

**EDWARD 'NED' HANLAN: IMAGINING CANADIAN MASCULINITY AND  
NATIONAL IDENTITY FROM THE SUCCESS OF AN EARLY ROWING CHAMPION**

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## **Dedication**

To my family for all their support in making this thesis possible. I would like to thank Dr. Robert Kossuth my supervisor for all his support and guidance with this journey. In addition, I would like to thank my thesis committee Dr. Carly Adams and Dr. Kristine Alexander for their support and guidance. Furthermore, I would like to thank Elaine Toth, Darcy Tamayose, and Trudy North for their guidance and support in my thesis chapters. Lastly, I would like to thank Dr. Carmen Nielson my professor from Mount Royal University who introduced me to Edward ‘Ned’ Hanlan through the illustrations and text of *Grip*.

## Proem

I chose to study Edward ‘Ned’ Hanlan because he was an icon in the Canadian rowing community, credited with mastering the sliding seat. His impact can be seen across Toronto, as there are many places named after him such as a rowing club and a beach. I connected with him on a personal level as a rower who has also sculled in single shells and other crew boats. Rowing for me is a joyful experience to be out on the water regardless of the temperature or water conditions. It creates a sense of peace and serenity that I had not experienced in other sports such as hockey and swimming. I am interested in Hanlan because of his many achievements that are now largely forgotten in the rowing world. In this study, I wanted to learn and understand why this rower was a celebrity. I was unsure whether it was possible to write a paper on Hanlan until my final year at Mount Royal University.

In my final year as an undergraduate while completing my degree in history I took a social history class that looked at how masculinity was shaped through various ideas of manhood in Canadian history. I had some ideas, but my professor suggested I look at illustrations of Hanlan in *Grip*. When researching the topic I became interested in this rower and I chose to write a paper for the class. I also decided to expand this initial study of Hanlan into a master’s thesis that would include illustrations from the *Canadian Illustrated News*. I chose these two magazines because they provided the most coverage in the illustrated form of this rower when it came to creating him as a model of Canadian nationhood and manhood.

## Abstract

This study explores Canadian professional rower Edward ‘Ned’ Hanlan who became nationally and internationally famous in the mid-to-late Victorian Era (1870s-90s). Applying a deconstructionist methodology to analyse illustrations and text of Hanlan’s numerous races, this project explores how nationalism and manliness were depicted and understood during this time. Images published in two Canadian magazines, *Grip* and the *Canadian Illustrated News* are examined to reveal how and why Hanlan was frequently exemplified as a role model for Canadians. The print media’s representation of Hanlan was informed by broader influences such as the Canada First movement and the appropriated sport of lacrosse to provide readers context to appreciate Hanlan as the standard for what it meant to be Canadian. *Grip* and the *Canadian Illustrated News* focused on connections between athletic prowess and manliness, and Hanlan’s physical composition in these images is examined through a consideration of hegemonic masculinity, the self-made man, reclaiming masculinity, muscular Christianity, and fatherhood. By equating Hanlan’s feats with the emergence of Canadian nationhood, the rowing world championships resonated with Canadians as well as serving the print media’s interests in promoting a Canadian masculine ideal.

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## **CHAPTER 1: Introduction**

Widely known as one of the first Canadian athletes to achieve international sporting fame, professional rower Edward Hanlan attained celebrity status during the late 1870s. Hanlan's ongoing success in competitive rowing eventually drew attention from the print media, particularly from periodic magazines, who exploited his athletic prowess to promote an image of the ideal masculine form. All this occurred within the context of forging Canada's national identity, *Grip* and the *Canadian Illustrated News* published muscular illustrations of Hanlan as representative of an appropriate, desirable, and successful Canadian masculine man.<sup>1</sup> These magazines seemed to rely most heavily on illustrations of this rower to advertise national pride and masculinity. They successfully shifted Hanlan's persona from a working-class individual to a respected athlete and, in doing so, reinforced notions of an imagined form of nationhood and manhood based within the dominant class, gender, and ethnic divisions. These values reinforced the awareness of an ideal that pushed the creation of nationhood and manhood.

Chapter two of this project focuses on the role of nationalism by addressing the idea of what it meant to be a nation. Canada post-Confederation was a fledgling country struggling to find its identity apart from England and the United States. White middle and upper Canadians sought to forge Canadian identity through the Canada First movement and lacrosse. These were incentives promoted by individuals concerned with the idea of making Canada a distinct country. Chapter two also addresses other rowers such as the Paris Crew and Robert Berry, who were successful before Hanlan but did not receive the same amount of coverage he did. The Paris Crew was a group of working-class individuals who became famous for winning an international competition at the Paris Exhibition in 1867. Yet their fame was mostly centred on their

hometown: Saint John, New Brunswick. Robert Berry was a Black Canadian rower who was very successful in rowing, however, because of his ethnicity, the print media tried to erase him, as he did not reflect the proper ideal White Canadian that Hanlan portrayed.

The representation of Hanlan was used to advertise this new sense of imagined nationhood for the inhabitants of Canada. The magazines used Hanlan as a symbol of Canadian independence because he was defeating opponents from the United States, Britain, and Australia. This received coverage in three boat races that created national feelings amongst many Canadians. The boat races this chapter focuses on are the 1877 Hanlan-Ross Boat Race, the 1879 Hanlan-Elliott Boat Race, and the 1880 Hanlan-Trickett Boat Race. His physical features in the illustrative coverage of these races were used to portray the ideal characteristics of the English Canadian White middle-class man: strong, relaxed, and fit. His competitors, on the other hand, were most often portrayed as being out of shape, fatigued, and showing signs of emotion. The characteristics that Hanlan represented such as strength, fitness and being relaxed, even under the stress of competition, were used to portray what was expected of Canadians in becoming a strong and independent nation. The magazines presented an imagined form of Hanlan to display the appropriate traits of a respectable Canadian man.

Chapter three of this study addresses how manhood in early Canada was an important topic as concerns were being raised over how men were made and the idea of what it was to be manly. Hanlan's body, as presented in the print media created a sensation because his physique and features were used to produce an imagined and idealized model of hegemonic masculinity. Hanlan through the coverage of the 1879 Hanlan-Elliott Boat Race, the 1878 Hanlan-Courtney Boat Race, and the 1884 Hanlan-Beach Boat Race was used to represent a specific type of man that readers could be inspired by. Hanlan was used to represent a dominant form of manliness in

the 1870s and 1880s. These examples included coverage related to the self-made man, reclaiming masculinity, muscular Christianity, and fatherhood. His images were used to remind readers that to be manly they needed to row or compete in other masculine sports that promoted manliness. Hanlan was thus seen as an icon in the print media and to Canadians who looked up to him as a respected man.

The conclusion of this thesis will focus on how the magazines' depictions of Hanlan were used to embody values of nationhood and manhood. The magazines presented illustrations to capture and inspire Canadians to believe that he represented the ideal English Canadian middle-class man. His images, based on worldwide success in rowing, inspired an imagined form of nationhood and manhood within the context of the mid-to-late Victorian Era. The methods employed to conduct this research provide the means for examining and explaining how images of Hanlan served to promote and reaffirm dominant notions of nationhood and manhood

## **Methods**

I will analyse the illustrations and text of Hanlan gleaned from *Grip* and the *Canadian Illustrated News* to detail how these images and narratives served to promote notions of imagined Canadian nationhood and manhood. Various methodological approaches will be employed through a deconstructive perspective, which will require a consideration of a variety of perspectives including events contemporary to when the image was produced and the beliefs associated with the illustrators and publishers. I will also address why Hanlan was chosen by the print media as a representation of Canadian values at this crucial time in a nation's history.

There are four illustrations reproduced from *Grip* included in this study, figures 1.0-1.3, 3, 8, and 9 will examine to determine how ideas concerned with nationalism and manhood were represented. From the *Canadian Illustrated News*, four illustrations of Hanlan, figures 2, 4, 5,

and 7 are examined to understand how a sense of nationalistic pride and masculinity was exemplified. These illustrations are important because they serve to construct an imagined representation of how Hanlan was embodied as the ideal White Canadian man. To critically examine these illustrations along with associated texts, five methodological approaches will be addressed—reflexivity and ethics, deconstruction, paradigms, representation, and politics and praxis. These methods provide a means for analysing the illustrations and accompanying narratives.

### **Reflexivity and Ethics**

As the researcher and author of this study, I must be conscious to use appropriate words when describing how illustrators for *Grip* and the *Canadian Illustrated News* aimed to influence *their* readers so as not to create confusion for *my* readers. Historians Alun Munslow and Robert Rosenstone argue that historians need to be self-aware of how they discuss their interpretation of history.<sup>2</sup> Thus, considering these sources were published in the 1870s and 1880s it is not possible to fully comprehend the totality of the essential meanings and messages found in the evidence.

In the process of addressing the historical imagery of Hanlan in these magazine illustrations, I must remain reflexive. Sports historian Douglas Booth remarks that being reflexive is about “admitting that history is an interpretation, rather than a recovery of the past.”<sup>3</sup> Booth suggests that historians often feel that they have the authority to determine what history is because of the sense of prestige they have as historians. Yet Booth argues that this is not what historians should be doing when writing history, since they were not at the event when it occurred. Historians can only interpret and write based on available secondary and primary sources. Their interpretation of the past may be flawed; still, Booth argues that it is more important to recognize and admit to these flaws than to pretend they do not exist. Given these

cautions, I must choose which elements of the images to examine, as I cannot do it all. Yet, these choices are also based on the questions and issues related to nationalism and masculinity that I will examine in this study to the best of the knowledge and sources available to me.

## **Deconstruction**

I will address the analysis of Hanlan and images produced of him in *Grip* and the *Canadian Illustrated News* from a deconstructionist perspective. Douglas Booth's perspective on deconstruction suggests analysing the various interpretations from the result of historical sources presenting various perspectives.<sup>4</sup> Booth argues that historical sources act as sites with different meanings attached because people's interpretations will differ from what the source presents. When using a deconstructionist approach to analyse Hanlan's illustrations, we must consider that there are many interpretations of how he was portrayed in the print media. Not all interpretations will be included in the study because they may not fit with the theme of capturing the imagined ideas of nationhood and manhood in early Canada. According to Booth, deconstructionists will try to discover the aims behind an author's meaning by analysing various sources.<sup>5</sup> We must work toward unravelling the author's original intention when producing their message. Employing a deconstructionist approach will examine how the imagery of Hanlan was produced. It will address the artist's point of view behind the illustration and the historical concept of the image. Addressing the artists' perspective is important because it will reveal some of their biases and political affirmations when producing these images. This approach will help address how Hanlan was portrayed. Both *Grip* and the *Canadian Illustrated News* presented multiple interpretations to readers of why Hanlan was significant. They presented Hanlan as an ideal form of manhood that symbolized the new nation where White middle-class readers could be inspired and be proud of their champion.

## Paradigms

When addressing paradigms concerning the images being examined, we must recognize that paradigms are beliefs associated with reality.<sup>6</sup> This association with reality is recognized through the idea that beliefs are constructed, as they are invented from the mind of a person.<sup>7</sup> This idea of shaping a person's reality is a type of paradigm that will be addressed through historical realism, the assumption that reality is the truth within the confines of historic structures.<sup>8</sup> The images of Hanlan in satirical and cultural magazines depicted a form of realism associated with notions of manhood and nationhood.

We must understand that the role of magazines exemplified a historic realism of Hanlan where the artist's imagination is a recreation of a new reality. To make an image of Hanlan a new reality, the artist had to manipulate the real by replacing his image with a form of imagination. Hanlan's traits and facial features were the prime focus of the illustrators, who sought to convince their readers that Hanlan represented the ideal for Canadian masculinity in the mid-to-late Victorian Era. Creator John Wilson Bengough, in *Grip*, imagined Hanlan as a critical figure who ought to be viewed as the ideal White male athlete. The illustrations in *Grip* presented Hanlan as handsome, groomed, tall, and well-muscled. *Grip* promoted the belief that Hanlan was the most outstanding Canadian athlete of his time because he had the perfect look of a gentleman and the muscled body of the ideal athlete. Hanlan was thus used as a fictionalized form of manhood. The qualities of a gentleman were expressed through many of *Grip*'s illustrations where Hanlan is consistently displayed as possessing the respected ideals of being a gentleman despite his origins as a working-class professional athlete. In contrast to this portrayal, Hanlan's opponents were consistently presented as possessing qualities not aligned with the ideal gentleman including displays of emotion, fatigue, or not being in ideal racing shape. Hanlan was

understood by *Grip* and the *Canadian Illustrated News* as a heroic figure for young Canadian middle-class White boys and men to look up to.

