

## Reading Frank Grace's *Record*: Life Writing and Lacrosse in Early Twentieth-Century Canada

Andrew C. Holman

Bridgewater State University

This essay assesses the merits of life writing in sport history as it is represented in one rare document, the *Record*, a diary-notebook-scrapbook constructed by lacrosse player Frank J. Grace (1878–1954) beginning in 1907. A talented athlete, Grace was a professional “tourist” who suited up for teams in Ottawa, Hamilton, Toronto, Chatham, Orillia, and Winnipeg during the twilight of Canadian lacrosse; that is, in the years preceding World War I. The highlight of Grace’s career was his selection to the All-Canada Lacrosse Team that traveled to play 16 games against teams in Australia in July and August of 1907, which prompted him to begin recording his life in the sport. This study makes sense of the *Record* by examining its making as an historical document, by placing it in the context of its times, and by interpreting the story it tells about Grace’s life in the game.

**Keywords:** lacrosse, life writing, diary keeping, international sport tours

*History is the story we make of the stories we find.<sup>1</sup>*

On the surface, this article undertakes a modest scholarly endeavor. It offers an analysis of a single historical document, a bound and lined notebook (or “scribbler”) generically titled *Record*, and the sporting world in which it was generated. Its author and compiler is Frank J. Grace, an Irish-Catholic electrician born in the Ottawa Valley town of Arnprior, Ontario, Canada, in 1878. By the time he died in Toronto in 1954, he had lived a busy life, much of it on the move as a vagabond lacrosse player in several towns and cities—Ottawa, Hamilton, Toronto, Chatham, Orillia, and Berlin (Ontario) and Winnipeg (Manitoba)—and as a lacrosse coach at the United States Military Academy in West Point, New York. The highlight of Grace’s career was being selected as one of the 15 men who made up the All-Canada Lacrosse Team that traveled to play 16 games against teams in Australia in July and August of 1907. Grace was an exceptionally talented athlete, a sometimes

professional player at the time when his sport eclipsed all others in Canada in importance and notoriety. Lacrosse was at the center of his identity. Between 1899 and 1928, it was how he spent his leisure time and supplemented his wages, and throughout his life it was how he was identified in the press.

Frank Grace’s *Record* is the repository of his life in lacrosse. It should interest Canadian sport historians because of its insight into early twentieth-century sport, but also because of its nature. As an artifact, it is both complicated and rare. Part diary, part notebook, part scrapbook, it presents the historian a series of fragments of events and images, a mosaic with missing pieces, a story with silences in the interstices among its parts. It presents an exciting interpretive challenge.<sup>2</sup> Its value as a source rises when we consider that life writing among sportsmen before 1920 is scarce—especially among lacrosse players. And though scholars such as Donald Fisher, Don Morrow, and Alan Metcalfe have pieced together the grand narrative of Canadian lacrosse’s mercurial rise and precipitous fall from 1870 to 1920, the literature tells us little about the individual experiences of the game’s players, managers, and supporters in these years.<sup>3</sup> Grace’s *Record* provides one man’s perspective on the lacrosse world just after it had reached its zenith of popularity in Canada, at a time when the tensions between amateurism and professionalism and competition for local athletic allegiances from baseball had begun to sunder it.

This essay pursues two avenues. It is, first, an exercise in historical methodology, an assessment of the form and functions of Grace’s *Record* (and life writing and recording more generally) as a useful source in early twentieth-century Canadian sport history. Second, this essay interprets the *Record*’s narrative and pieces together the story it tells about Grace’s life in the game, and about the game in his life. In what he wrote, in what he collected, Frank Grace articulated a complex identity marked by a series of seeming conflicts or incongruities. An Irish-Catholic nationalist in a loyal Dominion of the British Empire, a locally minded colonial striving to engage the world, he was, at the same time, a would-be gentleman with a rough side to his character. Ethnicity, parochialism, class: these sources of consciousness bound and gave meaning to his world. The *Record* is a book of Grace’s life in sport, and we can read its hodgepodge character as a reflection of the author’s identity. It tells us a good deal about who he thought he was, both when he began his account in 1907 and for decades thereafter.

### The *Record* as Object

Frank Grace’s *Record* is on display behind glass in a locked cabinet at the Ontario Lacrosse Hall of Fame in St. Catharines, a city that has a long and celebrated history in that sport.<sup>4</sup> How it arrived there is forgotten. Its accession note reads “Provenance Unknown,” and the date of its donation to the Hall of Fame was never recorded. In a space that is dominated by colorful team sweaters, trophies, and photographs, the *Record* is easily missed. Opened to one page of its contents and given the caption “Journal of Frank Grace, Team Canada Member,” it appears in the museum as a remnant of, or prop to, the story of the 1907 All-Canada team tour, which is presented perfunctorily.<sup>5</sup>

The author is with the Canadian Studies Program, Bridgewater State University, Bridgewater, MA. Please address author correspondence to Andrew Holman at [a2holman@bridgew.edu](mailto:a2holman@bridgew.edu)



The book is a standard 6 × 9, 200-page, number-printed, and bound notebook of the sort that anyone might have purchased in any Canadian stationery shop in the early twentieth century. It is a fragile artifact (Figure 1). Held together with tape, its binding is dry and brittle. It bears the marks of having been used and reused in its early life, occasionally revisited, then stored for a long time.<sup>6</sup> Its first 92 pages are a travel diary that Grace kept to document his experiences as a member of the 1907 All-Canada team. But for years thereafter, Grace continued to use the *Record* as a general collection space for notes, and pasted in it six photographs, three letters and 57 newspaper clippings, almost all of which had some connection to the people he met or places he had visited through lacrosse.

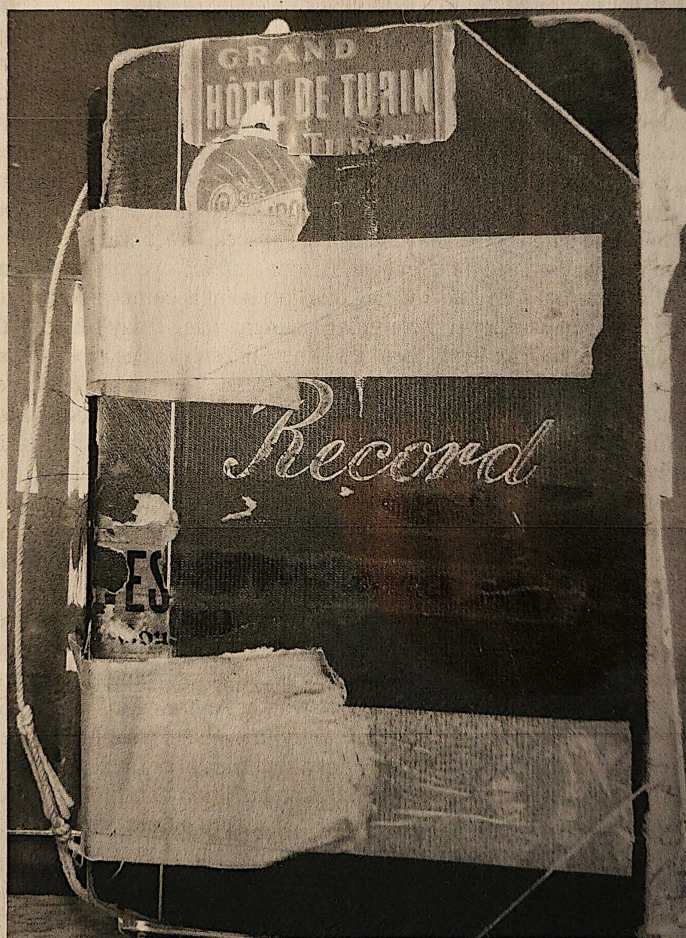


Figure 1 — Cover of Frank Grace's *Record*, Ontario Lacrosse Hall of Fame, St. Catharines, Ontario.

The *Record's* value and limitations as an historical source stem from two important considerations: its context and its significance. Reimagining the context of the making of Frank Grace's *Record* is tricky. Nowhere in the book does he openly acknowledge his motivation for keeping a diary. The book has neither a given title nor a self-conscious narrative opening or ending. It begins unceremoniously: "June 9th 1907. Left Winnipeg on All-Canadian Team for Australia on Sunday eve at 10 oclock & arrived in Regina at 9 A.M." The diary's last written entry is equally mundane: "May 1st 1919. Got laid up with rheumatism . . ."<sup>7</sup> The entries in between are all similarly straightforward reportage. Still, the book was purposefully composed. It was not an omnibus storage folder in which he dumped things randomly. He seems to have written it, and then placed and glued in every piece of ephemera with care—deliberate acts of personal commemoration.

