FILLING UP THE HOUSE: BUILDING AN APPRAISAL STRATEGY FOR CURLING ARCHIVES IN MANITOBA

by

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Abstract

Curling is an important part of the Canadian cultural landscape, and nowhere is this more evident than in Manitoba. However, the documentation of curling records within archival repositories in the province has occurred without a strategic plan. This thesis first explores the modern archival appraisal theories and then proposes an appraisal model that utilizes a combination of the documentation strategy and macroappraisal in order to develop a strategy for the documentation of curling in Manitoba.

Using this model, this thesis first examines the historical and contemporary context of Canadian sport in order to determine curling’s place within it, and then identifies five key functions of curling in order to evaluate, using function-based appraisal methodologies, the quality of the records that have been collected in archival repositories. The functions, structures, and records of two urban curling clubs and one rural curling club in Manitoba are then examined as case studies, and an appraisal strategy is suggested in order to better ensure that the records documenting curling in Manitoba are preserved. This strategy can be used as a template not only for appraising the records of curling, but for all sports.
Acknowledgements

My class work in the University of Manitoba’s archival studies programme allowed me to quickly get a full-time position in my field, even without the completion of this thesis. As I worked to implement the practices and policies needed to control the flow of information at my workplace, this thesis always simmered at the back of my mind. However, without the support and encouragement of a number of people, this work simply could not have been completed. There were many individuals along the way that assisted me and deserve my thanks, but there are some special people I would like to thank most deeply for all that they have done for me.

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# Table of Contents

Abstract ............................................................................................................................................. i  
Acknowledgements .......................................................................................................................... ii  
Table of Contents ........................................................................................................................... iii  
Introduction: The Game Plan ........................................................................................................... 1  
Chapter 1: Appraisal Methodology and the Context of Canadian Sport ............................... 9  
Chapter 2: The Historical and Contemporary Context of Curling ........................................ 49  
Chapter 3: Sports Records - Not Just Wins and Losses .......................................................... 96  
Conclusion: The Last End and Beyond ...................................................................................... 129  
Bibliography .................................................................................................................................... 136
Introduction
The Game Plan

Sports history in Canada has traditionally been less developed than other historical thematic fields such as political, military, labour, gender, aboriginal, or urban history. The fact that Canadian historians have largely ignored sport for so long is difficult to understand. Sports stories appear on television, newspapers, Internet, and the radio, and people from all sectors of society play, watch, or follow some form of sport. Sport is so important to some Canadians that they structure their lives around the ebb and flow of sporting seasons, cyclical championships (such as the Brier), and festivals at the community, provincial, national, or international levels, or by individuals in their daily or weekly routines. The Canadian government even uses sport as an instrument of international policy and political leverage and to promote cultural and national identity to Canadians themselves and to the world. Billions are spent annually on sport either directly through professional salaries or event tickets, or indirectly through coaching development programs or sports administration, to say nothing of endorsements, building sports facilities (stadiums, arenas, rinks), or media coverage. In 2004 the Conference Board of Canada, a not-for-profit, non-partisan organization was hired by the Canadian Government to conduct what they titled a “Sport Participation Impact Analysis Household Survey,” into the participation levels and socio-economic impact of sport in

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2 Ibid.
Canada. They found that “nearly 13.7 million adult Canadians—55 per cent of the adult population—take part in sport as active participants, volunteers, attendees, or some combination of the three,” and that overall expenditure for sport in 2004 totaled almost $16 billion, or about 2.2 per cent of consumer spending and 1.2 per cent of GDP and supported about 2 per cent of the jobs in Canada. Based on these figures, the Conference Board concluded that the country’s “strong sporting culture is a significant part of the fabric of Canada” and that sport “develops skills that individuals can use to become more productive at work; and it builds social cohesion and social capital, keys to development and prosperity.”

So why the relative neglect of sports in the academic historical literature? Answering that question is beyond the scope of this thesis, but a related issue may be addressed concerning the archival records available for academic study. This thesis will use curling as a case study to examine how an archivist might better document the societal function of sport using the current archival tools available, and how they might ensure that records are being produced in curling organizations that will enable the capture, and later retention, of records in all media in a viable manner by an archival repository. In this way, by collecting better archival sources, historians may be drawn more to study sport and its impact and importance in Canadian society.

To present these arguments, this thesis will be divided into three chapters. The first chapter will draw upon the literature from two main areas: archival appraisal theory

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6 Ibid.
and sports history. The chapter will begin with an introduction to the archival tools of macroappraisal and documentation strategy to provide a theoretical base in order to develop a model to appraise sports records in Canada. These strategies depend upon a detailed analysis of the context of the records creation. To achieve such an analysis, this chapter will also review the main themes in the literature on Canadian sports from the available Canadian historiography. This broad examination will focus on the structures and activities of Canadian sport as these have evolved historically in order to give the contextual background against which contemporary sport now functions.

The second chapter will provide an administrative history of curling in Manitoba and will examine the functions, programs, activities, and structures relating to curling in the province. The chapter will begin with a brief history of curling in Canada and then specifically in Manitoba. Based upon this history, this thesis will then identify the high-level functions of curling, and then examine the curling-related records that are held in archival repositories to highlight any gaps in the records that have been collected.

Chapter Three will offer a case study by examining the structures and functions of three Manitoba curling clubs: the Assiniboine Memorial Curling Club, the Deer Lodge Curling Club, and the Springfield Curling Club. Using interviews with officials of each club and an analysis of the on-site materials, the records that are produced for the principal functions outlined in Chapter Two will be identified. These records will be compared with those that have already been collected in archival repositories in order to spot gaps in their collections, as well as to identify those at risk by not being in archival

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7 This thesis has received Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board approval, Protocol Number J2007-068 to conduct such interviews. Permission to use current curling club records and quote same in this thesis was received from the curling club officials that were interviewed.
programs. This chapter will then suggest an archival appraisal strategy for curling in Manitoba, and briefly touch upon a record-keeping policy for curling clubs.

The purpose of this thesis will be to explore the level of documentation about sport archives within archival repositories and suggest strategies that not only stimulate the archival collection of these records, but also their creation, and thus propose a model for the appraisal of sports records. This model’s primary focus will be to identify the curling records that are created in Manitoba, and introduce a strategic plan for their preservation in the appropriate repository, either within an archives, hall of fame, or museum, or propose that archives should encourage the creator to generate and keep their own archives and, accordingly, to implement records management guidelines. In order to ensure that records are developed within curling clubs that can be captured and housed in archival institutions in a viable manner, this thesis will also recommend new record-keeping policies and practices that will need to be developed and implemented to fit within the realities of a club setting.

An archival institution’s appraisal policy embodies the interpretation of its jurisdictional and legislated mandate, and establishes the kinds of records that should be collected and preserved from which records creators on a continuing or enduring basis.\(^8\) Currently, of the appraisal tools available to archivists, only the documentation strategy offers an effective strategy for dealing with government, private sector, and personal records. The documentation strategy, however, was designed to complement archival tools that appraise institutional records. Macroappraisal was developed for the appraisal of Canadian government records, and is not designed for the collection of personal

records. Therefore, as a second objective, this thesis will utilize and modify current appraisal models in order to fit within the Canadian tradition of total archives of balancing institutional/sponsor records with private and personal ones, and suggest a template not only for the collection of sports records, but also for the collection of other thematic archival targets in the private sector.

Before this, however, a brief introduction to the sport of curling is needed. Curling is a winter sport played around the globe, and the World Curling Federation, the game’s international governing body, has forty-eight member associations. The sport is often referred to as the “Roarin’ Game,” with the roar coming from the sound of the granite stones, or “rocks,” as they slide over the ice of the playing surface. The name “curling” comes from the curved path of the stone as it travels down the ice. The playing stones do not travel in a straight line, but rather turn, or curl, either right or left depending on the way players spin their rock as they throw their shots.

The origins of the game are disputed, as the earliest record of curling is a painting from 1565 by a Flemish painter, Pieter Bruegela, who depicted a winter scene of people curling. However, the earliest curling playing stones were found in Scotland and date from the early 1500s. Regardless of its possible earliest origins, it was in Scotland that the game was nurtured, established, turned into a national pastime, and exported across the world. This early game was played outdoors on natural ice, but did not have any uniform rules or equipment. In 1838 the Royal Caledonian Curling Club was established as the governing body for curling in Scotland and brought standardization to the game.

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Scottish immigrants brought the game to Canada, where it gained a foothold and became the second most popular winter sport behind only hockey.

The contemporary game of curling is played by sliding granite curling stones on playing surfaces of ice known as “sheets,” with the purpose of getting to the centre of a scoring target area, known as the “house,” which is a series of concentric circles, one at each end of the ice sheet. The inner-most circle is known as “the button,” and at its most simplest, the object of curling is to get your curling stones closest to the button, as a point is awarded to a team for each of its own stones located in or touching the house that is closer to the button than any stone of the opposition. Opponents can remove any stone in the scoring area by hitting them out with their own stones, which is commonly called a take-out. To counter this, teams employ a strategy whereby they will attempt to place a stone in front of the one in the scoring area, protecting it so that the one behind it cannot be hit out. This curling stone that protects the one in the scoring area is known as a “guard,” as it guards the stone behind it. Various rules have evolved over the years which prevent teams from hitting the first three or four guards, depending on the rules being used, of each end in order to generate more scoring, and thus improve the viewing experience of fans.

The equipment required to play the sport include a curling broom and a “slider.” Curling brooms have evolved from the earliest brooms that were much like the straw brooms used to sweep floors, to more recent advances using synthetic materials for the broom head. The act of “sweeping” a stone as it is shot serves multiple purposes. Sweeping cleans the path in front of the stone to eliminate any debris that could alter the

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path of a stone, and it also polishes the ice surface, creating friction on the ice, allowing
the stones to slide straighter and farther depending on the desired outcome. A slider is a
slippery material placed on the sole of the sliding shoe that allows the player to glide
across the ice so they may shoot, or “deliver” their stones. Players deliver their stones by
putting one foot in a “hack,” or foothold in the ice, and pushing off and sliding across the
ice by means of their slider. Curling shoes are made up of a shoe with a slider and one
shoe with a “gripper,” usually made of a rubber material that provides stability on the ice
while walking or shooting.

Teams are made up of four players each throwing two curling stones, and
alternating shots with the opposing team. Once both teams have thrown their eight rocks,
the points are determined and the “end” is considered complete and the teams then throw
their eight stones towards the house at the opposite side of the sheet. Ends are similar to
“innings” in baseball or “frames” in bowling, and a complete match typically consists of
eight ends or ten ends, depending on the rules being used. A tournament in curling is
referred to as a bonspiel.

There are four player-positions on a team. They are the lead, who throws the first
two stones; the second, who throws the third and fourth stones; the third, sometimes
known as the vice-skip, who throws the fifth and sixth stones; and the skip, who throws
the final two stones. As one player throws a stone, two others sweep it and the skip, or
third if the skip is throwing, holds their broom in the opposite house from the player
delivering the stone to provide a target for the shooter to aim for. The player holding the
broom shouts out commands to the two sweepers, indicating the need to sweep the rock
to hold its course straight or to make it go farther, or to stop sweeping. Curling has
become an Olympic sport, fueling its growth around the world, but no where is it played in more numbers than in Canada. This thesis now turns to this sport, its history and evolution, and the recorded documentation it generates (or could).
Chapter 1

Appraisal Methodology and the Context of Canadian Sport

In the 1980s there was a shift in archival discourse as archivists abandoned appraisal strategies that were based on documenting the state or anticipating research trends, for strategies that would better reflect the broader society that the state serves and reflects.¹ Within the archival repositories, this fundamental shift meant that archivists turned the focus of the appraisal analysis away from evaluating the records to appraising the records creators, and likewise from individual records or small groupings of records selected for their research value to selecting those records of creators that best document the broader functions and activities of society. This shift became necessary as archivists came face to face with the problem of the crushing volume of modern information and archivists’ realization that they could no longer function in the ad hoc fashion that prevailed under traditional archival practices. American archivist Gerald Ham articulated this dissatisfaction with traditional archival techniques when he said that these approaches resulted in “a selection process [that was] so random, so fragmented, so uncoordinated, and even so often accidental… [and one that] too often reflected narrow research interests rather than the broad spectrum of human experience.”²

This chapter will examine the modern archival tools of macroappraisal and the documentation strategy, and provide a model for how these can be combined to document

the function of sport in modern society. These archival tools require that the context of the records be researched and established, and therefore the last half of this chapter will offer an overview of the historical literature on sport in Canada. This broad examination will also highlight the structures and activities of Canadian sport in order to give the contextual background in which contemporary sport now functions.

In 1989-90 Canadian archivist and scholar Terry Cook wrote a study for the International Council of Archives (ICA), which introduced a new archival concept that Cook entitled “macroappraisal.” Through this study and the concept of macroappraisal, Cook, then of the National Archives of Canada (NAC), proposed a shift in the focus of appraisal from the record to the societal context in which the record was created.3

In 1990-91 “macroappraisal” was adopted by the National Archives of Canada and launched across the Canadian federal government. Cook summarizes macroappraisal as a theory, strategy, and methodology for appraisal that “assesses the societal value of both the functional-structural context and interrelationship of citizens, groups, organizations – ‘the public’ – with that functional-structural context.”4 The focus is on the broader context of society and on assessing the relative value of functions, programs, and activities, rather than records per se that result, and hence the prefix “macro.”5

Macroappraisal was developed to deal with the large amount of records that modern society creates and addresses difficulties with archiving electronic records, specifically at the federal government level in Canada, by performing a functional

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analysis in order to determine where records of value are likely to occur before an examination of the records themselves. The archivist does not appraise individual records or even series of records, but examines instead the records’ virtual or functional provenance in order to appraise all the records in all media for all locations for a particular function at one time.\textsuperscript{6} The central appraisal question then becomes “what should be documented” rather than “what should be kept.”\textsuperscript{7} To accomplish this task, Cook’s model has two distinct parts: criteria to assign priority to the records-creating structures and functions in the institutions that society creates; and variables to determine the importance of the citizen’s interaction with these structures and functions and their individual programs and activities.\textsuperscript{8} It is important to note that macroappraisal is driven by the societal perspective, but only as societal values are reflected through institutions, and specifically government institutions and organizations and the citizens who interact with them.

Macroappraisal begins with a strategic functional-structural analysis into the organizational culture and institutional functionality, record-keeping systems, information flows, recording media, and changes in these across space and time.\textsuperscript{9} Archival repositories are required to create criteria in order to divide all the record-creating agencies for which it is responsible into priority categories.\textsuperscript{10} There are two reasons to rank institutions through certain criteria into priorities. The first is that the archivist can focus initially on those institutions most central, senior, complex, and

\textsuperscript{7} Ibid., p. 47.
\textsuperscript{8} Ibid., p. 53.
\textsuperscript{9} Cook, “Macro-appraisal and Functional Analysis,” p. 6.
\textsuperscript{10} Cook, "Mind Over Matter,” p. 52.
powerful in implementing the main functions, mandates, or responsibilities of the organization being considered. The second is to spot functional overlapping between institutions and thus avoid the duplication of appraisal and acquisition.\(^\text{11}\)

The second distinct part of macroappraisal is to determine the importance of the citizen’s interaction with these structures. This part of the model reflects a convergence of the function, the structure, and the citizen.\(^\text{12}\) Macroappraisal “assigns ‘value’ to the functional-structural context and working culture in which the records are created and used by their creators, and how citizens interact with that context and culture, and are influenced by it.”\(^\text{13}\) The archivist must be especially aware of instances when the citizen consciously interacts with the structure and function in order to challenge or protest these, and thereby influences them.\(^\text{14}\) Cook calls this process “citizen-state interaction,” and is often documented at the transaction or case-file or local level. The citizen, by contrast, who is fully accepting the program happily without protest, will be documented already in the policy, operational, and similar files. Macroappraisal is referred to a top-down approach because it first examines the macro-functions down through micro-transactions, but it is also a bottom-up approach through its emphasis on the citizen-state interactions. Cook offers the hypothesis that by examining these citizen-state interactions, macroappraisal is well suited to other areas of government outside the national level, as well as for the records of business corporations, universities and schools, hospitals,

\(^{11}\) Ibid. p. 54.
\(^{12}\) Ibid., p. 55.
labour unions, churches, or any other modern organization.\textsuperscript{15} This thesis utilizes macroappraisal in part, and adapts it to analyze the functions of curling in Manitoba.

The emphasis on citizen-state interaction has led to the criticism that macroappraisal seeks to select content with the citizen as the theme rather than respecting context.\textsuperscript{16} Cook responds to this criticism by stating that the goal of macroappraisal is an enriched and deeper documenting of the functional context of governance.\textsuperscript{17} One weakness with macroappraisal, and which Cook fully acknowledges, is that while it is suitable for institutional records, it was not designed to work for appraising personal or private records, except by analogy of analyzing the functions and activities of individuals within various social contexts, such as sport. How then, does the archivist document the private individuals, organizations and local associations involved in curling, for example – the personal papers, photographs, videos, diaries, etc of individual athletes, coaches, fans, officials? The identification of the key individuals through macroappraisal is one tool in so far as those private citizens interacted with or were part of institutions and organizations, but a bigger part will be discovered using another archival tool, the “documentation strategy,” to complement and supplement the findings of macroappraisal. Instead of a weakness, Cook sees macroappraisal as merely “one set of concepts and tools in the archivist’s kit…”\textsuperscript{18}

In the United States in 1984, at a session of the Society of American Archivists (SAA) annual meeting, the archival “documentation strategy” was introduced by Helen Samuels, Institute Archivist and Head of Special Collections at the Massachusetts

\textsuperscript{15} Cook, “Macro-appraisal and Functional Analysis,” p. 6.
\textsuperscript{16} See Angelika Menne-Haritz, “Appraisal or Documentation: Can we Appraise Archives by Selecting Content?” American Archivist 57 (Summer 1994), pp. 528-43.
\textsuperscript{17} Cook, “Macroappraisal in Theory and Practice,” p. 37.
\textsuperscript{18} Ibid.
Institute of Technology, and Larry Hackman, State Archivist of New York, in response to documentary problems faced by the archivist responsible for modern records. Since that time, the definition of the “documentation strategy” has undergone various changes as different archival theorists have wrestled with its concepts.

In 1986 Samuels was first to publish a description of this conceptual framework in an article entitled “Who Controls the Past?” She attempted to deal with archivists’ role as “selectors” of the record in the face of modern realities of evolving technology and the growing volume of documentation in society. Samuels argued that the analysis of single records-creating institutions was insufficient to support the appraisal decisions that archivists face because “individuals and institutions do not exist independently,” and the body of information that archivists control is part of a larger universe of records for various integrated functions or activities within society. It is the wider records universe beyond that of each archival institution that draws Samuels’ attention, and therefore, in order for archivists to properly document modern society, they must make an analysis of the “total documentary record” which will enable them to determine the “significant contribution made by each form of evidence” allowing for “integrated appraisal decisions.”

In order to meet this new challenge Samuels offered the “documentation strategy,” which she defined as a “plan formulated to assure the documentation of an

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20 In 1987, the documentation strategy methodology was further developed by Larry Hackman and Joan Warnow-Blewett; see their article: “The Documentation Strategy Process: A Model and a Case Study,” *American Archivist* 50 (Winter 1987). Others have written case studies and commentaries on Samuels ideas, but these need not be discussed here.
22 Ibid., p. 112.
ongoing issue, activity, or geographic area....”

The documentation strategy is “to be carried out through the mutual efforts of many institutions and individuals influencing both the creation of the records and the archival retention of a portion of them.”

Richard J. Cox, then Associate Professor, Archival Studies, at the University of Pittsburgh School of Information Sciences, wrote in his 1996 article “The Archival Documentation Strategy and its Implications for the Appraisal of Architectural Records,” that there have been a number of articulations of what a documentation strategy is, and therefore a working definition of both the method and concept can only be achieved by breaking down the strategy into its four basic elemental components.

The first element is that the documentation strategy is an analytical tool. It provides a methodology for considering the nature, complexities, challenges, and issues of the aspect of the universe (topical, geographical, or other) being documented. The strategy is used to examine the records through careful analysis by considering the importance of the records, their inherent characteristics, and other aspects from the perspective of archival and documentary objectives formulated through careful analysis of the aspect of society being considered.

Essential to this first function is the second basic element of the documentation strategy, which is that it is an interdisciplinary process. The strategy’s analytical aspect is dependent on the coordination and collaboration of records creators, custodians such as archivists, librarians, and museum curators and the users of records. Cox notes that the interdisciplinary process is “not just an intellectual pursuit but also an exercise in

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23 Ibid., p. 115.
24 Ibid.
administration, public relations, and politics." This aspect was revolutionary because traditionally appraisal was seen as the sole responsibility of the archivist who, it was assumed, made appraisal decisions based on a set of criteria such as a particular institution’s mandate, or on traditional practice, with standard archival reference to evidential, informational, and related values, or by some combination of these. There may have been some collaboration within an archives between various media-specialist archivists, but not between separate archival institutions. Through a strategy of collaboration, archivists are able to make a more informed appraisal of the records that more accurately reflect the society in which they were created.

The third element of the strategy is its recognition of inherent documentary problems. Generally these problems are described as being the large volume of records, increasing complexity of the nature of the documentation, and the diversity of institutional records policies, interests, and related matters. It is almost impossible to examine all the records created, or all the institutions that create records, which is why the documentation strategy focuses on analysis and planning.

The final element is that it requires the formulation of a plan. The archivist must develop a strategy of the documentary objectives before the records are even looked at. The plan also includes an assessment or evaluation of the quality and quantity of the archival documentation already preserved. The documentation strategy represents a holistic approach to archival appraisal. Through research, planning, and analysis, archivists are able to make more informed appraisal decisions and contribute to the larger societal record. 26

26 Ibid., pp. 146-148.
Cook critiqued the documentation strategy because it was based on the selection of themes or subjects (the selection of which will constantly be in dispute), an approach that he calls “unarchival,” because it ignores the provenancial nature of the records. The strategy, because of its thematic approach, also carries within it “the threat of enormous overlapping of themes/functions, and thus the very real possibility of duplication of archivists’ work and record acquisition.” Cook noted that the strategy would in fact be most appropriate for the world of private manuscripts and non-corporate records rather than for government or institutional records, or as a complement or supplement to the latter.