## **Representation**

In my research study, I define ‘representation’ as referring to how images are presented and what they reveal of the characters/individuals portrayed in the context of imagination.

Hanlan is presented as the central figure in representing a national symbol capable of differentiating Canada and Canadians from Britain and the United States. For example, the illustration presented in *Grip*’s 21 June 1879, edition in chapter two figs. 1.0-1.3 contrasted fantasy with realism, referring to an actual race between Hanlan and English rower William Elliot by including fictional symbols to interest readers in this collage. Using representation to assess these images is important as this research addresses how Hanlan, through the form of caricature and lithographs, was used by these publications to shape the ideal White Canadian masculinity.

The promotion of Hanlan as a symbol of the ideal White Canadian manhood in figs. 1.0-1.3 demonstrates an example of the visual representations produced by magazines and other forms of print media. Art historian Arthur Koestler argues that visual representations, such as caricatures, were created to translate visual imagery by manipulating symbols.<sup>9</sup> For example, the symbols in figs. 1.0-1.3 are used to engage the reader’s response by drawing upon commonly shared social or cultural events and subjects of which they had prior knowledge.<sup>10</sup> Fig. 1.1 in chapter two also captures Hanlan’s ideal masculinity by depicting him with bulging bicep muscles and large, exaggerated calf muscles. Elliott, to the left, is depicted with his head bowed and is presented as someone who is displaying signs of defeat and shame. Hanlan, in contrast is

displayed as a confident and gentlemanly figure which suggests that Bengough wanted his readers to idealize Hanlan as a symbol for Canadian boys and men to aspire to.

### **Politics and Praxis**

Politics and praxis offer a methodological approach that accounts for the political interests and motives of the illustrators/editors in terms of why these images of Hanlan were significant. The idea of politics is presented by addressing the personal motives and political affirmations that illustrators and publishers of magazines had when creating these images.<sup>11</sup> These magazines glorified Hanlan and viewed him quite positively compared to the other individuals who were subjects in similar images. For instance, in *Grip*, then Canadian then prime minister John A. Macdonald was portrayed quite negatively because of his role in enacting the National Policy, which created distaste amongst Canadians concerned with its many perceived shortcomings.<sup>12</sup> The negative representation of Macdonald, a Conservative prime minister, is likely because *Grip* was a Liberal-leaning publication. Addressing the politics will help uncover some of the motives behind how content for the magazines was produced and to explain how the illustrations portrayed Hanlan in this context.

I define praxis as how my research impacts sports history and the representation of Hanlan in Canadian society. Praxis in this sense will help illuminate why the imagery of Hanlan was used to create an icon to inspire Canadians. Both *Grip* and the *Canadian Illustrated News* shaped Hanlan as a hero to solve the problems Canada and Canadians were facing at the time in finding an national identity.<sup>13</sup> The use of the image in *Grip*'s 20 November 1880 issue in chapter two fig. 3 was aimed at creating a distinct, positive image of Canadian nationalism, implying that Canadians could find their own identity separate from that of the United States and Britain. Bengough, in fig. 3, plays on colonial and imperial themes by placing Hanlan on top of the world



and referencing his success in defending his world rowing title. He is then specifically compared to the ancient Greek hero/general, Alexander the Great. With *Grip* being politically aligned with the Liberal Party, the publication used Hanlan to promote the idea of Canadian autonomy, where he appears independent and mature, able to push back against the historically paternalistic relationship of the British Empire towards its colonies. Considering praxis and politics will help identify and interpret the biases underlying the illustrators' intentions in terms of how they shaped the images of Hanlan to align his athletic success as being emblematic of the potential for how Canadians saw him as a whole.

### **Conclusion of Methods**

The methodological approaches presented above will provide a means to address how representations of Hanlan in these magazines provided insight into what it means to be the ideal Canadian in terms of nationhood and manhood. The illustrations of Hanlan reinforced notions of imagined manhood and nationhood. Methodological approaches including paradigms, representations, politics and praxis provide a means to perceive how the illustrations in *Grip* and the *Canadian Illustrated News* were understood by male readers of the middle classes. By presenting an informed understanding of why *Grip* and the *Canadian Illustrated News* chose Hanlan as their role model this study attempts to address how and why they constructed their desired vision toward nationhood and manhood.

### **Literature Review**

The review of the literature for this study addresses the context of Hanlan, life in the southern Great Lakes region before European contact, early Canadian society in the decades immediately post Confederation, the rise of organized rowing, and the values that the print media advocated for through the works they published. These bodies of literature provide insights into

how Hanlan came to be employed as a symbol to promote an imagined nationhood through recognized perceptions of appropriate masculinity.

### **Edward 'Ned' Hanlan**

Edward "Ned" Hanlan was raised in an Irish working-class family. His parents had immigrated from Ireland likely during the Great Famine in the late 1840s. His father John Hanlan, worked as a fisherman and as a hotel manager on Toronto Island.<sup>14</sup> Hanlan's introduction to rowing was the result using a rowboat from an early age for fishing and other practical pursuits which enabled him to build the technique, strength, and endurance to propel him to the top of the sport. Hanlan quickly grew to dominate the sport of professional rowing, both nationally and internationally and he rose to fame in the mid-1870s by winning important international competitions to become an iconic and inspirational figure. Historian of sport Frank Cosentino in *The Canadians: Ned Hanlan* argues Hanlan's rise to fame was the result of his consecutive wins against American professional rower Fred Plaisted. These wins included the Centennial Regatta (1876) in Philadelphia and the Hanlan-Plaisted Boat Race (1878) in Toronto, which gained the attention of the public and esteemed individuals to favour and promote Hanlan as a celebrity.<sup>15</sup> His success and resulting celebrity status were largely thanks to the sliding seat innovation, which many sports historians argue he was the first to master.<sup>16</sup> His success also gained the attention of wealthy and influential men from Toronto who later became his backers known as The Hanlan Club.<sup>17</sup> These men included: Dave Ward, a pawnbroker; Col. Shaw J. Rogers, an American consul; Jack Davis, a government inspector; H.P. Good; and a trainer named Jimmy Heasley. According to sport historian Frank Cosentino, the club looked after Hanlan's regattas early in his career to ensure that he would not be distracted and only focus on improving his technique and physique. They arranged which matches he would compete in and

were responsible for negotiating the amount of prize money that was given to the victor.<sup>18</sup> The supports he received from his club along with his drive to succeed resulted in Hanlan being provided the resources to succeed and become Canada's first sporting hero.

The life and accomplishments of Edward Hanlan have also been widely discussed amongst many Canadian sports historians such as Frank Cosentino, Alan Metcalfe, Mary Keyes, Wayne Simpson, Ron Lappage, Don Morrow, and Kevin B. Wamsley.<sup>19</sup> Other popular historians who have written about Hanlan's rowing career include Robert Hunter, William Lanouette, and Peter King.<sup>20</sup> The works produced by these researchers have significantly contributed to the study of Hanlan and his influence as an early Canadian sports celebrity. Many of these historians have used images of Hanlan in their publications to show readers examples of how races occurred in the mid-to-late Victorian Era, yet none have specifically addressed how these illustrations both built and reinforced his legend. These researchers primarily used the images to serve as a gallery for the reader to briefly glance at, with the focus of the examinations relying on the textual depictions. Images of Hanlan were only used to give readers an idea of what he looked like and how rowing's popularity was evident in the popular print media. Hanlan's life and experiences in rowing are accessible through the work of sports and rowing historians and the popular press of his time. Yet we must also understand the conditions that influenced his rowing's rise to prominence in Canada before the late 1800s.

### **Early Organized Rowing in Canada**

We must consider how organized rowing emerged in Canada to understand Hanlan's career and his place in the sport. Rowing arrived with the early settlement of Canada but it was not until the decades preceding the Victorian Era (late 1810s) that reports of rowing competitions are found in historical records. The earliest recorded organized rowing occurred on

Quidi Lake, Newfoundland, in 1816.<sup>21</sup> Historians have also found evidence of organized rowing taking place in Saint John, New Brunswick, in 1819.<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless, the noteworthiness of these events suggests that early organized rowing first emerged as part of life and work on the lakes and shorelines of the eastern colonies of British North America. Organized rowing competitions became popular events for people to participate in, bet on, and attend. By understanding how rowing emerged as an organized sport we must also consider what early Toronto was like because this was where Hanlan was born and where he learned to row.

### **Early Toronto**

Addressing the history of Toronto is significant as this was where Hanlan became a professional rower and where his celebrity status was cemented. Toronto, by Confederation, had become a metropolis for agricultural services and industries.<sup>23</sup> One of these industries was the print media where for example, *Grip* magazine published regularly from 1873 to 1894.<sup>24</sup> While the *Canadian Illustrated News* published in Montreal.<sup>25</sup> In the 1870s, Toronto accounted for eleven percent of Ontario's provincial industrial employment.<sup>26</sup> In addition, people were immigrating to Toronto for a better life. Many of these immigrants were of Anglo-Celtic and Irish origins.<sup>27</sup> With people immigrating and migrating to the city, Toronto was rapidly becoming urbanized and industrialized. Thus, with Hanlan's early life and development including his first rowing victories occurring in this rapidly changing environment, we must recognize that this Canadian urban centre was where organized rowing first captured the Canadian public's attention.

### **The Emergence of Organized Sport**

Historian Alan Metcalfe argues in *Canada Learns to Play: The Emergence of Organized Sport, 1807-1914*, that urbanization in the east led to technological changes shifting people from rural to industrial and urban settings which created the necessary conditions for organized sport

to flourish.<sup>28</sup> Social critic and scholar Varda Burstyn in *Rites of Man*, reflects that sports had become a form of specialization and organization adopting the same efficiencies of organized work that prevailed in an industrial society.<sup>29</sup> In this regard, sports including rowing, adopted the form and function of the industrial machine where the activity exerted control over the natural landscape, altering how people navigated, used, and understood harbours, lakes, and rivers.

### **Toronto Region Before Settlement and Sport**

The region that is today southern Ontario was a land populated by various Indigenous peoples. The first group to settle in the region that would later become the Toronto area were the Clovis people.<sup>30</sup> Archaeologists believe the Clovis culture emerged sometime between 9,000 and 5,000 BCE.<sup>31</sup> After 5,000 BCE, other groups began to settle in the area. These included the Mississauga Anishinaabe, Haudenosaunee (Six Nation Iroquois), and the Wendats (Hurons).<sup>32</sup> Historian Victoria Jane Freeman notes in “Toronto Has No History!” that the Toronto region was of shared importance to these First Nations because the land provided resources of salmon fisheries and was of strategic importance since it provided access to Georgian Bay.<sup>33</sup> It is thus important to recognize that Hanlan’s rowing exploits and the subsequent celebrations of national pride were rooted in this region which already possessed a long history of cultural intersection in the centuries before European settlement and colonialization.

### **Settler Colonization and Sport**

When Europeans arrived and settled the surrounding regions, they forced changes in the environment and set about removing First Nations peoples and evidence of their historic claims to the land.<sup>34</sup> With settlement, came organized sport, which represented one form of social practice settlers used in the process of colonization and the marginalization of Indigenous peoples. Historian John Reid argues in “Space, Environment, and Appropriation: Sport and

Settler Colonialism in Mi'kma'ki,” that the control of space symbolized an assertion of the power of settler control over the Indigenous space.<sup>35</sup> This control of space was central to organized rowing as the use of rivers, lakes, and harbours ignored or actively excluded Indigenous culture where these spaces became colonized.

Demonstrating control of land was especially prominent during the early developments of organized sports. Historian Michael A. Robidoux argues in “Imagining a Canadian Identity Through Sport: A Historical Interpretation of Lacrosse and Hockey” that many European settlers during the Victorian Era attempted to introduce their sports when Canada was just becoming a country.<sup>36</sup> Robidoux contends that this process of instituting sport represented a form of social control.<sup>37</sup> The form of control created through sports regulation and rules represented the interests of the colonizers and not the colonized. Sport and other forms of settler culture, served the colonial enterprise, and one of the most powerful means of settlement was the print media.