The diary section of the *Record* follows several customs and conventions of diary keeping in that day. Each entry begins with a date, which sometimes appears as a header, but most often in the book's ruled margin. Also entered in the margin were longitudes and latitudes during the voyages to and from Australia, locations the team visited, and game scores. Judging from the consistency in handwriting and ink color, this seems to have been done at the same time the diary entries were written, and not as an editorial gloss or afterthought. Fond of run-on sentences, Grace often ended a complete thought with a period, but then added an ampersand and continued on with another subject. In a few places, Grace was unhappy with a word or phrase he used and blotted it out. His run-ons and overstruck text indicate that the diary was not redrafted and that this document accompanied him to Australia. Grace wrote his diary in the evenings, summarizing a day's events, though occasionally more intermittently than that, where his entries describe two or three days' doings. He wrote well and in a clear, deliberate, seemingly unhurried and consistent hand (Figure 2); only rarely does it appear awkward or askew, as when he was committing his daily account onboard a rattling westbound Australian train.

These traits provide us with food for speculation as to Grace's intent. The diary's order and tidiness could be a reflection of the author's personality, but they may point to other aims. Though unmarried and living on his own at the time he began the *Record*, he may have created it for posterity—his future family's benefit. Alternatively, he may have wished to publish its contents either serially, as a correspondent to Canadian newspapers as the tour progressed, or later as a summary piece.<sup>8</sup> There is very little in the document that is openly or expressively self-critical. Unlike nineteenth-century workers' autobiographies or diaries, such as the one written by roving Scottish craftsworker Andrew McIlwraith, Grace's diary rarely steps outside of the narrative to try to evaluate what has happened to him or to impose meaning on it.<sup>9</sup> It was not a sentimental or overtly introspective exercise; it lacks that sort of candor and has no ambition to be a kind of running tally of self-improvement or moral progress. That very purple genre of Victorian diary keeping had fallen out of fashion and widespread use by 1907.

What the *Record* does offer is significant in part because of its rarity as a source.<sup>10</sup> The amount of life writing produced by sportsmen and sportswomen since the beginning of organized sport in mid-nineteenth-century North America is strikingly small, either because athletes did not write much or because what they did write has tended not to survive. Among the life writing that does survive, the



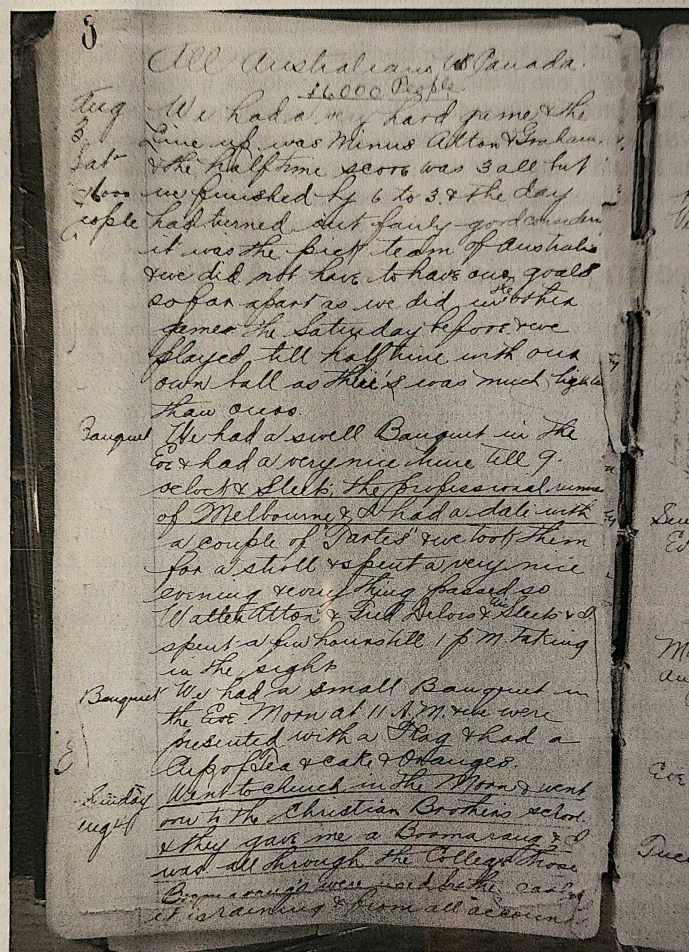


Figure 2 — Grace's Record, entries for August 3 and 4, 1907.

most conspicuous, perhaps, is the published athlete-cum-journalist type of writing, some of it in the form of sportsmen on international tours acting as "special correspondents" to home newspapers.<sup>11</sup> More numerous are the many newspaper columns, magazine exposé pieces, and full-blown autobiographies and memoirs published by ex-jocks. All of these come to us as edited, clipped, and mediated sources—public pieces prepared for mass audiences, sometimes advocating a political position or an administrative reform. As sport scholar Matthew Taylor has argued, "Historians have generally been loath to treat the self-narrative of an individual life as anything more than a somewhat dubious form of source material . . . to be approached with suspicion."<sup>12</sup> Diaries are different. While no historical

source is ever "raw" or unbiased, historians have long held in special regard private manuscript records, the sort that are stored in archives and museum collections and, in the digital age, have been less likely to be made accessible electronically. Grace's Record is one of those—privately produced, not seemingly "pitched" to anyone, and, probably, intended to be kept confidential. It is, like the 1905 diary of Harvard football coach Bill Reid—edited, annotated, and published by sport historian Ronald Smith more than 20 years ago—"an intimate view of turn-of-the-century . . . athletics . . . a fortuitous sport discovery."<sup>13</sup>

## Reading around the Record: A Life in Lacrosse

When Frank Grace began documenting his life in June 1907, he was a 28-year-old resident of Winnipeg who had relocated there from Orillia, Ontario, in the fall of 1906, likely pursuing a lead for work and invitations to suit up for one of the local senior teams.<sup>14</sup> It was the latest of many moves for him; he never stayed in one place for very long. In the early 1900s, Grace was a lacrosse transient, a bachelor "tourist" who traveled across Ontario as a seasonal hired hand for teams and towns looking to make their names in the national sport. The third of nine children, he was born in 1878 to James and Catherine Grace, who made their home in the Ottawa River lumber town of Arnprior, 42 miles west of the national capital. Frank must have learned the game there, among a group of young athletes who called themselves the Beavers Lacrosse Club and who earned a reputation in the Ottawa Valley for their rough, slogging, and sometimes ungentlemanly style of play. Grace was in uniform in a June 1900 Beavers game against Perth in which his team, one account published in the *Ottawa Citizen* complained, engaged in "heavy body and stick checking . . . considerable tripping" and the "cowardly" practice of throwing "the ball out of bounds at every chance in order to kill time."<sup>15</sup> The Arnprior boys were tough, a "sturdy lot."<sup>16</sup> A 1901 team photograph reflects the team's cultivated demeanor: untidy, mismatched, defiant—only one of the 13 players is smiling.<sup>17</sup> In the same year, Grace began his sporting travels. First, he moved east to Ottawa, where he found work as an electrician, lodging in a boarding house. Then, in May 1901, he found a place on the Ottawa Young Capitals lacrosse team.<sup>18</sup> He drew notice from the local press there for his hard play, first at defense and later at center, a field position that became his specialty. He played with abandon; contesting a loose ball in a game against Almonte, he slid along the board track that surrounded the field "and incidentally ripped off several square inches of epidermis from his forearm . . . Frank Grace," a clever writer concluded, "didn't look a bit graceful." A second-teamer, he was undoubtedly unpaid. Still, his apprenticeship in Ottawa introduced him to elite competition and exposed him to the big-league culture of Canadian lacrosse.<sup>19</sup>

When Grace reemerged in lacrosse newspaper reportage three years later, a significant transformation had taken place. By the summer of 1904, he had moved to Chatham, 453 miles southwest of Ottawa, and was now a paid star player on the intermediate-level Tecumsehs Lacrosse Club, an entry in the Canadian Lacrosse Association (CLA).<sup>20</sup> The CLA was a renegade organization made up of southern Ontario-based lacrosse teams that had bolted from the sport's first national governing body, the Montreal-based National Amateur Lacrosse Association, in



1887, ostensibly over its draconian rulings regarding the cancelation of scheduled matches and its flawed challenge system for title play that favored reigning champions. Though membership fluctuated between its founding and the Great War, the CLA was well populated, counting dozens of teams, most of them in small- and medium-sized towns across the province and within 160 miles of Toronto. It was also a site for the most significant sport-related controversies in the era, and host to three lively debates over amateurism versus professionalism, the currency of tourists and "ringers," and acceptable levels of violence. In his two years with the Chatham Tecumsehs (1904–1905), Frank Grace was implicated in all three.