Samuels recognized this fact as well. In 1992 she wrote *Varsity Letters: Documenting Modern Colleges and Universities*, where she articulated that archivists first must research and understand the functions and activities of their parent or sponsoring institutions, and then use this knowledge to engage in a multi-institutional documentation strategy. Samuels study emphasized that both official and non-official materials are required to achieve an adequate documentation of an institution.

Therefore, in order to document sport in a locality, such as curling in Manitoba, a combination of the two archival tools of macroappraisal and documentation strategy must be achieved. However, in the archival literature, there is no clear articulation of how the marriage of these two tools is to be achieved. This thesis will attempt to utilize the

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28 Ibid.
29 Ibid.
30 Samuels, *Varsity Letters*, p. 7
documentation strategy and macroappraisal in the steps below in order to test the
effectiveness for documenting curling in Manitoba. However, due to the limited
resources for this thesis, it has not been possible to assemble the working group and full
institutional support that the documentation strategy ideally requires, and therefore this
model will be suggestive, rather than comprehensive.

**Documentation Strategy: Identifying the total records “landscape” for curling in
Manitoba.**

1. Identify documentary goals and the process proposed to achieve them.
   - Document curling in Manitoba.
2. Identify the curling records that are already held in archival repositories.
   - For all records relating to curling in Manitoba.
3. Identify the key organizations and private individuals that are likely to produce
   the targeted records.
   - Identify both government and private institutions or individuals that hold
     records relating to curling.

**Macroappraisal: Applied to individual organizations identified in step 3.**

4. Conduct research to decide generically the complexity and relative importance of
   the functions, sub-functions, sub-sub functions, programs, and activities of curling
   organizations in Canada.
   - Provide a brief history of Sport in Canada, and of curling in both Canada
     and Manitoba.
5. Conduct research to identify the organizational structural sites where the most
   important functions of curling take place.
6. Conduct research to understand the nature and best location to illustrate the
   impact of the curling related function or program on Canadians and the public's
   interaction with the function or program.
7. Form a macroappraisal hypothesis about the relative importance of the function or
   program, where the critical records are located, and which and how many records
   would provide sufficient archival documentation; test or confirm the hypothesis
   by reviewing select records created by the function or program being assessed.
8. Analyze the value of other records outside the targeted area where duplication is
   suspected, or where information systems cross functional or structural boundaries.
9. Identify additional records that may have legal, intrinsic, or informational value.
10. Identify any factors (technical, cost, legal impediments, etc.) that may negatively
    affect the choices being made, and subsequently either adjusting the appraisal
    decision or crafting terms and conditions for transfer or monitoring.  

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32 Adapted from Library and Archives Canada, “Appraisal Methodology: Macro-Appraisal and Functional
Analysis Part B: Guidelines for Performing an Archival Appraisal on Government Records,” (17 October
Documentation Strategy: Applied to personal records identified through step 3 and through the macroappraisal.

11. Identify the personal records of important individuals involved in curling that need to be collected.
12. Conduct negotiations with the individuals or the families and estates to receive the records and possibly arrange for their archival acquisition.
13. Select the records that have the greatest value for documenting the life activities, and ideas of the targeted persons, or that complement or supplement the organizational records already chosen, and discard or return the rest.
14. Identify any factors (technical, cost, legal impediments, etc.) that may negatively affect the choices being made, and subsequently either adjusting the appraisal decision or crafting terms and conditions for transfer or monitoring.
15. Finalize transfer, do monetary appraisal for tax credits or purchase, and acquire records or suggest where they may be housed.

The above steps are drawn from the literature relating to the documentation strategy and macroappraisal. In order to determine the structures and functions of curling and the importance and value of the records that are already held within archival repositories, the historical context of both Canadian sport, and more specifically curling in both Canada and Manitoba, must be established. Identifying the records already held in archival repositories or private collections will be analyzed in Chapter Two, once the historical context has been established.

Historical Context of Canadian Sport

The societal focus of the appraisal model proposed by this thesis requires that archivists become familiar with the history and context of the function in society that they are documenting. In this case, the wider Canadian sports history is relevant in order to identify curling’s place within the cultural and sports landscape of Manitoba and Canada, 2001). [http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/government/disposition/007007-1041-e.html](http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/government/disposition/007007-1041-e.html), accessed on 9 June 2007. Terry Cook was the author of this policy document.
and will be later used to gauge what should have been collected as compared to what has been collected.

The definition of sport is problematic because it stimulates great debate about what is a “sport” versus “games,” or “play.” Are children playing tag considered to be engaged in a game or a sport? Should bowling be considered a game or a sport? Many definitions include the presence of competitions, codified rules, and complex physical skills as necessary conditions for an activity to be considered a sport. These definitions would exclude dancing or mountain climbing as sport, although some sports historians would argue that participants in those activities are athletes and therefore their activities should be classified as sports. Therefore, proposing a definition of sport that is all encompassing is outside the scope of this thesis and perhaps may be impossible. This thesis will instead examine the physical or athletic competitions of various eras to understand what these meant to the societies of the time, and in particular what curling meant to those participating in it. Therefore, the definition of “sport” that will be used by this thesis will be a fluid concept, encompassing activities which may be considered “games” to some and “sports” to others.

Sport is an important part of human life. In 776 BCE the first recorded Olympic Games were held in ancient Greece. Today, sport has become a significant expression of human culture. Newspapers feature full sections devoted to sports and television stations such as The Sports Network (TSN) offer twenty-four-hour coverage of sports. Some specialty stations also offer reruns of classic games from just one sport, also twenty-four hours each day.

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34 Ibid.
Despite its clear social importance, academic sports history in Canada has been far less developed than other historical thematic fields such as political, military, labour, or gender history. An examination of the *Canadian Historical Review* (CHR) shows that from 1988 to 2008 there were only two articles in this twenty-year period relating to sports. In 2007, Andrew Holman, Professor of History and Canadian Studies at Bridgewater University, examined the issue of Canadian hockey players in American universities in an article entitled, “The Canadian Hockey Player Problem: Cultural Reckoning and National Identities in American Collegiate Sport, 1947–80,” and in 1996 Robin John Anderson examined baseball in the interwar period in his article, “On the Edge of the Baseball Map with the 1908 Vancouver Beavers.” While there are academic journals that are devoted to the study of sport such as *Sport in Society*, and *The Journal of Sports History*, the paucity of sport-related articles in the CHR illustrates how sport is marginalized in generalized historical research and publication. That is not to say, however, that good academic research relating to sport in Canada does not exist.

In 1969 Australian-born Nancy and Maxwell Howell of the University of Alberta produced their work entitled *Sports and Games in Canadian Life: 1700 to the Present*. This work is a general survey in which the authors intended to “stimulate detailed and definitive studies of various periods and of specific sports and games.” The Howells saw this work as the “first serious attempt” to link the role of sports and games in

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Canadian life to the society of the time. However, due to the fact that Canadian sports history was in its infancy, their study had to be quite general in nature.

In 1989 Alan Metcalfe made an important contribution to Canadian sports history through his book, *Canada Learns to Play: The Emergence of Organized Sport, 1807-1914*. Metcalfe lamented the fact that by 1986 sport history had mainly come from physical education departments rather than the history departments, and as a result his stated objective in writing was to outline a bridge between the work of sports historians and social historians. To this end, Metcalfe argued that sport was not peripheral, but was in fact central and integral to Canadian life. Sport reflected the dominant social and political concerns of the time and was an important institution for the transmission of cultural characteristics. It was also a phenomenon that transcended, and sometimes reinforced, socio-economical, educational, ethnic, and religious barriers.

The theme of sport mirroring Canadian society was also explored in S.F. Wise’s classic “Sport and Class Values in Old Ontario and Quebec.” Published in 1974, Wise produced one of the earliest examples of a social history of sport and explored the differing athletic traditions of various ethnic groups and classes. In the late nineteenth century, it was not only those of English background who participated in sports in Canada, but a wide range of people and cultures making up the Canadian population had their own distinct traditions of athletics, which were closely related to their social

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38 Ibid.
40 Ibid., p. 13.
position and the traditional outlook of the particular group.\textsuperscript{42} For example, Wise noted that for French Canadians, sports such as boxing, weightlifting, wrestling, and marathon running, which featured feats of strength, toughness, fortitude, and endurance, all popularly connected to the occupations of a rural lifestyle, were highly prized.\textsuperscript{43} Similarly, for Scottish Canadians, sporting traditions grew out of the conditions of life in which physical accomplishment and manliness were accorded value and helped increase the popularity of sports such as track and field.\textsuperscript{44}

Despite the Howells’ generalized focus on Canadian sport and society at a national level, it is apparent that they did indeed stimulate historians to examine sport as a legitimate field of research. The themes they introduced have been explored within Canadian sport literature, and an examination of some of these themes follows.

\textbf{Development of Organized Sport}

Historians of Canadian sport identify the mid-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries as a period of transition from the physical activities, recreations, games, and pastimes of early Canadians to the more complex and codified rules of competitive organized sport. This shift to a more organized sporting culture corresponds with large political and social changes occurring at the time within the larger Canadian society. Forces such as urbanization, industrialization, and technical advancement influenced how


\textsuperscript{43} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{44} Ibid., 113.
Canadians spent their increasing leisure time and helped give rise to organized sport in Canada.\textsuperscript{45}

Metcalf\'e, for example, examined the development of organized sport within the context of physical expansion of Canada, the shifting distribution of population, the growth of cities, and the emergence of industrial capitalism. He argued that sport reflected the dominant social and political concerns of the time.\textsuperscript{46} Central to this argument was Metcalf\'e\'s exploration of the emergence and cultural dominance of the Anglophone urban middle class in both Montreal and Toronto and their role in the emergence and spread of organized sport across Canada. Metcalf\'e concluded that by 1914 “organized sport had spread to all corners of Canada, but its particular characteristics varied across the country depending on the size of the community.”\textsuperscript{47}

Echoing Metcalf\'e\’s major arguments, Gerald Redmond, a historian at the University of Alberta, wrote that modern sport “was born of the Industrial Revolution and developed over the past two hundred years.”\textsuperscript{48} Redmond argued that during the nineteenth century, Canadian sport became “international and urban, closely allied to technology, a highly organized and complex social force.”\textsuperscript{49} At the centre of this transformation was the Industrial Revolution which paved the way for new technologies and social classes that changed sports in Canada.

Some of these improvements to technology included new modes of transportation, which were central to the development of organized sport in Canada. The transportation


\textsuperscript{46} Metcalf, \textit{Canada Learns to Play}, pp. 10-13.

\textsuperscript{47} Ibid., p. 219.


\textsuperscript{49} Ibid.
of the early 1800s, such as walking, snowshoeing, or riding on horseback or in a stagecoach did not allow for inter-community rivalry as the distances and cost of travel prohibited such competition. By the mid 1800s improvements to steamers and the building of canals allowed water transport to become the catalyst for inter-town sport. Similarly, the building of railways and the subsequent connecting of communities allowed for a further reduction in travel time, provided for a regularity of competitions, and for the promotion of multi-club and multi-sport events. Without the technological advancements in travel, industrial workers and affluent citizens would not have been so quick to participate in sport as athletes and spectators, and such activities would have remained local, amateur, and of lower quality, thus attracting less interest.

New advances in communications were another set of important technological changes that contributed to the organization of sport. Early in the 1800s the modes of communication were word of mouth, letters, and newspapers which were linked to the slow pace of transportation of the time. However, by 1850, with the advent of steam presses and the telegraph, newspapers helped foster interest in sport by reporting on games and events from around the country very shortly after their conclusion. Interest thus grew for events outside of the immediate communities in which Canadians lived. Previously, information about sporting results had taken weeks to receive and was often inaccurate, but improved reporting for newspapers and the introduction of the sports page therein in 1855 resulted in a daily audience hungry for information about the latest sporting events.

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50 Morrow and Wamsley, Sport in Canada, pp. 45-46.
51 Keyes, “Sport and Technological Change,” p. 258.
Along with improvements in travel and communications, other technological advancements of the period also contributed to the development of organized sport. The sewing machine more readily provided standardized uniforms and sports mitts; the vulcanization of rubber allowed for improved sports balls; the typewriter and camera allowed for enhanced reporting on sports; covered ice rinks improved the popularity of skating and curling; electricity and lighting allowed for sport to be played in the evening; and the mass production of sporting equipment provided standardization in equipment and subsequently the possibility of enforced standard sporting rules.

A new concept of time also influenced the development of organized sport as a shift occurred in Canadian society. In pre-industrial society, time was measured by agrarian factors of the rising and the setting of the sun, and by the tasks needing to be accomplished during a particular season. The industrialization of society created a shift from this agrarian system of time to a concept of time linked to the work week and measured in minutes and hours. Time also became divided into work and leisure, and de facto allocated to all citizens of society the free time to participate in recreational pursuits such as sports.

Set against these technological advancements in Canada was a population increase and economic boom which led to increased urbanization and an interest in all forms of culture including sport. One of the first cities to experience population growth and urbanization was Montreal, which historians have termed the “Cradle of Organized Sport.” In 1807 twenty elite Scottish citizens of Montreal met at Gillies Tavern and formed the first organized sport club in North America, the Montreal Curling Club. By

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52 Ideas in the previous three paragraphs are all based on Morrow and Wamsley, *Sport in Canada*, pp. 47-260.
the 1830s, the club had codified its rules and regulations, codes of conduct, and club members’ moral and financial obligations and exported them to various towns in Ontario where other Scottish immigrants adopted the game. Although membership was exclusive, the Montreal Curling Club represented a major first step in the formation of organized sports in British North America.53

By the 1870s and 1880s different segments of society were participating in sports and clubs and there was a large growth of participation in new sports such as golf, bicycling, and lawn tennis, and the creation of basic organizational structures, basic patterns of land utilization and new developments in public attitudes toward recreation. The number of sporting clubs in Montreal increased in the period of 1871 to 1891 from 42 to 145 clubs in 19 different sports.54

**Amateur Ideals versus Professionalism**

One of the most important themes that has been developed in Canadian sport history is the tension between “amateurism” and “professionalism.” In 1881 the Montreal Amateur Athletic Association (MAAAA) was formed by the amalgamation of the Montreal Lacrosse, Snowshoe, and Bicycle clubs in order to counter the professionalism of paid players that placed an emphasis on winning championships, which could have led to dishonest practices such as fixed matches, gambling, and unfair conditions amongst teams, athletes, and clubs. All three of these dishonest practices were alleged against Canada’s first individual rowing champion, Edward (Ned) Hanlan. Rowing was one of the most popular spectator sports in Canada during the last half of the nineteenth century,

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in part because gambling and lucrative prizes attracted the masses. One of Canada’s first “sporting heroes,” Hanlan captured the popularity of the masses. He was born of a lower-class family, which did not endear him to the social elite, and gained his early rowing practice by fishing and smuggling rum to his father’s hotel on Lake Ontario. Backed by wealthy financers, Hanlan was able to focus on training and rowing, became rowing champion of the world in 1880 and defended his title six times before losing it in 1884. His popularity amongst the masses shows how the society of the time projected its values of competition and winning upon a sporting champion, a new phenomenon which was linked to the professional athlete.\textsuperscript{55}

As discussed above, Alan Metcalfe linked the emergence and cultural dominance of the Anglophone urban middle class in both Montreal and Toronto to their role in the emergence and spread of organized sport across Canada. Metcalfe also linked them to the spread of the amateur ideal. He concluded that the ideology of amateurism which was promoted by the Anglophone middle class provided a sense of unity and cohesion to that group through their work ethic, hard work, and fair play.\textsuperscript{56} The amateur movement was in fact the attempt of the Anglophone middle class to exercise their hegemony over Canadian society.

As sport developed and expanded throughout Canadian society, various governing bodies attempted to apply rules and controls to ensure fairness and to ensure that British ideals of “amateurism” and fair play were practiced. As more social classes began to participate in sport, early amateur codes began to restrict participants on the basis of class

\textsuperscript{55} Ideas in the previous paragraph are all based on Morrow and Wamsley, \textit{Sport in Canada}, pp. 65, 128-134.
\textsuperscript{56} Metcalfe, \textit{Canada Learns to Play}, pp. 219-220.
The early definitions of “amateur” had roots in Great Britain, where there was an attempt to exclude the lower classes from participating in sport. These definitions typically focused on what an amateur was not, rather than what an amateur was. In the late 1870s, the British Henley Rowing Club defined an amateur as one who was not “by trade or employment a mechanic, artisan, or labourer.” Similarly, in 1873 the Montreal Pedestrian Club’s amateur definition excluded those who were a “laborer or an Indian.”

In 1884 the Montreal Amateur Athletic Association organized the Amateur Athletic Association of Canada (AAAC), as the first governing body of the amateur ideal. The AAAC’s early definition of an amateur also focused on what was a non-amateur:

An amateur is one who never competed for a money prize or staked bet, or with or against any professional for any prize, or who has never taught, pursued or assisted in the practice of athletic exercises as a means of obtaining of livelihood. This rule does not interfere with the right of any club to refuse entry to its own sports.

This definition was not designed to promote sport, but instead provided for the right of exclusion for clubs. In 1898 the AAAC formed an alliance with the Amateur Athletic Union of the United States, and became the Canadian Amateur Athletic Union (CAAU). The new CAAU became focused not only on governing amateur sport, but also on investigating charges of professionalism and abolishing it when it appeared in the amateur ranks. However, the trend towards commercialism in sports and the recreations of the working class, including prizefighting and cockfighting, and the swearing, gambling, and drinking that went along with these pursuits, contrasted from the perceived

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59 From the constitution and by-laws of the Montreal Pedestrian Club, 1873: “An amateur is one who has never competed in any open competition or for public money, or for admission money, or with professionals for a prize, public money or admission money, nor has ever, at any period of his life taught or assisted in the pursuit of Athletic exercises as a means of livelihood or is a labourer or an Indian.”
moral purity of the ideology of amateur sports. The commercial elements continued to infiltrate amateur sports in the early 1900s, and as athletes became heroes to the masses, they were offered jobs and bonuses to join local amateur teams.  

In 1909 the Amateur Athletic Union of Canada (AAUC) was formed, which was comprised of both the CAAU and MAAA. The AAUC defended amateur ideals until it disbanded in the 1970s and turned control of amateur sport over to the Government of Canada.

With the AAUC in control of amateur sport, the professional side of sport continued to grow and develop, with the main difference being the factor of “money.” It served as the mechanism for differentiating between amateurs and professionals and was the end product of the professional’s labour. For entrepreneurs it was the motivating factor for building facilities and promoting athletic competition and was the criterion of success or failure for organized sport, and for the social elite it served as a vehicle to maintain their exclusivity.  

The 1870s and 1880s saw an increase in the number of professional sports teams, the variety of sports played, and in the number of spectators at games. However, as urban centres grew, pressure on space increased, as did land prices, and thus it became more expensive to maintain grounds for sport and new sports organizations found it difficult to remain financially viable. Money and the need for financial viability ultimately moved sport towards commercialization as amateur clubs and sports were forced to generate income for their existence. Sport could be utilized as a marketable commodity and the facilities used for sporting participation could be used for

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61 Ideas in the previous paragraph are all based on Morrow and Wamsley, Sport in Canada, pp. 67- 76.
62 Metcalfe, Canada Learns to Play, p. 133.
financial potential through gate receipts. The earliest evidence of a specialized sporting facility was found in Montreal, as a curling shed was built in 1838.\textsuperscript{63}

The earliest facilities were built by the social elite for themselves, but as costs grew, the facilities were opened up to a wider clientele. An example of this is the Victoria Skating Rink in Montreal, which was opened in 1862 by the social and business elite, but by the 1870s, due to financial pressures, had to open to amateur groups in the winter, and for summer activities. The opening of commercial facilities dedicated solely to sport indicates the spread of sport through a wide social base, based on large number of participants and spectators. By the beginning of the twentieth century, ice rinks and race tracks could be found across Canada in both rural and urban centres, and although they varied in quality, they all had accommodations for spectators. Communities, investors, and individual entrepreneurs invested in ice rinks and the one common requirement was that rinks be financially viable.

The professional athlete in Canada developed in Montreal and Toronto in the 1870s. Individuals and groups saw the financial potential to be gained by touring around the larger urban areas and their picnics, fairs, and Caledonia games and challenged local competitors to matches, and the professionals would earn money through wagers. By the late 1870s and early 1880s professionals started to tour in a group and would compete against each other, but in order to maintain financial viability, a circuit of cities with facilities and entrepreneurs offering prize money had to exist, and these conditions only existed in Canada at Toronto and Montreal. As a result, in order to supplement their income, these professionals toured the eastern United States, and thus established an identity in, and dependence on, the American market, which was to characterize much of

\textsuperscript{63} Ibid., p. 134.
Canadian professional sport. Professional team sports and their institutionalization in Canadian culture represented the ultimate victory of professionalism. Entrepreneurs who recognized the money-making potential of marketing and selling sport to the masses and the athletes who wanted to be paid for their talents joined forces to provide a commodity to make a profit. Professional teams, in all sports, were based on the same principle of financial viability.  

To illustrate the circumstances under which professional sports became institutionalized in Canada, sports historians have utilized lacrosse, baseball, and hockey. Europeans adopted a form of the traditional lacrosse game played by Aboriginal populations of North America and in 1856 the Montreal Lacrosse Club (MLC) was formed by prominent Montrealers and the first rules were published in 1860. In 1867 members of the MLC and lacrosse clubs from Ontario and Quebec held a convention in Kingston and established Canada’s first sport governing body, the National Lacrosse Association (NLA). This was an important step in the establishment of lacrosse as a national sport, and its creation stimulated the formation of many new lacrosse clubs. The key factor in lacrosse’s growth was that it was embraced in the two most populated urban centres of the time, Montreal and Toronto.

By the 1870s the battle of professionals versus amateurs in the sport of lacrosse had become a dominate issue. Faced with growing costs to operate games, clubs began to charge gate admissions and became heavily dependent on this revenue. Furthermore, skilled players were offered cash bonuses or jobs as recruitment tactics to attract non-

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64 Ideas in the previous two paragraphs are all based on Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play*, pp. 133-163.
66 Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play*, p. 182.
local talent and gambling on matches was entrenched in the sport by the 1870s, all in direct conflict with the virtues of amateurism that the NLA used to govern the sport.