### **Role of Print Media**

People in early Canada were influenced in their understanding of important events by the print media, which included newspapers and magazines. Part of the power of print media included the production of leggotypes and caricatures. One of the popular Canadian publications in the nineteenth century that used caricature was *Grip* magazine. Canadian social historians have argued that *Grip* was a very popular magazine because it tackled significant events and even ridiculed important public figures. Historian Ramsey Cook, in *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada*, points out that *Grip* used recognizable symbols and myths to attract a reader’s attention.<sup>38</sup> Cook also notes that *Grip* played a role in educating the public, particularly the working class, about important and controversial events in the political life of Canada.<sup>39</sup> These events ranged from sporting competitions, such as rower Edward ‘Ned’

Hanlan's races, to the political struggles that Prime Minister, Sir John A. Macdonald endured in the decade after Confederation.

When analysing the illustrations produced by *Grip*, we must address the political stance of the publication's creator, J. W. Bengough. The political stance presented in the magazine is a reflection of the creator's interest in certain individuals and events. This is important to consider because the imagery presented in an illustration helped persuade the reader as to what was essential in terms of the politics of the day. Historian Christina Burr, in "Gender, Sexuality, and Nationalism in J. W. Bengough's Verses and Political Cartoons," argued Bengough's sympathies with Liberal ideas and policies were clearly evident where he believed the Conservative politicians and their supporters were becoming an obstacle preventing Canada from achieving full independence from Britain.<sup>40</sup> Bengough worked as a reporter for two newspapers before founding *Grip*. The first was the Whitby *Gazette*,<sup>41</sup> after which he went to work for Liberal politician George Brown's newspaper, *The Globe*, in 1871.<sup>42</sup> This Liberal perspective led Bengough to promote a patriotic form of nationalism in *Grip* unattached to Britain's imperial dominance. Burr notes that Bengough had a vision of nationhood that consisted of a White society based on economic and political independence.<sup>43</sup> Much of the imagery published in his magazine strongly supported this quest for nationhood and the desire for greater independence from Britain.<sup>44</sup>

Along with *Grip*, another contemporary magazine that made contributions to nineteenth-century Canadian society was the *Canadian Illustrated News*. This magazine was founded by French Canadians George Desbarats and William Leggos.<sup>45</sup> Desbarats was a Conservative, and his political bias influenced the written narratives and content of his magazine. William Leggos, on the other hand, helped create images that captured the modernity of Canadian life including

those of Hanlan.<sup>46</sup> Leggos created a new type of lithograph called leggotyping. A leggotype was a process of using light and electricity on images without the tedious process of creating images from wood engravings.<sup>47</sup> Occasionally a name was inscribed that indicated the artist but for many of the magazine images the attribution was unknown.<sup>48</sup> Desbarats wanted to ensure that his magazine provided readers with a sense of continual destiny and national identity.<sup>49</sup> Peter Desbarats, a descendent of George Desbarats, produced a portfolio on *The Canadian Illustrated News*, where he notes that when the magazine was in production, George Desbarats felt that it was important to promote Canadian nationalism to their readers because Canada was still a new country.<sup>50</sup> In the prospectus of the first issue, published in 1869, George Desbarats commented on the importance of nationalism by exclaiming that:

By picturing to our own people the broad domain they possess, its resources and progress, its monuments and industry, its great men and great events, such a paper would teach them to know and love it better, and by it they would learn to feel still prouder of the Canadian name.<sup>51</sup>

Desbarats, in this editorial comment, suggests readers ought to cultivate a sense of nationalistic pride. To achieve this, the magazine used images produced by William Notman and Henry Sandham during its twenty-year lifespan.<sup>52</sup> Notman's photos of Canada captured sports clubs, social functions, and charitable associations.<sup>53</sup> He also photographed famous people, such as members of the clergy, royalty, politicians, and entertainers.<sup>54</sup> The *Canadian Illustrated News* used many of Notman and Sandham's images to display a Canadian identity that readers could recognize. This form of promoting nationalism was very similar to *Grip*: both magazines felt the need for readers to identify what it means to be Canadian.

Despite the extensive use of images by *Grip* and the *Canadian Illustrated News*, historians of print media have questioned whether many other illustrations from *Grip* were authentic representations of Canada. Historian Carmen Nielson argues in "Caricaturing Colonial



Space: Indigenized, Feminized Bodies and Anglo-Canadian Identity, 1873-94” that *Grip* used illustrations to portray the embodied White nation.<sup>55</sup> Bengough employed *Grip* to promote this Whiteness as a foundational feature of the new country of Canada. The forms of visual representation in print media were evident through the artist’s choice to include or present certain types of people. Nielson notes that *Grip* had developed a technique that distorted racial differences.<sup>56</sup> For instance, when artists portrayed someone who was not English, British, or Protestant they darkened the individual’s skin or distorted the figure to create an abnormality, identifying for the reader that this was someone who was not English Canadian.<sup>57</sup> These distortions identified these people as the ‘other’ to direct the reader’s attention to those who did not meet the ideal representation of the Canadian man. Bengough’s illustrations were created as a means to represent and reinforce this particular vision of Canada.

### **Imagined Canadian Nationalism**

The notion of an imagined Canada has been a topic of discussion amongst scholars. Political scientist and historian Benedict Anderson, in *Imagined Communities*, argues that print technology in the 1800s in North America created an imagined world for readers because the print media altered real events.<sup>58</sup> The cultural beliefs employed to shape a nation reflected this idea of creating individuals centred on a one-dimensional scale. This perspective assumes that the publishers of these magazines created an imagined community as Anderson notes when drawing upon Cf. Seton Watson's argument that the nation becomes a work of fiction where members of that community will never meet each other yet they form a community through their relationship within similar interests.<sup>59</sup> This creates a fraternity where “the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship.”<sup>60</sup> This focus on a specific type of person, usually English, White, middle-class and male, became the standard method. Historian Gillian Poulter, in

*Becoming Native in a Foreign Land*, further considers this idea of nationhood in Canada by arguing the ideal was to be a White male and have values of respectability.<sup>61</sup> Sociologist Joane Nagel argues that nationalism was constructed through the promotion of manly themes as a way to create a strong nation.<sup>62</sup> Nationalism and masculinity are closely aligned with both relying on each other to create power. Women were not seen as a part of nationhood because they were largely absent in the narratives of nation-building.<sup>63</sup> Nationhood in Canada during the Victorian Era was very patriarchal, where men were always in the centre of attention whereas the women remained behind the curtain or in the private sphere of society. Hanlan's representation in the popular press helped to reinforce this nationalism whereas his imagery in magazines strengthens a masculine representation as the ideal form of nationalism. These arguments are central to understanding how Hanlan's celebrity status, based on his athletic masculine prowess, was imagined in the print media to promote nationalistic goals.

### **Masculinity**

Academic literature concerning masculinity, and specifically the concept of hegemonic masculinity is central to understanding the print media's promotion of Hanlan. This concept accounts for hierarchies and differences in how manliness was understood and performed, serving to extend our understanding of why and how Hanlan was portrayed in the print media. R. W. Connell and James Messerschmidt argue that hegemonic masculinity provides a means for understanding how individuals position themselves through the practices in which they participate—specifically, those practices recognized as primarily masculine or feminine.<sup>64</sup> As such certain men strive toward powerful and influential roles by displaying desired masculine traits to establish or maintain dominance over others. Connell and Messerschmidt also argue that this dominance is achieved through actions deemed to be honourable by positioning themselves

as superior to women and other men.<sup>65</sup> Hegemonic masculinity was not an expectation for all men to achieve as this term refers to a specific type of man, one whose character and disposition are held up as being exceptionally manly. Additionally, these men who achieved and maintained positions of dominance and influence did not do so through force but with consent provided by members of subordinate groups. Considering hegemonic masculinity with respect to the representations of the ideal man provides a clear understanding of how Hanlan was understood in the print media, and these representations relied on him being viewed as an exemplar of dominant masculine traits including impressive physical strength, respectable character, and exceptional achievement.

Ideals associated with dominant manliness as understood in terms of hegemonic masculinity aligned with how Hanlan reflected the popular idea of the self-made man. Historian T. J. Jackson Lears reflects in *No Place of Grace* that the self-made man consists of values such as “industrious work habits, moral discipline, and indomitable will.”<sup>66</sup> The *Canadian Illustrated News* and other forms of print media used Hanlan as an example of the self-made man, as he overcame a difficult early life which required him to demonstrate determination and hard work in order to succeed. Although much of Hanlan’s success was attributed to being self-made, in reality his backers, the Hanlan Boat Club, played an important role in helping him become a successful professional athlete. Perhaps his upbringing from being raised in a working-class family inspired the print media to create a narrative to inspire readers through Hanlan’s rowing achievements. This idea of Hanlan being described as a self-made man is relevant to the then-popular idea of reclaiming masculinity demonstrated through the illustrations in the *Canadian Illustrated News* in the promotion of manhood.

Illustrations in magazines including *Grip* and the *Canadian Illustrated News*, were also employed to promote rowing as a cure for Canadian males to reclaim their former selves. The producers and publishers of these illustrations believed that rowing could be used to reclaim White Canadian masculinity. Hanlan became a role model, his image was used to show males that, if they participated in rowing, or exercised in nature, they too could become manly. This active form of manliness had its roots in the idea of muscular Christianity, a notion that illustrators such as J. W. Bengough drew from when presenting Hanlan as an ideal man possessing a moral, clean, and healthy lifestyle. Historian Daniel Coleman recalls that Canadian men were expected to be disciplined and fit.<sup>67</sup> In chapter three of this thesis in fig. 7 Hanlan is showcased in a gentlemanly atmosphere to reinforce middle class values. George Desbarats, the publisher of the *Canadian Illustrated News*, used Hanlan as a role model to represent the ideal form of middle-class masculinity within the existing conception of muscular Christianity. In fig. 7 Hanlan is presented as a stylish rower who looked relaxed, fit, and lean, possessing a gentlemanly manner about him that would be accepted within any middle-class social function. They wanted the Canadian male reader to idealize Hanlan and be inspired by the notion that one of Canada's own had become the best in the world.

The idea of muscular Christianity is an important concept to consider in the context of Canada, Britain, and the United States, particularly concerning the emergence of organized sport in the second half of the nineteenth century. In Canada, a muscular Christian ethos sought to employ sport and games to turn boys and young men into respectable gentlemen capable of leading their communities and nations. Historian Daniel Coleman presents a compelling argument of how muscular Christianity relates to the values of early Canadian society. Coleman argues the male body is both political and personal, where both spiritual and physical exercise

are needed to produce a strong and disciplined man.<sup>68</sup> Historian Colin Howell in *Blood, Sweat, and Cheers*, also notes that near the end of the nineteenth century Protestant churches began to promote the image of Christ as being manly and robust.<sup>69</sup> Historian Lynne Marks in *Revivals and Roller Rinks*, further points out that middle-class men in Ontario at this time began to aspire to qualities of independence, self-assertion, and strength.<sup>70</sup> In addition, the role of fatherhood will be examined as it was an important concept for engaging readers in critical ideas related to what it meant to be a man. Fatherhood was used by *Grip* when John Wilson Bengough assumed a fatherly role, if only in print, with Hanlan to remind readers of the proper expectations of manhood. An understanding of hegemonic masculinity, the self-made man, reclaiming masculinity, muscular Christianity, and fatherhood are important to consider as they impacted understandings of manliness that emerged when Hanlan entered the public consciousness through print media's engagement with his rowing success.

## **Conclusion**

Edward Hanlan's representation through selected illustrations in both *Grip* and the *Canadian Illustrated News* reinforced imagined notions of nationhood and manhood. Hanlan was portrayed as a role model who embodied Canadian middle-class values. These values can be examined through deconstructionist analysis, providing insight into how these illustrations were understood when presenting Hanlan as the ideal Canadian man. The literature reviewed in this chapter addresses scholarly and conceptual concerns that will be integral to the analysis of this thesis. To this end, Hanlan was chosen by these magazines because he was an icon who inspired Canadians during the mid-to-late Victorian Era.