In the summer of 1904, just as Grace first suited up for Chatham, the Canadian Amateur Athletic Union (CAAU) began its five-year "Athletic War" against professionalism in Canadian sport.<sup>21</sup> One of its first salvos took aim at the CLA: "many" CLA teams openly paid their players, and others allowed amateurs and professional to "mix," a violation of the amateur code. The CAAU declared them "professionalized."<sup>22</sup> After some deliberation, the CLA dug in its heels against the CAAU, declaring at its annual meeting in April 1905 that its amateur players did not, in its view, sacrifice their amateur status by playing with or against professionals as long as no prize money was at stake, a statement that was, at the same time, a *de facto* sanction of professionalism among its teams.<sup>23</sup> In Chatham, pay for play came in a variety of forms: "large inducements," but also through less-than-strenuous local jobs occupied by some of the club's players, such as "inside light wiring and other work at the sugar beet works."<sup>24</sup> Grace and others on his team were "tourists," nonlocal professionals whose presence, though not illegal in the CLA, struck some as contrary to the spirit of community athletics.<sup>25</sup> In June 1904, after Chatham thrashed his town's CLA team 11–2, the editor of the Wallaceburg *Herald-Record* decried a situation that pitted a "purely local" side against a "professional team gathered from all parts of the province."<sup>26</sup> The editor of the Chatham *Daily Planet* replied, claiming that the accusation was nonsense and sour grapes. Chatham's players were all residents in the town; Wallaceburg team officials had tried to entice some of these tourists to join their team, but Chatham manager Frank Babcock had simply outbid them.<sup>27</sup>

The ringer issue resonated even more loudly. Recruiting professionals was to some unsavory, but using ringers (players registered to other teams but playing with false or assumed names) was deplorable and undermined the reputation of the game. CLA teams in small towns had limited manpower; injuries and work responsibilities often depleted their lineups. For competitive teams, the chance to capture the league title tempted some, such as the 1904 Tecumsehs, to pad their rosters with ringers as playoffs approached. Playing alongside Grace as the Tecumsehs defeated Orillia that year in a three-game, total-points-playoff final were Pitcher of the Chippewas and Richardson of St. Catharines, who had been banned by the CLA for several years for a brutal on-field assault. Orillia cried foul, and the CLA agreed and declared a forfeiture, making Orillia the 1904 champion.<sup>28</sup> In March 1905, manager Babcock defended his decision in a letter to the *Globe*, arguing, in vain, that there was a difference between ringers and "substitutes," and claiming that the Orillia club, too, had played ringers in the series—one Orillia player, he swore, had plainly admitted it to Frank Grace. But splitting semantic hairs and casting blame elsewhere did not amount to an effective denial.<sup>29</sup> Ringers were used in Chatham and throughout the CLA.<sup>30</sup>

Violence, too, was endemic in Canadian lacrosse during the first decade of the twentieth century, and especially in the CLA. It was also a central part of Grace's game in Chatham. He was both its perpetrator and its victim. In the CLA final in 1904, Grace was deliberately slashed across the face by Orillia's Hammond, causing a nine-stitch wound (sewn up by a "doctor" field-side), requiring a visit to the hospital when the team returned home and prompting an expulsion of the "bad man" from the CLA.<sup>31</sup> In a June 1905 game against Wallaceburg, Grace was assaulted by a spectator in a post-game fracas. The scrape was triggered by the rough on-field tactics Grace used against an opponent, who was the spectator's stepson.<sup>32</sup> Later the same summer, Grace jumped into an in-game fight between St. Thomas's Leddy and Chatham's Stewart, swinging his stick at the former but, unfortunately, striking his own teammate, "inflicting a severe scalp wound."<sup>33</sup> Often penalized for more routine in-game violations, Grace was no stranger to "the fence."<sup>34</sup>

In May 1906, Grace appeared in a preseason exhibition game for the Toronto entry in the openly professional National Lacrosse Union, but then signed on to play for Orillia for the season, Chatham's old rival in the CLA.<sup>35</sup> He was recruited to an already stacked Orillia squad, which the *Globe* identified as an "all-star aggregation" and favored to win the intermediate-league championship.<sup>36</sup> They dominated opponents in regular-season play (losing only three times) and won their district title. But after defeating the Beaverton and Copper Cliff teams in early playoff series, they lost to the Toronto Junction Shamrocks in the final.<sup>37</sup> Still, Orillia's loss did not spell the end of Grace's season: in late September 1906 he signed on as a ringer with the Chicago Calumet club as they defeated the Chicago LC for that city's annual "Carling Cup." "Grace, the new Calumet player," the *Tribune* reported, "showed high class lacrosse."<sup>38</sup> When Frank Grace moved to Winnipeg in the fall of 1906, the *Free Press* noted that he was following a well-traveled path from Arnprior, "a town that has already given Winnipeg many good players." Though tempted in the spring of 1907 by an offer to return to Newmarket, Ontario, to play for its entry in the CLA, Grace stayed in Winnipeg until June, when he joined the All-Canada team en route to Australia.<sup>39</sup>

The central event in the *Record* (and Grace's lacrosse life) was the 1907 Australia tour. The organizer was John Crawford "Jack" Miller (1871–1944), an Orillia, Ontario, tanner, manager of the local entry in the CLA, and past president of the league.<sup>40</sup> Miller handpicked 15 players from eight leading CLA clubs to make up the All-Canada team: Walter Atton, goaltender for the Toronto Junction; Lou Campbell, point for Bradford; Jack Kearns, cover point for Arthur; defense fielders Bill Hanley (Stratford), Tom Hanley (Midland), and Harry Camplin (Toronto Junction); Fred Coombs, center for Bradford; home fielders Jack Curran<sup>41</sup> (Orillia), Alex Rose (Orillia), and Paddy Ramore (Fergus); Gordon MacDonald, outside home for Port Arthur; Robert Gilbert, inside home for the Toronto Junction; Rudolph Arens, field captain and goaltender for Orillia; and Grace.<sup>42</sup> Opponents on a variety of leading CLA teams, they knew one another well. They ranged in age from 19 to 40 years old, but most were in their mid-twenties. They were well-situated socially. On the team were two barristers, a physician, a dentist, two medical students, a lumber merchant, a journalist, three university students, and a railway officer.<sup>43</sup>

Negotiating via correspondence with Australian lacrosse federations, Miller secured financing for the tour and made all of the team's travel arrangements.<sup>44</sup> As with other transoceanic sporting tours of the pre-Great War era, it was no small feat.



Once underway, the seven-week tour was grueling. Traveling westward by rail, the team played 10 exhibition matches en route to Vancouver against local sides peppered with former CLA players. In Victoria, on June 21, they boarded the steamer *Aorangi*, which carried them on their Pacific voyage, landing in Brisbane on July 13, after three weeks at sea, punctuated by stops in Hawaii and Fiji. Once arrived, the team crossed the continent—first southward, then westward—by rail and ship, playing 16 games against Australian sides, including four test matches against an All-Australia national team. The Canadians won 15 of them, scoring 162 goals to the Australian teams' 37 (Figure 3). Like earlier Canadian lacrosse team tours of Britain (1876, 1883, 1902), however, the tour was much less about competition than it was about goodwill among sister Dominions and, for the Australians, a chance

Date	Opponent	Location	Score
3 June	Beaverton (CLA)	Orillia	Canada W 13–3
6 June	Port Arthur	Port Arthur	Canada W 11–3
9 June	Winnipeg	Winnipeg	Canada W 3–2
10 June	Regina	Regina	Canada L 9–2
11 June	Moose Jaw	Moose Jaw	Canada W 4–1
12 June	Medicine Hat	Medicine Hat	Canada W 4–1
15 June	New Westminster	New Westminster	Canada L 9–0
18 June	Vancouver	Vancouver	Canada L 5–2
20 July	Queensland	Brisbane	Canada W 6–3
22 July	New South Wales	Sydney	Canada W 11–0
27 July	All-Australia	Melbourne	Canada L 5–3
3 August	All-Australia	Adelaide	Canada W 6–3
5 August	South Australia Seconds	Adelaide	Canada W 11–3
7 August	South Australia	Adelaide	Canada W 7–3
9 August	Victorian Twelve	Ballarat	Canada W 14–0
10 August	All-Australia	Melbourne	Canada W 4–0
12 August	Victoria	Melbourne	Canada W 9–1
14 August	Victoria	Bendigo	Canada W 16–5
16 August	Jamestown	Adelaide	Canada W 12–0
17 August	All-Australia	Adelaide	Canada W 6–4
24 August	Western Australia	Perth	Canada W 17–4
26 August	Western Australia Seconds	Perth	Canada W 17–2
28 August	W.A. Combined Goldfields	Kalgoorlie	Canada W 14–0
31 August	Western Australia	Perth	Canada W 14–6

**Figure 3** — The All-Canada Lacrosse Team Tour 1907: Results. Data sources: "Lacrosse. The Tourists Begin Well," *Globe*, 4 June 1907, 9; "Lines on Lacrosse," *Toronto Star*, 7 June 1907, 12; "Lines on Lacrosse," *Toronto Star*, 11 June 1907, 11; "Not Fast Enough," *Lethbridge Herald*, 20 June 1907; Doug W. Fox, *The 1907 Canadian Lacrosse Tour of Australia* (Lacrosse Australia Archives Project: Occasional Paper Series—No. 1, 2002), Appendix.