In 1880, in an attempt to counter the perceived professionalism in sport, the NLA decided to change its name to the National Amateur Lacrosse Association (NALA). However, this name change could not solve the growing commercialism in the sport. Despite the battle between professional and amateur status within the sport, lacrosse continued to grow in popularity as a spectator sport. Its fast pace and rough and violent nature drew crowds in ever increasing numbers and, as the game evolved, players became more experienced and their skill level increased, and so helped to advance the sport. Lacrosse was also sold to the masses as “Canada’s game” and as a symbol of Canada to the rest of the world. In 1876 and again in 1883, a tour of exhibition matches in Great Britain was organized to promote both the sport and the nation of Canada. In both cases, a team of Aboriginals played against a team of Canadian “gentlemen” and matches were full of aboriginal imagery to attract spectators. Pamphlets, immigration flyers, and lectures on Canada and its resources were used to promote the country to Great Britain by using lacrosse as its delivery system.

By the mid 1880s lacrosse was one of the most popular team sports in Canada, and it had developed a structure by which a playoff system determined the championship of Canadian lacrosse versus a challenge system. The game grew in Ontario and Quebec, and continued to expand across Canada but did not enjoy the same popularity in all regions. In the Maritimes, teams were established but were not as popular as cricket, baseball, and rugby. In contrast, the rivalry between Quebec and Ontario teams was very intense and in 1887 disputes over control of the NALA caused a group from Toronto to
break away and form the Canadian Lacrosse Association (CLA). Lines were drawn and power within Canadian lacrosse was divided around Toronto and the CLA, and Montreal and the NALA. By the 1890s lacrosse had spread to western Canada, enjoying particular popularity in Manitoba and British Columbia. The CLA and NALA became regional sport bodies as the British Columbia Amateur Lacrosse Association governed on the west coast and the Western Canadian Lacrosse Association governed on the Prairies. In 1901 lacrosse became a truly national sport when the Governor General, the Earl of Minto, donated a cup that was to be known as the “Minto Cup” for challenge competition among the champions across Canada. The Minto Cup became the symbol for national supremacy, and British Columbian teams held the Cup from 1908 until 1914 when play for it was suspended with the First World War.

Lacrosse was the most popular sport in Canada in 1885, but by 1914 had fallen out of prominence. The sport’s focus on the battle against professionalism caused those in power to miss the major problems plaguing lacrosse, including the failure to develop a viable grass-roots system at the school level, which other sports such as baseball and hockey had created. The ruling associations failed to accept that in an increasingly capitalist society, victory and money were prized above all, and that sport itself was no longer a diversion to the Canadian population, but it was fast becoming central to their lives and reflected dominant Canadian cultural values. Lacrosse fell into decline and became an isolated sport played in southern Ontario, parts of Quebec, and British Columbia.

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67 The above section on lacrosse is based on Morrow and Wamsley, Sport in Canada, pp. 93-103.
68 Metcalfe, Canada Learns to Play, p. 218.
Unlike lacrosse, baseball in Canada first developed in southwestern Ontario and had a more working-class association. Baseball players had no problems accepting payment for their services and monetary prizes and the collection of gate receipts was a staple of the game. By the 1870s Canadian baseball moved toward fully professional teams and a closer association with the United States. The game spread across Canada and was played in almost every small community and large urban centre. The best players were Americans that had been brought up to play in Canada and were an endemic part of the sport.\textsuperscript{69} By the late 1800s only the large urban centres of Toronto, Montreal, Winnipeg, and Victoria had large enough populations to host truly professional baseball clubs capable of sustaining the teams financially through winning and losing seasons. These teams played in various leagues based in the United States but often faced financial difficulty. By 1897 teams in Toronto and Montreal had joined the American based Eastern League, which was absorbed into the International League, and entrenched professional baseball in these two cities.\textsuperscript{70}

Baseball became Canada’s most popular sport from 1900 to 1920. Semi-professional leagues proliferated across the country and baseball flourished at the grassroots levels. As baseball increased in popularity, more and more players and spectators were drawn away from the other summer sport of lacrosse and was one of the major reasons for that sport’s decline in Canada. The press played a large role in baseball’s popularity as increased coverage of the sport brought it to many households. The media reported on American baseball leagues as much as Canadian leagues. During

\textsuperscript{69} Morrow and Wamsley, \textit{Sport in Canada}, p. 113.
\textsuperscript{70} Ibid., p. 116.
the First World War, women’s softball became popular and was subsequently covered heavily by the media.

The two senior professional teams in Toronto and Montreal garnered the most interest with Canadians. The Montreal team was known as the Montreal Royals and played from 1897 until 1917, and then was revived in 1928 and played until 1961. The Royals became a farm team for the Brooklyn Dodgers in 1944, and are most famous for their signing of Jackie Robinson, who would become the first black player in Major League Baseball (MLB). Robinson helped the Royals win a championship in 1946, and he was subsequently regarded as a hero in Montreal.\textsuperscript{71} In Toronto, the minor league baseball franchise known as the Maple Leafs drew huge crowds and media attention and the games were surrounded with much excitement and fanfare. Games continued through the Second World War despite most of the young players serving in the forces. After the war period, the Leafs continued to enjoy great popularity through the 1950s, but by the 1960s they had trouble drawing fans and they folded in 1967. In 1969 a MLB team was awarded to Montreal with the creation of the Montreal Expos. The Expos played in the league until they were moved to Washington in 2005. Toronto was awarded a MLB team in 1977 and the Toronto Blue Jays continue to play to the present.\textsuperscript{72}

Unlike baseball, but following a similar pattern as lacrosse, Canadian hockey fought professionalism throughout its development. In the mid 1890s, ice hockey experienced a large expansion in the number of participants playing the sport. In the early 1900s, organizations like the Ontario Hockey Association fought to protect hockey against the advances of professionalism, which resulted in amateur teams that were equal

\textsuperscript{71} Ibid., p. 122.
\textsuperscript{72} The above section on baseball is based on Morrow and Wamsley, Sport in Canada, pp. 119-125.
in skill to professional teams and spectators therefore were drawn to both types of games. In 1908, the Montreal Wanderers won the last amateur Stanley Cup, and afterwards declared themselves “professional,” ushering in a new era of hockey.\textsuperscript{73} During the 1909-10 season, the Eastern Canadian Hockey Association joined with the National Hockey Association (NHA) under the latter’s name. The new association established player contracts and introduced new rules such as dividing the game into three periods.\textsuperscript{74} The NHA had a professional team in Montreal, and in 1912, two teams from Toronto joined when an arena with artificial ice was opened in that city. Artificial ice allowed for the stability of the sport, as the weather in Toronto was a little more mild than the weather in Montreal. Professional teams could not operate with the uncertainty of lost profits due to warm weather.

A rival league, the Pacific Coast Hockey Association (PCHL) began operation in 1911 in Victoria and Vancouver, and signed away many of the NHA stars with large salaries. In 1915, it was decided that the champions from the PCHL and the NHA would play off for the Stanley Cup, and the rivalry between the two leagues as they contested the cup brought hockey into national focus and helped to cement its popularity in the nation.\textsuperscript{75}

In 1917 the NHA reorganized and became the National Hockey League (NHL), but far from being a “national” league, it instead focused on its operations in eastern Canada, and expansion into the US. By the early 1920s there were three professional leagues operating in Canada and competing for the Stanley Cup, as the PCHL and the NHL had been joined by the Western Canadian Hockey League (WCHL) on the prairies.

\textsuperscript{73} Metcalfe, \textit{Canada Learns to Play}, p. 169.  
\textsuperscript{74} Morrow, et al., \textit{Concise History of Sport in Canada}, p. 189. 
\textsuperscript{75} Ibid.
Hockey in Canada was changed in 1925 when the PCHL folded and the NHL finally expanded into the US market with the admission of the Boston Bruins and New York Rangers. Over the next couple of years the NHL expanded into Pittsburgh, Chicago, and Detroit, and the league was strengthened when the WCHL folded in 1927.

The 1930s saw the growth of the NHL in popularity and fan support and players signed longer term contracts and many teams were added and contracted. The NHL varied between seven and ten teams and two divisions, but by 1940 had reduced itself to six teams - Toronto, Boston, Montreal, Chicago, Detroit, and New York- which would be the structure until 1967.76 This stable structure allowed hockey to become very successful and the success of the Canadian teams in Toronto and Montreal cemented the game as a vital component of any sense of Canadian identity. After 1967 the NHL experienced rapid growth and expanded from six to twelve teams. Television and media coverage brought hockey to many Canadians and helped to increase the popularity of the game in unprecedented numbers, although the expansion only saw the addition in 1970 of one new professional Canadian franchise, the Vancouver Canucks. In 1972 a rival league, the World Hockey Association (WHA) was established with a number of Canadian-based teams. The WHA franchises signed away NHL stars to large amounts of money and the new league was seen as a serious threat to the older more established NHL. When the WHA folded in 1979 the NHL absorbed four teams, including three Canadian teams in Quebec City, Winnipeg, and Edmonton and relocated an existing franchise to Calgary.

With the rapid expansion and proliferation of new teams, the talent level could not keep up with the need for more players. Hockey took on a more violent turn as teams could not find enough skilled players and turned to players who could play a more

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76 Ibid., pp. 194-195.
physical style. However, Canada’s participation in the 1972 Summit series against the USSR, showed Canadians that the skilled game of the Russians was a more desirable style of hockey and the NHL began to change its tactics. In the ensuing decade, teams looked to international players to fill the void for more skilled players. Hockey continues to grow and develop and the NHL remains a strong part of the Canadian culture. Events such as the 1972 Canada-Russia Summit series created in Canadians a sense of national pride and identity. For many Canadians, hockey is seen as integral to being Canadian; it was also a testament to the success of the business of the NHL.

The examples of baseball, lacrosse, and hockey provide a look into the early development of Canada’s sporting landscape and even its national identity. These patterns were played out in other sports in Canada, such as in basketball and football, but such a detailed analysis of all sport in Canada is outside the scope of this thesis. The above examples provide a look into the patterns that organized sport has taken within Canadian society. These patterns can then be used to compare and understand the historical context of a particular sport such as curling as it developed in Canadian society. For the purposes of this thesis, when examining a sport such as curling in a specific locality, and deciding which records are archival, it is necessary to know the wider sporting context of the time that these records relate. It is for this reason that an examination of other sports must be undertaken.

**Sport and Canadian Identity**

Sport and the Canadian identity have been played out back at least to Canada’s first involvement in the modern Olympic Games in 1900. These Games were held in Greece and were linked to the ancient sporting contests held there, and were to be strictly
open to only amateur sportsmen, which in effect only opened them to the elite and middle-class sports men of the time. Indeed, the question of athletes and their amateur status dominated the early games as in all sports. Canada has competed in all Olympic Games since 1900, except in 1980 when with other Western nations, it boycotted the games in Moscow for international political reasons. Canada has hosted the Olympic Games three times with the 1976 Summer Olympics in Montreal, the 1988 Winter Olympics in Calgary, and the 2010 Winter Olympics in Vancouver. Canada failed to win a gold medal at the 1976 and 1988 Games, and in response launched a development program in 2005 for the 2010 Olympics called “Own the Podium” with the stated goal to win the most medals in Vancouver. At the Games, Canada did not win the most medals in total, but won the most gold medals of any country participating. The Vancouver Olympic Games were seen as a great success and the gold medal game in men’s ice hockey attracted an average television viewership of 16.6 million.

While the Olympic movement has been growing in Canada, there have been many other multi-sport events held in Canada. In 1930 the first-ever British Empire Games were held in Hamilton, Ontario. The British Empire Games were renamed the Commonwealth Games, and were held in Canada three more times with the second being in Vancouver in 1954, followed by Edmonton in 1978, and Victoria in 1994. Canada has participated in all the Pan-American Games except for the first edition, and hosted them in 1967 and 1999, both times in Winnipeg, and will host them again in Toronto in 2015.

77 Morrow and Walmsley, *Sport in Canada*, p. 221.
The Canadian government became actively involved in the promotion of sport when the *National Fitness Act* was proclaimed on 1 October 1943 and established the Physical Fitness Division within the Welfare Branch of the Department of Health and Welfare, with the mandate to promote fitness and physical education throughout the country.\(^80\) The act was repealed after several disputes with the provinces but in 1961, *An Act to Promote Fitness and Amateur Sport* was passed. The new act illustrated the federal government’s desire to be involved in sport and shifted the significant patterns of the administration of sport away from private-sector volunteers operating within various local, regional, and national sports organizations.\(^81\)

There were several reasons for the Canadian government’s increased involvement. One reason was that after the Second World War, there were demands to improve labour and welfare legislation and sports leaders called for similar assistance for sport as poorer working-class or unemployed families could not afford hockey equipment, nor annual or tournament fees. Perhaps more importantly, sport began to be associated with the nation’s health and overall well-being, and therefore part of the modern welfare state. Another reason for the involvement of the Canadian state in sport was that Canadian international sporting success was very poor in the 1950s, and John Diefenbaker, the Canadian Prime Minister elected in 1957, was a strong nationalist who believed that national pride and Canadian unity could be fostered by success in athletics.\(^82\) The Canadian government underscored this sporting nationalism by introducing such initiatives as the Canada Games, the first of which was held in Quebec.

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\(^82\) Hall, et al., *Sport in Canadian Society*, p. 73.
City in 1967, with the motto “Unity Through Sport.” The Canada Games were aimed at developing sport in Canada and to this day only amateurs are allowed to compete. They are held every two years and alternate between summer and winter games. These events can also be used to undermine the Canadian identity. In 1976, for example, after Gaétan Boucher, a speed skater from the province of Quebec, won two gold medals, Quebec Premier René Lévesque, who was pushing for nation-status for his province, was quoted as saying “Quebec 2, Canada 0.”

The government agency that was responsible for administering the *Fitness and Amateur Sport Act* was the Fitness and Amateur Sport Directorate within the Department of Health and Welfare. The Directorate gained elevated branch status in 1976 under the Minister of State, Fitness and Amateur Sport. In 1992 the branch was abolished and its functions were divided between the Department of Health and (primarily) the Department of Canadian Heritage. Sport Canada is now the principal focus of the national government’s involvement in sport in Canada. The program is located in Canadian Heritage in its larger Citizenship and Canadian Identity Program. Sport Canada has three main functions: to act as the prime office for sports related funding; to strengthen the unique contribution that sport makes to Canadian society, identity, and culture; and to act as the federal government’s prime agency in setting Canadian sport policy. Sport Canada works with many partners, including provincial/territorial governments; national sport organizations, such as the Canadian Curling Association; multi-sport service organizations, such as the Canadian Interuniversity Sport; and Canadian Sport Centres.

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84 Hall, et al., *Sport in Canadian Society*, p.83.
which provide services and programs to enhance the training environment for athletes and coaches.\(^{86}\)

In 2000 representatives from fourteen government jurisdictions, the Canadian sport community, and numerous other organizations and agencies that influence and benefit from sport in Canada initiated a project to produce the *Canadian Sport Policy*. The policy was initiated to develop a new approach to shared leadership and collaboration amongst all stakeholders to achieve the goals of enhanced participation, excellence, capacity, and interaction in sport. Its aim was to open sport to every segment of Canadian society. The policy was completed on 24 May 2002, and seeks to involve all those who do not currently consider themselves a part of either the sport community or the sport system, but have the potential and the desire to contribute. The vision of the *Canadian Sport Policy* is:

> to have, by 2012 a dynamic and leading-edge sport environment that enables all Canadians to experience and enjoy involvement in sport to the extent of their abilities and interests and, for increasing numbers, to perform consistently and successfully at the highest competitive levels.\(^{87}\)

Sport has been used in politics for various reasons, beyond boycotts of Olympic Games, and is now utilized for the promotion of national unity. When Canada won the right to host the 2010 Olympic games in Vancouver, Bid Corporation president John Furlong stated that “[w]e are thankful because the bid pushed us to visualize a better future for our city and for our country. It is such a privilege to stand up before you and

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the world representing Vancouver and Canada.”88 The Vancouver Olympics can be seen as being used for the promotion of the nation within a single unified modern project.89

Another theme that has been examined in Canadian sports historiography is the participation of women in sport. In Victorian times women faced many hurdles in order to realize full participation in sport. Sport was viewed as a masculine activity and women who participated in it were considered unfeminine and often labeled “Amazon athletes.”90 Victorian attitudes required women to wear long skirts, crinoline, tight corsets, hats and gloves when in public places that obviously restricted movement, and thus supported the Victorian idea that sports were not proper activities for women.91 The medical experts of the late 1800s also played an important role in preventing women from fully participating in sport. The predominating medical opinions of the time saw women as having smaller brains and lighter bones, and held to the Victorian belief that women were the morally superior but physically inferior gender. Thus to engage in sport might jeopardize their God-given capacity to bear children, and so defied common sense and divine decree. Therefore, it was felt that “both women’s unique anatomy and their special moral obligations disqualified them from vigorous physical activity.”92 In the early 1900s sporting opportunities for the privileged and university women began to expand; the University of Toronto and McGill both started diploma courses in physical education for women by 1908.93 However, the development of these early physical education programs “consistently cited ‘manliness’ as an important outcome of physical education, but

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88 Morrow and Wamsley, Sport in Canada, p. 216.
89 Ibid.
91 Ibid.
93 Helen Lenskyj, “Femininity First: Sport and Physical Education for Ontario Girls, 1890-1930,” in Mott, ed., Sports in Canada, p.188.
corresponding references to its value for girls’ character training were conspicuously absent.”94

By the 1920s women began to enjoy more opportunities in sport. For example, Canada sent six women to compete in track and field at the 1928 Olympics. However, they still faced many challenges to participate in sport on equal footing with men. In many cases, the notion of female physical limitations versus male physicality resulted in special rules for girls’ sports. Newly trained women physical educators believed in the philosophy that women should participate in “sports for sports sake” versus trying to actively win a competition, a philosophy which persisted within Canadian sport until the 1960s.95

Despite making large gains within Canadian society, women continue to struggle for equality within sports. Sociologist Helen Lenskyj notes that there are “underlying assumptions regarding women’s physical inferiority” that continue to exist.96 One recent example is that of two Manitoban high school girls, who sued the Manitoba High Schools Athletic Association in 2004 after they were denied the right to try-out for the boy’s high school hockey team. The Manitoba Human Rights Commission ruled in their favour and allowed them to try-out, highlighting some of the barriers that women still face.97

As sport has broadened in participation from men to women, it also has broadened from able-bodied athletes to those who are physically or intellectually disabled. The best example of this is the paralympic sports movement, which first began in London in 1948

94 Ibid., p. 191.
95 Hall, et al., Sport in Canadian Society, p. 72.
96 Lenskyj, Out of Bounds, p. 144.
when a sporting event called the International Wheelchair Games was held on the first day of the Olympic Games for injured British Second World War veterans. In 1960 the first Paralympic Games were held in Rome but were only open to those in wheelchairs, but in 1976 the Games were opened up to athletes with other disabilities. In 1989 the International Paralympic Committee (IPC) was formed to govern the paralympic movement and in 1992, the Paralympic Games schedule was modified so that it coincided with the Olympic Games. Today the Paralympic Summer Games are second only to the Olympic Summer Games as the largest sporting event in the world.98

Canada first participated in the Paralympics in 1968 in Israel, and has participated in each of the Games since.99 Disabled Canadian athletes have had role models in two famous Canadians, Terry Fox and Rick Hansen. In 1980 Fox began his “Marathon of Hope.” He had lost his leg to cancer in 1977, but in order to raise money for cancer research, Fox attempted to run across Canada. Starting on the east coast of Canada, he ultimately only made it to Thunder Bay, before the cancer returned, spread to his lungs, and took his life nine months later. His run captured the attention and imagination of the country and he won the 1980 Lou Marsh award as Canada’s Top athlete. An annual event, known as the “Terry Fox Run,” raises millions for cancer research with participants in sixty different countries. Fox has numerous physical monuments named after him including highways, streets, fitness trails, schools, parks, and even a mountain, and has a statue in downtown Ottawa.

99 Ibid.
Rick Hansen, who had been paralyzed from the waist down in a car accident when he was fifteen, was inspired by Fox’s achievements and embarked on a world tour to raise money for spinal cord research. Hansen’s “Man in Motion World Tour” began in 1985 in Vancouver and he pushed himself in his manual wheelchair across thirty-four different countries in a twenty-six month period. After returning to Canada’s east coast and subsequently crossing Canada, Hansen’s tour ended when he entered Vancouver’s BC Place Stadium in 1987 to a large number of fans. Like Fox, Hansen was seen as a national hero in Canada, and together they have inspired many disabled athletes and helped promote Paralympic athletics.

Canadian Paralympic athletes were included within the Own the Podium Program with the stated goal of finishing with the top three in the medal count at the Vancouver Paralympic games in 2010, which Canada succeeded in doing. Paralympic athletes are competing at an ever-increasingly high level: para-nordic skier Brian McKeever was the first para-athlete to be named to both the 2010 Winter Olympic team and the Paralympic team.  

Unfortunately, McKeever did not compete at the Winter Olympics, as he was replaced with another skier who had competed in an earlier event, but if he had he would have become the first disabled athlete in the world to compete in both events in the same year. This illustrates the high level to which these athletes are now competing.

This chapter has examined the modern archival tools of macroappraisal and the documentation strategy, and provided a model that combined them in order to appraise the records of curling in Manitoba. This combined tool requires that the context of the

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curling records be established within the larger context of sport in Canada, and therefore the last half of this chapter examined the historical themes of sport in Canada. This examination was not intended to be an exhaustive examination of all sports literature written on the Canadian experience, but rather it focused on the main interpretive themes that have been developed. This broad examination also highlighted the structures and activities of Canadian sport in order to give the contextual background in which contemporary sport now functions. Armed with this contextual information, it will be possible to place the records of a specific sport within their historical context.