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- <sup>2</sup> Alun Munslow and Robert Rosenstone (eds), *Experiments in Rethinking History* (London: Routledge, 2004), 13, 14, quoted in Douglas Booth, *The Field: Truth and Friction in Sport History* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 2011.
- <sup>3</sup> Booth, *The Field*, 211.
- <sup>4</sup> Booth, 12.
- <sup>5</sup> Booth, 12.
- <sup>6</sup> Yvonna S. Lincoln, Susan A Lynham, and Egon G. Guba, “Paradigmatic Controversies, Contradictions, and Emerging Confluences, Revisited,” In *Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., eds. Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (Thousand Oaks: Sage , 2011), 118.
- <sup>7</sup> Egon G. Guba and Yvonna S. Lincoln, “Competing Paradigms in Qualitative Research: Theories and Issues,” In *Approaches to Qualitative Research: A Reader on Theory and Practice*, ed. Sharlene Nagy Hesse-Biber and Patricia Leavy (Oxford University Press, 2004), 22.
- <sup>8</sup> Guba and Lincoln, “Competing Paradigms in Qualitative Research,” 27.
- <sup>9</sup> Arthur Koestler, *The Art of Creation*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., (London Pan Books Limited, 1977), 70.
- <sup>10</sup> Koestler, *The Art of Creation*, 70.
- <sup>11</sup> Paul Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority: The Daily Press in Late Nineteenth-Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 140.
- <sup>12</sup> Trevor W. Harrison and John W. Friesen, *Canadian Society in the Twenty-First Century: An Historical Sociological Approach*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Inc, 2015), 132.
- <sup>13</sup> Gillian Poulter, *Becoming Native in a Foreign Land: Sport, Visual Culture, & Identity in Montreal 1840-85* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009), 295.
- <sup>14</sup> Robert S. Hunter, *Rowing in Canada Since 1848* (Hamilton: Davis-Lisson Limited, 1933), 33.
- <sup>15</sup> Frank Cosentino, *The Canadians: Ned Hanlan* (Don Mills: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1978), 20, 21.
- <sup>16</sup> Don Morrow, and Kevin B. Wamsley, *Sport in Canada: A History* (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2010), 117; and Bruce Kidd, “HANLAN, EDWARD.” In *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 13, University of Toronto/UniversitéLaval, 2003–, accessed May 31, 2024, [http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/hanlan\\_edward\\_13E.html](http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/hanlan_edward_13E.html).
- <sup>17</sup> Hunter, *Rowing in Canada Since 1848*, 27.
- <sup>18</sup> Cosentino, *The Canadians*, 11.
- <sup>19</sup> Frank Cosentino, *The Canadians: Ned Hanlan* (Don Mills: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1978); Alan Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play: The Emergence of Organized Sport, 1807-1914* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987); Don Morrow, “Of Leadership an Excellence: Rubenstein, Hanlan, and Cyr,” in *A Concise History of Sport in Canada*, ed., Don Morrow and Mary Keyes Wayne Simson, Frank Cosentino, and Ron Lappage (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 1989); and Don Morrow, and Kevin B. Wamsley, *Sport in Canada: A History* (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2010).
- <sup>20</sup> Hunter, *Rowing in Canada Since 1848*, William Lanouette, *The Triumph of the Amateurs: The Rise, Ruin, and Banishment of Professional Rowing in the Gilded Age* (Lanham: The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, 2021); Peter King, *Art and a Century of Canadian Rowing* (Toronto: Amberley House Limited, 1980).
- <sup>21</sup> Cosentino, *The Canadians*, 5.
- <sup>22</sup> Brian Flood, *Saint John: A Sporting Tradition 1785-1985* (Neptune Publishing Company, 1985), 14.
- <sup>23</sup> Keith Walden, *Becoming Modern in Toronto: The Industrial Exhibition and the Shaping of the Late Victorian Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 7.
- <sup>24</sup> Alan Mendelson, “Grip Magazine and “the Other”: The Genteel Antisemitism of J.W. Bengough,” *Histoire sociale/Social History* 40, no. 79 (2007): 2.
- <sup>25</sup> Lyle Dick, “Nationalism and Visual Media in Canada: The Case of Thomas Scott’s Execution,” *Manitoba History* 48 (2004-2005): 2.
- <sup>26</sup> Walden, *Becoming Modern in Toronto*, 8.
- <sup>27</sup> Walden, 9.
- <sup>28</sup> Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play*, 48.
- <sup>29</sup> Varda Burstyn, *The Rites of Men: Manhood, Politics, and the Culture of Sport* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 48.
- <sup>30</sup> A. Rodney Bobiwash, “The History of Native People in the Toronto Area, An Overview,” in *The Meeting Place: Aboriginal Life in Toronto*, eds. Frances Sanderson & Heather Howard-Bobiwash (Toronto: Native Canadian Centre of Toronto, 1997), 7.
- <sup>31</sup> Bobiwash, “The History of Native People in the Toronto Area,” 7.

- <sup>32</sup> Victoria Jane Freeman, "Toronto Has No History!" Indigeneity, Settler Colonialism and Historical Memory in Canada's Largest City," (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2010), 1.
- <sup>33</sup> Freeman, "Toronto Has No History!" 9.
- <sup>34</sup> Lorenzo Veracini, "Introducing Settler Colonial Studies," *Settler Colonial Studies* 1, no. 1 (2011): 3. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2201473X.2011.10648799>
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- <sup>36</sup> Michael A. Rodidoux, "Imagining a Canadian Identity Through Sport: A Historical Interpretation of Lacrosse and Hockey," *The Journal of American Folklore* 115, no. 456 (2002): 211.
- <sup>37</sup> Rodidoux, "Imagining a Canadian Identity through Sport," 212.
- <sup>38</sup> Ramsay Cook, *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 7.
- <sup>39</sup> Cook, *The Regenerators*, 124; and P.B. Waite, "Sir Oliver Mowat's Canada: Reflections on an Un-Victorian Society," in Oliver Mowat's Ontario, ed. Donald Swainson (Toronto: Macmillan, 1972), 28, 29, quoted in Christina Burr, "Gender, Sexuality, and Nationalism in J.W. Bengough's Versus and Political Cartoons," *The Canadian Historical Review* 102, no. 53 (2021): 633. <https://10.3138/chr-102-s3-006>
- <sup>40</sup> Burr, "Gender, Sexuality, and Nationalism," 633.
- <sup>41</sup> Cook, *The Regenerators*, 123.
- <sup>42</sup> Cook, *The Regenerators*, 123; and Burr, "Gender, Sexuality, and Nationalism," 637, Bengough also self-educated to become a journalist and a caricaturist likely from working for *The Globe* and *Gazette*. In 1873, Bengough formed the magazine *Grip* where according to Ramsey Cook, Bengough singlehandedly drew and edited the magazine *Grip*.
- <sup>43</sup> Burr, "Gender, Sexuality, and Nationalism," 633.
- <sup>44</sup> Burr, 636.
- <sup>45</sup> Peter Desbarats, *Canadian Illustrated News: A Commemorative Portfolio Selected and Introduced* (Toronto/Montreal: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1970), 4. Peter Desbarats was a decedent of George Debarats.
- <sup>46</sup> Jim Burant, "The Visual World in the Victorian Age," *Archivaria* 19 (1984-85): 115.
- <sup>47</sup> W. A. Leggo et Cie., *La leggo-typie: procédé photo-électrotypique breveté au Canada, aux Etats-Unis, en Angleterre, en France et en Belgique* (Ottawa: Imp. G.E. Desbarats, 18 67), n.p. [https://archive.org/details/cihm\\_08655/page/n7/mode/2up](https://archive.org/details/cihm_08655/page/n7/mode/2up), quoted in Kate Addleman-Frankel, "At Cutting Edge of Halftone Printing: William Augustus Leggo and George Edward Desbarats," *Scientia Canadensis* 44 no. 1 (2022): 22. <https://doi.org/10.7202/1098138ar>.
- <sup>48</sup> Addleman-Frankel, "At Cutting Edge of Halftone Printing," 22.
- <sup>49</sup> Desbarats, *Canadian Illustrated News*, 4.
- <sup>50</sup> Desbarats, 4.
- <sup>51</sup> Desbarats, 4.
- <sup>52</sup> Stanley G. Trigg, "The Notman Photographic Archives," *History of Photography* 20 no. 2 (1996): 181.
- <sup>53</sup> Trigg, "The Notman Photographic Archives," 181.
- <sup>54</sup> Poulter, *Becoming Native in a Foreign Land*, 88.
- <sup>55</sup> Carmen J. Nielson, "Caricaturing Colonized Spaces: Indigenous Feminized Bodies and Anglo-Canadian Identity 1873-94," *The Canadian Historical Review* 96, no. 4 (2015): 474. <https://doi:10.3138/chr.3112>
- <sup>56</sup> Nielson, "Caricaturing Colonized Spaces," 480.
- <sup>57</sup> Nielson, 480; and Carman Cumming, *Sketches from a Young Country: The Images of Grip Magazine* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 8.
- <sup>58</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2016), 63.
- <sup>59</sup> Cf. Seton-Watson, *Nations and States*, 5, quoted in Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6.
- <sup>60</sup> Anderson, 7.
- <sup>61</sup> Poulter, *Becoming Native in a Foreign Land*, 7.
- <sup>62</sup> Joane Nagel, "Masculinity and Nationalism: Gender and Sexuality in the Making of Nations," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21 no. 2 (1998): 251, 252. <https://doi.org/10.1080/014198798330007>
- <sup>63</sup> Poulter, *Becoming Native in a Foreign Land*, 8
- <sup>64</sup> R. W. Connell and James Messerschmidt, "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept." *Gender & Society* 19, no. 6 (2005): 841. <https://doi: 10.1177/0891243205278639>
- <sup>65</sup> Connell and Messerschmidt, "Hegemonic Masculinity," 832.
- <sup>66</sup> T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture 1880-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 18.

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<sup>67</sup> Daniel Coleman, *White Civility: The Literature Project of English Canada*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 135.

<sup>68</sup> Coleman, *White Civility*, 135.

<sup>69</sup> Colin D. Howell, *Blood, Sweat, and Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 32.

<sup>70</sup> Lynne Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks: Rethinking, Leisure, and Identity in Late-Nineteenth-Century Small-Town Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 32.



## **CHAPTER TWO: Edward ‘Ned’ Hanlan Canada’s First National Sports Hero**

A beach, a statue, and a rowing club in the Toronto area bear the name Hanlan. Some may pass by paying no attention, while others may wonder why these locations have this unique name. The name commemorates the late-1800s Canadian rower Edward ‘Ned’ Hanlan, who was Canada’s first sports celebrity, at the time when the country was still coming to grips with what it meant to be Canadian.

### **Introduction**

This chapter addresses how Canadian nationalism through the illustrations and textual materials covering professional rower Edward ‘Ned’ Hanlan was imagined through two prominent Canadian magazines: *Grip* and the *Canadian Illustrated News*. To contextualize how those publications addressed Canadian nationalism we must address several pre-existing elements attempting to define Canada and its peoples prior to the emergence of Hanlan including the Canada First movement and the emergence of lacrosse, a cultural practice appropriated from Indigenous peoples, as the nation’s game. These emerging national sentiments influenced *Grip* and the *Canadian Illustrated News* to use lacrosse and elements of the Canada First movement to promote national pride. Also, beginning in the 1860s, there were other rowers, who found success, such as the Paris Crew and Robert Berry who although successful prior to Confederation did not fit with the construction of the White *Canadian* male athlete.

Hanlan’s emergence began concurrent to *Grip* and the *Canadian Illustrated News* focusing on nationhood. He was used by these publications to project national feelings amongst the working and middle classes. Both periodicals latched on to Hanlan’s growing celebrity status during the second half of the 1870s through imagery and texts that paralleled interests similar to those of their readers such as what it meant to be a proper Canadian. The two magazines heavily

emphasized the success of Hanlan as an imagined national hero by focusing on three boat races that linked Hanlan to Canadian nationhood, these included the 1877 Hanlan-Ross Boat Race, the 1879 Hanlan-Elliott Boat Race, and the 1880 Hanlan-Trickett Boat Race. However, for some unknown reason, the *Canadian Illustrated News* did not cover the 1877 Hanlan-Ross Boat Race at all. Nonetheless, *Grip* when presenting Hanlan used modern caricature, while the *Canadian Illustrated News* employed imagery that drew on classical themes. To understand nationhood relative to the coverage of Hanlan in these boat races, we must consider the context of that time and place, specifically the issues related to the events and beliefs in English-speaking Canada that emerged in the decades following Confederation.

### **Confederation and Early Nationalism**

During the mid-to-late Victorian Era, Canada was a very young nation. The Indigenous peoples—the First Nations, Metis, and Inuit—were not involved in the decision by the Fathers of Confederation to create Canada. This joining of disparate peoples into an ill-defined union also relied on the rejection of Indigenous peoples. Historian Daniel Coleman notes that the European settlers created a binary myth: that the true founders of British North America (BNA) were the French and the English, conveniently excluding the long history of Indigenous peoples.<sup>1</sup> As a result, Confederation was part of the broader enterprise of settler colonialism and the displacing of Indigenous peoples from their lands that have now become Canada.

