	Provincial	
James Forbes	2	2	3		1
Herbert Walter	1	1	2	N/A	
William Neunham	1	1	2		1
Frank Stanley Hull	1	1	2		1
Charles Lorimer	2	2	1		1
Charles John Harry Vinn	1	1	2		1
Robert Bramwell	1	1	2		1
Ernest Alexander	2	2	3	N/A	

Charles Shea	5	3	4	Railroad	
Michel Andrusiak	6	4	4	N/A	
John Graham	2	2	3	Railroad	
Wilfred Graham	4	2	2		1
Henry A Sleaman	1	1	5		1
Lewis C Ingram	1	1	5		1
George Alston	2	2	1	Railroad	
John McSween	5	2	4		1
Otto Swedlund	6	4	5	Railroad	
William Allen Morrison	2	2	1		1
Arthur Wood	1	1	1	Provincial	
Francis Miller	4	2	3		1
Godfrey Alcock	3	3	5	Railroad	
David Casey	3	1	2	Provincial	
Charles Wheeler	1	1	2		1
Ludivor Thwaites	6	1	2	RCMP	
Joesph Bagley	1	1	2	N/A	
Joseph LH Hamm	5	1	2	Railroad	
Rudolph Risch	4	4	1	Provincial	
Charles Wm McQuellan	3	3	2		1
Alexander B Dixon	5	3	3	Provincial	
Max Christian Scheer	5	4	5	N/A	
Mark Leslie West	1	1	2	N/A	
Walter B Knowles	1	1	1		1
Almer H Houston	5	3	2	Town/Village/Municipality	

George Ingram	2	2	3	Town/Village/Municipality
Ewen Campbell	2	2	3	Town/Village/Municipality
thomas Donald	2	2	3	N/A
William Bannerman	2	2	3	Provincial
Robert Condie	2	2	1	Provincial
Gordon Burnett	4	2	1	Town/Village/Municipality
George Clifford	1	1	5	RCMP
James Newman	1	1	1	Provincial
Robert Wm Agar	1	1	3	Railroad
William Scott	2	2	3	Town/Village/Municipality
G Wilson	2	2	1	N/A
Wilfred Hatch	4	1	2	N/A
John Anthony Clack	2	2	4	N/A
Robert Forbes	5	2	2	Town/Village/Municipality
John Nelson	3	3	2	N/A
Emanuel Albeck	6	4	1	Provincial
Herman Poersch	6	4	5	N/A
George A Renton	2	2	1	Provincial
Wilfred Brune	5	3	4	Railroad
James Nelville	2	2	3	Provincial
James Grahame	5	2	2	N/A
James Semple	3	3	1	1
Robert Burdge	2	2	3	Provincial
Archibald Goucher	4	1	2	N/A
John Potts	1	1	2	1

Alexander Chrisholm Mells	5	2	3		1
David Mitchell	2	2	1	Railroad	
Peter Cafferby	3	1	4		1
William Calder	2	2	3		1
Billy Hintz	5	2	3		1
John Van Dyke	6	4	3		1
James anderson Browne	3	3	3	N/A	
George C Hardpell	4	3	3	Provincial	
Archibald Bridges	2	2	3		1
Cornelus Rog Rogers	1	1	1	N/A	
Robert Smith	1	1	2	Provincial	
Alexander Fennie	2	2	1		1
Michael Patrick McDonald	3	3	4	Provincial	
B Uno Herling	6	4	5		1
George Bowes	4	1	1	N/A	
Aickens	3	3	5	Provincial	
Josephe H Beaudry	6	4	4		1
Charles Piper	6	2	3	Railroad	
Donald Maciver	2	2	3		1
Adam Edward Ross	5	2	1	Provincial	
Andrew Davidson	2	2	3		1
John Charles Bodie	5	2	2	Town/Village/Municipality	
David Nicklesson	2	2	3	N/A	
Dan M McKenzie	5	1	1		1

Charles Winton	1	1	1	Provincial
Alex C Fraser	5	2	3	N/A
John Fleming	4	2	1	N/A
Harry Reeves	5	2	3	Provincial
Frederick Gibson	2	2	2	1
Donald McMillan	2	2	3	1
James Painter	1	1	2	N/A
Richard Dietrich Tows	6	4	2	Provincial
Alexander Thom	2	2	1	N/A
Fred Bainbridge	1	1	2	Provincial
Ernest Afwell	1	1	2	Railroad
Robert Nicholas	1	1	2	Provincial
Alex Patterson	2	2	1	Town/Village/Municipality
Andrew Mackenzie	2	2	3	1
Robert Hawkins	1	1	5	Town/Village/Municipality
Harry E Rose	5	1	1	N/A
John D Summers	3	3	5	Provincial
David Decuyper	6	4	4	Town/Village/Municipality
Philip Stark	3	3	1	1
Albert Boncey	1	1	2	Provincial
George William Coleman	1	1	2	N/A
Charles Olson	6	4	5	1
Andrew Gibson	2	2	3	1
Wm Coghill	2	2	3	1
Gordon Ellwyn	4	1	1	N/A