The next chapter will continue this contextual approach and explore the history of curling in Canada, and then in Manitoba. The functions, programs, activities, and structures of all curling associations, organizations and clubs will be identified. It will also be essential to examine the types of records produced by curling leagues, teams, bonspiels, associations, halls of fame, and sports museums that are affiliated with curling clubs in Manitoba, and then identify the curling records that are already safely in archives based on an analysis of the archival repositories in Manitoba, as well as those at risk by not being in archival programs. This examination of the contemporary sporting culture of curling in Manitoba will provide the essential research in order to identify the records that are of archival value for the appraisal model that is proposed. In appraising the archival value of the records, the history of sport as a societal function in Canada, as outlined above, will help understand curling’s value and the importance of its records.
Chapter 2
The Historical and Contemporary Context of Curling

In order to appraise the records of curling in Manitoba, this chapter will utilize the appraisal model proposed in the previous chapter. Following the macro-functional decomposition of this approach, this chapter will begin by providing a history of curling in Canada and then specifically in Manitoba. Once this historical context has been established, this chapter will identify the functions of curling. As discussed in the first chapter of this thesis, the documentation strategy suggests that the archivist should appraise records by utilizing a team of records creators, custodians, subject matter experts, and the users of records and have full institutional support. However, one of the limitations of a graduate student thesis is that assembling such a team is not practical, and therefore carrying out a full documentation strategy is not possible. What follows will be a suggestive use of the documentation strategy, and a testing of the theory within the limitations of a thesis. These limitations will mean that only the author of this thesis will determine the functions of curling by drawing upon his experience as a participant, teacher, and administrator of the sport, as well as his research in primary sources. The author began curling at the age of eleven, and served on the governing board of the Assiniboine Memorial Curling Club, including as its president in 2007-08, and currently sits on the board of the Manitoba Curling Hall of Fame and Museum. By drawing upon these experiences, the author will serve as the “subject matter expert” as well as the archivist to identify the functions of curling, which will be used to assess the quality and quantity of the records that are already held within archival repositories in Manitoba and
identify key organizations and private individuals that are likely to produce the targeted records.

**History of Curling in Canada**

Curling in Canada is a sport that has achieved great popularity, but only recently has approached professional status. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Montreal Curling Club was the first sports club established in Canada in 1807. Early games were played outside on the ice of the St Lawrence River and players used curling rocks made out of iron, wood, or stone. The climate and geography of Canada allowed for frozen bodies of water on which to curl, and thus the ease with which a curling match could be organized allowed for all segments of the population to participate in the sport and thus promote its popularity. Curling followed the pattern of other sports in that its development was stimulated by advances in transportation and communications and technical improvements of both equipment and facilities. Other communities used Montreal as a template, and curling spread to parts of Canada where Scottish settlement had occurred, and clubs were established at Kingston in 1820, in Quebec City in 1821, and in Halifax in 1824. The first recorded inter-club curling match occurred in 1835 between clubs from Montreal and Quebec City at Trois Rivières.

The majority of participants in the sport were initially of Scottish descent who had brought curling with them to Canada. In 1838, the Grand Caledonian Curling Club was established in Scotland and became the Royal Caledonian Curling Club (RCCC) in 1843, which became the parent body of curling throughout the world, with clubs in other countries becoming affiliated with it. In 1852, the Canadian Branch of the RCCC was formed and was an important milestone for Canadian curling, allowing those clubs that
joined it to compete for medals awarded by the parent body. The affiliation with the RCCC stimulated much interest and contributed to the growth of the game in Canada. As the game became more popular, participants of non-Scottish descent began to take up the game, and curling became regarded as one of the most democratic of all sports.

Interclub and international competitions began to occur in the 1860s. By 1864 a number of curling clubs had been opened in the Toronto area and an international match was held with teams from the Buffalo Caledonian Curling Club competing against teams from Toronto, and a return competition called the International Bonspiel in Buffalo was held in 1865 with fifty teams participating. Railways made such large interclub bonspiels more feasible. As railways spread across Canada, so did curling. Although curling had been played in the Red River Settlement in Manitoba, the first recognized “official” game in that province was played on 11 December 1876. By the 1890s Ontario had close to one-hundred clubs and the rest of Canada had about fifty clubs. The centre of curling had moved from Montreal to Toronto, which had established six curling clubs. By the early twentieth century, Winnipeg had succeeded Toronto as the centre of curling in Canada; by 1950 Winnipeg had more curling clubs than Montreal and Toronto combined, and there were more curling clubs in Manitoba than in both Ontario and Quebec.¹

Curling was played by both men and women and the first “ladies” curling club was formed in Montreal in 1894, which stimulated other women’s clubs around the country, and by the early 1900s curling was one of the most popular mixed-gender sports in Canada. In 1902-03 a team from Scotland toured Canada and the United States, and played ninety-nine games, winning forty-seven of them. In 1908-09, Canada reciprocated

¹ Ideas in the previous four paragraphs are all based on Gerald Redmond, *The Sporting Scots of Nineteenth-Century Canada* (Toronto: Associated University Press, 1982), pp. 105-134.
and sent a team to Scotland to play a twenty-six-match tour, in which the Canadians won twenty-three games, including a competition for the “Strathcona Cup,” donated by Lord Strathcona for competition between Scotland and Canada. Scotland sent teams back to Canada in 1911-12, but lost the four games arranged for the cup. The First World War did not affect curling as much as other sports; while there was some decline in participants, the game was still played by youth, women, and older persons, all of whom did not fight in the war.²

In the 1920s several important events occurred in Canada that improved curling. Many clubs built new rinks with artificial ice plants and the automobile came into common use, which allowed for curlers to travel more easily to matches, both of which improved the skill level of competitors in the sport. But the most important event occurred in 1927 when the Dominion Championship competition was arranged to declare a Canadian Champion. Although there was not yet a national governing body overseeing curling, the W.C. Macdonald Company of Montreal, a tobacco manufacturer, arranged the bonspiel, and thereafter until 1979 awarded an annual trophy known as the Macdonald Brier Tankard to the winning team.

In the 1930s curling continued to enjoy great popularity and in 1932 it was a demonstration sport at the Winter Olympics in Lake Placid, and the Canadian team from Manitoba won the event. It was during the 1930s that school curling became a fixture of the sport for boys and girls. Clubs were certainly looking for added revenue during the Depression, but it was also a way to increase participation levels of the game at the grassroots level, and clubs could develop through the schools program their future

members in the sport. In 1940 Manitoba held a Provincial School Boy bonspiel that by 1962 had grown to 312 teams.\(^3\)

On 6 March 1935 the Dominion Curling Association (DCA) was created as a national governing body for curling in Canada and was affiliated with the Royal Caledonian Curling Club. When the association was created, it was found that there were 22,604 registered curlers in Canada, with the most registered in Saskatchewan with 5000 members, followed by Manitoba with 4,050, and Ontario with 3,154.\(^4\) By the 1950s it was estimated that there were over 100,000 curlers in Canada as the sport’s popularity continued to grow and the population enjoyed increased leisure time. As prize money grew, there was increased criticism for the sport’s perceived move towards commercialization and professionalism.

The 1950s were also important for the development of women’s curling in Canada. In 1952 the provincial women’s curling organizations of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta met with representatives of the T. Eaton Company, a department store chain that was aware of the increasing buying power of women and which was convinced to sponsor each of the three province’s provincial women’s playdowns. The women soon formed the Western Canadian Ladies Curling Association.\(^5\) Eaton’s sponsored an interprovincial championship between the three provinces, and would eventually provide a model for a Canadian championship. In 1954 British Columbia joined the Western Association, and in 1959, at a meeting in Brandon, representatives from the four western provinces and delegates from Ontario met and

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\(^4\) Howell and Howell, *Sports and Games in Canadian Life*, p. 175.

\(^5\) Ibid., p. 203.
agreed that there was enough interest to form a national women’s curling association and in 1960 the Canadian Ladies Curling Association (CLCA) was formed. This organization allowed women’s curling to move from a recreational game to a more competitive and organized sport.

In 1959 the Ontario Curling Association (OCA) proposed a code of ethics to the DCA that would have prevented many curlers from competing in DCA competitions, including the national Brier. Those prevented from playing included players who had won more than $150 in a competition; endorsed a product; competed for or won a car; taught lessons; or managed a curling club. These issues were considered a particular problem in Ontario as curlers from other provinces were being hired to work in Ontario curling clubs as managers or as ice technicians. The proposal caused much debate although no decisions were made and in 1963 the OCA’s proposal was again brought forward at the DCA meetings, but divided the board of directors and was not passed. In 1964 the code was once again brought forward, but a motion to table it passed twenty-four to nineteen, and the motion was never brought up again. The decision ensured that the Brier would have the most skilled curlers representing each province, regardless of status, and therefore curling was largely able to avoid the amateur versus professional controversy.\(^6\)

From 1950 to 1970 curling experienced significant growth in popularity. As Canada enjoyed sustained economic growth during most of this period, curling benefited from more lucrative prize money for competitions, and strong corporate support for bonspiels. New curling facilities were built and the equipment used by curlers improved with new innovations to brooms and sliders. Radio and television brought curling into

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peoples homes, and both participants and spectators increased as a result. With greater coverage, individual curlers and their teams began to enjoy newfound celebrity, and some curlers became as well known as hockey players. One such example was the famous Richardson rink from Saskatchewan, which dominated men’s curling in the late 1950s and early 1960s with four Brier championships. After winning the Brier in 1959 the Richardsons competed in the “Scotch cup,” which pitted the Canadian champion against the Scottish champion. By 1962, both the United States and Sweden participated in the Scotch cup, and in 1964 the International Curling Federation was created, changing its name to the World Curling Federation in 1991. The Scotch Cup evolved into the official world curling championship, sponsored by Air Canada, which introduced a new trophy called the Air Canada Silver Broom. In 1967 the Dominion Curling Association, Canada’s national men’s curling governing body, changed its name to the Canadian Curling Association (CCA), although it still operated separately from the Canadian Ladies Curling Association.

As the Brier grew in popularity, other competitions also emerged within curling for other categories of national championships. Along with the Brier, the women’s championship, and the schoolboy championship, a mixed national championship was created in 1964, a national seniors men’s championship in 1965, a junior girls championship in 1971, and a seniors women’s championship in 1973.

In 1974 the Canadian Curling Association placed an emphasis on teaching the fundamentals of the sport to youth in order to grow at the grassroots level, and created a national program called “Curl Canada” to provide technical and coaching instruction to

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8 Ibid., p. 222.
junior curlers. This program helped develop young curlers and ensure that the sport had a viable future.

The equipment and rules of the game continued to develop in the 1980s and 1990s. The curling broom was replaced by the brush, and greater consistency in ice and curling rocks resulted in what was perceived as a boring style of play, and therefore rule changes were introduced to promote a more interesting and aggressive style of play. In 1994, the “free guard zone” was introduced which prevented teams from removing the first three rocks of an end that were placed in front of the scoring zone, or “house,” thus forcing teams to have more rocks in play.

The Canadian Curling Association is the national sports federation for curling and is supported in part by contributions from Sport Canada. The CCA and CLCA had originally acted as independent organizations, administering men’s and women’s curling separately until they amalgamated in 1990 under the name of the Canadian Curling Association (CCA). This amalgamated organization is recognized as the national administrative body for curling in Canada by Sport Canada, the Canadian Olympic Federation, and the World Curling Federation, and thus is the key liaison between sport and government. Candidates for the CCA’s ten-member board of directors are nominated by the provincial/territorial curling associations. The body’s main function is to promote and develop the sport of curling. The CCA currently represents approximately 1,050 affiliated curling clubs, fourteen provincial/territorial member associations, twelve

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9 Ibid., p. 273.
10 Ibid.
11 Ibid.
affiliate members and regional development centres, and more than one million curlers.\textsuperscript{12} The CCA has created and supports programs such as athlete development (novice to elite and youth to senior adult); curling club business development; coach development; and official training at the national level, and incurs the cost of resource development and relies largely on the provincial/territorial associations to deliver them through a network of instructors and facilitators.\textsuperscript{13}

During the late 1980s and 1990s media coverage of curling also increased, and as a result curlers were able to secure increasingly lucrative personal or team sponsorships, which caused potential conflict with event sponsors. In 1988 and 1992 curling was again included in the Winter Olympics as a demonstration sport in Calgary and Albertville, France. In 1998 curling achieved full status as an official medal sport with the Nagano Olympics in Japan. The 1990s saw the Brier earn very large profits and the CCA created a televised curling season whereby an event was held every two weeks between January and April, with event sponsors receiving prominent air time. By the late 1990s the television station, The Sports Network (TSN), was offering hours of curling telecasts similar to sports like baseball and hockey.

The success of the media coverage and subsequent increase in profits caused a rift among curlers. By 2000 curling enjoyed its largest national and international coverage ever and competitive curlers, who had corporate sponsors to offset their costs of competition, wanted the right to wear their sponsor’s crests during competitions. The CCA refused to allow this, as it would have hurt their bargaining power for financial support from the title sponsors of the events.

\textsuperscript{13} Ibid.
Another point of contention was that curlers wanted a larger piece of the profits that the Brier was making, and the per diems that they had received in the past were no longer sufficient. Negotiations between the CCA and the curlers soured and the players organized into the World Curling Players Association (WCPA). This new organization created their own events called the Grand Slam bonspiels, which showcased most of the best curlers in Canada, and in the 2001-02 season, these curlers boycotted the Brier. The CCA responded by scheduling events that conflicted with the Grand Slam events. In 2006 an agreement was finally reached, and the curlers of the WCPA ended the boycott and once again competed in the Brier.

The boycott proved to be beneficial to both the CCA and the WCPA, as the agreement ushered in a new era of cooperation between the CCA and curlers, increased compensation for those competing at the events, created more big-money and high-profile competitions that have attracted more fans and media coverage, and overall increased the profile for the sport within corporate circles that provided yet more sponsorship deals. One of the unintended consequences of a more “professionalized” curling athlete is that a divide in talent was created between the casual “club” curler and those competing on curling tours for money. Those who play continually against the other teams on the tours face top-level competition every weekend and therefore constantly improve their game. Those casual curlers who perhaps play once or twice a week in their local clubs and cannot devote the time nor money needed to play on the money tours simply cannot develop their game to the same level.

Despite this developing talent divide, curling remains a sport where anyone can beat anyone on a given day, although the likelihood of that occurring has been reduced in

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the last ten years. Curling continues to be very prominent in the Canadian sporting landscape, and new innovations such as the “stick,” which allows curlers to throw their stones from a standing position, are allowing seniors who may not be physically able to bend anymore to continue to play the game. Curling has become known as a sport that can be enjoyed over a lifetime.

In 2008 a survey of Canadian curlers was conducted by the Print Measurement Bureau (PMB), a non-profit organization representing the interests of Canadian publishers, advertising agencies, advertisers, and other companies.15 The results of the survey were analyzed by Amber Gebhardt, MA candidate, and Luke R. Potwarka, PhD candidate, of the Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies, University of Waterloo. A curler was defined as any individual 18 years or older who curled at least once per month during the 2008 curling season. The PMB estimated that, based on this definition, there were 729,000 curlers, which was 2.82 percent of the Canadian population, and 58 percent were male and 42 percent were female. Some 37 percent of the curlers were between the age of 35 and 49, and 91 percent were English-speaking, with 87 percent listing their ethnicity as white. These statistics illustrate that, while participation levels are relatively even for men and women, curling is a predominately English-speaking and white-dominated sport in Canada. The PBM survey also found that 16.87 percent of Canadian curlers lived in communities of 1,000-10,000 people, and 11.39 percent of Canadian curlers lived in rural communities with less than 1,000 people.16

16 Ibid.
**Curling in Manitoba**

Curling in the province of Manitoba has a long and rich history. It was first officially established in Winnipeg on 9 November 1876 with the creation of the Manitoba Curling Club which had approximately twenty members. In the mid 1870s, as elsewhere in Canada, Winnipeg curlers used curling stones made of iron, wood, or granite. The original Manitoba Curling Club used iron stones, to which some members were opposed and as a result, in 1881 a portion of its members who wanted to use stones made of granite broke away and created the Granite Curling Club, which is known in the province as the “Mother Club.” The two opposing membership groups continued to use the same facilities, but eventually the iron club folded in 1883 as more curlers showed a preference for the granite stones. In 1887 a minority group opposed a relocation of the original Granite club and left to form the Thistle Curling Club.\(^{17}\) In the summer of 2006 the Thistle Curling Club burned to the ground, and all its history, trophies, photographs, and records were tragically lost. Members were relocated to other clubs, but the decision was made not to rebuild the Thistle in its old location. In 2007 members purchased controlling interest in another curling club, the Asham Arena, and renamed it the Thistle Curling Club.

In the 1880s rural clubs were formed around the province and, after years of debate, joined the city clubs in forming a curling association. On 6 December 1888 representatives of the Granite and Thistle clubs in Winnipeg, along with the Portage la Prairie, Carberry, Morden, Stonewall, and Stoney Mountain curling clubs, met and

formed the Manitoba Branch of the Royal Caledonian Curling Club in Scotland, renamed the Manitoba Curling Association (MCA) in 1908, and CurlManitoba, in 2009. It was decided that Winnipeg would be the home of the headquarters of the new association, as it was connected by rail to the rest of Manitoba and western Canada. It was also decided that the provincial association would host an annual bonspiel, originally called the “Winnipeg Bonspiel” and later the “MCA Bonspiel.”

On 4 March 1889 the first Winnipeg Bonspiel was held in the city. Sixty-two teams entered, a large number for the time, including visiting teams from Ontario and the United States. The bonspiel became a fixture in the City of Winnipeg, and from 1891 onward a smoking concert, or banquet, was hosted by the city and the mayor welcomed the visitors, even instructing police not to spoil the curler’s fun. Songs, recitations, toasts, and speeches were presented at the banquet as the social aspect of the bonspiel became as important as the competition itself. In 1903 six Scottish teams captained by the Reverend John Kerr travelled to Canada to curl on a North American tour. They were well received in all their stops in Eastern Canada, and made a trip to Winnipeg to curl in the now famous Winnipeg Bonspiel. The Scottish teams were welcomed into Winnipeg with a huge reception, but did not fare well in competition. The Bonspiel prompted Rev. Kerr to write that “[i]f Canada be the chosen home of Scotland’s game… then undoubtedly Winnipeg is the very heart of the game in the Dominion.”

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20 Mott and Allardyce, *Curling Capital*, p. 16.
later proclaim “[w]hat St. Andrews is to Golf, so is Winnipeg to that other royal and ancient game.”

Women also have a long history of participation in curling in Manitoba, as in Canada. In 1908 the first women’s curling club was formed and by 1913, they held a women’s event at the Men’s Winnipeg Bonspiel. In 1926 twenty-six women’s teams had participated, and by 1947 there were 124 teams playing in the event. In 1925 the Manitoba Ladies Curling Association (MLCA) was formed, and seventy-five years later, on 1 July 2000, the MCA and MLCA were amalgamated to form one administrative body, the Manitoba Curling Association, to oversee curling in the province. It is evident that curling was very important to the leisure of both men and women in Manitoba.

Curling was important not only to individual men and women, but also to the development of the City of Winnipeg. The Winnipeg Bonspiel attracted a number of out-of-town teams. In 1905 sixty-five of 135 teams hailed from outside of Winnipeg, and almost all were composed of businessmen or professionals such as doctors, lawyers, and clergymen, which would suggest that at this time those participating in the bonspiel were individuals more affluent and had the time to devote to leisure. Rural curlers who did participate in the bonspiel were often drawn to Winnipeg to get information on recent business or agricultural developments in the West, to meet with wholesalers, or simply to do some shopping. Special rail rates were given to people traveling to Winnipeg for the bonspiel, and many organizations took advantage of the reduced rates to hold meetings and conferences in the city, and it is estimated that 25,000 to 30,000 visitors came to the

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city during the bonspiel. This had a very positive effect on the local economy and therefore the bonspiel was well supported by local businesses and organizations.

The popularity of curling in Manitoba created a high level of competition within the province, and when the first national championship, the Brier, was established in 1927 teams from Manitoba dominated the event, winning eight of the first twelve events. The Brier was held in Toronto from 1927 until 1939, but in 1940 the Brier was awarded to Winnipeg because of both the dominance of the Winnipeg teams at the national event and the fine reputation of the MCA as great hosts built through events such as the MCA Bonspiel. The event was a success and drew nearly 4,000 spectators to the final, as compared to 300-400 spectators per game in Toronto. Manitobans continued their dominance on the ice, and from 1928 to 1957, in the twenty-eight Briers, teams from the province won fifteen of the events, and thirteen of those teams were from Winnipeg. This record of success led to Winnipeg’s title of “Curling Capital of the Canada.” No events were held from 1943 to 1945 due to the Second World War.24

Manitobans also provided innovation to curling. In the early 1930s Ken Watson and his brother Grant introduced a new sliding technique to the game, whereby they would slide farther than any player previously. By the late 1940s and early 1950s young curlers were imitating the longer sliding delivery and the game was changed.

Curling grew in membership during the 1940s and 50s in Manitoba, from 145 clubs and 4,973 members in 1938 to 316 clubs and 17,152 members in 1959. By the late 1950s a wide variety of ethnic groups took up curling in Manitoba in large numbers, and clubs were established in rural communities that were not traditionally Scottish, English, or Irish. Curling clubs were founded in French-Canadian communities such as Ste. Anne,

24 Ideas in the previous two paragraphs are all based on Mott and Allardyce, *Curling Capital*, pp. 39-54.
in Mennonite communities such as Altona and Steinbach, in Ukrainian communities such as Ethelbert, and in Icelandic communities such as Teulon and Arborg. In Winnipeg, the Maple Leaf Curling Club had been established by and predominately for Jewish people, and featured a B’nai B’rith Bonspiel.

The MCA bonspiel continued to be the major event in the province and entries increased throughout the 1940s and 1950s as they did in the women’s bonspiel. As discussed above, the 1960s saw an increase in the number of national and international events in men’s, women’s, junior, senior, and mixed categories. While Manitoba did not dominate the competitions as they had in the men’s in the previous era, the province still produced a large number of champions. However, in the Brier, considered the highest level of curling in Canada, Manitoban teams did not enjoy the success they once had, as Alberta and Saskatchewan came to dominate the national stage. One of the reasons for this was that curlers from the province were leaving to live and compete in other provinces. The Manitoban economy of the 1970s did not perform as well as other provinces, and many top players left. One example is Jim Ursel of Winnipeg, who moved to Montreal and won Quebec’s first Brier in 1977. However, the main reason that Manitoba no longer dominated the curling competitions was that curlers in other provinces had become better. Artificial ice became the norm in curling rinks across the country and the more predictable ice conditions allowed for the better development of curlers. Improved roads and cars also allowed for curlers to travel farther to competitions and compete against better teams, and curling instruction became more important. Many Manitobans, including Don Duguid and Ray Turnbull, held curling clinics across Canada and the world, and helped to improve the sport. Canada’s game developed an
international reach too; Turnbull and his partner, Edmontonian Wally Ursuliak, gave the first curling clinics in Sweden, Switzerland, and Japan for both women and men.\(^{25}\)

In the 1980s participation in the men’s MCA bonspiel steadily increased to new heights, and in 1988, the centennial year of the bonspiel, attracted a record of 1,280 teams and facilities had to be used as far away as Portage la Prairie and Selkirk.\(^{26}\) However, in Manitoba, membership in curling clubs began to level off or decline, and there was a reduction in the number of curling clubs. In the MCA, there were 316 clubs in the 1959-60 season, but by 1985-86 there were only 192 clubs. This decline was attributed to many clubs folding in smaller agricultural communities, although city clubs also were forced to close their doors as city taxes increased and cut profits.