Canada officially became a country on 1 July 1867, yet to unite Canada East, Canada West, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia something had to attract people in these regions to join the new country. The incentives, from the perspectives of the men who crafted Confederation, included robust protection against a possible American invasion, improving the political relations between the English and French populations, and creating an economic union within the united

colonies.<sup>2</sup> These outcomes and values mainly benefited White male settlers, who had joined together to form a new country. Confederation succeeded because this union fostered the emergence of national sentiments, which formed the basis for national attitudes that impacted early nationhood. This process is critical to understanding how Hanlan and his image as a Canadian national sports hero emerged at this time.

### **Canada First Movement and the Imagined Nation?**

Canadians saw nationalist beliefs begin to emerge, particularly among members of the White-middle class in the years immediately following Confederation. These national feelings, according to historian Carl Berger, began to be expressed through myths about Canada's past.<sup>3</sup> An early movement to advance Canadian nationalism was first conceived in the 1870s by a group of Anglophone men including W. A. Foster, Charles Mair, Henry J. Morgan, George Taylor Denison III and Robert Grant Haliburton who championed the idea of a Canada First movement,<sup>4</sup> which promoted values of Anglo-Protestant nativism.<sup>5</sup> The Canada Firsters' vision was to foster a "pan-Canadian nationality where race and creed differences would be forgotten."<sup>6</sup> These White Canadian nationalists wanted Canada to represent one single identity instead one being composed of multiple identities. Despite these seemingly noble and inclusive goals, the people who promoted the Canada First sentiment had a negative view of anyone who was not Anglo-Saxon or Aryan.<sup>7</sup> ("Aryan" in this context referred to the Northmen of the Old World.)<sup>8</sup> This referred to the ancestors of European Canadians, who believed that they had some connection with the British. The assumption was that both the British and Canadians originated from the ancient Scandinavian peoples.<sup>9</sup> These northern associations led many in Canada to believe their nation's climate and geography provided a connection to their European ancestry. The Canadian Firsters wanted their new country to be seen as a singular and independent nation.

Despite their support for the creation of Canada, the Canada Firsters felt that there were many problems with Confederation that conflicted with their vision of Canadian nationalism. These issues included the perceived benefits that Quebec had been promised, such as the assurance of Quebec nationalism, protection of the Catholic religion, and maintaining French language and culture.<sup>10</sup> These perceived concessions threatened the Canada Firsters' dream of a unified Canadian identity because their vision was for a single culture to represent the new country of Canada. For instance, a person named Rev. George Grant wrote a lengthy account to the Canadian Club in New York on the motives of the Canada First movement and the importance of Canada being an independent nation. Grant's perspective on an independent Canadian nation is reflected in the following statement:

Canada is not merely a string of Provinces, fortuitously strung together but a single nationality, young, but with a national spirit which though weak is growing stronger daily; a country with a future and worthy of the loyalty of its sons.<sup>11</sup>

Grant's stance on an independent Canada reflects the Canada First idea that the new country must find its own path, separate from the United States and Britain. This form of nationalism formed a dominant narrative for White English-speaking people who were trying to discern what it meant to be *Canadian*.

### ***Grip* and the *Canadian Illustrated News* Relationship with the Canada First Movement**

The values of the Canada First movement attracted the attention of Canadian print media in the years following Confederation. The publishers of *Grip* and the *Canadian Illustrated News* both believed in a version of Canadian nationalism that echoed the values of the Canada First movement. Historian Ramsey Cook argues that John Wilson Bengough of *Grip* had a vision of a Canadian utopia, free of the Conservatives and anyone who was not White, Anglo-Saxon and Protestant. Bengough, Cook argues, felt that it was vital to have no influence from the

Conservative Party because to him only a Liberal form of nationalism seemed to be correct.<sup>12</sup> George Desbarats of *Canadian Illustrated News*, in contrast, wanted to ensure that his magazine provided readers with a more Conservative sense of national identity.<sup>13</sup> When these magazines were in production, both Bengough and Desbarats felt that it was important to promote Canadian nationalism to their readers because Canada was still a new country. This promotion of nationalism assumes that the publishers of these magazines created an imagined community as political scientist Benedict Anderson notes through using Cf. Seton-Watson's argument that the nation becomes a work of fiction where members of that community will never meet each other yet form a community through their relationship within similar interests.<sup>14</sup> Anderson notes that this unity creates a fraternity where “the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship.”<sup>15</sup>

Despite early attempts to define nationhood from a Canada First perspective, some historians have suggested that the Canadian English print media began to reject the ideas of the “Canada First” movement. For instance according to journalist and researcher Carman Cumming, the Canadian satirical magazine *Grip*, initially supported the movement due to its reformist perspectives.<sup>16</sup> *Grip*'s support for the Canada First movement began to change in 1874 because it conflicted with the changing opinions of Bengough.<sup>17</sup> These differing opinions emerged due to the rivalry between Phillip Thompson and Goldwin Smith two prominent figures in the Canada First movement.<sup>18</sup> These individuals wanted Canada to be a nation free from British influence. Cumming notes that this belief conflicted with Bengough's stance on maintaining a connection with the British.<sup>19</sup> Another publication that also withdrew its support from the Canada First movement was the *Canadian Illustrated News*. In an 1873 issue, editor George Desbarats noted that the ideas of the Canada First did not fit with their own.<sup>20</sup> The

magazines wanted to create a national identity for their readers to relate to. One way they accomplished this was through the promotion of sports. To understand how sports served to promote nationhood, we must consider how and why sports such as lacrosse and rowing were used to inspire the public to foster national pride.

### **Nationalism and Lacrosse**

A sport historically associated with the promotion of nationalism in Canada is the Indigenous game of lacrosse. It came to be tied to nationalism through the efforts of middle-class men such as George Beers who constructed the belief that the settler version of the sport was Canada's game.<sup>21</sup> This was similar to the ideas behind the Canada First movement where Beers felt that it was essential for lacrosse to be a Canadian sport distinct from British sports, such as cricket or rugby.<sup>22</sup> Historian Allan Downey further notes that by imagining lacrosse as *Canadian*, Beers was essentially making it his own by removing any existence of the sport's Indigenous origins.<sup>23</sup> This creation of a Canadian identity in the form of lacrosse involved a performance by athletes who became recognized as *Canadian* by the spectators.<sup>24</sup> These nationalistic performances were displayed and reinforced through exhibitions in other countries including Britain to demonstrate the sport and players' *Canadian* distinctness.<sup>25</sup> Beers even wrote a book on the importance of lacrosse in which he argued it was vital that White Anglo-Saxon Protestant *Canadian* men played the sport as it "invoke[s] the sentiment of patriotism [in the] young men in Canada."<sup>26</sup> This means of establishing an early *Canadian* identity through promoting lacrosse is similar to the motives underlying the Canada First movement in terms of establishing the idea that Canada was a distinct nation.

### ***Grip and Canadian Illustrated News Coverage of Lacrosse***

Lacrosse received coverage in both *Grip* and the *Canadian Illustrated News* and these publications assisted in advancing Beers' stance that it was Canada's national sport. Bengough

felt it was important to bring awareness of lacrosse to his readers. One notable example of Bengough using lacrosse was found in a speech by an individual named Captain Black. This speech was featured in the 3 July 1875 issue of *Grip* as a letter from Black protesting his Dominion Day (Canada Day) speech being cancelled in Toronto.<sup>27</sup> Black recounts in his piece titled “Men of Canada” of the progress that had been made in creating a nation. However, he excludes the French in his speech and only focuses on the British, Irish, Scottish, some Indigenous, and Empire Loyalists who had immigrated from the United States following the revolution. Black presents Canada as a primarily White Anglo-Saxon nation except for the Indigenous peoples. He frames the politics of the Conservative government led by Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald as being too aligned with the British and proudly exclaims, “I hear the distant fire-cracker and my soul leaps for joy. I see the expectant baseball and lacrosse players and I had with delight the national holiday and pastime.”<sup>28</sup> The joy expressed by Black of seeing lacrosse and baseball as Canada’s and America’s national pastimes suggests that these sports allowed Canadians and Americans to play in ways distinct from the British. *Grip*’s decision to publish this opinion just three days after Dominion Day is illuminating since it suggests that lacrosse became a legitimate practice through which a national identity could be both demonstrated and understood. The coverage of lacrosse through this article in *Grip* seems to have been an attempt to promote national pride to their readers by featuring a sport distinct from those popular in Britain and the United States.

The *Canadian Illustrated News* also reported extensively on the sport of lacrosse. One notable article published on 18 June 1870, titled “The Lacrosse Match” displayed the sport as a way to play on readers’ understanding of national pride. The article compares between sports in England and Canada as a means of promoting muscular exercise.<sup>29</sup> In the case of lacrosse, the

unknown author proclaims lacrosse to be Canada's game because it requires certain characteristics to master the sport. These characteristics drew originally from the Indigenous ways of playing where athletes were known for their enhanced vision, dexterity and strength which are needed to excel at the sport.<sup>30</sup> Although the game was originally Indigenous, the column claims it as Canada's game and makes a point of praising the Canadians who had defeated an Indigenous team at their own game.<sup>31</sup> This column reveals a clear settler colonial perspective where Indigenous ownership of lacrosse is erased by settlers attributing the game's relevance to the Canadian men who promoted and played it. Although lacrosse is an oft-used example of a sport employed to promote Canadian nationalism, other popular sports including professional rowing served similar ends.

### **Rowing and Nationalism**

Successful rowers were used to promote national pride at a time when few people would have considered themselves Canadian. Even before Confederation, rowing became a source of inspiration because athletes from BNA defeated athletes from more established countries. One notable example was the Paris Crew from Saint John, New Brunswick. This crew, composed of a group of working-class men included George Price, Sam Hutton, Elizah Ross, and Robert Fulton.<sup>32</sup> They raced in a coxless four, each rower using one oar (sweeping), with no coxswain to steer and direct the boat. They became known as the 'Paris Crew' after their victory in Paris while competing in an international regatta held at the same time as the 1867 Paris Exposition.<sup>33</sup> The crew created a media sensation because they were among the first athletes from the BNA colonies to achieve international recognition. This victory received prominent coverage in several Saint John newspapers as the crew called this community home. Historians S. F. Wise and Douglas Fisher remark that when the crew returned to Saint John, they were received with



wide acclaim by about seven thousand fans.<sup>34</sup> This is one early example of where rowing created early community and national pride.

Canadian nationalism also resulted in publications seeking to identify one superior person to represent Canadian nationhood. Another Canadian rower who achieved success but did not capture the print media attention to the same extent as Hanlan had was Robert Berry. Berry was a successful rower, however, the print media intentionally tried to remove him from the record. He was excluded from the public eye because he was a Black Canadian and did not represent the image of the *ideal Canadian* sought by the print media. Public historian William Lannoutte remarks that one Canadian artist removed Berry from their painting of the 1872 regatta in Buffalo.<sup>35</sup> Berry's ethnicity did not fit with the preferred image that publishers desperately wanted to envision. The imagined nation curated by the print media was focused on the young, fit, White Anglo-Saxon Protestant male. Historian John Wong argues that this stance on Whiteness was constructed based on the physical traits of the individual such as skin colour to justify this norm in society.<sup>36</sup> Because Hanlan was a White male both *Grip* and the *Canadian Illustrated News* took this opportunity to use his image and success to promote their idea of nationhood to Canadians.

Hanlan became a national icon as a result of his success in multiple regattas. The first major regatta where Hanlan managed to garner national acclaim was the Philadelphia Centennial Regatta in 1876.<sup>37</sup> His success during this competition was achieved through an easy victory over the United States champion Fred Plaisted. More than simply winning, Hanlan strategically chose to stop rowing and wait for Plaisted to catch up, and he still was able to claim an easy victory. Hanlan's expertise and self-confidence on a sliding seat was celebrated by his new fans. This victory created national acclaim and Hanlan was now recognized and cheered on as a

celebrity.<sup>38</sup> An important element of his celebrity included media presentations of his body through imagery and text. The values of nationhood were implicitly evident through the representations of Hanlan in these publications which were curated to inspire Canadians to be proud of their new country. Hanlan, as a result of his rowing prowess, became the focus of the print media as *Grip* and the *Canadian Illustrated News* represented *ideal* qualities when promoting nationalism.