Frederick Besant	5	1	1	Town/Village/Municipality
Alfred Manning	1	1	2	1
James Macdowell	3	3	1	1
James Boulton	5	3	1	N/A
Radnar Swanson	3	4	5	N/A
William Henderson	2	2	3	1
Alex D Johnstone	3	3	2	1
Frank Swaffer	1	1	2	N/A
Fredic Wilcock	4	1	3	Railroad
Percy Riley	3	3	2	Provincial
Celin Mackenzie	2	2	3	1
Warren Larry	4	3	1	1
Leslie R Atkins	1	1	2	Provincial
Ligaer John	6	4	5	N/A
George Rose Smith	2	2	1	Town/Village/Municipality
James Watt	2	2	1	N/A
Robert Rankin	3	3	1	Provincial
William Johnston McIntrye	5	2	1	N/A
Roderick McDonald	5	2	4	1
Stanley Hunt	1	1	2	1
James Y Swifte	3	3	2	Provincial
Albert I W Pritchard	1	1	2	Railroad
Gordon Campbell	2	2	3	1
Eric W Scott	1	1	2	Provincial
William Franklin	1	1	2	Railroad
Mark Goldie	4	1	5	RCMP
Henry Portman	1	1	2	N/A

Robert Anderson	2	2	3	N/A	
Wyndham Rees	1	1	5	Railroad	
Lindley Hatten Metcalfe	4	1	1	Provincial	
Anard Ravatn	6	4	2		1
Verman McNaughton	2	2	3		1
Shirley Killington	4	1	1	N/A	
Robert George Pickrell	1	1	1	Railroad	
George P Jamieson	2	2	1	Town/Village/Municipality	
Mardock J Reid	4	2	3	Railroad	
William E S Dickson	2	2	1		1
Octave Supune	6		4	N/A	
Evan Roberts	6	4	1	Railroad	
Wilton Bagot Gray	6	2	2	Provincial	
George Goodhue	5	4	1	Railroad	
Henry Raymond Jenkin	1	1	2	Provincial	
Harold Edmund Fox	1	1	2		1
Albert F Bryden	1	2	2	N/A	
John Craig	3	3	2		1
Harold Worthington	1	1	2	Railroad	
Herbert R Welsford	1	1	2	N/A	
James Montgomery	2	3	1		1
Rodolphe Bessitte	5	4	4		1
Hugh C Newton	1	1	1		1
William Miller	1	1	2	Provincial	

William Stathers	1	1	4	Railroad
George McConnell	3	3	2	Town/Village/Municipality
Ernest Betteridge	1	1	2	1
James Dawson Owens	5	3	2	Provincial
John Mackintosh	2	2	3	Railroad
Robf S McFadyean	2	2	3	1
Leonard Davies	4	1	5	N/A
John Little	3	3	2	N/A
John Scholta	5	4	1	Town/Village/Municipality
George Archibald Marshall	3	1	2	N/A
Thomas Graham	2	2	3	1
George Burnett	2	2	3	1
Henry Everett	1	1	4	N/A
Samue Weir	3	3	3	Railroad
Clara Donaldson	5	2	4	1
Thomas F Coulthard	1	1	2	Railroad
F W Mastin	5	2	1	N/A
Cornelius Sawatzky	6	4	5	Provincial
John Fredrick Klassen	4	4	1	RCMP
John Molloy	3	3	4	N/A
Edward Charles Richard	1	1	5	RCMP
Percy A Valder	1	1	2	Provincial
W H Brown	5	1	1	Provincial
Howard M Mier	4	2	5	Provincial
Rudolph Schepers	6	4	4	Provincial

H A Stewart	4	2	3	RCMP
William Milligan	2	2	3	Provincial
J W R Sutherland	2	2	3	Provincial
Donovan Charles Saul	1	1	2	RCMP
Walter O Lanson	4	4	5	Provincial
John Kerr	2	2	1	Provincial
Robert Weer	2	2	3	N/A
Walter Barratt	1	1	2	N/A
Paul Behr	6	4	5	Town/Village/Municipality
Alexander M Spenger	2	2	2	Provincial
Earnest Gilpin	3	3	2	RCMP
George M Coghill	2	2	1	Town/Village/Municipality
Frank Millar	5	3	1	Provincial