This decline in the number of curling clubs in Manitoba clubs continued throughout the 1990s and into the 2000s, and by 2010 there were only 121 clubs affiliated with CurlManitoba.\(^{27}\) Another downward trend in participation levels can be seen in the number of teams entering the MCA bonspiel. Presently, the maximum number of teams allowed to participate in the bonspiel is 512, a number they struggle to reach. In 2010 the number of teams that participated was 403.\(^{28}\) A number of factors have contributed to this decline after a century of upward growth, including competition from other sports and aging demographics, as the numbers of young curlers entering the sport has been in decline. In Manitoba, the strict drinking and driving laws have reduced the social aspect of the sport, thus discouraging numbers of participants.

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\(^{25}\) Ideas in the previous four paragraphs are all based on Mott and Allardyce, *Curling Capital*, pp. 55-111.

\(^{26}\) For a listing of all teams and their personnel, see MCA, *100th Annual Bonspiel Yearbook*, (1988), pp. 140-160.


In 2000 the Winnipeg Curling Clubs Association (WCCA) was formed with representation from each of the City of Winnipeg clubs. The association’s objective is to “share information and ideas with a view of working toward a common goal of making each curling club a viable operation within the community in which they operate.”

The records of this main function will be found in the minutes and agenda of the WCCA. This fledgling association, however, is still struggling for a spot in the curling hierarchy as clubs are reluctant to share information with what is essentially their competition.

The clubs themselves represent another administrative level and operate as small businesses selling a product – curling – in their respective communities and assist in the delivery of programs and services to their customers, the club members (and their guests), or facility renters. Each club has its own constitution and mandate, and will be examined in more detail in Chapter Three.

Finally, the leagues themselves are the lowest administration level, and operate within the rules of the clubs they curl. Some leagues are considered “member” leagues while others are considered “rental” leagues. Rental leagues are not considered as club members, but rather as customers renting ice from the club, and do not have access to all the benefits that being a member entails. Some examples of those benefits could be the use of lockers in the club or a right to a vote at the annual general meetings. Each club defines who is and who is not a member by different criteria. Each league will have unique rules and functions, and may hold meetings and create minutes, or may not.

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29 Email from Rick Mutton, president of Winnipeg Curling Clubs Association, “draft constitution,” 9 November 2006.
Photographs and other records will often be held by the respective leagues, not necessarily within the official club records.

This thesis has provided a brief history of all sport and then of curling in Canada, and then of curling in Manitoba. This contextual history is necessary in order to order to achieve the goal of documenting and appraising the records of curling in Manitoba. With this history, the appraisal criteria can be established in context, and the functions of curling can thus be identified in order to assess the curling records related to Manitoba that have already been captured within archival repositories.

**Functions of Curling**

The functions of curling have not been analyzed in archival or other literature to this point. Without such a foundation to draw upon, the mandates of the associations governing curling in both Canada (CCA), and Manitoba (CurlManitoba), will be analyzed, and will be used together with the author’s experience within the sport in order to tease out the general functional universe of curling.

The mission of the Canadian Curling Association is “to encourage and facilitate the growth and development of curling in cooperation with its network of affiliates.”

In order to fulfil this mission statement, the CCA’s constitution and by-law identify seven objectives:

1. To act as the national sport governing body for curling in Canada;
2. To facilitate the development and marketing of the sport of curling at both the Association member and the club level;
3. To establish and enforce the rules of the sport of curling in Canada as well as a process by which differences and disputes can be settled;
4. To cultivate fraternal relations with other curling associations (national and international);

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5. To respect and preserve the traditions of curling;
6. To promote, arrange, conduct and control Canadian Curling Championships;
7. To liaise with the Curling Hall of Fame and Museum of Canada Inc. which was established to recognize achievements of athletes and builders in the sport of curling in Canada.

Similarly, CurlManitoba’s mission statement is “to promote, develop and grow the sport of curling in Manitoba, Canada and the world by providing leadership, services and programs for the curling community from grassroots to elite.”

32 The objectives and purposes of the Association are:

1. To promote and develop the game of curling as a recreational and competitive sport in the Province of Manitoba;
2. To unite the curling community, foster good relations with other curling associations, and maintain affiliation with the Canadian Curling Association; and
3. To arrange and conduct provincial playdowns for the purpose of determining Provincial Championship teams.

33 By examining these mission statements and objectives, the author proposes the following five functions of curling: competing, administering the business of curling, socializing, commemorating, and establishing and enforcing the rules of play.

The first function that can be identified is the competing function, which would encompass all aspects of actually playing the game of curling, compiling its results, and organizing matches or multi-day events. At its most basic level, competition drives all sport, whether it is for a national title, or a friendly game at a local club. Records that relate to this function will include evidence of the competition, such as video, audio, or photographic documentation, scores and statistics, and business records that relate to the organization of such events. A large number of volunteers and planning can go into the

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larger events such as provincial championships. This function can be observed in the above objectives of both the CCA and CurlManitoba.

The second high-level function that can be identified is administering the business of curling. This function would relate to curling club operations, and cover such activities as promotion of the club, board of director’s minutes, accounting services, legal services, insurance agencies, membership lists, donations, sponsorship, grant applications, websites, and many others that would relate to the administration of the sport of curling. This function would be documented at the CCA and CurlManitoba level, and the CCA has a program designed to educate clubs about what they term the “business of curling.”  

However, it is expected that the majority of these records would be found at the local club level within the board of director’s records, as they would be responsible for the daily operations. The promotional sub-activity would be seen through “learn to curl” seminars offered to new curlers, as clubs try to create more participation in the sport and therefore more clients. The activity of watching curling, and the records created around it would be included in this broad function of curling. Without spectators, sport participation would not increase and, as it becomes more commercialized, or professional, then spectators are needed to make the events profitable. Electronic chat forums where fans comment on games provide a rich insight into this activity. These forums may not reflect all fans’ perspectives, as a large portion of spectators at curling events are of an older generation who, very generally speaking, do not participate in online forums.

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A third function is the “socializing function.” This function is not identified in the objectives or mandates of the CCA or CurlManitoba, but is in evidence at the curling clubs, many of which operate as a private social clubs. Within these clubs, many social activities take place outside of the actual game of curling, such as Grey Cup parties or pool-table tournaments, to say nothing of club banquets, receptions, fund-raisers, and so-on. This function encompasses the activities of providing a sense of belonging, companionship, identity, and community amongst members.

A fourth function of curling is the commemorating function. Both the CCA and CurlManitoba are active in the recognition of individual players, teams, and administrators of curling for the purpose of honouring the achievements of the past and of contributions towards the growth of the sport, and to provide positive role models for current or future curlers. This commemorating function will be seen primarily in the curling halls of fame and in the awards, honours, rosters, yearbooks, or plaques held within various halls of fame, museums, or at local clubs.

A fifth function of curling is establishing and enforcing the rules of the game. Standardized rules of play are necessary criteria for an organized sport. Without rules, a sport would not be considered a sport, but rather just a random, ever changing physical activity. These rules would be established at a national level with the national sport-governing body, but their enforcement would be at a provincial level, or perhaps even at the local club or league level. Innovation to the rules and gameplay of curling could occur at a level other than the national level. Curling games have been shortened from ten ends to eight ends on the professional tour for television audiences. This change may be applied to other levels of curling, although it was developed for a very specific
competition. The MCA Bonspiel reduced its games from ten to eight ends in an effort to increase participation. With the proliferation of internet use, it is not inconceivable that fans of curling could be asked for suggestions on how to improve curling, similar to how the Canadian Football League held an online fan forum for suggested rule changes for their overtime format.35

These five functions will now be used in the next step in the proposed appraisal methodology of this thesis, which is to locate the curling records that are already held in archival repositories. These records will be identified and evaluated within the functional context of curling in Manitoba in order to find any gaps in the documentary record of the preserved material.

**Manitoba Curling Records Held in Archival Repositories**

The sport system in Canada is made up of a number of organizations that provide sport programming, services, and often funding at the national, provincial, territorial, and municipal levels. In terms of federal government records, as discussed in Chapter One of this thesis, the *National Fitness Act* was passed in 1943, and *An Act to Promote Fitness and Amateur Sport* in 1961. Programs for setting Canadian sport policy under this legislation at a national level are the mandate of Sport Canada, within the Department of Canadian Heritage. Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Canada’s national archival repository, holds both private and government records relating to sport, including the records of Sport Canada. These archival holdings (real or designated for future acquisitions) are documented in the macroappraisal analysis “Archival Appraisal Report

on the Records of Sport Canada,” completed by the then-National Archives of Canada.\textsuperscript{36}

This appraisal decision-making report identifies three main functions of Sport Canada and the archival retention of their most relevant related records, as discussed in Chapter One: to act as the prime office for sports-related funding; to strengthen the unique contribution that sport makes to Canadian society, identity, and culture; and to serve as the federal government’s prime agency in setting Canadian Sport Policy.

The appraisal report identifies a number of records for transfer under these three major functions. Within the first one, to act as the prime office for sports-related funding, there are four main programs through which Sport Canada achieves this function: the creation, development, and funding of national sport centres; the maintenance of the “national sport organization support program;” the administration of the “athletic assistance program;” and the encouragement of research into sports-related issues. A partnership between Sport Canada, provincial/territorial governments, the Coaching Association of Canada, and the Canadian Olympic Association created a network of national sports centres to enhance the training environment for high-performance athletes and their coaches, and to provide support for scientific and medical advances. Records that document the mandate and functions of the national sports centres and illustrate Sport Canada’s involvement in providing funding, guidance, and accountability are identified as archival and targeted for transfer to LAC. The Canadian Sports Centre in Manitoba supports the development of many athletes including local curlers Jennifer Jones and Jeff Stoughton.\textsuperscript{37}


The national sport organization support program is designed to assist national sport organizations in their pursuit of their objectives in sport, and the fund subsidizes training costs, travel to competitions, sport science and medicine, and coaching. Funding is determined by Sport Canada through a series of eligibility requirements and through the assessment of a questionnaire that is filled out by the national sport organization. Records that document the lobbying, assessment, funding, and monitoring activities are considered to have archival value and are identified for transfer. Sport Canada’s athletic assistance program provides funding to international calibre athletes through a tax-free monthly living and training allowance. Athletes are identified and ranked through their respective national sports organization, and although each athlete has their own file with Sport Canada dating back to 1976, the appraisal report only identifies policy files for archival retention. Sport Canada also allocates funding to studies that improve sports performance, equipment, or medicine. Files containing policy and reports that illustrate the decision-making process related to the funding are noted as archival.

The second major function of Sport Canada, to strengthen the unique contribution that sport makes to Canadian society, identity, and culture, reflects the government of Canada’s use of sport to bring divergent sectors of the country together. This is accomplished through the hosting of events and games, the development of sport liaison and partnerships with other countries, and the creation of commemorative sites.

The federal government, with Sport Canada acting as its decision-making agency, selects games and events to host based on whether they represent significant sport, economic, social, or cultural benefits. These can include major games, such as the Olympics, strategic focus events, such as the North American Indigenous Games, or
single-sport events, like the World Curling Championships, or the 2013 Olympic Curling Trials to be held in Winnipeg. All records of the Olympics and other multi-sport games are identified for transfer to LAC. All of Sport Canada’s program records relating to single-sport hosting are also designated as archival and scheduled for preservation, as they document the federal government’s strategy to draw attention to Canadian society through sport. Sport Canada also maintains the “Olympic Results Database,” which is an electronic repository that tracks the results of Canadians at the Olympics, and the rankings of Canadian athletes in their respective sports and would contain curling-related information. Although this database is continually being added to, it is identified as archival and to be sent to LAC.

Sport Canada is also responsible for the development of sport liaison and partnerships with other countries through their involvement in international sporting events. The archival appraisal report illuminates links between Canada’s sport policy and its foreign policy through the support of other countries’ bids to host international games, the setting of sports policy, and the codification of athletic standards, and notes that the records that document these roles should be sent to LAC for preservation.

Sport Canada also sets policy for the fostering and development for a positive image of sport in Canada. This sub-function is accomplished through partnering with museums and halls of fame or through the encouragement of their creation. The appraisal report indicates that these records are to be transferred to LAC.

The third major function of Sport Canada is to serve as the federal government’s prime agency in setting Canadian sport policy. The records that are acknowledged by the appraisal report as archival include those that support the activities of encouraging
bilingualism at sporting events, and the program files focusing on the participation of
certain disadvantaged groups in sport, including women and aboriginals. Sport Canada’s
program of testing and prevention of performance enhancing drugs is also identified for
archival preservation.

The Canadian Curling Association (CCA) is the national sports organization for
curling and is supported in part by contributions from Sport Canada and its function to
act as the prime office for sports-related funding. Despite the identification of these
records for archival retention, an electronic search shows that LAC only holds a small
number of records relating to the CCA, and that these records are from both the CCA and
the CLCA prior to their amalgamation. Spanning the period from 1927 to 1985, these
government archival holdings consist of minutes of meetings, the records of committees,
executive correspondence, annual reports, curling publications, records of curling
championships and tournaments, and records relating to provincial and other curling
associations. These records document three of the functions identified above: competing,
administering the business of curling, and the enforcing and establishing of the rules of
play, at a high level, although not in a great quantity.

The private CCA fonds held at LAC contains four items specifically relating to
Manitoba including textual records relating to the MCA Bonspiel from 1979 to 1982;
textual records relating to the MLCA bonspiel from 1976 to 1978; an undated and
unidentified photograph of a “Manitoba curling team;” and a booklet of cartoons from the
1978 Silver Broom Championships in Winnipeg. The majority of records relating to
Manitoba curling consist of photographs held within the CLCA collection. The
photographs contain the winners and runners-up of the CLCA Championships and range from 1971 to 1976, and document the competing function.

LAC has created a digital history of curling in Canada, entitled “Bonspiel! The History of Curling in Canada.” The site uses original materials that have been digitized including minute books, constitutional documents, letters, documentary artworks, and photographs. The site, while primarily displaying records from Ontario and Quebec, does show two photographs relating to Manitoba. The first is captioned the “Winners of the Grand Challenge Cup, Winnipeg Bonspiel, 1892” and found within the Henry Joseph Woodside fonds, who served in the Canadian military, and the second is captioned “Scottish team touring Canada, Winnipeg, 1903,” from the Howard H. Ward fonds, who was a curling historian.

LAC also holds a copy of a 1939 contract for the construction of a Skating and Curling Rink in Roland, Manitoba. This is found within the Unemployment Relief Commission within the Department of Labour fonds, and would fall under the function of administrating the business of curling. LAC holds two medals from the MCA, the Black and Armstrong trophy dated 1926-27 and an undated medal that has the words “Manitoba Curling Association” inscribed upon it. No textual records of individual Manitoban clubs exist within the collections of LAC. The holdings of curling records related to Manitoba show that the records of the CCA and CLCA do not provide adequate local documentation, and it is necessary to examine the records held within the provincial associations or local archival repositories.

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The provincial archival repository is the Archives of Manitoba (AM). It has a mandate through *The Archives and Recordkeeping Act* to preserve the archival records of the provincial government and its agencies, the courts and the legislature, and of organizations and individuals in the private sector and local public bodies relating to Manitoba. The AM does not actively look for private records to acquire in any subject area, but rather it evaluates proposed donations through an acquisition committee that considers whether the records have archival value and provincial significance, or better meet the collecting mandates of other accredited institutions. If there is a recognized archival institution that would be a better home for records that are being offered to AM, donors are advised to contact that institution to offer their records.

The government records holdings of the province were searched by using “Keystone,” the online search tool of the AM. As noted before, the restrictions of not having a multi-disciplinary team, as the documentation strategy recommends, make such a limited search a practical necessity. The government records relating to curling will be expected to be found in the body responsible for sport in Manitoba. Curling in Manitoba operates within the national administrative structure that is hierarchical and bureaucratic, and recreation, and subsequently curling, was administered through a series of provincial government departments and branches.

The earliest government branch identified in the various finding aids was the Department of Tourism and Recreation. In 1966 the *Department of Tourism and Recreation Act* was proclaimed, and the Community Recreation Branch was created within that department. The branch was responsible for all forms of community

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recreation, such as promoting, developing, and expanding tourism and public recreation; creating and administering parks and recreation facilities; encouraging physical fitness and all forms amateur sports; and with providing essential research data to give direction to the planning of departmental programs.

In 1969 the functions of the department were assumed by the newly created Department of Tourism, Recreation, and Cultural Affairs. This new department was responsible for promoting, encouraging, and enabling the citizens of Manitoba and visitors to the province to engage in tourism and beneficial leisure-time recreational and cultural pursuits. The department was responsible for ensuring the provision of beneficial leisure-time recreational opportunities, and encouraged and funded new recreation facilities and innovative sports and leisure-time programs. The AM only holds the 1975-76 office files of the minister from this agency.40 In 1970 the Canadian Curling Championships were held in Winnipeg, and the AM holds the speech of the Premier Edward Schreyer that was given at the event. The Application for Grant associated with the event is also held at the archives.41

In 1978 the recreation function was transferred to the newly formed Department of Fitness, Recreation, and Sport, which was responsible for government policy and programs for recreation, sport, and physical fitness and health. The department’s functions were to assist communities, sports-governing bodies, and recreational associations to develop recreational opportunities in the province. In addition, the

department also encouraged and developed opportunities for Manitobans to attain a greater level of fitness.

In 1983 recreation was merged again with culture to form the Department of Culture, Heritage and Recreation, and the fitness and sport functions both became directorates, responsible to the designated Minister. The department was structured into four operating divisions to streamline service delivery and to improve the management of the organization, one of which was the Recreation Services Division. The Sport Directorate’s main function was to assist provincial and regional sport associations (such as the MCA) to develop activities and facilities. This function was accomplished through consultative services, grants, and revenue from lotteries. The Sport Directorate worked collaboratively with other government departments, the City of Winnipeg and the Manitoba Sports Federation, an organization that was incorporated in 1970 and established the first sports lottery, Sportsloto, which laid the groundwork for the financial support system of sport in the province. The AM’s holdings from this period include the Premier Howard Pawley’s speaking notes from the openings of the Swan River Curling Rink and the Ethelbert Curling Club in 1985, and for the opening ceremonies of the MCA bonspiel in 1986. The Premier’s attendance of these events is an indicator of curling’s importance to Manitoba.

In 1996 the Sport Directorate and the Manitoba Sports Federation merged to form the charitable organization, Sport Manitoba Incorporated, and the Manitoba Sport Secretariat was created to oversee this non-profit organization and to facilitate intergovernmental sporting events such as the Pan-American Games. The Sport Secretariat operated under the legislative authority of the *Fitness and Amateur Sports Act*,
and the *Manitoba Lotteries Foundation Act*. A Minister Responsible for Sport oversees the Sports Secretariat.

The AM holds office files of the Minister Responsible for Sport from 1991 to 2004, and includes records from both the Sport Directorate and Sport Secretariat. The records series consists of reports, speeches, Treasury Board and Cabinet submissions, as well as correspondence between the Minister and executive directors of the Fitness Directorate, the Sport Directorate, and with various sport agencies, organizations and the general public.42

In 1991 the Department of Culture, Heritage and Recreation was given the additional responsibilities of immigration and settlement and adult language training, and its name was changed to the Department of Culture, Heritage and Citizenship. This new department was responsible for working with community groups and individuals in order to achieve mutual goals which reflected and celebrated the province's diverse population. The department was made up of five divisions including the Culture, Heritage and Recreation Programs Division. This collection also contains the Premier’s speech notes and “jokes” In this same year, the World Canadian Curling Championships were held at the Winnipeg Arena, and the Premier’s speech notes and “jokes” are held within the government archives.43 In 1992 the Canadian Police Curling Championship was also held in Winnipeg, and the finding aids indicate that records relating to this event are held within the Minister of Justice’s Office files.44

In 1999 the tourism function was added to the Department of Culture, Heritage and Citizenship and its name was changed to the Department of Culture, Heritage, and Tourism. This new department was responsible for promoting and supporting the well being, identity and creativity of Manitobans. The department was made up of five divisions, and the Culture, Heritage and Recreation Programs Division and its branches continued to operate and to be responsible for encouraging and facilitating the activities of Manitobans involved in recreation and wellness.

In 2005 the Department of Culture, Heritage and Tourism underwent significant structural changes as a result of the Travel Manitoba Act, proclaimed in November 2004. This act created a Crown agency, Travel Manitoba, charged with the further development and promotion of tourism in Manitoba, although a Tourism Secretariat remained with the department to oversee high-level policy and planning. The department was composed of four divisions and one secretariat, one of which was still the Culture, Heritage and Recreation Programs division.

In 2009 the Department of Culture, Heritage and Tourism amalgamated with the Sport Secretariat and became the Department of Culture, Heritage, Tourism and Sport. The amalgamated department’s functions were promoting and supporting cultural activities, tourism, and amateur sport within the province, managing and providing access to the province's heritage and providing communication and translation services to government. The Sport Secretariat continued to function within the new department and provided coordination and delivery of grants to Sport Manitoba and other major sport initiatives, and assisted in the development of policies and initiatives related to sport, and played an active role in attracting major sport events to the province.
In 2009 the Department of Culture, Heritage, Tourism and Sport was renamed the Department of Culture, Heritage and Tourism. The Minister responsible for Sport was reassigned to the Department of Aboriginal and Northern Affairs and he took the function of the Sport Secretariat with him. The Recreation Programs Division was transferred to the Department of Healthy Living, Youth, and Seniors.

The AM holds an extensive series of records documenting the sports function across a number of fonds. The holdings include client files spanning the period from 1969 to 1987, consisting of selected records including correspondence with applicants from recreational organizations, and documentation submitted by the applicants including proposals and financial reports, and funding approvals and agreements; office files from the Minister of Culture, Heritage and Tourism from 1956 to 2004, including records of the formulation and adoption of policy for the Department and related boards and agencies; and office files from the Deputy Minister of Culture, Heritage, and Tourism spanning 1962 to 2006, which contain records of the development and implementation of departmental policy and the coordination of departmental programs and activities. The AM also holds record of curling clubs that, from 1876 to 1932, have applied for and received incorporation or registration of entities for operation in the province of Manitoba. These records are representative of the function of administrating the business of curling, as they document the clubs as places of business, and contain information such as age of the club, and when it was incorporated.