to get to experience lacrosse through some of its best performers.<sup>45</sup> The Canadians played in Brisbane, Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, Bendigo, Perth, and the western gold mining town of Kalgoorlie. Everywhere they went, they were greeted by local and national officials, fêted at banquets and "smokers," and watched by huge crowds—11,000 saw them in Melbourne and 10,000 in Adelaide. Their progress was followed closely in the Australian press, and every game merited long and detailed stories.<sup>46</sup> In Australia, the Canadians were lauded as the best that the sport had to offer, lacrosse missionaries sent from its country of origin (Figure 4). In Canada, the tour was covered in the press with curiosity, but briefly and with much less fanfare, in large part because Miller's private venture lacked the legitimacy that official, government sanction had given to earlier (1876, 1883) lacrosse tours.<sup>47</sup>

Frank Grace and his teammates returned to Canada aboard a ship that passed through the Indian Ocean, the Suez Canal, the Mediterranean Sea, and the Atlantic Ocean, with brief but memorable stops at Colombo, Naples, Marseille, London, and Liverpool. By mid-October 1907, Grace was back in Arnprior, but he did not stay very long. By December 14, he had made his way to Berlin, where he worked for the Merchants Rubber Company and Kimmill Felt Company for three months. By mid-March 1908, Grace was back in Chatham, working as a traveling salesman for Collier Cunningham & Company (an electrical appliances firm) until midsummer, when he returned to Arnprior for four months. In September of that year, he was back in Berlin, now in the employ of Kaufman Rubber Company, where he had taken "charge of all the electrical work."<sup>48</sup>

Grace returned to Winnipeg in 1909 or 1910, and lived there for the longest stretch he had stayed in any one place since he left Arnprior. He was in uniform as center for the Winnipeg Shamrocks in the summer of 1910 as that team rolled to a Manitoba Amateur Athletic Association championship bid against Port Arthur.<sup>49</sup> "One of the hardest workers in the game," one *Free Press* columnist stated in 1910, Grace was as yet "not well known to Winnipeg enthusiasts."<sup>50</sup> That soon changed.<sup>51</sup> By the summer of 1912, Frank Grace was a prominent local sportsman: starting center on the Shamrocks, occasional game umpire, and coach of the Fort Rouge junior team.<sup>52</sup> Though now 34 years old, he was nevertheless concerned enough with his playing status to seek reinstatement as an amateur from the MAAA, which had deemed him "professionalized" for playing in an exhibition game against an all-pro Montreal team in 1910.<sup>53</sup> Grace suited up as a player-coach for the Norwood team in the three-team Winnipeg Senior Lacrosse League in 1913, where he occasionally exhibited his "old-time speed."<sup>54</sup> Only in 1914 did he finally trade in his stick for a clipboard and whistle, coaching the Winnipeg Vic-Wanderers intermediate team and putting in an occasional stint refereeing senior matches.<sup>55</sup>

Grace's playing days were over, but his public prominence as a lacrosse man remained. When the *Free Press* announced his recent nuptials to Miss Nellie Blute in September 1915, the announcement ran on the *sports* page, its headline, "Lacrosse Coach Now a Benedict," above a picture of Grace, alone, in his Vic-Wanderer uniform (Nellie was nowhere in sight).<sup>56</sup> Gradually, in the course of his long career, he had built a reputation as an aggressive, skilled, and canny athlete, and became, after his 1907 trip, a credible voice for the game, which by the start of the Great War was sinking in popularity in Canada, even as its star was on the rise in the United States. Frank Grace was part of this southward transition. In December 1914, he wrote a newspaper article on the history of lacrosse and its





**Figure 4** — International Lacrosse—The Third Test Match, Melbourne, August 10, 1907 (with Frank Grace identified). Pasted in Grace's *Record*, 146.



promise for expansion in America, a piece that was published in the American press. Its title was "Lacrosse, Originated by the Indians, Is Spreading from Canada to the United States." "Canadians believe," he wrote, "that in time lacrosse will be a popular sport at American colleges."<sup>57</sup> Indeed it already was, and that prospect for growth in the United States must have remained with Grace. Sometime after 1916, Frank and Nellie Grace moved from Winnipeg to Kingston, Ontario, near her hometown of Napanee. While living in Kingston, Grace was contacted by officials at the United States Military Academy in West Point and hired in 1924 to coach its fledgling varsity lacrosse team.<sup>58</sup> For four seasons, from 1925 to 1928, Grace taught the cadets (several of them football players) the sport and promoted it. In 1925, he told the Toronto *Globe* that 250 cadets were playing intramural lacrosse, and 35–40 reported for varsity tryouts.<sup>59</sup> His teams played "fast and heavy," and enjoyed marked success: 31 wins, six losses, and one tie in Grace's four years on the sideline.<sup>60</sup> The mercurial rise of collegiate lacrosse in New England and the mid-Atlantic United States drew other Canadian coaches southward. These older Canadian ex-pros were often a perfect solution for a vacuum of expertise in the United States.<sup>61</sup> Why Grace left his coaching job at the USMA is unclear; it may have become too taxing. Throughout his tenure at West Point, he and Nellie kept their main residence in Kingston, and when spring arrived, Frank became a "tourist" coach for the lacrosse season. It was a familiar scenario for Grace, but a harder commute for a 50-year-old man. He might have been worn out. In 1932, he and Nellie moved to Toronto, where he worked with his brother Victor in a venetian-blind business and where he spent the rest of his life. Throughout all of these moves, he brought along his *Record*, adding occasional, brief comments and pasting in newspaper clippings that referenced the lives of people he had known through the sport of lacrosse.

## Unpacking the Record

Frank Grace's diary-scrapbook is a fractured narrative that comes to life and makes sense amid the bits of evidence that we have cobbled together by "reading around" the *Record*. But what of the *Record* itself? The key to comprehending it lies in its dual nature. Compiled incrementally, the document is at once retrospective and forward-looking in inclination. Grace's Australia tour narrative is its core. The tour symbolized for Grace the pinnacle of his lacrosse life; his selection to the team was both a reward for his past accomplishments in the CLA and a platform or propeller for what happened to him in the game (as a player and coach) in the years that followed the tour. As he maintained the *Record* over the years, he may have seen all of its components as not just interconnected, but rather as causally linked, with one thing leading to another. As we unpack the *Record*, it is clear that three dominant tensions marked Frank Grace's life. He was Canadian but Irish Catholic, a colonial encounterer the world, and respectable but rough.

Grace was proudly Canadian at a time when, as historians Carl Berger, Philip Buckner, and others have demonstrated, being Canadian for most Anglophones meant revering the British connection.<sup>62</sup> Grace first wrote in his *Record* only five years after Canadian volunteers had returned from the Boer War and only seven before they set off again, this time to Europe and the Great War. To be Canadian

was to embrace one's role as a resident of a northern outpost of the British Empire. As Michael Robidoux and Gillian Poulter have argued, lacrosse had a conspicuous place in this national formulation.<sup>63</sup> A game appropriated from Mohawk Natives by English-speaking Montreal bourgeois in the mid-nineteenth century, it was given standard rules and polish, and trumpeted as a quintessential Canadian sport. In the press, every lacrosse game on the tour was a national performance and, by 1907, that belief was in full bloom. As a star player on a team representing Canada's vaunted national sport, Grace seemed to embrace the cultural conflation of Canadian nationhood with lacrosse. On board the *Aorangi* somewhere in the Pacific Ocean on July 1, 1907, he wrote: "In the Eve we had a high old time, a Concert for the Canadian Lacrosse team in honour of our Great Dom[inion] Day and we all wondered who was winning games down in the C.L.A." On the field, he felt a sense of duty to his country. He described the violence-strewn final Test Match against the All-Australia side in Bendigo on August 17, 1907, as a test of national pride: "We were out to uphold old Canada & so did in a Battle Royal."<sup>64</sup>

At the same time, Frank Grace identified as an Irish Catholic, part of the broad diaspora cast by fate and British oppression around the world. As a devout Roman Catholic, Grace attended Mass every Sunday when he could find a local Catholic church. On board the *Aorangi* and in Australia, he shunned Protestant services, even when a Catholic version was unavailable.<sup>65</sup> In Adelaide, he toured the Christian Brothers School, and in Melbourne he made a special appointment for luncheon with the archbishop, Thomas Joseph Carr, an Irishman from Galway, whom Grace called "a very fine man."<sup>66</sup> Grace wrote dismissively of his teammates when some of them celebrated the 12th of July on the ship by getting "a little spruced up."<sup>67</sup> He had an abiding interest in Ireland, and was a visible member of a Canadian chapter of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, a martial, nationalist organization that promoted Irish Home Rule and the defense of Catholic Irish "manhood and character."<sup>68</sup> When Team Canada arrived in Adelaide in 1907, Grace was greeted with a formal letter of welcome from F. B. Keogh, the Grand Secretary of the South Australian branch of the A.O.H., who hailed Grace as the first member of the North American order to ever visit them. Their meeting was announced in the Sydney *Freeman's Journal*, and Grace transcribed the letter in full in his diary.<sup>69</sup>