Appendix 7
Winnipeg City Police Amateur Athletic Association Board

Name	Origin	Ethnicity	Religion	Income	Address
John S Patrick	England	English	Church of England	2300	522 Furby St, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2V8
Thomas J Stephenson	England	English	Church of England	1500	531 Ingersoll St, Winnipeg, MB R3G 2J5
Charles Boswell	Scotland	Scotch	Presbyterian	1900	464 Spence St, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2R7
Reginald Fisher	England	English	Church of England	1800	587 Atlantic Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2W 0S2
Harry A Alexander	Scotland	Scotch	Presbyterian	2280	635 Valour Rd, Winnipeg, MB R3G 3A8
Angus Hulkinson McDonald	Scotland	Scotch	United Church of England	1950	614 Jubilee Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3L 1P3
William L McIntyre	Prince Edward Island	Scotch	Roman Catholic	1900	780 Ingersoll St, Winnipeg, MB R3G 2J8
Howard K Sellers	England	English	United Church of England	1866	354 Campbell St, Winnipeg, MB R3N 1B7
Samuel Shaw	New Zealand	Irish	United Church of England	1750	166 Matheson Ave E, Winnipeg, MB R2W 0C5
John Knox	Ireland	Irish	Church of England	1920	615 Jessie Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3L 0R1
Hugh Munro	Scotland	Scotch	Baptist	1924	373 Stradbrook Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3L 0J7

Iasa a McNair	Quebec	Irish	United Church of England	1850	393 Polson Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2W 0N3
Fred E Law	England	English	United Church of England	2220	290 Niagara St, Winnipeg, MB R3N 0V4
Robert Bramwell	England	English	Church of England	1900	210 Ruby St, Winnipeg, MB R3G 2E2
Ernest William Dickson	Ontario	Scotch	United Church of England	1800	10 Balmoral St, Winnipeg, MB R3C 1X2
John Uprichard	Ireland	Irish	Anglican	1800	701 Rosedale Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3L 1J9
John Long Kelso	Ireland	Irish	Presbyterian	1956	728 Lipton St, Winnipeg, MB R3E 2L3
Jack Bishop	England	English	Church of England	2126	241 Atlantic Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2W 0R1
Charles Lorimer	Scotland	Scotch	United Church of England	1965	999 Sherburn St, Winnipeg, MB R3E 2M7
Alexander Duncan	Scotland	Scotch	United Church of England	1800	377 Alfred Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2W 1X7
Ewan Campbell	Scotland	Scotch	United Church of England	1800	135 Alfred Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2W 1X2
John W Duxbury	England	English	Church of England	1850	1392 Alexander Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3E 1L4
Benjamin Newcombe	England	English	Church of England	1824	551 Charles St, Winnipeg, MB R2W 4C3
William G Deegan	Ontario	Irish	United Church of England	1950	1000 Main St, Winnipeg, MB R2W 3P7
Alexander Geddes	Scotland	Scotch	Presbyterian	1860	51 Riverside Dr, Winnipeg, MB R3T 0G3
William C Linton	Ireland	Irish	Presbyterian	1740	715 Polson Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2W 0P5
Macolm McKellar	Scotland	Irish	Presbyterian	1867	379 Boyd Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2W 1P4
David Mercer	Scotland	Scotch	Presbyterian	2200	591 Bannerman Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2W 0V8

Peter McCaffrey	Scotland	Scotch	United Church of England	2280	322 Morley Ave., Winnipeg, MB R3L 0Y5
James Beattie	Scotland	Scotch	Presbyterian	1848	381 Cathedral Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2W 0X9
James Bruton	Ireland	Irish	Roman Catholic	2196	7 Lily St, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2L7
Finlay McDonald	Scotland	Scotch	Presbyterian	1800	586 Corydon Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3L 0P2
George McBeth	Scotland	Scotch	Presbyterian	2028	370 Union Ave W, Winnipeg, MB R2L 0C8
Alex McDonald	Scotland	Scotch	Presbyterian	1800	470 Tweed Ave, Winnipeg, MB R2L 0V9
Robert Taft	Nova Scotia	Scotch	United Church of England	1950	659 Jessie Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3M 0Z3
James William Camerson	Ontario	Scotch	Christian Science	1956	659 Jessie Ave, Winnipeg, MB R3M 0Z3