In addition to winning races, he also won over Canadians through the charm he exuded while competing which captured the attention of spectators and the print media alike. His popularity attracted working-class spectators to regattas because Hanlan was their inspiration and their hero.<sup>39</sup> Hanlan possessed the familiar characteristic of physical toughness that made him relatable to the working class,<sup>40</sup> as he had grown up in a working-class family. He demonstrated these desirable traits through his exertion in races along with winning regularly appealed to Canadians from all classes. In early Canada, sports became a vital entertainment for working class men allowing them to gamble, watch, and imagine a better life.<sup>41</sup> For many, life in the mid-to-late Victorian Era was extremely difficult. Canadian historian Desmond Morton argues that the working class were in a constant struggle for survival due to the lack of safety in their work, the risk of sickness, and the cold weather that made working conditions very miserable.<sup>42</sup> Hanlan's success, however, provided the Canadians from the working and middle classes an opportunity to feel inspired and proud.

The ability to appeal to the Canadian public led Hanlan to become a figure with whom many Canadians could identify. Historian Gillian Poulter argues that nationalism was not shaped by the ruling or noble classes but by the average members of the middle class,<sup>43</sup> as they were the ones reading the media coverage of successful athletes such as Hanlan in newspapers and

magazines. As such, middle-class men and wives were responsible for making athletes such as Hanlan successful because they were associated with respectability and charm.<sup>44</sup> This, in part, explains why Hanlan became a celebrity as the middle-class enthusiasts respected his charismatic displays as a rower. This increased his popularity among Canadians from all classes who also celebrated the consistency with which Hanlan defeated his rivals. Sports historian Frank Cosentino argues that during regattas, Hanlan brought fans no greater joy than to see him beat Britain's top athletes in one of the most prestigious sports in the country.<sup>45</sup> Speaking for the nation's middle class, the Canadian print media drew on Hanlan's successes to create their own versions of him to show those qualities they felt were necessary to demonstrate what it meant to be a Canadian man.

This idea of using Hanlan to promote nationalism enabled the print media to disseminate their versions of what nationhood meant. Historian Stacy Lorenz notes that the news coverage of such sports as rowing gave readers a sense of community pride when their teams or athletes were successful on the national or international stage.<sup>46</sup> The coverage of rowing in the 1870s created a narrative about Hanlan that was predicated on his success and the ability to attract the readers' attention. Both *Grip* and the *Canadian Illustrated News* used Hanlan's image to catch the public's attention. This coverage helped readers celebrate their national affiliation through Hanlan's successes and develop pride in their nation.

### **Hanlan in *Grip* and the *Canadian Illustrated News* as a National Hero**

*Grip* and the *Canadian Illustrated News* presented Hanlan differently in part due to the publications' opposing political alignments. *Grip* portrayed Hanlan through a Liberal perspective by using humour and presenting him as Canada's son. The *Canadian Illustrated News*, on the other hand, had a Conservative perspective and presented him in a classical and clean way often

portraying Hanlan through ancient Greek imagery to demonstrate the perfect Canadian man. *Grip* and the *Canadian Illustrated News* both used poetry in their coverage of Hanlan, which aligned with the ancient classical Greek tradition of celebrating victorious athletes through this artistic form. Historian Zinon Papakonstantinu notes that artistic representations of the athletic body in classical Athens served a similar purpose.<sup>47</sup> Poetry and art in ancient Greece was a way to commemorate and mythologized an athlete's achievements.<sup>48</sup> The coverage and celebration of Hanlan through poems and illustrations suggests that he was used in a manner similar to the way ancient Greeks celebrated their athletes, or, at least, how latter nineteenth century magazine publishers understood this historical practice. The imagery and text concerning Hanlan published in both magazines were created to inspire Canadians and publicize that one of their own had made it to the international stage. Ultimately this coverage became a means for promoting national pride.

### **The Hanlan Ross Boat Race**

The first instance when Hanlan garnered widespread attention and became a national inspiration was in a contest against Wallace Ross of New Brunswick. The race was for the Championship of Canada and was held in Toronto Bay on 14 October 1877.<sup>49</sup> *The Huron Expositor* estimated that fifteen thousand gathered on the Toronto shorelines.<sup>50</sup> The race drew wide interest because each rower had achieved several champion titles. Ross was the champion of the Maritimes, whereas Hanlan was the champion of America's Centennial Regatta and was representing Toronto.<sup>51</sup> The *Montreal Daily Press* reported that this race was special as it attracted the public to watch this duo, something no other sporting event had to that date achieved.<sup>52</sup> On the day of the race, Hanlan beat Ross by a wide margin of two hundred yards.<sup>53</sup> This allowed *Grip* to praise Hanlan in a demonstration of central Canadian national pride.

### **Grip's Coverage of the Hanlan Ross Boat Race**

Bengough's praise of Hanlan following his victory over Ross is presented in a poem titled *Aquattio Anthem (a la Charles Lever)* in *Grip's* 20 October 1877 issue. This poem reveals the context of how Bengough first viewed the early success of Hanlan. It describes, while keeping to the magazine's humorous outlook how Hanlan challenged and defeated fellow Canadian rower, Ross. Bengough employs patriotic themes as he celebrates Hanlan becoming the new champion of Canada while asserting Toronto's central position in the new nation. In the middle verses of the poem Bengough alludes to the newcomer Hanlan as boastful and the race's favourite:

There was a young fellow called Ross, d'ye sec,  
Who said in a boat none was boss but he;  
Till a fellow called **NEDDY** Cried, **WALLACE**, I'm ready  
To prove that yen ain't, to your loss, that's me!

For I'm an Ontario man, Beware!  
The king of the rowlock I am; take care;  
**I'm** ready to meet **you**,  
And likewise to beat you,  
I'll stake my last copper I can, I swear."

Then **WALLACE** arrayed in his best, Heigho!  
Jumped on the cars to the west to go,  
With his pockets well lined,  
(For Toronto was kind)-  
To put this proud boast to the test. that's so.

But **NEDY sustained** his proud boast, I say;  
There assembled to sec **it** a host that day;  
**By** four hundred feet,  
New Brunswick was beat.<sup>54</sup>

The verses present an emerging pride in Hanlan due to his victory over Ross, where Hanlan is symbolized as the new national hero. Bengough proclaims Hanlan as the new king of the water in the last verse:

Long **life to NED HANLAN'S** my toast, Hurray!  
Now though my short story is done now baw!  
Three cheers for New Brunswick's stout son, so tall.;

For though not the boss,  
A **good** one is Ross,  
So give him a bumper each one and all!<sup>55</sup>

Bengough demonstrates an appreciation for Ross but cleverly states he is no match for Hanlan. Hanlan, as the new champion, continued on with his career where he would achieve many more victories. These triumphs enabled publishers to employ imagery and text celebrating Hanlan's accomplishments which provided a means to highlight the qualities of the *ideal Canadian*.

### **Hanlan-Elliott Boat Race**

Another instance of Hanlan being used to promote nationalism was the race against rower William Elliott, who in 1879 was the current English champion. The race was a testament to whether it was truly possible to defeat the champion of a superior country such as England.<sup>56</sup> To organize the race, a challenge was offered by an individual named Richard Benwick to determine who was the better rower Hanlan or Elliott. The distance of the race was set for three miles and seven-hundred and sixty yards.<sup>57</sup> The prize money was two hundred pounds, and both rowers were to meet at the Beehive Inn, Newcastle, England to make the appropriate arrangements for the race.<sup>58</sup> The contest drew widespread attention and swarms of people arrived on trains and boats to see if the upstart-colonial Hanlan could defeat Elliott the champion of England.<sup>59</sup> The race was held on 16 June 1879 at Newcastle-Upon-Tyne.<sup>60</sup> Hanlan easily defeated Elliott. To demonstrate his dominance Hanlan engaged in showmanship that served to mock Elliott and amuse the spectators including him slowing down and stopping to allow Elliott to catch up before quickly pulling away to re-establish his lead.<sup>61</sup> These calculated actions created tension and excitement for the spectators even though the race could have been a straightforward win for Hanlan. American sports editor Charles Peverelly of *The Aquatic Monthly* comprehensively recounted Hanlan's victory: "[by] the third stroke Hanlan began to forge ahead of his competitor

at a rapid rate, passing him as easily, almost, as a steam vessel does a sailing boat.”<sup>62</sup> After the race a social event was held in honour of Hanlan’s victory. At the event, Hanlan was presented with the Sportsman Challenge Cup. Hanlan’s dominating victory over Elliott became the focus of *Grip* and the *Canadian Illustrated News* magazines’ coverage of him.

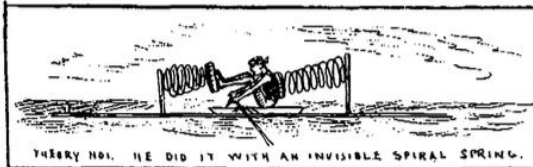
### ***Grip*’s Coverage of the Hanlan-Elliott Boat Race**

In *Grip*’s coverage of the Hanlan Elliott Boat Race, Bengough created a massive dramatic collage of illustrations titled “*The Hanlan Elliott Race; With a few Popular English theories as to How “Our Boy” does it.*” The collage celebrated Hanlan’s victory helping readers to reflect on its importance to Canada and Canadians (see fig. 1.0 and 1.1). The individuals portrayed in the centre-left are William Elliott and George Bull. To the right is likely Christopher Barrass holding the sportsman challenge cup.<sup>63</sup> Edward Hanlan is in the centre, preparing to put on his coat and John Ward is pictured holding the sack of prize money. Bengough, it seems, wants the Canadian reader to be inspired by Hanlan’s victory and this illustration was used to demonstrate how one of Canada’s own had just defeated a rower from Britain, who had been favoured to win.<sup>64</sup> Hanlan’s image illustrates the proper traits of what it means to be the *ideal Canadian* man. He is portrayed as tall, and strong, with an emphasis on his bulging biceps and calf muscles, while still maintaining a composed posture and displaying no fatigue. Whereas his opponent, Elliot, situated to the left and in the background, shows signs not associated with demonstrating the appropriate gentlemanly demeanour. This includes having his head bowed down and showing signs of emotion including crying. Bengough further ridicules Elliott by placing him in the boat (top centre) along with four other defeated rowers. He titled this section of the illustration “Hanlan’s Select Crew of Vanquished Scullers,” suggesting Elliott is just another in a long line of rowers whom Hanlan has defeated. Bengough’s collage makes sure to emphasize who is the hero

and who is the villain. Elliott is portrayed as a villain and is joined by Edward Trickett of Australia in the left bottom corner of fig. 1.0 Trickett, an Australian rower, was at that time the reigning world champion. Trickett's caricature appears to be concerned when Bengough plays with his last name in the phrase "It's my turn next: I can't trick-it much longer,"<sup>65</sup> a reference to Trickett's realization that he is next to be defeated by Hanlan. The collage of the boat race between Hanlan and Elliott served to foster national pride through the use of humour highlighting the heights reached by a Canadian sports hero. Bengough seeks to deconstruct the race using humour with the intent of ridiculing the British by promoting Hanlan and contrasting these to validate Canadian nationalism.

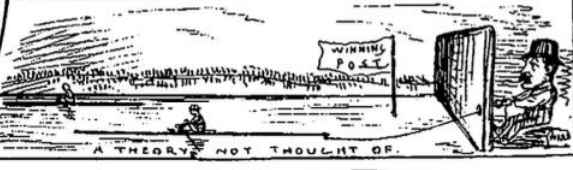


SATURDAY, 21ST JUNE, 1879.



**THE HANLAN**  
With a few Popular English

Figure. 1.0 Left side of the collage to celebrate Hanlan's victory over Elliott. June 21, 1879. Grip 13 no. 5 (21 June 1879)



# ELLIOTT RACE;

...es as to how "Our Boy" does it.

Figure. 1.1 The right side of the collage to celebrate Hanlan's victory over Elliott. June 21, 1879. Grip 13 no. 5 (21 June 1879)

Bengough's collage celebrating Hanlan's victory over Elliott also provides several humorous theories to explain the Canadian's rowing superiority (fig. 1.2 and 1.3): 1. employing invisible spiral springs, 2. being supported by air bladders, 3. having angel wings with a gas bag attached to his boat, 4. his boat being powered by electricity, 5. being guided by spirits, and 6. John Ward (one of Hanlan's backers) pulling the boat with a rope towards the finish line.<sup>66</sup> These impossible yet fantastic explanations for Hanlan's success imagined by Bengough and illustrated in the collage suggest that Hanlan's only true competitor was death which is depicted as an old man rowing with wings attached to his back and carrying a scythe. Death is illustrated sitting in a rowing shell at the bottom right corner of the collage (see fig. 1.1).