The above government records document the administrating the business of curling function, and illustrate the sport delivery and policy system of Sport Manitoba.

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The records provide the administrative context within which the private sector operates, and the Sport Directorate’s records relating to funding of the sport-specific governing bodies indicate the public’s acceptance of sport as an important facet of society. The records relating to the administration of curling can be expected to be found within the private records of the sport association governing curling in Manitoba, CurlManitoba, which is a non-profit organization and is governed by a volunteer board of directors established to facilitate the promotion, development, and growth of the sport of curling in Manitoba.

The private-records archival holdings of the AM that relate to curling contain a large number of materials in various media spanning the years 1908 to 2008. However, the record is fragmented and an accounting of the total number of linear feet is difficult to ascertain. A search using the word “curling” in Keystone and in the physical card catalogue at the AM yielded different results for both private and government records. There were only a few hits of curling-related records within the government records side, and these referred to the office papers of the Minister of Education, who referenced the MCA in a speech. However, the search revealed a somewhat more comprehensive record of curling within the private-records collection.

An analysis of the photographic records within private collections shows patterns in three main categories: champions of events; curling competitors; and curling facilities. The photographs of champions contain the largest volume of photographs. The Manitoba Sports Hall of Fame and Museum (MSHFM) collection contains the Manitoba winners of the Brier up to 1972. The same collection also includes champions of other events such as

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the 1910 winners of the Winnipeg (MCA) bonspiel, and various victors of the Canadian ladies, Canadian seniors, and Canadian mixed events. It makes some sense that the Manitoba Sports Hall of Fame and Museum would focus primarily on the champions of such events, as those inducted to the hall of fame would most likely be those that distinguished themselves in the sport. These photographs would document the competing function, and as in all sports, competition creates victors. These records also document the commemorating function, the primary mission of the Manitoba Sports Hall of Fame and Museum.

The second category of photographs held at AM is that of competitors. These are differentiated from photographs of event winners in that they depict teams that may not have won anything, but merely competed in the sport, and help to illustrate curling as a social activity in Winnipeg. An example of these photographs is from the Lewis Benjamin Foote collection. Foote was a professional photographer who operated in Winnipeg in the early 1900s, and took photographs of life in Manitoba. Within his collection he has documented curling in Winnipeg. His photographs include a scene of a woman’s curling team circa 1906, and one of ladies curling in 1916 at the Fort Rouge Curling Club. These photographs are important for showing women participating in the sport at this early period. These photographs also depict the competing function, and provide valuable social context for the sport of curling within the society of the time. Foote’s collection also contains other photographs such as the interior of the Granite Curling Club in 1922 and of various curling teams such as the 1914 Hudson’s Bay curling team.
Foote’s photograph of the interior of the Granite Curling Club identifies another category: curling club facilities. These photographs were the least comprehensive and did not show all or even most of the clubs in the province. The facilities photographed include The Granite Curling Club, the Thistle Curling Club, and the Strathcona Curling Club from 1909, but this does not provide adequate representation of Manitoba curling clubs. Photographs of the buildings themselves can represent the function of administrating the business of curling, as the facilities where the game is played are central to any sport.

The photographic collection would appear to offer glimpses of curling’s importance to the province, but there are a large number of gaps in the historical record. The socializing function is only very briefly documented within the AM’s records. Walter F. Payne, who was a former curler who travelled to Scotland to play for Canada in 1921, and a journalist for the *Manitoba Free Press*, donated a series of photographs, and within them there is a photograph of a 1924 “smoker” at the Fort Garry Hotel during the MCA Bonspiel. Smokers were banquets held during the bonspiel for the curlers.

The winners of provincial events would seem to be well documented, but the most recent winners are not found within the Archives of Manitoba’s collection. Of the five principal functions identified for curling, the competing function is the most documented in the form of champions of events. The function of administering the business of curling is not well documented within the photographic evidence, but that could be anticipated as most records relating to the function can be expected to be textual in nature. For an analysis of the documentation of this function, the AM’s private textual records relating to curling must be examined.
The AM’s holdings of private textual records include a number from individual curling clubs. It contains the Strathcona Curling Club’s records spanning 1901-1983 and includes minutes and financial records. The AM also holds Deer Lodge Curling Club membership rosters from 1921, and from 1956 to 1995. Rural clubs are also represented within the Domain Co-op Recreation Club’s curling club minutes from 1936 to 1970, and the Harmsworth Curling Club minutes and financial information from 1925 to 1985. The AM also contains records from women’s leagues, including Oak River Ladies Curling Club minutes from 1926 to 1932; the Elmwood Ladies Curling Club minutes, reports, scrapbooks, and membership lists and rosters from 1912 to 1984; and the Pembina Ladies Curling Club minutes from 1947 to 1985. This differentiation between women’s and men’s leagues indicate that the two genders operated separate clubs within the same building, and warrants further examination. These records represent the function of administering the business of curling, and offer a detailed look at the daily operations of curling clubs. The problem, however, is that the record is fragmented and provides an incomplete view through the records of only a few of the Manitoba clubs.

The City of Winnipeg Archives and Records Control Branch has a mandate to create, manage, and maintain accurate, authentic and usable records in the public trust, and to foster civic identity and awareness by connecting citizens to the sources of their past, their histories, their communities. A search of the finding aids at the City Archives revealed no curling records. A discussion with the archivist Martin Comeau of the City Archives revealed that no curling records, to the best of his knowledge, were held within the collection. Records relating specifically to curling clubs, such as tax information or

government grants issued by the municipal government, would be held within the records of the respective city departments responsible for those functions. The City of Winnipeg does run a curling league for current and retired employees, and also an annual bonspiel, but these civic records were not held at the archives.

Another major repository of archival records is the University of Manitoba Archives and Special Collections (UMA). This archives has a collecting mandate to acquire the records of the University of Manitoba, Canadian Prairie Literary Manuscripts, the Archives of the Agricultural Experience and rare books in the areas of western Canadiana, early Arctic exploration, early Native language syllabics, spiritualism, church history and philosophy. The collection of curling records would seem to fit within the category of Western Canadiana, and of university athletic records. The UMA also hold the records of the Winnipeg Tribune, a newspaper that operated in Winnipeg from 1890 to 1980, which contain clippings and photographs related to curling.

Sports have long been associated with university institutions, and curling records would be expected to be found within the university’s own archival record. The university’s annual publication of student life, the “Brown and Gold” yearbooks, contain photographs of winners of curling intramurals and of their annual bonspiels. The 1920 yearbook mentions that the MCA had recognized the University of Manitoba as a curling “district,” thus making its curlers eligible to play in the MCA competitions. A search of the UMA finding aids identified the existence of some curling related records. The photographs used in the Brown and Gold yearbooks are found within the archival collections. The Physical Education photographic collection contains a number of images from 1948 to 1965 of men’s and women’s winners of the intramurals and bonspiels. The
same collection has images of collegiate teams and of in-action game shots. Similarly, the University Relations and Information Office fonds contains photographs of intercollegiate champions from 1922 to 1923, and one from 1969 of the university’s president throwing a curling rock to open a university bonspiel. The Faculty of Agriculture and Food Sciences fonds also contains a photograph of a curling team dated 1922-1923. These records document the competing function.

The finding aid also identified textual records related to curling within the Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation Studies fonds. These records relate to the establishment of a University of Manitoba Curling Club in 1949-50, and include a draft constitution. This draft constitution is evidence of the function of administering the business of curling, and is different from the other curling records held at the UMA, which primarily document the competing function. Despite the presence of this document, there was no evidence of minutes from the club or other meetings that could have provided a deeper understanding of the curling experience in a university setting.

The Physical Education and Recreation Studies fonds also holds correspondence relating to the proposed development of a Canadian Curling Hall of Fame and Museum from 1978 to 1980. These records document the negotiations between the university and an organization established by the CCA called the Canadian Curling Hall of Fame Incorporated, for the purpose of building a dedicated physical space on campus land for a hall of fame. Correspondence related to this subject also appears in the Office of the President fonds; however, it appears that the cost of the project was too great, and after

49 University of Manitoba, Archives and Special Collections, Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation Studies fonds, UA 30, 028-024, 1949-1950, accessed 25 March 2011.
the university initially approved it, the project was not completed. The records of these negotiations document the commemorating function and illustrate how important curling in Winnipeg was to the national scene, as the city was the chosen location of the national curling hall of fame. This is an important aspect of this function as the CCA attempted to set up a hall of fame to honour its competitors and to attract new curlers into the sport.

For this thesis, it was not possible to travel to all rural archival repositories in the province of Manitoba. However, through email correspondence, and using a list of archival repositories found on the Association of Manitoba Archives website, institutions were contacted and those that responded identified their curling-related records. The Minnedosa Regional Archives replied that they housed a collection of minutes and financial records for the Minnedosa Curling Club for years 1983 to 2004. The archivist advised that records of the curling club prior to 1975 burned and were destroyed while in storage at a local business.\(^{50}\) Another institution, the Altona and District Heritage Research Centre, responded that they had no curling records.\(^{51}\) The Beautiful Plains Archives in Neepawa replied that they had two photographs related to teams competing in bonspiels, and a homemade curling rock made from a slice of oak tree. Penny Shaw, the Archivist of the Carberry Plains Archives, identified that her institution had two fonds related to curling and numerous newspaper clippings relating to curling events held in the area.\(^{52}\) One was the Carberry Ladies Curling Club fonds, made up of minutes and financial records. The other collection was the Carberry Rock Association fonds, which documents the establishment of a skating and curling rink in the community, and has a

\(^{50}\) Email correspondence with Carol Ransom, Archivist of the Minnedosa Regional Archives, 5 October 2010.
\(^{51}\) Email correspondence with Al Schmidt, Altona and District Heritage Research Centre, 5 October 2010.
\(^{52}\) Email correspondence with Penny Shaw, Archivist of Carberry Plains Archives, 13 October 2010.
date range of 1921 to 1969. These samples of rural records show a dearth of photographs relating to curling in the communities. The minutes of the local club, an important insight into the workings of the clubs, which would reflect the daily operations and difficulties facing the clubs, appears to be missing or incomplete. It would seem that the record of curling in these rural towns is incomplete, although the records of the Carberry Plains Archives and the Minnedosa Regional Archives document the function of administrating the business of curling. The minutes and financial records of the Carberry Ladies Curling Club provide evidence of this function but only of the women’s club.

There is another repository of curling records that is very important to the history of the sport in Manitoba, and that is the Manitoba Curling Hall of Fame and Museum (MCHFM). It was created in 1987 by the MCA and MLCA for the purpose of collecting, identifying, storing, exhibiting, and preserving archival materials that illustrate the history of curling in Manitoba, especially as it may refer to hall of fame inductees and provides very detailed evidence of the commemorating function. The collection was housed in Winnipeg on the fifth floor of the Hudson’s Bay Company’s downtown store where it shared rented space on a month-by-month basis with the Manitoba Sports Hall of Fame and Museum. In 2010 it moved to a location at Sport Manitoba’s new headquarters in a dedicated building. Some storage space was made available for the collection, but only a small display area was provided, and that was committed to curling artefacts. Most of the MCHFM’s collection, however, remains in storage boxes and has not yet been set up to service the public, which makes analysis of the collection difficult. No electronic finding aids exist and the collection is managed by the MCHFM’s volunteer board of directors, with an individual assigned the role of Museum Director. The Museum
Director’s duties are to “receive, document, and preserve” new acquisitions, but due to fiscal restraints and lack of resources, the MCHFM cannot process large quantities of new records, nor can the collection be properly displayed or opened to the public for access. The collection primarily grows through passive donations and there is no active appraisal program at present.

According to the Museum Director, Heather Helston, the MCHFM’s collection contains a large range of various media including film, photographs, newspaper clippings, clothing, and other ephemera. Plaques of those curlers that have been commemorated in the hall of fame hang on the wall and provide evidence of the commemorating function. The textual records include annual reports of the MCA (now CurlManitoba) from 1976 to 2010, and of the MLCA, from 1959 to 2000. The holdings also include the 1888 minute book of the Manitoba Branch of the RCCC, and the minute books of the MLCA from 1946 to 1953. The MCHFM holds the MCA bonspiel programs from 1903 to the present. The annual reports document both the function of administrating the business of curling and the competing function. The financial records of the MCA and MLCA are important to illustrate the historical context of administrating curling within Manitoba.

Curling sweaters from hall of fame inductees, curling patches, curling pins and buttons, collectable spoons, trophies, brushes, brooms, sweaters, and curling rocks all are kept in the collection as museum artefacts. The photograph collection is quite extensive and contains 2,284 images from 1888 to 2011. Photographic albums and scrapbooks that have been compiled from curling events or bonspiels exist from 1888 to 2010, and

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54 Heather Helston, interview with author, 14 March 2011.
provide an important record of the competing function. The MCHFM also contains 1,260 newspaper clippings relating to curling in Manitoba. The records held within the MCHFM primarily document the competing function, as they capture the record of major curling events, and, of course, the commemorating function. Without an acquisition budget, the collection grows mainly through donations and the only active strategic acquisition occurs when a major event is held, such as the 2010 Canadian Mixed Championships at Morris. The MCHFM provided historical exhibits at this event and also arranged to have records from the championships transferred to its collection, and is an example of the commemorating function. The function of administering the business of curling is not as well documented within the records of the MCHFM, but can be found within the annual reports of the MCA and MLCA. What appears to be missing are curling club records such as minutes and financial information. The MCHFM does contain some rosters that have been donated, and these provide insight into membership lists and the number of leagues within clubs, but Helston indicated that only a few rosters were held, and did not constitute a complete record. No records relating to rules enforcement were held, but the brooms and brushes that have been collected, while artefacts, also illustrate innovation in the sport. As technology advanced, the equipment changed, and the collection of these brooms provide a physical record of this evolution. The MCHFM also functions as a museum and that allows artefacts, such as brooms, to be collected, as opposed to the Archives of Manitoba, which as a purely archival institution would not acquire sports equipment under its collecting policy.

The MCHFM’s collection of records is extremely important to the history of curling in Manitoba, but at this time lacks the financial backing to allow researchers to
access them remotely. On CurlManitoba’s website, the MCHFM’s objectives are listed, and so is a list of the inductees. However, there are no electronic finding aids or identification of the existence of the archival records. The collection, as one would expect, focuses heavily upon the MCA and the winners of provincial events, but seems to be missing the records of the local clubs. Without improved financial and staff resources, there can be no active collection of records outside of unsolicited donations.

In conclusion, therefore, the records that are held within archival repositories are predominately high-level records illustrating the government’s involvement in sport. The model that was proposed in Chapter One utilizes macroappraisal, which examines the functional context of records creation. The records documenting funding, curling championships, and rules and regulations can be found within the sports infrastructure above curling clubs, that being within the records of Sport Canada, the CCA, Sport Manitoba, and CurlManitoba. These functions would be found and documented at these top administrative levels, and archivists would not need to collect these types of records from the hundreds of clubs in Manitoba, as this would be redundant. However, the actual delivery of the sport, the administration of curling leagues, are not found within this top level, nor was there any evidence of the socializing function. The competing function is well represented in the archives, especially in the case of major championships. The MCHFM does not solicit records, except in the case of Canadian championships, and therefore the large major events are well documented. The various leagues that operate on a weekly basis are not well documented, nor is the delivery of sport in club localities. The textual records relating to these leagues could provide an important look to the operations of the clubs themselves, as they are the main revenue-generating entities within the clubs.

55 See http://www.curlmanitoba.org/halloffame.
The commemorating function is well documented at the MCHFM, and would be captured within this level; however, this function could also occur at the club level as members could receive local awards such as honourary life memberships. Further investigation is needed at the club level.

The function of administrating the business of curling is not well documented in archival repositories. The minutes and financial records of curling clubs do not appear in great numbers within the archival documentation. Interestingly, it appears that of the records of these types that have been collected, a major portion of them appear to be from the ladies leagues of clubs, which operate separately from men’s leagues and maintain different operational minutes from the club’s. This function needs to be more efficiently documented.

The establishing and enforcing of rules function would be documented at the national level within the CCA. Manitoba’s involvement within the national association would mean that these records would be captured at the national level. However, if any rules specific to curling in Manitoba exist outside of the official rules of the CCA or the MCA, then they would be found within niche leagues within the various clubs. No records have been captured that document any rules of this nature.

Chapter One began the big-picture examination of curling by providing the context of sport in Canada. Chapter Two narrowed the focus by moving from the top to examine the context of curling first in Canada, and then in Manitoba. By using this context, Chapter Two proposed five functions of curling and examined the holdings of curling records already held within archival repositories at the national level and in Manitoba. Chapter Three will complete the top-down approach proposed in Chapter One
by looking at the records produced by the organizations at the bottom of curling
hierarchy, the clubs and leagues themselves. To accomplish this, this thesis will examine
the records of three clubs, two in Winnipeg and a rural club, and examine how they differ
from the records that have been identified in Chapter Two. Once these records have been
examined, this thesis will identify the records that should be preserved and suggest a
framework for a records management program for curling clubs.
Chapter 3
Sports Records - Not Just Wins and Losses

The records of three curling clubs in Manitoba will be examined in this chapter: the Assiniboine Memorial Curling Club, the Deer Lodge Curling Club, and the Springfield Curling Club. This chapter will provide a brief history of each club, analyze the functions and structures of each to determine how they are similar or different from those identified in Chapter Two, and finally examine the records that each club produces. Once the functions and structures have been identified, the appraisal guidelines will be offered based on the records that have been captured in archival repositories, and which need to be targeted. This chapter will conclude by suggesting a records management model for clubs to aid in the preservation of future records that are important to the historical documentation of curling in Manitoba.

Curling Clubs

Curling clubs are responsible for the front-line delivery of the sport and compete with other clubs for members within the limited playing season. In business, companies attempt to secure the largest market share and defeat all other competitors to maximize profits. Sports clubs, however, are different from other free-market businesses in that while conscious of the bottom line, clubs need their competition, other curling clubs, to remain in business to ensure their sport remains strong. Other objectives such as providing benefits to its own members or meeting community service obligations may
take precedence over financial objectives. Most curling clubs are private clubs run by a volunteer board of governors or directors. These governing boards are typically responsible for establishing the rules, regulations, and procedures needed to operate the club, setting policies that guide the development of programs and services offered to the membership, hire and work with staff of the club, protect its assets, and to represent it to the membership and community in general.

Curling clubs are primarily responsible for the actual delivery of the sport, but they also play a significant social role in their communities, whether in an urban or rural setting. Heather Mair, a University of Waterloo recreation and leisure studies professor, has been conducting an ethnographic study on rural curling clubs as places of leisure, funded through a financial support of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council and Sport Canada. Mair spent over 600 hours collecting stories and conducting interviews in twenty-two rural curling clubs across Canada. She found that rural clubs survived financially by operating as a sport club, youth centre, senior centre, diner, restaurant, pub, community centre, and dance hall. Along with these additional roles, Mair also found that rural clubs provided informal networks of support and allowed members to establish relationships outside of family and work. Sport Canada funded another study on the role of curling in promoting the mental, physical, emotional, and social health of women in rural Canada. This three-year study will conclude in 2012 and

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is led by a research team at the University of Western Ontario. As part of the study, between fifty and sixty women from eight communities in Nova Scotia, Manitoba, Ontario, and the Northwest Territories were given cameras and logbooks to record their curling experiences over a two-week period.\(^6\) The study, while not yet concluded, has already shown that curling plays an important social role for women through the long, isolating winters in rural communities.\(^7\) No study has yet been conducted on the social impact of urban curling clubs, but even with more leisure choices in urban settings, it seems safe to conclude that these clubs also have at least some analogous social impact.

This thesis will examine the records of three clubs, but the social impact of curling clubs may not be reflected explicitly in the records. If this is the case, documenting this social importance will be something that archivists should target through documentation strategies, including oral history interviews, and focus on their collecting policies. This thesis will now examine the records of the three case clubs.

**Assiniboine Memorial Curling Club**

The Assiniboine Memorial Curling Club (AMCC) was first established in 1929 by a group of First World War veterans and was relocated in 1962 to the present site at Vimy Road and Hamilton Avenue.\(^8\) The club was built with financial assistance gained through the sale of shares for the Assiniboine Memorial Curling Club Holding Company, which secured a loan and then effectively owned the rink. On 7 January 1972 a fire

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destroyed the club rooms and part of the arena. Most of the original building over the ice was saved and an additional identical building was built alongside, increasing the AMCC from a four-sheet to an eight-sheet facility. No records now exist prior to the fire of 1972. In 2002 the club cancelled all shares and created a new club constitution for a non-profit, non-shareholder corporation. The AMCC is governed by a volunteer board of directors that meet once a month to conduct club business. The board of directors appoints standing committees to look after the many club activities on behalf of the board. These committees, typically made up of only one member who is appointed as the chair, perform the daily activities of the club. An example of this is the “Ice and House Committee.” The chairperson is responsible for the physical maintenance of the building. This position places heavy demands on the volunteer, often requiring the chairperson to be at the club every day.\(^9\)

The board of directors also sets the prices for ice rentals and membership fees, although does not necessarily collect all the money from individuals. The board of directors only collects money from players of the men’s leagues and the mixed league, while all other leagues collect money from their league members and submit the final total to the board through the ice-rental chairperson. Most of these leagues have their own boards, which is a legacy from when the club was a holding company. The women’s, seniors (over fifty years old), and masters (over sixty years old) leagues were not considered as members prior to 2003, as only shareholders from the men’s leagues could be members. When the club changed its constitution in 2003, the definition of “member” was changed to include all leagues that are affiliated with the AMCC. So while women

\(^9\) Information regarding the Assiniboine Memorial Curling Club comes from the author’s experiences as a board member of the club.
are now full members, they maintain a separate board specific to their league that
arranges their playing schedules and social events. There are also leagues that still rent
ice from the club, but are not affiliated and operate independently of the AMCC. An
example of this is the military league, which is only open to service personnel.

Aside from weekly leagues, the AMCC also hosts a number of bonspiels
throughout the year, which are administered by the event organizers. All clubs give up
their ice for the MCA Bonspiel in January, and although CurlManitoba does pay the
clubs for the use of the ice sheets, the amount is less than half of what the club would
normally charge for ice rentals. Clubs agree to this negative financial arrangement with
CurlManitoba because the bonspiel brings large numbers of curlers to the club, and
generates extra revenue in their bar and restaurant. The MCA Bonspiel also gives curlers
a chance to see different clubs and if they like the ice or the facility, there is a possibility
that they may become members in that club the following year. It is for these
opportunities that clubs are also willing to give CurlManitoba a reduced rate.