Though this part of his identity resided largely off-field, he may well have carried it onto the field as well. He must have been aware of and influenced by the example of the Montreal Shamrocks Lacrosse Club, a team that dominated Canadian lacrosse in the late nineteenth century and whose fierce play, John Matthew Barlow tells us, symbolized resistance to slavish adherence to British imperial identity in Canada and to the genteel amateur sports culture of the elite classes.<sup>70</sup> Grace admired Jimmy Murphy, revered coach of the Toronto NLU team and of the Ontario championship hockey team at St Michael's College, where sporting success, historians Dennis Ryan and Kevin Wamsley state, "symbolically asserted Catholic equality, even superiority, to a hostile [Protestant Toronto] majority" and provided "an inspiration to other Catholic athletes."<sup>71</sup> When Murphy died in 1929, Grace cut out a lengthy memorial column in the *Globe* and inserted it (two copies) in the back pages of his *Record*.<sup>72</sup> For Irish Catholics of Grace's era, sport was a place where ethnic pride could be expressed and where victories could be seen as a mild form of political subversion amid the larger, dominant Anglo-Protestant tones of pre-Great War Canadian nationalism.



A second tension that emerges from the *Record* is harder to characterize, but still apparent. The document reflects the encounter that happened when colonial sportsmen on tour “discovered” the Empire, and indeed, the world. In this respect, Grace’s experience was hardly new. It was the sort of encounter that had happened repeatedly when, as historians of the Victorian sporting tour phenomenon tell us, Australian cricketers visited Britain in 1868, when a New Zealand rugby team did so in 1888–1889, and when Orange Free State footballers did it in 1899.<sup>73</sup> Grace’s *Record* details a sort of mental map he compiled to make sense of the world he encountered. At the center of his map was “home,” Arnprior and its vicinity in the upper Ottawa Valley, a place he left in 1899 but returned to only very occasionally during the rest of his life. In his travels, he located and wrote about dozens of Valley boys who, like him, had strayed from “home” and settled across Canada and Australia. His record helped him connect the dots among people who occupied his mental network. These included “Bill Burke of Arnprior,” “Ed McGregor of Almonte,” “Mr. Joliffe of Arnprior,” the Early boys, a “Mr. Moran from out at May’s schoolhouse,” and Frank McDonell from Pembroke, who now lived in Perth, Australia, and with whom he “had a great talk about the old times [they] used to have between Arnprior & Pembroke in Lacrosse & Hockey.” Pasted in the back of the *Record* is the newspaper obituary of R. A. Jeffrey, the former mayor of Arnprior and longtime editor of the town’s newspaper.<sup>74</sup>

But Grace’s *Record* did more than just keep track of the local and familiar; it also documented for him a vast array of new experiences and people that he encountered in the world, both on the Australia trip and thereafter. Grace jotted down notes whenever worldly curiosities caught his eye: the nature of coconuts in Fiji, sharks in Hawaii, sheep farming near Brisbane, the railway system in Sydney, the use of camels for dam construction in Western Australia, gold mining in Balararat (see Figure 5), and other remarkable things.<sup>75</sup> Through his pasted clippings, Grace followed the military careers of his former players at the USMA, some of whom, such as Major-General Emmett O’Donnell and Col. “Light Horse” Harry Wilson, went on to play celebrated roles in World War II.<sup>76</sup> Journaling gave Grace the chance to explain the world to himself—and to possess it. By describing “other” places and people, he assessed them and tried to make sense of them. Grace was not awed by otherness, and was likely to see inferiority in others’ differences. He described the Fijians, for example, as “well built,” “good natured,” musically gifted, and engaging. Still, that admiration did not stop him and his teammates from getting into a fist fight with a couple of them at the wharf where their steamer docked. He concluded: “They seemed to be as cowardly as a Coon.”<sup>77</sup> When the boat stopped in Colombo, Ceylon, on the return voyage, Grace was curious enough to tour extensively the city’s parks, gardens, and museums, and shop a little, but he did not see much beauty there. “They have very narrow streets & they are flocked in around there like flies & they have very small dirty little places & they do business in their own dirty way.”<sup>78</sup> In short, Grace’s curiosity about the world was not unstained by judgment. That was essential to his cataloguing of worldly things.

Finally, Grace’s *Record* tells us something about his apprehension of class and masculinity at a time when both of those things in urban Canada were in considerable flux. On both fronts, Grace was a rather liminal character. An electrician, he was a wage worker who was employed by others and whose day jobs reaped only modest earnings. According to the 1901 census, he made \$420/year as a 22-year-old





**Figure 5** — Canadian Lacrosse Team visiting the South Star Mine, Ballarat, Victoria, Australia



electrician, and though in 1911 he was "working on his own accord," by 1916, he was again classified as working for someone else.<sup>79</sup> He was class aware. It did not escape him, for example, that the other members of the All-Canada team were considerably more genteel. One 1949 clipping pasted in the *Record* quotes Grace's observation about the 1907 team: "It was an all university squad with one exception. I was the only hobo in the bunch."<sup>80</sup>

Still, in some ways, Grace openly aspired to respectability of the sort that men of his era would have equated with being "middle class" and "manly."<sup>81</sup> He dressed well and wrote ably. He was an ethical person who rejected double dealing. He seemed offended, for example, when lacrosse tour manager Jack Miller boldly stole silks from a Chinese merchant in Vancouver, the day before the team set sail.<sup>82</sup> In other ways, Grace consciously bucked middle-class polish and manly propriety. On the tour, he was a 28-year-old bachelor who commented on the character of Australian women and was curious about those among the "lower sort." In Brisbane, after a ball hosted by the Queensland Lacrosse Club, Grace wrote: "A couple of us went around to the bad district of the City . . . & saw some tough old cases & the girls are very nervy." In Adelaide, he wrote, "Vic Steet, the professional runner of Melbourne & I had a date with a couple of 'Tartes' & we took them for a stroll & spent a very nice evening." In Melbourne, at an ice-skating party, he "met a lot of nice girls at the Rink, [especially] Miss Bones & Miss Hardy & they kept us very busy skating but they had their mothers there & it spoiled all chances of us Going home with them."<sup>83</sup>

Grace straddled roughness and respectability on the field, too. He had little tolerance for the old bourgeois amateur ideal that held out sport for sport's sake and abhorred a win-at-all-costs mentality.<sup>84</sup> His view contrasted sharply with the views of those who constructed local lacrosse cultures in places such as Victorian Woodstock and Ingersoll, Ontario, where, as historian Nancy Bouchier writes, the game was supposed to expose young men to "respectable versions of masculinity."<sup>85</sup> Frank Grace wanted to win and, as importantly, he wanted to be paid fairly for his efforts. His need to win came through in how he played the game: hard and violently. Increasing on-field violence was changing Canadian lacrosse in the first decade of the twentieth century, and Grace was in the middle of it. Historian Donald Fisher tells us that "newspapers were filled with stories of fistfights between players, brawls involving crowds, assaults against referees, and arrests by policemen."<sup>86</sup> Before the tour, he had earned a reputation as an enforcer on the field; the need for someone to fill that role may be what recommended him to Miller. In Australia he obliged, much to the chagrin of the Australian press who painted him a hatchet man, one, who the Perth *West Australian* noted, made "full use of the swinging uppercut stroke or the round-arm slash."<sup>87</sup> But Grace saw it all as part of the game. In the second test match in Melbourne on August 10, Grace dropped the gloves with Steet, his erstwhile double-date partner:

Vic Steet the Australian Centre had speed to burn. [H]e was a professional runner & he undertook to pass me & I warned him that I would cut [his legs out from under] him if he tried it so he did & I landed on his head & he swiped back at me but he Missed me & we had a general mixup for few min & the Referee ordered H Camplin to the fence for throwing the Goal umpire down on his back, but the game ended all OK & Steet & I were as good friends as ever.<sup>88</sup>

In another game against the All-Australia team in Bendigo, when Canada found itself shorthanded and needing time to regroup, Grace found a solution by firing the ball into the grandstand to kill time—a dirty trick not unknown to the old Arnprior Beavers.<sup>89</sup>

The *Record* also tells us that Grace did not scruple about being paid to play or suiting up for different teams in the same season, regardless of CLA rules. For him, lacrosse was a way to earn some money, even if a charge of professionalism might smear his reputation. His diary recalled one game when he and three teammates played for a CLA team in Collingwood and defeated Owen Sound 7 to 2: "[W]e were all playing under assumed names." In 1904, one letter pasted into the *Record* recounted that while rostered with Chatham in the CLA, he was recruited by a Sault Ste. Marie club to play in an intermediate game against Fergus. He wrote: "I played under the name of Hamilton." In 1905, he secretly signed a contract with the Toronto Tecumsehs Lacrosse Club worth \$15 per game. In 1906, he sued his old employer, the Chatham Lacrosse Club, for back wages in the amount of \$85, a case that made public the creeping growth of professionalism. "Among other things," one newspaper clipping pasted into the *Record* said, "the evidence which came up proved that some of the players for 1905 received pay, while others on the team were not aware that any one of their number was being remunerated for his services . . . [A]mateur lacrosse players are often paid professional salaries."<sup>90</sup> These entries, clippings, and letters in the *Record* place its author at the center of the national debate over the status and the virtue of lacrosse as a sport and as a national symbol. By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, lacrosse was dubious as a genteel pursuit, claiming both roughness and respectability. And that position suited Frank Grace very well.