This mockery of those mystified by Hanlan's achievements is addressed by Bengough through these series of images comprising the collage and theories. The image depicting Britannia (top right corner in shield and helmet) with the text "Britain rules the waves but Hanlan is boss when the water's smooth,"<sup>67</sup> alludes to the international importance of his victory. Bengough appears to want readers to feel pride in Hanlan's accomplishments in the face of the perceived superiority of the British. In addition, Bengough also pokes fun at England through the representation of the popular caricature George Bull (an older balding man with a large stomach) to contrast English male sluggishness against Hanlan's youthful Canadian prowess. Bull is illustrated in fig. 1.0 as being concerned that there is now some interest in Canada, remarking "[i]ts time I should begin to know something about this 'ere colony."<sup>68</sup> This forced interest by Bull suggests that England did not take Canada seriously as a country because of its low importance as a mere colony. However, in the central frame of fig. 1.0 Bull faces Hanlan and his sponsor with a look of disbelief, not understanding how someone from Canada could defeat England's champion rower. Bengough thus employs sarcastic humour to demonstrate Hanlan's

superiority. The illustration as a whole serves as an opportunity for Bengough to argue for Canada's relevance by using humour to target England as the seat of the British Empire. Through this collage, Bengough asserts Canada as a nation emerging from the shadow of Britain, and Hanlan's victory provides a means to this end.

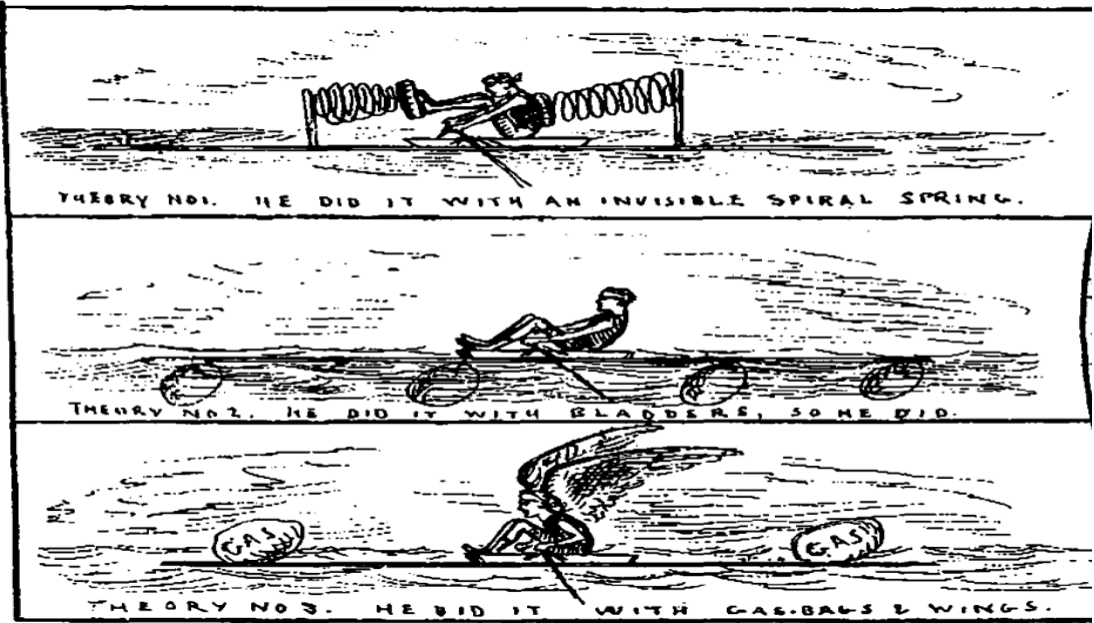


Figure 1.2 Three of Bengough's humorous theories as to how Hanlan defeated Elliott. *Grip* 13 no. 5 (21 June 1879)

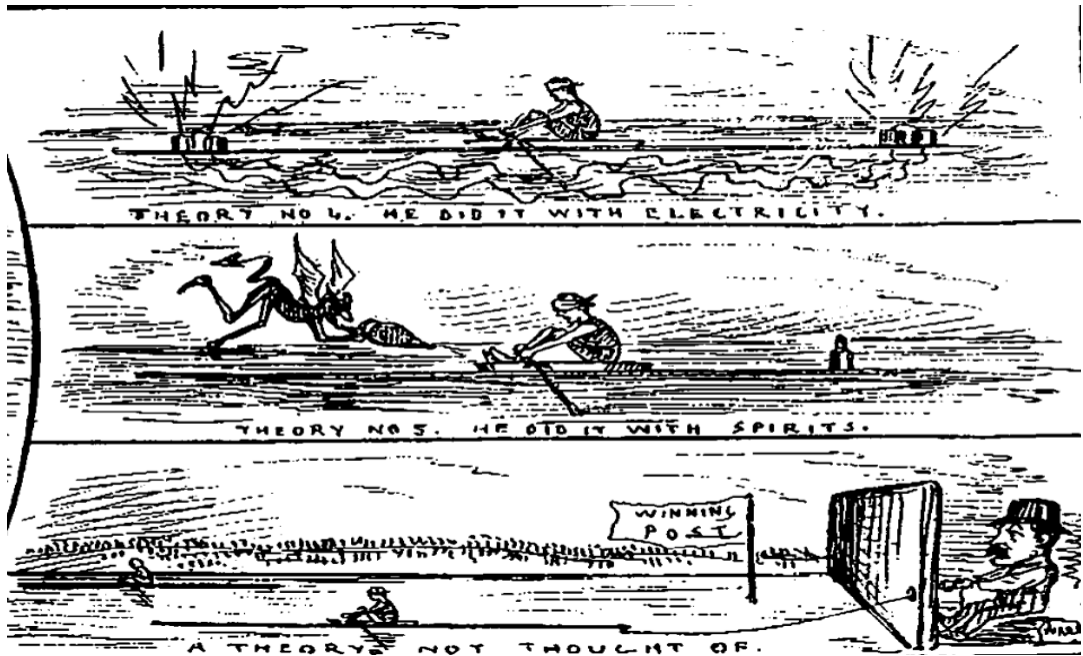


Figure 1.3 Three additional theories as to why Hanlan had defeated Elliott. *Grip* 13 no. 5 (21 June 1879)

## ***Canadian Illustrated News's Coverage of the Hanlan-Elliott Boat Race***

The *Canadian Illustrated News* also produced a leggotype image, likely the work of William Leggos, to commemorate the Hanlan-Elliott Boat Race. A leggotype was an image produced through using light and electricity on photographs without the tedious process of creating images from wood engravings.<sup>69</sup> The cover page illustration (fig. 2) displays a head and shoulders portrait of Hanlan in a formal suit situated on an ancient Greek altar with two figures on either side. On his left is an Indigenous man most likely a symbolic representation of the United States and the New World since the person is standing in front of the American flag. The Indigenous man is portrayed as a model of masculine vigour, standing tall with the artist emphasizing his musculature, particularly his bare arms, torso, and legs. The figure to Hanlan's right is a full-clothed woman, Britannia, who is bearing a shield displaying the Union Jack. Britannia is presented in classical form wearing a chiton an ancient Greek dress, along with a Corinthian helmet, and holding a trident, alluding to Poseidon/Neptune, God of the sea. The reference to the god of the sea appears to suggest Hanlan and Britannia are rulers of the sea. Britannia is holding a wreath to give to Hanlan, likely a reference to an ancient Greek tradition of crowning victors during the Olympic Games. The champion Hanlan in this image represents a bridge between the strength and vitality of the new world and the historical traditions of the old world.

Fig. 2 includes text to provide further explanations for the illustrations to demonstrate the significance of Hanlan's victory over Elliot. The top centre of the illustration is simply titled "Hanlan" while underneath are the words "Champion" and "Champion" which sit above the two flags, indicating Hanlan's status as champion over the United States and Britain. Underneath are the words "Industry, Intelligence, Integrity." These words capture the noble traits of a progressive, modern country, and Hanlan as Canada's champion is held up as a symbol of these

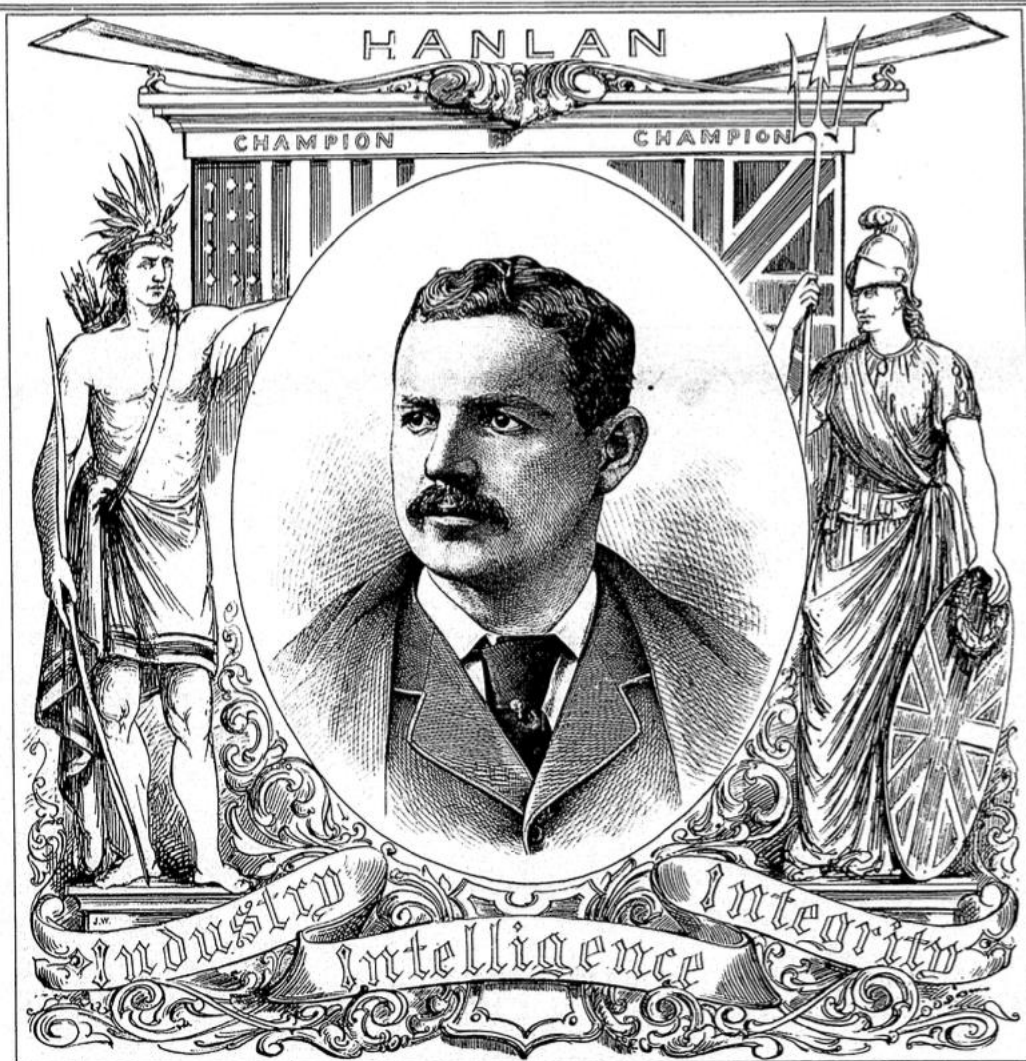
desired traits. The image appears to illustrate that the United States and the British were not superior to Canada, at least not in the world of rowing. Lastly below the illustration, are the words “Edward Hanlan Champion Sculler of the World.” Although this honour was presumptuous at that moment since the win over Elliott was for the Championship of Britain, the artist is likely anticipating Hanlan’s eventual ascendance to this position. Hanlan would achieve the championship of the world in 1880 after defeating Australian rower Edward Trickett who held the title. The function of fig. 2 illustration was to demonstrate how Hanlan’s victory over Elliott had inspired Canadians and that it would only be a matter of time before Hanlan became world champion.

# CANADIAN Illustrated News

Vol. XX.—No. 4.

MONTREAL, SATURDAY, JULY 26, 1879.

SINGLE COPIES, TEN CENTS.  
\$4 PER YEAR IN ADVANCE.



EDWARD HANLAN,  
CHAMPION SCULLER OF THE WORLD.