There are also four annual bonspiels that must be scheduled into the curling
season at the AMCC. One is a large bonspiel for junior curlers, another is the “Aboriginal
Mixed Curling Bonspiel,” and two others are held by corporate entities, the “Hospitals
Bonspiel,” made up of employees of Winnipeg Hospitals, and the “Westjet Bonspiel,”
made up of employees of the airline.

The board of directors operate within the AMCC’s objectives, as stated in the
club’s internal document, the “Board of Directors Information Handbook.” These
objectives are:

1. Promote all phases of curling;
2. Affiliate with the MCA;
3. Be a democratic, non-sectarian, non-political, non-profit, limited liability corporation;
4. Foster a spirit of unity, comradeship, and good sportsmanship amongst members;
5. Acquire and manage all assets of the club;
6. Be a good and proud member of the community;
7. Provide good curling ice to the community.¹⁰

To “be a good and proud member of the community” was not articulated within the objectives of CurlManitoba or the CCA. This, along with the fourth objective, “foster a spirit of unity, comradeship, and good sportsmanship amongst members,” are reflected through records relating to public relations and social events at the club. These objectives are evidence of the socializing function and relate to establishing a sense of community for members, and supports the study conducted by Mair and the research team led by the University of Western Ontario that curling clubs are vibrant places of social community interaction. The socializing function encompasses the activities of providing a sense of belonging, companionship, identity, and community amongst members.

The AMCC also benefits by establishing this sense of community as the club’s operations are dependent on volunteers from the membership, and from the loyalty of members to pay dues and to continue to pay them. If they care about their club and take a sense of pride and ownership in it, then the members are more likely to donate their time and money in supporting it financially, volunteering on the board of directors, or actively promoting it in the community. Evidence of this activity is seen at the AMCC through their “Friday Night Dinners.” These dinners are held in the club’s lounge throughout the curling season, and individuals of the different leagues are able to mingle and establish relationships not possible if they only played and socialized on their respective evenings. Members also attend because of feeling that by doing so, they are “supporting the club.”

Another example of the socializing function is the Aboriginal Mixed Curling Bonspiel as mentioned above. This bonspiel is open to players of Aboriginal descent, and operates over three days and has a capacity for forty-eight teams. The event features $9,000 in prize money, and has live bands and dancers on the Friday and Saturday evenings, providing a large social element to the bonspiel. The bonspiel is an example of a specific community coming together in both competition and celebration. The festive atmosphere and musical acts are as much a part of the event as the curling itself. This is again an example of the socializing function, but the AMCC does not document it in their official records, aside from the contract for ice rental. Archivists should be interested in such kinds of bonspiels across many curling clubs, as it documents an underrepresented demographic within the curling landscape, illustrates the diversity of the sport’s participants, and Aboriginal social bonding in an urban setting.

Documenting this socializing function, however, is somewhat problematic as records that would identify this function are not likely to be found within the official records of the clubs. To counter this, the example of the University of Western Ontario-led study gave their subjects cameras and logbooks to record their experiences through curling. In the example of the Aboriginal Mixed Curling Bonspiel, archivists would have to rely upon the photographs that individuals at the event produce, or capture the records from the bonspiel’s organizers, who are not affiliated with the AMCC. In today’s technological world, with the proliferation of camera phones and similar mobile electronic devices, collecting photographs from bonspiel participants may be an effective strategy for archivists along with more public education, to complement the official record for a “total” archive of curling.
An analysis of the records shows that the AMCC’s other objectives are documented in the club’s holdings. The activities of the first objective, “to promote all phases of curling,” are found in documents relating to advertising and marketing. As the club struggles with both a declining and aging membership, this objective becomes increasingly important as it must find new ways to attract new curlers. This objective is evidence of the function of administering the business of curling.

The second objective, “affiliate with the MCA,” was reflected in correspondence between the AMCC and CurlManitoba. This objective has caused some strain as CurlManitoba has proposed a new affiliation fee structure to be based on number of curlers, which changes from the previous model that charged by number of ice sheets that were used. This will result in a higher affiliation fee to be paid by the club to CurlManitoba. This tension was reflected in the monthly minutes of the board of director’s meeting, and initiated a discussion of having to charge individual curlers more dues to cover the cost of affiliation. There was a feeling that as the focus of the CCA and CurlManitoba is turning to developing higher performance athletes and Olympic champions, the clubs were being left behind in CurlManitoba policy.

The third objective, “be a democratic, non-sectarian, non-political, non-profit, limited liability corporation,” and the fifth objective, “acquire and manage all assets of the club,” and the sixth objective, “to provide good curling ice to the community,” relate to the function of administering the business of curling, and are represented through the financial, administrative, executive committee, human resource management, and long-term planning records. The monthly minutes, and the semi-annual and annual meeting reports that are produced, also contain information that relate to these objectives, and to
some degree contain information relating to all of the objectives. The use of the word “community” in the final objective also indicates an emphasis on the sense of community and the club’s self-perceived place in, and sense of responsibility towards, the community where it is located.

One of the most pressing issues facing curling clubs are aging buildings, with the high cost associated to repair and maintain them. In 2006 the AMCC embarked on a fundraising campaign to rebuild the roof of the club, which carried a price tag of $250,000. The club applied for grants from the provincial and municipal governments and Manitoba Hydro and received monies totalling $135,000. The remainder was paid by membership donations and through a line of credit. The large price tag is illustrative of the difficulties facing not-for-profit organizations such as the AMCC and also shows government’s investment in the clubs. This is evidence of the state-citizen interaction to which archivists are sensitive in their appraisal strategies. Furthermore, at a “raising the roof” social event, politicians from the province and the City of Winnipeg were on hand to shake hands and make speeches. Further investigation found that the politicians came out to a number of events throughout the season each year to connect with the club’s membership. When Kerry Burtnyk’s AMCC team won the 2009 Manitoba provincial championship there was a traditional send-off for the team bound for the national championship that attracted approximately 250 well-wishers. This event was also attended by representatives of the federal, provincial, and municipal governments who wished the Burtnyk team good luck at the Brier. This is evidence of the competing function, as the club celebrated Burtnyk’s victory in the championship, but it also demonstrates the socializing function, as past and present members of the club came out
in a support role. The presence of three levels of government highlighted the event’s importance to the community. Although beyond the scope of this thesis, it would be interesting to examine clubs in other provinces to see if politicians regularly visited their clubs, or if this phenomenon was limited to Winnipeg, or Manitoba, or even the wider Prairie region where curling may enjoy a greater visibility and popularity than elsewhere.

Other records at the AMCC include multiple albums of photographs from various provincial and national events held at the club, and others illustrate life around the club, such as work parties, fundraising events, Halloween dances, celebratory dinners, and year-end trophy presentations. These records are evidence of the competing function, but also the socializing function. The photographs, however, are not described and there is risk of losing their contextual value as older club members move away and are unable to identify the individuals they contain.

The AMCC’s records are held in a filing cabinet and in the personal possession of former board members. A discussion with a past president of the club confirmed that there was no formal record-keeping system in place in the club, and in fact, many “records” were thrown out as they became obsolete, based on the amount of space they occupied. To paraphrase his words: if they cluttered up the office, they were thrown out.¹¹ The formal minutes, resolutions, by-laws, rules, and regulations of the club were maintained and provide a formal look into the club’s operations. The function of administering the business of curling and the competing function were well documented within these records. The socializing function, however, was not formally documented and exists in collections outside of the official records of the club, or only by implication.

¹¹ Doug Rosler, Past President of Assiniboine Memorial Curling Club, interview with author, 6 November 2007.
within them, such as the example of the Aboriginal Bonspiel. The more informal records can be found with former members, and with leagues that were not affiliated with the club or its board of directors. Archivists should be especially aware of this socializing function and endeavour to work with clubs to document it better.

**Deer Lodge Curling Club**

The Deer Lodge Curling Club (DLCC) was established under the name of the Assiniboia Curling Club in 1919. The members of the club organized the Deer Lodge Curling Association Limited with the goal to build a new curling arena and facility. In 1920 a six-sheet facility named as the Deer Lodge Curling Club was built at Bruce Avenue and Truro Street. The Curling rink was situated on the banks of Truro Creek, which caused the building’s foundation to constantly shift, and the flood of 1950 further damaged the club. The Deer Lodge Curling Club Limited was formed to establish a new building and in 1957 a new facility at 425 Woodlawn Street was erected entirely through volunteer labour. In 1988 the club underwent renovations to the facility at a cost of $425,000, funded through a $100,000 grant from the municipal government, a $56,000 grant from the provincial government, and a $250,000 mortgage. A new women’s locker room was built, the parking lot was resurfaced, the ice field renewed, and the clubrooms were completely renovated.  

The DLCC is managed by a board of fifteen directors, elected at the annual meeting of shareholders. Like the AMCC, the board of directors meet once a month to discuss club business, and hold a shareholder meeting twice a year in what are known as the semi-annual and annual meetings. Minutes and agenda exist for all these meetings.

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The DLCC’s objectives as identified in its by-laws are to promote the game of curling and such other social and athletic activities as may be deemed by the club to be advisable and expedient; and to afford all the usual privileges, advantages, conveniences, and accommodation of a sports and social club.\textsuperscript{13}

The DLCC’s constitution identifies three different types of members: shareholder members; honorary members, as elected by the board of directors; and associate members, which do not hold shares, but are given admission and privileges of the club, and include juniors, ladies, or students.\textsuperscript{14} After six consecutive years, members of the men’s league are eligible to become shareholders, dependent upon the club’s board of directors’ approval. Once a vote is passed, the member becomes a shareholder and holds a vote at business meetings.

Unlike the AMCC, the leagues that rent ice from the DLCC are not considered members, but rather are known as “renters,” or more formally as “associate leagues.” Each year, the club hosts a social evening and a “funspiel” for these associate leagues. This night gives the club a chance to show their appreciation to the leagues and to build a sense of camaraderie. This is an example of the socializing function, but also by putting on an event for what are essentially the DLCC’s customers, the club can hope that the customers are made to feel appreciated, and will continue their business there. The socializing function is particularly noteworthy at the DLCC. The club hosts multiple social evenings throughout the season aimed at bringing curlers together to build that sense of community and pride in the club, and to generate revenue. Each January, the DLCC holds a “New Year’s Day Levee” where club and associate members and their


\textsuperscript{14} Ibid.
spouses are invited to the club for a light lunch and for a competition known as the “turkey shoot.” In this competition, participants attempt to throw a curling rock closest to the button, or centre of the target, in order to win a frozen turkey or a bottle of alcohol.

Another major social event at DLCC is the annual fundraising dinner and dance. This event is a casual dinner with a theme such as Italian or Hawaiian night, and its major goals are to raise money for the operations of the club, and to provide an evening of social enjoyment for the membership. The event is very well attended each year, and illustrates strong support for the club. The proceeds from the event’s ticket sales and prize draws directly contribute to the clubs operating budget. The club also hosts a number of annual bonspiels, including two junior bonspiels, the St. James Teachers Bonspiel, and the “Winnipeg Steelmen’s Association Bonspiel.”

The “Antlers” associate league is open for men over fifty-five years of age, and operates on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays as both curling league and social club. Curlers may sign up as full members in the league, or as clubhouse members who do not curl but are able to participate in the other off-ice activities of the DLCC. Throughout the curling season, the members of the Antlers play cards and other games. League rules stipulate that all teams must ensure that at least two members are available to play in the cribbage tournaments. The Antlers also hold optional dart and pool tournaments throughout the year. This league, although not officially considered a DLCC member league, illustrates the objectives of the club, specifically “to afford all the usual privileges, advantages, conveniences, and accommodation of a sports and social club,” and is a very good example of the socializing function of curling. The off-ice activities are as important as the on-ice activities of this league, and as such need to be captured as

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archives as a reflection of Manitoba society. The records of the Antlers league are to be found in the documents and photographs held by the league and members, and not within the official records of the DLCC.

The upstairs club room of the DLCC contains a number of plaques and trophies dedicated to commemorating past champions and prominent members of the club. There are a number of displays dedicated to former club member Jim Welsh, who was inducted into the Canadian Curling Hall of Fame in 1983. Welsh and his curling teams won provincial championships in 1933, 1937, 1947, and 1954 and won the Canadian championship in 1947. The DLCC has the curling patches, pins, and a curling sweater from Welsh’s championship teams in a display case, as well a plaque commemorating his team. This recognition of a champion such as Welsh is evidence of the commemorating function. The records of these champions, however, are not unique to the club and are also found within the Manitoba Curling Hall of Fame and Museum (MCHFM). The DLCC also inducts honourary life members of the club at the annual men’s league windup, which also demonstrates the commemorating function. The DLCC recognizes individuals that have contributed to the club through competition or through the long-term administration of the club, and once inducted they do not have to pay membership fees at the club and are honoured at the men’s wind-up dinner each year. There are eighty-four honourary life members of DLCC at present,16 and are specific to the DLCC and are not documented by halls of fame or other organizations, but rather within the club’s annual reports, meeting minutes, and on the club’s website.

The function of administering the business of curling is documented within the DLCC business records, which are very similar to the AMCC’s records. Invoices, membership application forms, and other administrative records are to be found within the filing cabinets. The club has had to undergo two recent major building repairs to the roof in 2000-01 and again in 2009. The 2009 roof repair cost $175,000 and was funded through government grants, including $68,000 from the City of Winnipeg, and rebates totalling $10,500 from Manitoba Hydro. The record of the grants and applications for the grants will also be found within the records of the responsible government agencies.

Both the DLCC and the AMCC have undergone major repairs to their buildings as their facilities age. The monthly minutes and agenda, as well as the semi-annual and annual minutes of the DLCC, provide a snapshot of the issues most important and pressing to their particular club. Although these issues will be similar to those facing all other curling clubs, it is those that are specific to the DLCC that can provide an insight to the functions of curling. For example, the socializing function and activities that support this function will be different from club to club. The annual fundraising dinner of the DLCC shows a level of financial support from the membership that does not exist at the AMCC. This socializing function, as was illustrated in the AMCC records, is not necessarily documented within the official record and must be captured through the records or memories of the members. Archivists must work with the officials of the clubs to be put into contact of those members who may be responsible for the social events of the various leagues and clubs. These records may be found with those that participated in

the social functions, and not on club premises, or by recording oral histories with key observers and members.

**Springfield Curling Club**

The Springfield Curling Club (SCC) is located in the town of Dugald in the Rural Municipality of Springfield. In 1943 individuals interested in curling asked the Springfield Agricultural Society if they could use one of their buildings for a curling rink. Permission was granted, and one curling sheet of natural ice was made in the middle of the building, with ice for skating built on either side of the curling ice. In 1946 a curling club was established and a second sheet was added to accommodate the increased interest in the sport, and the building became dedicated solely to curling. In 1948 the curling club was named the Springfield Curling Club (SCC), and a building was added to the arena to function as a kitchen. During the summer months, because the curling club was situated on the agricultural society’s land, the arena was used to pen animals for various summer fairs. At this time, the members of the SCC were also all members of the Agricultural Society.

In 1960 the popularity of the sport had grown and a new building was needed to accommodate the expanding interest in the game, and so the SCC established the Springfield Rink Limited to sell shares to raise capital to finance the new construction. A new four-sheet rink was built through volunteer work, and financed through the sale of the shares, a fundraising drive, and a government grant. A lease agreement was signed by the club and the Springfield Agricultural Society, which allowed the SCC to receive some

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19 The history of the Springfield Curling Club is based on an interview conducted with club official Murray McLeod, 30 April 2011.
added benefits, such as getting some taxes forgiven and having insurance covered through the society. The building continued to be used by the Agricultural Society in the summer months for craft and other exhibitions. The SCC added an artificial ice plant to the new building, and put in a concrete floor so the arena could be used for other functions in the summer months, and is rented out for socials, weddings, and other events such as trade shows. Once this new club was built, the Springfield Rink Limited was no longer active within the club. In the late 1980s the club needed upgrading and enhancements, and once again the Springfield Rink Limited was used to buy shares for financing. The club room was renovated and a grand re-opening was held on 15 December 1990. With this re-opening, new emphasis was placed on being a shareholder, which anybody could be. The SCC enjoyed large membership numbers and priority for league openings were given to shareholders. The men’s, women’s, and mixed leagues were thought of as members, and all other leagues were considered “renters.” The board of directors of the Springfield Rink Limited also serves as the SCC’s board of directors, and is made up of twelve individuals, and like other curling clubs, have a monthly meeting and hold an annual and semi-annual meeting open to all members. The records of the minutes of these meetings are kept on-site.

In the 2000s membership began to decline and tension developed between the Agricultural Society and the SCC, as the members no longer necessarily belong to both organizations as they once did. The lease between them has become “open to negotiation,” and the Agricultural Society has shortened the term of the lease.20 Volunteers continue to help out with maintenance of the club, but the long-time proprietor of the restaurant recently retired, and the club has assumed control of the bar.

20 McLeod, interview with author, 30 April 2011.
and restaurant. Where before the SCC would rent out the kitchen facilities to a proprietor, the club now runs the restaurant and must hire staff and stock supplies. The non-curling community of Dugald uses the restaurant, but because there is another restaurant in town, the club does not promote its service. It does promote “special” dinners on their website, however, such as a steak dinner evening.

The SCC hosts various social functions throughout the curling season such as Halloween and Grey Cup parties. In the summer, the club continues to rent out the facility for social events, but because of a declining volunteer base, they do not schedule as many functions as there is no one to supervise the building. Furthermore, as the building ages, the wear and tear on the facility due to the social events must be mitigated.

Similar to the other two clubs discussed above, the SCC’s club room contains the trophies and banners from the past competition winners. What is unique to the SCC is the presence of approximately thirty photograph albums and scrapbooks documenting past curling seasons of the club. These albums contain photographs from approximately 1943 to 2010, and depict winners of club events, competitions held at the club, social functions, year-end wind-ups, and life around the club. These albums document the business, competing, and socializing functions of curling within the SCC context. These albums are a valuable insight into the curling life, and unlike the DLCC or the AMCC, the socializing function has been well captured within the records of the club. At the SCC, it has been the past practice that these albums have been brought out to be viewed by the members. In recent years, however, the photographs have been taken using a digital camera, and they have not been printed off or even added to the club’s website. This represents a serious risk to the record of the club, as these photographs and the
history they document will be lost, unless there are active digital records preservation strategies put in place.

The three clubs all maintain very similar records. With the activities of the three clubs identified by examining their operations and history, and their surviving records, appraisal guidelines can now be advanced by comparing what has been collected in Chapter Two at a higher archival levels above each club, and what is being produced at the local levels, in the clubs themselves.

**Appraisal Guidelines**

In order to achieve the total archive for the documentation of curling in Manitoba, both government records and private records must be captured within an appraisal strategy. Records that document curling are to be found at a wide range of archival repositories in Canada and in Manitoba. Some curling records are already safely captured and held in these institutions.

Library and Archives Canada holds the records of Sport Canada, which document the national sport policy. The records of the Canadian Curling Association are also found at the national archives, but need to be collected in a more comprehensive manner by that institution. No records relating to the national delivery of programs relating to curling need to be collected at the provincial association or local club level.

Records that are created by the various levels of government about curling clubs should be retained by their respective originating offices. Examples of these are government grants. Any federal grants that are issued will be captured within the federal departments or at the Library and Archives Canada through their government records program. Grants issued by the Province of Manitoba or the City of Winnipeg likewise are
acquired within their records. These will also be held within the curling clubs, but should not be targeted at that level as archival documents.

The City of Winnipeg departments will hold municipal records such as tax assessments, building permits, and other property information relating to the curling clubs of Winnipeg. These records need not be captured at the club level.

The Archives of Manitoba (AM) and the Manitoba Curling Hall of Fame and Museum (MCHFM) mainly document the functions of competing, commemorating, and administering the business of curling. Photographs of winners of the various competitions are well documented within the collections.

The Archives of Manitoba also holds records of incorporation for curling clubs, and maintains some minutes and roster books. These records of curling clubs, however, are not collected in a strategic manner and do not fully document the context of Manitoba curling. This gap exists because of their policy of not actively acquiring private records. The Archives of Manitoba is the archival repository for the records of Sport Manitoba and of the Minister Responsible for Sport as part of their government records program.

The Manitoba Curling Hall of Fame and Museum is the most active archival institution accepting curling records, although primarily in the collection of the records of large championship events held in the province. This institution holds the annual reports of CurlManitoba from 1976 to 2010, which provides evidence of the function of administering the business of curling. These records illustrate the high-level policy for the sport within the province.

The records that document the actual delivery of curling at the local level will be found in curling club records. Collecting the records of all clubs would not be necessary
nor desirable; if the records of all the clubs in Manitoba were collected, they alone may well fill up an entire archival repository. Instead, archivists should collect the records from clubs that are representative of the various regions of the province. CurlManitoba has divided Manitoba into the Parkland, Central, Interlake, Westman, Eastman, Norman, and Winnipeg regions for competition purposes. Archivists can utilize these divisions and select the records from two or three clubs from each region to represent curling in the province, as well as any special clubs noteworthy for their clientele or champions, or their ethnic, occupational, or Aboriginal focus. Those records that should be targeted for preservation include the club’s constitution, which will document the mandates and functions unique to each of the clubs and communities. The annual reports and meeting minutes of each club should also be targeted for archival preservation. These reports document the function of administering the business of curling, but can also include indirect documentation of the socializing function through social committee reports. These monthly minutes and reports should be considered as records of an active business (the curling club), and should not be open to other third-party business interests that may take advantage of information found therein for their own benefit. An example could be a proposed increase in membership fees. A rival club could undercut the fee to attract business (leagues) away from the first club.

The commemorating function is well documented at the Manitoba Curling Hall of Fame and Museum. Local curling clubs do produce records that relate to this function through the honouring of members or by making them honourary life members. These club members illustrate the dedication and the sense of community that is present within these institutions. The Manitoba Curling Hall of Fame and Museum captures those

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records that document the commemorating function for those that have furthered curling within the province, but do not, in most cases, identify those that have made exceptional contributions to their local clubs. The club lists of their honourary life members and any information about them should be acquired to document the commemorating function. The annual reports and monthly minutes can also demonstrate this function, as the induction of such members may be recorded within them.