A repository of his life in lacrosse, Frank Grace's *Record* is demonstrably rich, a compact microhistory of a vibrant, transitional era in Canadian sport. At the center of the document is his diary of the All-Canada team's 1907 Australia tour, an event that prompted Grace to record his experiences in the game. The document is rare, and that makes it valuable to historians. Used in concert with newspaper accounts, athletic organization records, and other sources, the *Record* gives us a fuller picture of the early twentieth-century Canadian sports world and the individuals who inhabited it. Through it, we get a robust portrait of a complex character, a man full of incongruity and complication, and proof positive that beneath the homogenizing team sweaters on the lacrosse field were diverse individuals as complex and flawed as athletes today. But its limitations are apparent, too. No one source can tell us all that we need to know about lacrosse in this era; no one source ever epitomizes or encapsulates an era. The *Record* is silent on many subjects, such as on-field strategy, tactics, and styles of play; the politics of the "Athletic War" in which Grace found himself embroiled; and the game's tenuous connection to its aboriginal origin. Frank Grace's *Record* opens many new questions even as it answers others.

"The life story," historian Alistair Thomson has written recently, "is . . . never a perfect replay of events; it is created through language and is partial, selective, and purposeful."<sup>91</sup> Life writing is more complex than the narrative it delivers. It is the historian's job to give it meaning. Our challenge is to interrogate the accounts we are given, construct the historical contexts within which they were generated, and examine the purposes for which they were produced. Frank Grace's *Record* provides historians of Canadian sport with exactly this challenge. A fragmented



narrative of a life in lacrosse, it becomes meaningful only after we take its measure as an object, describe its contents, reconstruct its historical context (that is, provide a "time" to accompany its "life"), and assess the conditions of its making.

## Acknowledgments

The author's thanks go to the Center for the Advancement of Research and Scholarship at Bridgewater State for research support; Kathleen Powell and Anthony Percival of the St. Catharines Museum; Chuck Miller, President of the Ontario Lacrosse Hall of Fame; and Ron Winterbottom and Bill "Whitey" Frick of the St. Catharines Lacrosse Old Boys' Association for helping him access Frank Grace's *Record*. An earlier version of this essay was presented at the 2014 Transnational Lacrosse Conference, Centre for the Study of Sport & Health, Saint Mary's University, Halifax, NS.

## Notes

1. Quote attributed to Rhys Isaac in Alistair Thomson's "Life Stories and Historical Analysis," in Simon Gunn and Lucy Faire, eds., *Research Methods for History* (Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 101.
2. This subject is a fitting one for a tribute to L. Donald Morrow, whose scholarship in its breadth and impact is anything but modest. His work teaches many that a conscious understanding (and overt discussion) of methods is critical to the historian's job of "making stories" from the materials we find. What we know about the past, Don's scholarship argues persuasively, is always shaped by *how* we have come to know it, and so a thorough and critical interrogation of our sources is essential. His insistence on rigor is one important reason why he has made such a convincing case that sport history has a rightful place in the academy. That fact is demonstrated in the inclusion of sport history articles and chapters in recently published Canadian history readers, in the emergence of sport history courses as regular offerings in Canadian history departments, and in the success of the *Sport History Review* under his editorship (1996–2015). His scholarly example is a wonderful bequest, and we owe him tremendous thanks.
3. Donald M. Fisher, *Lacrosse: A History of the Game* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), ch. 1; Don Morrow and Kevin B. Wamsley, *Sport in Canada: A History*, 2nd edition (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2010), ch. 5; Alan Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play: The Emergence of Organized Sport, 1807–1914* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987).
4. See, for example, Frederick McNabb, *Sports History of St. Catharines* (St. Catharines: Advance Printing Co., 1969).
5. This article is informed by Douglas Booth's taxonomy of "reconstructionist" and "deconstructionist" approaches to source analysis. It assesses (as reconstructionists do) what the *Record* offers as useful evidence with which an historical narrative can be pieced together and (as deconstructionists do) the conditions in which this knowledge was created and handed down and its characteristics in a broader discourse about power holding and the making of "self." See Booth, *The Field: Truth and Fiction in Sport History* (New York: Routledge, 2005), ch. 5.
6. Author's telephone communication with Kathleen Powell, Curator, St. Catharines Museum, 7 September 2015.
7. *Record*, 1, 92.
8. There is no evidence that Grace acted as a published correspondent, though some of his teammates did, sending occasional accounts of their games and sightseeing to Canadian newspapers. See H. Camplin, "Facts About Australia," newspaper clipping pasted in *Record*, 113, and

J.L. Kearns, "With the All-Canadian Lacrosse Team in Australia," *Toronto Star* clipping pasted in *Record*, 116.

9. Andrew C. Holman and Robert B. Kristofferson, eds., *More of a Man: Diaries of a Scottish Craftsman in Mid-Nineteenth-Century North America* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), esp. xxiii, 5–7. On working-class autobiographies and life writing, see, for example, John Burnett, *Useful Toil: Autobiographies of Working People from the 1820s to the 1920s* (London: Allen Lane, 1974); David Vincent, *Bread, Knowledge and Freedom: A Study on Nineteenth-Century Working Class Autobiography* (London: Europa Publications, 1981); and Andrew Hassam, *Sailing to Australia: Shipboard Diaries by Nineteenth-Century British Emigrants* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994).
10. Writing on the use of sources in academic sport history is scattered but rich. Beyond Booth's chapter in *The Field*, substantial treatments include Don Morrow and Janice Waters, "Method in Sport History: A Content Analysis Approach," *Canadian Journal of History of Sport*, 13, no. 2 (1982): 30–37; Bernard Whimpress, "The Source, Disclosure and the Writing of Sports History," *Bulletin of Sport and Culture*, 23, no. 5 (2003): 5–9; Matthew Taylor, "From Source to Subject: Sport, History, and Autobiography," *Journal of Sport History*, 35, no. 3 (2008): 469–91; Martin Johnes, "Texts, Audiences, and Postmodernism: The Novel as Source in Sport History," *Journal of Sport History*, 34, no. 1 (2007): 121–33; and Jeffrey Hill, "Anecdotal Evidence: Sport, the Newspaper Press, and History," in *Deconstructing Sport History: A Postmodern Analysis*, ed. Murray G. Phillips (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006).
11. See Mike Cronin, "The Gaelic Athletic Association's Invasion of America, 1888: Travel Narratives, Microhistory and the Irish American 'Other,'" *Sport in History*, 27, no. 2 (2007): 190–216.
12. Taylor, "From Source to Subject," 471.
13. Ronald A. Smith, ed., *Big-Time Football at Harvard 1905: The Diary of Coach Bill Reid* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), xxxv.
14. Both the "Winnipeg" and the "Greys" courted Grace. "Lacrosse Season Opens Saturday," *Winnipeg Free Press* (hereafter *WFP*), 30 May 1907, 6.
15. "Lacrosse. Perth, June 8," *Ottawa Citizen* (hereafter *OC*), 9 June 1900, 6; "On the Side," *OC*, 22 June 1900, 6. Arnprior's first team was founded in 1869, the same year that Dr. George Beers proclaimed the sport Canada's National Game. "The Good Old Days—Reminiscences of Sport of the Arnprior Cricket Club," *Chronicle*, 14 December 1888, in Peter Hessel Collection, "Sports" File, Item 5, Arnprior and McNab/Braeside Archives, Arnprior.
16. "The Beaver Lacrosse Club . . .," *Toronto Evening Star*, 26 April 1899, 8. On Arnprior's violent lacrosse, see "A Warm Letter from Pembroke," *OC*, 15 July 1899, 6; "Perth Will Fight It Out," *OC*, 24 August 1900, 8.
17. Leo Lavoie, *The Arnprior Story 1823–1984* (Arnprior: H. Brittle, 1984), 138.
18. "Latest Sporting News . . . On the Side," *OC*, 7 May 1901, 6; "Lacrosse," *OC*, 14 May 1901, 6; "Lacrosse . . . Juniors Out with the Caps," *Globe* [Toronto], 15 May, 1901, 10; "At Practice," *OC*, 21 May 1901, 6; "Lacrosse," *OC*, 23 May 1901, 6; "Lacrosse . . . Team for Pembroke," *OC*, 20 June 1901, 6.
19. "Young Capitals Defeated," *OC*, 25 May 1901, 6. The Ottawa Capitals (senior team) were among the elite members of the National Amateur Lacrosse Union (NALU). The Young Capitals played in the Eastern Ontario Lacrosse League, a regional circuit.
20. "As an all-round home field . . . nothing is this league has anything on Frank [Grace] . . ." in "Lacrosse: A Victory at the Burg," *Chatham Daily Planet* [hereafter *CDP*], 11 June 1904, 8; "Grace is the most effectual player and the hardest worker on the team . . .," "Lacrosse: 'Twas Too Easy," *CDP*, 17 June 1904, 8. See also "Lacrosse: A Magnificent Game," *CDP*, 25 May 1904,



8; "Lacrosse . . . Chatham Won at Detroit," *Globe*, 20 June 1904, 12; "Lacrosse . . . St. Thomas Beat Chatham," *Globe*, 4 August 1904, 10; "Lacrosse: Chatham All the Way," *Globe*, 19 August 1904, 8.

21. See Don Morrow, "A Case-Study in Amateur Conflict: The Athletic War in Canada, 1906–08," *British Journal of Sports History*, 3, no. 2 (1986): 173–90.

22. "Lacrosse: C.L.A. Teams Professionalized," *Globe*, 4 August 1904, 10; "Another Ridiculous Ruling by the C.A.A.U.," *Toronto Star*, 4 August 1904, 10.

23. In planning for the 1907 season (just after Grace had left the league), the CLA decided to open a professional senior series, though, as one account had it, offering salaries markedly lower than those of NLU teams (\$10/game, against the \$20–\$25/game paid in the NLU). See "C.L.A. to Have Senior Series: Professional Lacrosse on a Cheaper Scale Than the N.L.U. for Next Season," *Toronto Star*, 8 September 1906, 10.

24. "Lacrosse," *CDP*, 4 July 1904, 8.

25. CLA regulations insisted that every player in the league be annually "carded" (or signed) by one team only. It kept a master list of certificates detailing who belonged where. Players were bound to their teams for the duration of the season, but once district playoffs began (and teams were eliminated), CLA players were free to play for other squads. In 1908, after a half decade of debate, the CLA added a residence rule that demanded that carded players be a "bona fide and continuous" resident in their respective teams' towns from the 1st of January preceding the season. See "Lacrosse: C.L.A. Certificates," *Globe*, 16 June 1904, 11; "New Residence Rule Adopted by the C.L.A.," *Toronto Star*, 18 April 1908, 21.

26. "Lacrosse," reprinted in *CDP*, 25 June 1904, 8.

27. "Lacrosse," *CDP*, 4 July 1904, 8.

28. "Lacrosse: Chatham Played Ringers," *Globe*, 22 September 1904, 4; "Orillia Intermediate Team C.L.A. Champions by Default," *Toronto Star*, 22 September 1904, 10. Manager Babcock was confronted by Orillia before the start of the game and openly admitted it, claiming he had no choice but to play ringers; injuries and end-of-summer departures had left his ranks depleted. The Chatham vs. Orillia CLA playoff was supposed to be a two-game series, but when the teams were deadlocked at the end of the second game, a third game (and three more weeks of lacrosse) was needed, pushing the season into late September. Though the forfeiture happened before the match even started, the two teams played out the game, in large part because 1,800 fans had assembled and had to be entertained. See "Chatham Won a Great Game," *CDP*, 22 September 1904, 4.

29. "Lacrosse . . . Frank Babcock's Record," *Globe*, 27 March 1905, 10. Disgraced, Babcock could not continue as manager in Chatham, but he found a job as manager with the London CLA team the following year. "London Will Have a Team in the C.L.A.," *Toronto Star*, 28 March 1905, 8. Frank Grace became the playing manager for Chatham in the spring of 1905. See "Chatham in Line," *Globe*, 28 March 1905, 10.

30. For other ringers, see "Lacrosse . . . Newmarket's Good Victory," *Globe*, 22 June 1906, 12; "A Poor Game," *CDP*, 28 July 1905, 2; "World of Sport: Lacrosse," *CDP*, 31 July 1905, 8.

31. "Chatham Won a Great Game . . . Brutal Assault on Frank Grace to Be Investigated by the C.L.A.," *CDP*, 22 September 1904, 4; "Ruffian Expelled: Canadian Lacrosse Association Take Action on Brutal Assault on Grace," *CDP*, 23 September 1904, 4; "Lacrosse . . . Chatham Played Ringers," *Globe*, 22 September 1904, 4.

32. "Lacrosse . . . Between the Flags," *Globe*, 17 June 1905, 21; "Chatham Won," *CDP*, 17 June 1905, 4.

33. "St. Thomas Easy," *CDP*, 4 July 1905, 8. In a playoff final game against Beaverton in August 1906, Grace got into a "regular fight" with an opponent, Pat McDonough. "Sporting Notes," *Orillia Packet*, 30 August 1906, 3.

34. Being "sent to the fence" was a contemporary expression for being ordered off the field by a game's referee to serve penalty time for breaking the rules. "Weak Game of Lacrosse," *CDP*, 24 June 1905, 1; "Game Ends in a Tie," *CDP*, 22 August 1905, 1.

35. "Lacrosse . . . Capitals 5, Toronto 4," *Globe*, 25 May 1906, 10.

36. "Lacrosse," *Globe*, 28 August 1906, 12; "Lacrosse . . . Newmarket's Good Victory," *Globe*, 22 June 1906, 12; "Sporting Notes," *Orillia Packet*, 14 June 1906. See also "Lacrosse: Orillia Beat Aurora," *Globe*, 13 July 1906, 10; "Lacrosse: Orillia 9, Bradford 0," *Globe*, 20 July 1906, 10; "Lacrosse: Junction Lost at Orillia," *Globe*, 3 August 1906, 10; "Lacrosse," *Globe*, 8 August 1906, 10.

37. "Lacrosse . . . Orillia and Young Torontos," *Globe*, 1 September 1906, 24; "Lacrosse . . . Young Torontos Beat Orillia," *Globe*, 4 September 1906, 12.

38. "Carling Cup Ends in a Row," *Chicago Tribune*, 24 September 1906. Excerpted in *Sports in America: A Documentary History*, Vol. 6, ed. Stephen A. Riess (Gulf Breeze, FL: Academic International Press, 1998), 312. It was not Grace's first time playing in that city. In August 1904, his Chatham team traveled to Chicago, defeating the Calumet club with a "fortified lineup." "Chicago Was Chicagoed," *CDP*, 15 August 1904, 1.

39. "Grace for Newmarket," *WFP*, 13 May 1907, 6.

40. "The Australian Lacrosse Trip Is Now a Certainty," *Globe*, 16 May 1907, 12. Miller was elected to the CLA Council in 1905, and elevated to the presidency in 1906. The Toronto press called him "King John." See *Orillia Packet*, 27 April 1905; "Sporting Notes," *Orillia Packet*, 6 September 1906, 2.

41. Curran traveled across Canada with the team but in Vancouver had second thoughts and decided not to go to Australia, leaving the Canadians with 14 players.

42. "Lacrosse: Canada's World Tour Team," *Globe*, 29 May 1907, 9; "Lacrosse: The Tourists Begin Well," *Globe*, 4 June 1907, 9.

43. Doug W. Fox, "The 1907 Canadian Lacrosse Tour of Australia" (Lacrosse Australia Archives Project Occasional Paper Series No. 1), 5–6. Miller was discriminating in assembling a team of known talents and personalities. Nobody outside of the CLA was considered, and when a player from New Westminster, British Columbia, applied for a spot on the team, he was told by Miller that all players from the West were too slow. "Not Fast Enough," *Lethbridge Herald*, 20 June 1907.

44. See "Lacrosse: Canadian Team for Australia," *Advertiser* [Adelaide], 20 November 1906, 9; "Canadian Lacrosse Team for Australia," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 November 1906, 8; "Lacrosse Team for Australia," *Orillia Packet*, 7 March 1907, 2. In addition to money from a Canadian sponsor, Miller obtained a guarantee of £1500 from Australian lacrosse clubs, and noted that each Canadian player was willing to put up £40 or £50 as a guarantee against loss, to be recouped from gate receipts in Australia. Money for the team's steamer tickets was sent to Miller in advance. See "Money for Australian Trip," *WFP*, 13 May 1907, 6.