The socializing function was not documented to any great extent within the records that were collected by archival institutions. This function was found in records within the curling clubs, but outside of the club’s administrative records, and will therefore need to be captured by collecting the records from individuals associated with various leagues that may not be officially considered as members based on the definitions of each club’s constitution. If Manitoba is to preserve and document the functions of curling in the province, archival institutions will have to take a more active role in the acquisition and preservation of the records of the socializing function, and perhaps need to focus on public programming to educate local clubs or leagues on how to document this function. The socializing function will not survive in the archival record unless archivists actively raise the consciousness of those involved in that activity to create and maintain relevant records of it. Further contributing to this lack of documentary evidence is that both the Manitoba Curling Hall of Fame and Museum and the Archives of Manitoba currently do not actively pursue private records, which include curling club records.

The records that document those underrepresented in society and in curling, such as Aboriginals, should be identified as archival and actively acquired. Examples of these
types of records are those of the Aboriginal Mixed Curling Bonspiel at the Assiniboine Memorial Curling Club. Another example of a league that needs to be documented is the Keystone Rainbow League of the Granite Curling Club, open to gay, lesbian, and bisexual curlers. These leagues and bonspiels are illustrative of the growing diversity in curling and need to be documented.

Also missing from current archival collections are oral histories and private histories of the curling experience. There are no personal films or audio tapes from private individuals that may contain documentary evidence of the competing or socializing functions. In order to capture these records, a number of strategies could be employed. Archivists could actively enter the clubs to interview and collect these histories, or archival institutions could hire students to do this work. Curling clubs could also take this upon themselves to capture these histories to build morale amongst the members and to use it as a promotional tool to attract new curlers. Archivists could also rely upon scholarly investigations by historians, such as the study undertaken by Heather Mair. The most likely solution is a partnership of all interested stakeholders. Curling clubs should seek out the expertise of archivists and historians in order to document the missing functions. Not only would this benefit the club financially through establishing a sense of shared history with members, thus ensuring their continuing loyalty and membership, but archivists would also be given the opportunity to acquire or otherwise preserve the records they need to illustrate the functions of curling. Historians could also be consulted, and they could be afforded a rare chance to document an important part of Canadian culture through access to curling club members.

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The historical records of curling clubs identified above that document the functions of the sport should be forwarded to the Manitoba Curling Hall of Fame and Museum. The largest physical extent of curling records is found there, and it should continue to be the primary collecting institution. The MCHFM should endeavour to capture the records from representative clubs in Manitoba, and the presence of electronic records should make forwarding copies of meeting minutes and digital photographs more feasible.

However, there are risks associated with having the Manitoba Curling Hall of Fame and Museum as the primary collecting agency for curling, as, currently at least, it lacks the resources to fully or properly document the sport. One strategy for increasing revenues is to apply for grants from the Canadian Council of Archives. Many similar collecting agencies rely upon such grants to hire temporary staff to work on a specific records group or the collection as a whole. Another strategy would be to actively pursue financial donors who would contribute specifically for the preservation of the records. Potential donors may include the past winners of major curling events, such as national or world champions, or corporate sponsors of current curling teams or curling equipment suppliers. Past champions may be more willing to donate to ensure their legacy is persevered for the future, and corporations may see the chance to have their name associated with the hall of fame as an advertising opportunity. Another strategy is to commercialize their collection. A model for the MCHFM to learn from is National Hockey League Hall of Fame in Toronto, which is highly successful because it is able to charge for the use of old pictures and films. The market for purchasing curling photographs and films may not yet exist, but topical displays can draw in audiences and
create awareness of the collection. For example, setting up a display around the 2013 Olympic Curling Trials, a very highly anticipated event to be held in Winnipeg that is expected to be watched by a large audience, can draw interested patrons and provide opportunities to grow the profile of the MCHFM.

The MCHFM already does an excellent job of attending major hosting events to collect the appropriate records, but lacks the resources to go to clubs and ensure that their best records are preserved and does not have a digital preservation program. Furthermore, the MCHFM does not yet have electronic finding aids that can be accessed remotely, which makes researching difficult. Even if there were an electronic finding aid, any increase in the number of research requests would overwhelm the one person who oversees the collection. Conversely, the Archives of Manitoba has the capacity and resources to properly document curling in Manitoba, but it does not actively acquire private records.

Records of champions are currently captured by the MCHFM, but copies of the annual reports and minutes of meetings from individual clubs should also be sent to the institution for preservation. Copies of photographs documenting the socializing function should be sent to MCHFM, as should records documenting local commemoration. These records should also be maintained at the club, as they contribute to the members’ sense of community and pride, and help to keep the “customer” at the club. Forwarding copies of both meeting minutes and photographs is easily achieved in today’s world of digital documents. Because of this proliferation of digital records in curling clubs, there is a need for the Archives of Manitoba and the MCHFM to work together to establish digital preservation standards and a program to ingest, process, and preserve the digital records.
that curling clubs and events are now producing. The records that are held and produced within local curling clubs should be managed under a records management program administered by curling clubs.

A closer working relationship should be established between the Archives of Manitoba and the MCHFM, whereby the former can provide training and expertise to the MCHFM and they can share in appraisal and acquisition work to fill the gaps in the record. Although this partnership should be nurtured, the curling history and records of Manitoba should be captured within the MCHFM collection in order to provide the most comprehensive documentation of the sport.

The AM will have to be convinced to enter into such a partnership, as their resources are limited and, as mentioned above, their private records acquisitions activities, at present, are very passive. One way this potential partnership could work within the realities of limited budgets and resources, would be to have the AM develop a guide to manage archives. In 2010 Laura Millar, an archival consultant, published a book entitled *Archives: Principles and Practices*, which was a handbook on operating archival repositories. The AM could use Millar’s handbook as a template, and produce a guide for managing archives in Manitoba, and apply it to the rich test-bed of curling records at the MCHFM. The AM may not have the resources to send employees out to the MCHFM to assist in the guide’s implementation, and therefore may consider including another archival organization, the Association for Manitoba Archives (AMA). The AMA is a voluntary organization dedicated to improving the administration, effectiveness, and efficiency of Manitoba’s archival systems and institutions, especially small, local ones.24

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24 See [www.mbarchives.mb.ca](http://www.mbarchives.mb.ca), accessed 5 December 2011.
The AMA could provide the link between the AM and the MCHFM by assisting in the application of such an archival guide. The AMA could also assist in the writing of grants for the MCHFM to assist in the processing of their collection.

This three-way collaboration would be beneficial to all organizations involved, as the AM would gain a field test for their guide, which could then be applied to other archival priorities such as Farmer’s Co-operatives, educational records, or any other themes they determine need documenting. Curling may not be the AM’s first priority, but they need to start somewhere and the use of a good body of records, such as the curling archives held within the MCHFM, provides an excellent test-bed. The MCHFM would benefit from the archival expertise from the AM, and from assistance from the AMA in implementing the guide. The AMA would also benefit by fulfilling its mandate to improve Manitoba’s archival systems, and in having a guide and experience using it that they can use to help other archival repositories in Manitoba.

Despite the proposal for the MCHFM to act as the main archival repository for curling records, other institutions should continue to collect related records. The University of Manitoba Archives and Special Collections should collect all university curling records, and local, community, or regional archives, such as the Carberry Plains Archives, should preserve their local curling club records. These could then be used by members of the clubs or communities in the locations they were created. In the cases where no digital copies exist to be forwarded to the main collecting agency, the existence of these records being held in other localities could then be noted in a finding aid at the Manitoba Curling Hall of Fame and Museum for researchers.
Records Management at Curling Clubs

As discussed above, curling clubs are typically run by volunteer boards. If the records that document all the functions of curling are to find their way into archival repositories, curling clubs must develop record-keeping policies that address their legal requirements for the retention of business records for needed periods of active operations and for the portion of these records of historical value. As well, curling clubs will be governed by provincial privacy laws or by the national Personal Information Protection and Electronic Documents Act (PIPEDA). Under these laws, clubs are required to protect the privacy of their members and to only keep records for as long as they are required for the purpose for which they were collected.

The most obvious place to start the search for a records management policy, outside of the clubs themselves, would be at the CCA, which incurs the cost of resource development and relies, largely, on member associations to provide the delivery of these resources to their member clubs and curlers in those clubs.25 Danny Lamoureux, the CCA’s Manager of Curling Club Development, responded to an email inquiry in 2006 about the presence of records management systems in curling clubs with the following response:

Sorry, don't have such an animal. I agree it is important but at this stage in the programme, we need to get them to concentrate on building the business. I would hope that as the technology improves, this 'good' record keeping will happen naturally and we will have better management.26

A follow-up email in 2011 confirmed that no records management guidance was available for clubs, but through the CCA’s emphasis on the business of curling, clubs

26 Danny Lamoureux, email message to author, 28 September 2006.
have access to templates for contracts and job descriptions.\(^27\) By stimulating the creation of business records, the CCA expects good recordkeeping to naturally arise out of good business practices. Similarly, CurlManitoba had no records management policies, models, or software in place for clubs to use. The development of a comprehensive records management policy for curling clubs is beyond the scope of this thesis, but curling clubs should recognize that there is a difference between business records and historical records. Club records can generally be grouped into three main categories.

The first group is general housekeeping records. These records include the business and administrative records such as invoices or contracts for cleaning. These must be kept on-site for as long as clubs potentially need them. For example, financial records should be kept for the six years that are required by the Canadian Revenue Agency,\(^28\) and if equipment is purchased, and warranty exists on it, then the record of that purchase needs to be maintained for the length of the warranty, or source manuals for as long as equipment is used, and so on. This category of records has no archival value, but has value to the continuing operation of the club.

The second group of records includes those that are valuable to the club, but found in other organizations. Examples include financial grants, which are very important to maintain in the club, but would not be considered archival as these records would be found within the organization that issued the grant, such as within the City of Winnipeg, Manitoba Hydro, or Province of Manitoba. Other examples within this category would be policies of Sport Canada or CurlManitoba. These records would originate within those organizations and not within the clubs. In this case, these records should be kept in the

\(^{27}\) Ibid., 2 December 2011.
club until they are superseded by new policies, but should not be forwarded on for archival purposes, as they would duplicate (in the hundreds) what is already safeguarded at a more senior archival level.

The third group of records are those that are not important to maintain in the club for the business operations, but are documentary evidence of functions that are targeted for archival collections, such as the socializing function. An example would be photographs that document the social events held at the club. Curling clubs may wish to keep these on their walls for long-term commemoration, but they are not necessary for the club’s viability. Photographs that are held on the walls may fade or deteriorate over time, and thus self destruct, and therefore clubs should be aware of this preservation problem. One solution would be if the photographs are identified as archival, they should be copied and forwarded to the responsible archival institution. Should there be no money for such a copying program, clubs could potentially apply for grants or partner with archival agencies to ensure these types of records are captured. An archival agency could assign summer students or their own archivists to document them. Furthermore, providing electronic copies to archival institutions can be accomplished with relative ease as records in curling clubs are increasingly being born-digital, such as in the case of modern photographs.

Curling clubs must ensure that their records management programs include records of all media types. The records of the above three categories may originate in paper formats, but increasingly these are born-digital. Most curling clubs have their own websites, produce digital photographs or video, and create their textual documents on either a club-owned computer or that of a member of the board of directors. These
Electronic records are evidence of the club’s business and as such must be preserved and made a part of club’s records management program. Most of these programs will typically consist of a print-to-file solution, whereby when an electronic record is created, it is printed off and placed within the club’s paper filing system. However, their records management programs may also be written to instruct that when electronic records appraised as having archival value are created, such as photographs depicting the socializing function, a copy is to be sent to the Manitoba Curling Hall of Fame and Museum. And of course some multi-media digital records combining text, still and moving images, and sound, with many links and layers, are impossible to print to paper and must be preserved, where desired, in their original digital format.

The nature of a volunteer board will make records management programs a low priority within curling clubs. Their boards of directors typically consist of members with varied backgrounds, with the “secretary” position typically responsible for records management of the meeting minutes and general correspondence of the club, and the “treasurer” position responsible for the management of contracts and financial records. Clubs usually do not have anyone responsible for the management of the records that document the socializing function, which is targeted as archival. For this reason it should be incumbent upon the CCA to develop a records management program with archivists that they can disseminate to the clubs through their respective provincial governing bodies, such as CurlManitoba.

This chapter has examined the records of three curling clubs in Manitoba and identified their functions and structures, which were compared with those outlined in Chapter Two. It was found that the records within the curling clubs consist primarily of
business records such as invoices and employee records, which document the function of administering the business of curling. However, clubs also displayed distinct manifestations of the socializing and commemorating functions, which meant that archivists should capture the records relating to them for each region as identified by CurlManitoba. For example, although each club valued the socializing function, the Deer Lodge Curling Club had stronger documentary evidence of it than the Assiniboine Memorial Curling Club, and the Springfield Curling Club documented it through photograph albums. The records of the provincial sports agency, CurlManitoba, illustrate the governance and administration of the sport. The curling clubs, however, do not produce a wealth of documents within their official records. The club’s business records, monthly meeting minutes, and annual reports provide a detailed look into the club’s operations, but can also provide indirect evidence of the socializing function through the planning of social events. However, records outside the official structures of the clubs, such as unaffiliated curling bonspiels and personal records of members, can provide a valuable evidence of the socializing function.

Curling clubs, as the places for the actual delivery of the sport, provide important context of curling in Manitoba. No understanding of curling in the province can be complete without the acquisition of some selection of curling club records. While administering the business of curling and commemorating the sport are well documented functions within archival repositories, the socializing function has not been documented to the same degree. These records need to be targeted especially, then, within an appraisal strategy. The difficulty lies in the fact that these records are often produced outside the
official structures of the club, and therefore an effort must be made to include them. The
conclusion will offer some strategies on how to capture these records.

Clubs must be educated by archivists in what records should be incorporated into
a records management system and for archival preservation in order to document the total
record for curling in Manitoba. By following an appraisal strategy that documents the
functions of curling, the sport can ensure that the sources for future research are available
to historians. A comprehensive archival collection provides the basis for museums
exhibits, which through publicity can stimulate future grants for both curling clubs and
for the preservation of curling records.
Conclusion
The Last End and Beyond

This thesis has examined how an archivist might document the societal function of sport, with curling as a case study. By combining the current appraisal tools of the documentation strategy and macroappraisal, this thesis suggested a model for the documentation of the societal function of curling in order to fit within the Canadian tradition of total archives of balancing institutional/sponsor records with private and personal ones. Through the use of a well-conceived appraisal strategy, the records of all media that are being produced in target organizations will be identified, collected, and preserved in a viable manner by archival repositories, and therefore provide the primary sources for historians to study. Without an appraisal strategy, the collections are incomplete, and thus the full context of curling in Manitoba is not available, and historical analysis cannot be as comprehensive or inclusive as it could be.

To this end, this thesis was divided into three chapters. The first chapter drew upon the literature from two main areas: archival appraisal theory and sports history. The chapter proposed a model that combined macroappraisal with the documentation strategy to be used to appraise curling records in Manitoba. One of the limitations of this thesis is that the fifteen steps of the appraisal model developed in this chapter are suggestive due to time restraints and space limitations of a graduate thesis. A complete documentation strategy, involving full institutional support and a team made up of records creators, archival and museum professionals, subject specialists, and users could not be completed within these restraints, and instead, this thesis relied upon the author’s experiences with
curling in Manitoba, and the relevant published literature, and available primary documents in archives and curling clubs.

In order to analyze the context of curling in Canada using the functional approach required by the macroappraisal model, Chapter One reviewed the literature on Canadian sports as it has been written in Canadian historiography focusing on the main interpretive themes that historians have developed. This broad examination explored the structures and activities of Canadian sport as these have evolved historically in order to give the contextual background for which curling has, and now, functions.

The second chapter explored the administrative history of curling in Manitoba, and examined the sport’s functions, programs, activities, and structures. Based upon this analysis, and using the author’s knowledge of the sport, this thesis then identified five functions of curling: competing, administering the business of curling, socializing, commemorating, and establishing and enforcing the rules of play. These functions were then used to evaluate the records that were held in institutional archives and identified the gaps in the collections.

This thesis found that the competing and commemorating functions were well represented in archival collections, as were the records documenting administrative functions for the sport’s delivery and policy system. Sport Manitoba, the provincial agency responsible for sport, and CurlManitoba, the governing local curling association, had their records captured within the Archives of Manitoba and the Manitoba Curling Hall of Fame and Museum, and the records of Sport Canada, the national agency responsible for sport, had their records relating to curling, including Olympic Games and World Curling Championships, identified for transfer to Library and Archives Canada for
preservation. These functions would be found and documented at the higher administrative levels of the sport, and archivists would not need to collect these types of records from the hundreds of clubs in Manitoba, as this would be redundant. The establishing and enforcing of rules functions were found to be documented at the national level within the Canadian Curling Association. Manitoba’s involvement within the national association would mean that these records would be captured at the national level. However, if any rules specific to curling in Manitoba exist outside of the official rules of the Canadian Curling Association or CurlManitoba, then they would be found within niche leagues within the various clubs. No records have been captured that document any rules of this nature.

The archival holdings illustrated some gaps in the curling record. For example, the records of local curling clubs, such as their minutes of meetings and financial records, did not appear in great numbers and were not collected as part of any existing appraisal or acquisition strategy. The records of the various weekly curling club leagues were also found not to be documented, nor was the commemorating function relating to local clubs, such as honourary life memberships or local club champions. The absence of documentation relating to the socializing function was the largest gap in the collections, and especially requires inclusion in an appraisal strategy. However, another of the limitations of this thesis was that not all archival institutions in the province were explored. Despite this limitation, the major archival institutions in Manitoba were examined as was the national archival repository, Library and Archives Canada.

Chapter Three examined the structures and functions of three Manitoba curling clubs: the Assiniboine Memorial Curling Club, the Deer Lodge Curling Club, and the
Springfield Curling Club and identified the records that each produced. This was another limitation of this thesis, as in order to fully document the archival context of curling in Manitoba, all its curling clubs would need to be analyzed, or at the least, a wider sample would need to be consulted. Through the analysis of the three curling clubs this thesis did analyze, it was confirmed that the socializing function needed to be targeted by archivists and be documented at this local level. The records documenting this function were further found to be held outside the official records of the clubs, and were found within unaffiliated leagues, or held within private photographs and other records of club members, or in their memories. Although the appraisal model of Chapter One allowed for the identification and exploration of private records, more study and strategic emphasis are needed to shape the archiving of important private records.

One solution for capturing the records that document the socializing function would be that members of curling club’s board of directors, perhaps working with the Manitoba Curling Hall of Fame and Museum, could host an event such as a “history night,” whereby current or former members could bring in any photographs or records and donate them or have them scanned, and as they are collected the provenance and context of the records could be established from the donor. Another solution would be to capture photographs and other electronic material through Web 2.0 harvesting from curler’s websites, facebook photos, or YouTube videos. Archivists would have to raise the historical consciousness of records creators and engage in partnerships with them to document the socializing function, or else risk the destruction of this material. Despite the fact that the analysis of private records was not as developed within this thesis, the establishment of the functions of curling was an important step, as the records that were
collected can be evaluated and an appraisal strategy can be developed. A full implementation of the documentation strategy, with a large collaborative team, would be able to better explore the private records of curling.

The records found within the archival collections in Chapter Two and the absence of the socializing function’s documentation help to explain why sport seems to be relatively neglected in historical studies in Canada. It is rare to find a university offering graduate-level studies in sport history. It is apparent that sport, outside of champions and famous athletes’ memoirs or memorabilia, has been neglected within archives or halls of fame, and without an active attempt to identify and then document all functions of sport, such as the socializing function in curling, a complete record cannot exist for historians to use to write history. It appears that there is a link between this neglect in archives and a neglect of historical work in sport.

What are the reasons for this neglect? One possible reason is that sport is not seen as serious because people “play” sports. To contrast, religion, agriculture, or politics would be seen as “serious.” If archival appraisal policies have evolved to accept that archives should mirror the society that created them,¹ then sports records should be far better captured than they are now. Archivists should ask themselves why they have neglected sports records, aside from random and unsolicited donations. Archivists should reflect on questions of “value” and “seriousness.” Another reason is most certainly a practical one, as archives do not have the resources to fully document all of society. As was identified in this case study of curling, partnering with a special collecting institution such as the Manitoba Curling Hall of Fame and Museum, which is devoted to the

collection of curling records, can be a practical solution. Other sports often have their own halls of fame that can provide similar opportunities for partnership. Another potential reason may be that many archivists have not made collecting sports records an emphasis because they themselves do not play sports, and therefore their documentation has not been a priority. S. F. Wise, Bruce Kidd, and Morris Mott are all noted historians who have written histories exploring sport, and all were athletes in their own lives, two at professional levels. Perhaps the work of archivists (and historians) is autobiographical, and reflects the interests of the individual employed by the institution.

Although this thesis used curling as a case study, the example that it illustrated through the functional analysis of curling can be extended to other sports, and help document an aspect of Canadian society that is so important to the lives of Canadians, and thus better reflect in archives the society in which we live. This case study, although limited, is an attempt to improve the archival holdings of curling and therefore stimulate historical research which will allow for historians to bring sport back into Canadian history and increase society’s understanding of its importance and influence in today’s world. Because of its wide influence on society, sport acts as a filter of Canadian life and as the manifestation of issues of culture, gender, class, and ethnicity. Through the records of three Manitoba curling clubs, this thesis has shown that these issues play out in records. If historians can study and gain access to a more complete record of sports, then their research can provide a more detailed, richer, and nuanced look into Canadians’ lives and contribute to a better understanding of the interaction of sport and society.

A recent article in the *Globe and Mail* indirectly pointed to the urgency of developing appraisal strategies to capture curling records before they are lost. The article
demonstrated how current economic pressures are decimating smaller rural communities, and that their curling clubs are closing. These closures make capturing the records of these clubs all the more important in order to collect the records of what these places of social interaction meant to these small towns.

This thesis is important as it can provide a guide to appraising the records of other sports in society, especially for those that do not have a professional league. Sports such as community baseball or hockey will have the same functions as curling, but more research is needed to determine if professional sports leagues such as the Canadian Football League or the National Hockey League have functions additional to the five identified in this thesis. Nevertheless, this thesis provides a blueprint for archivists of all levels and the directors of sports organizations to ensure that the records that document sport and society are captured for future generations.

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