45. On these tours, see Morrow, "The Canadian Image Abroad: The Great Lacrosse Tours of 1876 and 1883," Proceedings of the Fifth Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport (Toronto, 1982), 11–23; Wamsley, "Nineteenth Century Sports Tours, State Formation, and Canadian Foreign Policy," *Sporting Traditions*, 13, no. 2 (1997): 73–89; "Lacrosse Dates on English Trip," *Toronto Star*, 22 March 1902, 8.

46. See, for example, "Canadian Lacrosse Team: The First Test Match," *Advertiser* [Adelaide] 29 July 1907, 5; "International Lacrosse: Canada versus Goldfields," *Kalgoorlie Western Argus*, 3 September 1907, 38; "End of Canadians' Tour: Their Record," *Examiner* [Launceston, Tasmania], 10 September 1907, 3; "Lacrosse," *Western Mail* [Perth], 14 September 1907, 38.

47. See, for example, "Lines on Lacrosse," *Toronto Star*, 6 August 1907, 9; "Canadians Again Victorious," *WFP*, 13 August 1907, 6. Miller may have hoped to make money from the tour, though



the contemporary sources—Australian and Canadian newspapers—are silent as to motivation, and finances are never mentioned in Grace's diary.

48. *Record*, 92.

49. In the final game with Port Arthur, "Grace was badly chopped up." See "Shamrocks Lost at Head of the Lake," *WFP*, 10 September 1910.

50. "Live Chat on Sport," *WFP*, 9 September 1910.

51. According to the 1911 Dominion census, Grace lived with his 19-year-old brother Victor, two of 15 lodgers in the household of landlady Margaret Browning. Frank was listed as an electrician, working on his own account. Fifth Census of Canada, 1911. Manitoba, Enumeration District 21, City of Winnipeg, 13. Victor, too, played senior lacrosse in the city, suiting up in 1913 for the Young Conservatives. See "Conservatives Take Lead in Senior Lacrosse Series by Defeating C.N.R. Team 7-5," *WFP*, 21 June 1913, 6.

52. "Spectacular and Brilliant Lacrosse Game Ends in a Draw," *WFP*, 9 August 1911, 6; "Junior Lacrosse Teams Draw," *WFP*, 23 June 1911, 9; "Lacrosse: Fort Rouge Practicing," *WFP*, 25 April 1912, 6.

53. "Several Local Athletes Reinstated to Amateur Ranks," *WFP*, 29 August 1912, 7. Of course, Grace had been *professionalized* long before then.

54. "Lacrosse Revival In," *WFP*, 14 June 1913, 6. See also W. J. Finlay, "Is Game of Lacrosse to Thrive Again in Winnipeg This Summer?" *WFP*, 19 April 1913, S1; "Lacrosse Season Opens Next Week," *WFP*, 20 May 1913, 6; "Norwoods and C.N.R.'s Open Lacrosse Season Today," *WFP*, 31 May 1913, 24; "Norwoods Spring Surprise by Trimming C.N.R.'s 6-5," *WFP*, 2 June 1913; "Regular Players on Norwood Team," *WFP*, 13 June 1913, 7; "Fast Lacrosse Game Expected When Seniors Clash Again This Afternoon," *WFP*, 14 June 1913, 6.

55. "Frank Grace Will Coach Vic-Wanderers," *WFP*, 2 May 1914, 17; "Ninetieth Lacrosse Team Again Defeats Norwoods," *WFP*, 13 July 1914, 6.

56. "Lacrosse Coach Now a Benedict," *WFP*, 18 September 1915, 7. "Benedict" is an antiquated term for a newly married man, especially a groom wed comparatively late in life.

57. Frank Grace, "Lacrosse Oldest Indian Sport Spreading from Canada to U.S.," *Seattle Star*, 19 December 1914, 7; Frank Grace, "Lacrosse, Originated by the Indians, Is Spreading from Canada to the United States," *Tacoma Times*, 15 December 1914, 2. On the transition, see Fisher, *Lacrosse*, ch. 3, and H. V. Blaxter, "A Real American Game—Lacrosse," *Outing* 46 (1905): 223–28.

58. "Kingston Man Coaches Lacrosse at West Point," *Globe*, 9 October 1924, 9; "Grace New Army Coach," *New York Times*, 29 October 1924, 25. How Grace was made known to officials at West Point is unknown, but a local connection may have been involved. Ray Marchand, a former professional hockey player and Kingston resident, was hired by the USMA in 1924 to coach its hockey and soccer teams.

59. "Frank Grace's West Point Lacrosse Team," *Globe*, 19 May 1925, 10. See also "Lacrosse Season Opens across the Border," *Globe*, 2 April 1928, 10.

60. "Lacrosse Gossip," *Toronto Star*, 1 May 1928, 11; "History of Army Lacrosse," 2006 *Army Lacrosse Media Guide* (West Point: USMA, 2006), 76. The Cadets' perennial rival was the U.S. Naval Academy, whose lacrosse team was coached from 1911 to 1935 by another Canadian, George Finlayson, at one time a star in the NALU for Montreal LC. "Canadian Coaching Rivals," *Globe*, 3 June 1925, 8.

61. "Lacrosse's Big Year in the U.S.," *Globe*, 7 July 1926, 6. "An Offer to Harry Pickering," *Globe*, 29 June 1927, 10.

62. Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867–1914*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013 [1970]); Philip Buckner, ed., *Canada and the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

63. Michael Robidoux, "Imagining a Canadian Identity through Sport: A Historical Interpretation of Lacrosse and Hockey," *Journal of American Folklore*, 115, no. 456 (2002): 209–25; Gillian Poulter, "Snowshoeing and Lacrosse: Canada's Nineteenth-Century 'National Games,'" *Culture, Sport, Society*, 2/3 (2003): 293–320.

64. *Record*, 10, 38.

65. *Record*, 30, 49.

66. *Record*, 30, 34.

67. *Record*, 17. Grace may have been teetotal himself, though he never admits to that in the diary. One telling echo of that comes through in a clipping he pasted in on a later page: "Drink Floods Land"—Bishop Calls for Total Abstinence," *Toronto Star*, 22 October 1947, in the *Record*, 179.

68. William Jenkins, *Between Raid and Rebellion: The Irish in Buffalo and Toronto, 1867–1916* (Kingston & Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 299).

69. "Personal," *Freeman's Journal* [Sydney], 15 August 1907, 20; *Record*, 28.

70. Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play*, 196; John Matthew Barlow, "'Scientific Aggression': Irishness, Manliness, Class and Commercialization in the Shamrock Hockey Club of Montreal, 1894–1901," in *Coast to Coast: Hockey in Canada to the Second World War*, ed. John Wong (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 35–85.

71. Dennis P. Ryan and Kevin B. Wamsley, "The Fighting Irish of Toronto: Sport and Irish Catholic Identity at St Michael's College, 1906–1916," *Sport in Society*, 10, no. 3 (2007): 497, 504.

72. *Record*, 193 and inside back cover.

73. Greg Ryan, "'Handsome Physiognomy and Blameless Physique': Indigenous Colonial Sporting Tours and British Racial Consciousness, 1868 and 1888," *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 14, no. 2 (1997): 67–81; Chris Bolsmann, "The 1899 Orange Free State Football Tour of Europe: 'Race,' Imperial Loyalty and Sporting Contest," *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 28, no. 1 (2011): 81–97.

74. *Record*, 1, 23, 40, 41, 193.

75. *Record*, 7, 9, 15, 21, 42.

76. *Record*, 124, 146.

77. *Record*, 16.

78. *Record*, 51.

79. Fourth Census of Canada, 1901, Ontario District 100—Ottawa City, Subdistrict B, page 15; Fifth Census of Canada, 1911, Manitoba Enumeration District 21, City of Winnipeg, page 13; 1916 Census of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, Manitoba District 15, Enumeration District 10, page 3.

80. Victor Lauriston, "Lacrosse 'King' Recalls Champs," *Chatham News* [1945], pasted in *Record*, 164.

81. On middle-class masculinity in this era, see Holman, *A Sense of Their Duty: Middle-Class Formation in Victorian Ontario Towns* (Kingston & Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000) Holman and Kristofferson, *More of a Man*.

82. *Record*, 4.

83. *Record*, 20, 30, 35–36.

84. On the roots of the gentlemanly amateur ideal in lacrosse, see Nancy Bouchier, *For the Love of the Game: Amateur Sport in Small-Town Ontario, 1838–1895* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), ch. 6.



85. Bouchier, *For the Love of the Game*, 119.
86. Fisher, *Lacrosse*, 44. Like hockey, lacrosse in the early twentieth century had developed a culture that considered violence part of the game and discouraged players from resorting to the police and courts when on-field assaults took place.
87. "International Lacrosse," *West Australian* [Perth] 2 September 1907, 2.
88. *Record*, 33–34.
89. *Record*, 38.
90. *Record*, 2, 114; "Will Be Settled. Local Lacrosse Executive Will Have to Pay Frank Grace What He Asks," [CDP], undated, pasted into *Record*, 138.
91. Thomson, "Life Stories and Historical Analysis," 103.