Figure. 2 Celebration of Hanlan's victory over Elliott. *Canadian Illustrated News* 20 no. 4 (26 July 1879)

The same 26 July 1879 issue of the *Canadian Illustrated News* that celebrated Hanlan on its cover page for his victory over Elliot also published a poem in honour of his success. The poem was reportedly recited by one Miss Kerr to Hanlan in front of a large audience and was received with praise.<sup>70</sup> A section of the poem celebrates Hanlan by equating him to a Greek hero commemorated in temples and to be remembered for eternity:

The athlete's prize who won,  
Shed glory on his country, His kindred, and his town.  
His statue in the temples. In ivory and gold.  
By the side of the gods and heroes The gymnast's prowess told.<sup>71</sup>

This section of the poem compares Hanlan to an ancient Greek athlete who brought glory to their city in the same manner that Hanlan had for his country.

### **Hanlan Trickett Boat Race**

Hanlan's success against Elliott led him to aim for his ultimate goal, to become the champion oarsman of the world.<sup>72</sup> The race to determine the world champion was set up on the Thames championship course in England.<sup>73</sup> Hanlan's opponent was the then-current world champion, Australian rower Edward Trickett. The widely anticipated race was held on 15 November 1880 for a prize of four hundred pounds.<sup>74</sup> An estimated one hundred thousand spectators showed up to see Hanlan challenge the world champion and Australian bookkeepers collected an estimated one hundred thousand dollars in wagers.<sup>75</sup> Trickett was initially reported to be the favourite, as he was the current champion and was significantly taller than Hanlan at six foot six inches compared to Hanlan's five foot ten inches.<sup>76</sup> As in his race with Elliott, Hanlan secured victory while appearing to stop several times to create suspense by allowing Trickett to catch up.<sup>77</sup> With this victory Hanlan finally claimed the title of world champion.



### ***Grip*'s Coverage of the Hanlan Trickett Boat Race**

To celebrate Hanlan's world championship win, *Grip* published a full-page image commemorating his path to dominance as the world champion. This illustration (fig. 3) was published in the 20 November 1880 issue and shows Hanlan sitting on the top of a globe with the Sportsman Trophy resting on his lap, accompanied by a raven, representing *Grip* perched on his upper arm. The *Grip* raven comes directly from Charles Dickens's novel *Barnaby Rudge*.<sup>78</sup> The raven served as a recurring character for the magazine and assumed a jester role to ridicule or support individuals.<sup>79</sup> The text inserted into the globe references three countries and one region: Canada at the top, the United States and England in the middle, and at the bottom are the words "THE ANTIPODES" referring to Australia's location in the southern hemisphere. Underneath each country, Bengough chronologically lists names, dates, and locations of Hanlan's victories.<sup>80</sup> Situating Canada at the top and serving as Hanlan's seat suggests Bengough is promoting nationalistic pride, as Hanlan's birthplace of Canada is clearly placed in a superior position over the United States, England, and Australia. Furthermore, Bengough boasts Hanlan as "THE NEW ALEXANDER", a reference to Alexander the Great of Macedon as both were young men during their dominant years when conquering their respective worlds.<sup>81</sup> Bengough further depicts Hanlan as being upset when he is seen wiping tears from his eyes. Hanlan's reaction is explained, "because he had no more worlds to conquer." By representing Hanlan as the dominant force in the world of rowing, Bengough's image is both inspirational for readers and a tribute to Hanlan who is now the new face of Canada, a country worthy of respect.



### THE NEW ALEXANDER.

OR, HANLAN WEeping BECAUSE HE HAS NO MORE WORLDS TO CONQUER.

Figure. 3 Hanlan sitting on top of the globe detailing the countries and rowers whom he had defeated. Grip 16 no. 1 (20 November 1880)

*Grip* also published a poem of admiration to honour Hanlan's success as the new champion oarsman of the world. The poem, titled "Hail Hanlan," is an uncredited work likely written by Bengough, which presents several verses about Hanlan's greatness and the contribution of his success in creating national pride for Canadians. The poem's first verse states:

Hail oh Victorious Hanlan ! man stout of heart and  
of muscle!  
Conqueror, Emperor, King, Monarch of oar and of rowlock.  
Hearts of Canadian men and Canadian women and  
Children  
Throbbled with one pulse, which was thine, at hearing the  
news from old England,  
"Victory rests with our Hanlan," — The pride and the  
Joy of Toronto<sup>82</sup>

This verse reflects a nationalistic pride, a sentiment Bengough believes the readers would appreciate. It is not just the men that should be proud but everyone, as Hanlan is lauded by other men, as well as women and children.<sup>83</sup> Bengough wants everyone to be proud of Hanlan as his success represents the country's success as a relevant and respected nation. Furthermore, Bengough presents his concluding tribute in the final line of the poem to Hanlan by stating, "[y]ou are the pride and the joy of the city, the people and the nation."<sup>84</sup> This acclaim that Bengough gives to Hanlan suggests he wants readers to be proud of Hanlan and their nation.

### ***Canadian Illustrated News Coverage of the Hanlan Trickett Boat Race***

As with Hanlan's 1879 victory over Elliott, the *Canadian Illustrated News* once again devoted the 27 November 1880 issue cover page to the national sporting icon. The cover page image portrays Hanlan as superior to the rowers he had conquered. Fig. 4 displays Hanlan standing firm, in a contrapposto pose, to present an appearance of strength and lightness. The pose Hanlan assumes is similar to ancient classical Greek statues representing the perfect balance of mind and body as historian David Lunt notes, ancient Greek athletes sought excellence and

superiority through their prowess and victories.<sup>85</sup> Hanlan, by being represented in this ancient Greek stance, portrays a perfect sense of composure, where he is calm and relaxed while still maintaining visible strength throughout his body. The cover illustration presents Hanlan as a symbol of national pride. The commemorative wreaths hanging from Hanlan's outstretched arm represent the nations over whom he had secured victory to become the world champion. The laurel wreath resting on the oar is also a symbol of his victory. The text underneath the image simply states "THE CHAMPION OF THE WORLD."<sup>86</sup> This image of Hanlan promotes a sense of national pride found in his ascension to the top of the rowing world, where his victories highlighted that Canadians could achieve international success.

# CANADIAN Illustrated News

Vol. XXII.—No. 22.

MONTREAL, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 27, 1880.

{ SINGLE COPIES, TEN CENTS.  
\$4 PER YEAR IN ADVANCE.



THE CHAMPION OF THE WORLD.

Figure. 4 Hanlan the new champion of the world. *Canadian Illustrated News* 22 no. 22 (27 November 1880)

The symbolic representations illustrated in fig.4 presented Hanlan as a national hero. In the 27 November 1880 issue of the *Canadian Illustrated News*, George Desbarats also presents a detailed account of Hanlan's victory over Australian rower Edward Trickett. The column, titled "The Great Boat Race," provides an overview of the race and several explanations for Hanlan's victory over Trickett. Desbarats begins by noting the many desirable traits Hanlan possessed, explaining how his body physique and performance differed from that of Trickett. This comparison allows the reader to see Hanlan as the superior athlete and person. For instance, Hanlan's performance is described as taking place "in a beautiful [and] easy style," whereas Trickett's style is described as rigid and interrupted by "constantly looking over his shoulder."<sup>87</sup> These contrasting qualities in performance suggest Hanlan is calm and in control of the race because he can see Trickett. Whereas Trickett conveys signs of emotion and uncertainty, lacking the ability to maintain his composure. Desbarats further derides Trickett by highlighting how Hanlan defeated Trickett despite the latter being the much taller athlete.<sup>88</sup> He described Trickett as rowing at a rate of thirty-three strokes a minute in comparison to Hanlan's thirty strokes a minute.<sup>89</sup> Ideally, the rates would be the opposite with the taller athlete enjoying a lengthier stroke. Yet Trickett rowing more strokes suggests a rushed technique, in contrast to the relaxed Hanlan. Furthermore, rowers are typically more relaxed when they are in front because they are facing the rowers they are beating while those who are falling behind must look over their shoulder to see the leader, thus interrupting their stroke. This comparison between the two rowers suggests that Desbarats wants the reader to understand why Hanlan is superior to Trickett by highlighting Hanlan's superior qualities. Ultimately, this written coverage of the boat race served to contextualize the accompanying image and promote nationalistic feelings to the reader by

detailing how Hanlan became world champion, bringing Canada and Canadians onto the world stage.

### **Conclusion**

Coverage of Edward Hanlan's victories in both *Grip* and the *Canadian Illustrated News* led him to be regarded as a national hero. Even with Confederation uniting the provinces politically, the people of Canada were still disconnected from the idea of the new nation. To unite the people, entities such as the Canada First movement, a group of White Anglo-Saxon men tried to promote particular ideas concerning what ought to constitute Canadian nationalism. However, this movement was generally unsuccessful, as their values did not resonate with everyone, especially, the French, Catholics, Indigenous people, and some members of the print media. Despite this, the Canada Firsters' beliefs did share some similarities with Canadian men, such as George Beers who appropriated the cultural practice of lacrosse from Indigenous peoples to promote the sport as Canada's national game an undertaking that was covered by magazines including *Grip* and the *Canadian Illustrated News*. Similarly, these magazines used Hanlan's rowing victories to promote the *ideal* image of a Canadian hero who provided an example for the new nation to aspire to. Both *Grip* and the *Canadian Illustrated News* successfully aligned coverage to reflect both their own perspectives on Canadian nationalism and broader themes related to promoting Canadian interests. The illustrations and text related to Hanlan published in these magazines in the 1870s and 1880s were devised to provide a positive perspective of what it meant to be Canadian in early Canada. In other words, Hanlan was presented as Canada's first sporting hero, both by the print media who extolled him and by the public who lionized him.

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## **CHAPTER THREE: Edward ‘Ned’ Hanlan: an Idealized Representation of Canadian Masculinity**

### **Introduction**

In the mid-to-late Victorian Era in Canada, such magazines as *Grip* and the *Canadian Illustrated News* used Edward ‘Ned’ Hanlan to demonstrate the dominant form of manliness. The magazines selected Hanlan because he represented someone who could inspire readers. He became a model for the publishers of these periodicals because he possessed the desired characteristics of the ideal White Canadian man, such as discipline, confidence, and strength. The two magazines used his athletic success to represent these masculine values. They published illustrations covering the 1879 Hanlan-Elliott Boat Race, the 1878 Hanlan-Courteney Boat Race, and the 1884 Hanlan-Beach Boat Race. The written coverage of these races and the accompanying illustrations provide insight into how the two magazines represented Hanlan through direct and indirect connections to the current nineteenth-century conceptions of appropriate and idealized masculinity.

When addressing Hanlan through a consideration of masculinity, we must address the role of hegemonic masculinity, which is a central concept to appreciating how he was represented in these magazines. The magazines used Hanlan as a role model of masculinity to appeal to their Canadian readers in a manner similar to the magazines’ perspective when addressing issues of nationalism. They represented Hanlan from the nationalist perspective as a strong and independent man to show target readers how exemplary Canadians should be portrayed. Media coverage of Hanlan in various boat races allowed the publishers of *Grip* and the *Canadian Illustrated News* to construct him as the ideal of Canadian masculinity. The *Canadian Illustrated News*, in most of their illustrations connected to Hanlan, used him to

represent an image of a self-made man valorizing hard work as the reason for his success as a professional rower and his accomplishments as a hotel manager and owner later in his career.

A second notion of manliness evident in the magazines' illustrations of Hanlan was reclaiming masculinity, an idea that emerged from a perceived loss of opportunities for young men to develop appropriate masculine traits with the onset of industrialization and urbanization. This concern emerged in Canada around the 1870s when moral reformers began to question the way boys were being raised, particularly those from the middle classes, who were becoming too civilized and effeminate as a result of desk work and city life. An allure to escape from the city and venture into the wilderness arose from these fears where, for example, Toronto Island served as a prime location to escape the city. The island became attractive because of its natural landscape covered by trees which provided individuals a space for recreation and an opportunity to engage in healthy competition. Rowing, in this context, was used as an example of a healthy recreational activity removed from the city, as it created a balance against the mental fatigue inherent within urban life and work. Hanlan, through being presented in illustrations outside surrounded by trees and water, became a means for engaging readers to venture into the outdoors to reclaim their manhood.

Rowing, and the intense interest in Hanlan's achievements, allowed the magazines to draw on the values of muscular Christianity. The *Canadian Illustrated News* used allusions to muscular Christianity to demonstrate that rowing was a disciplined and respectable sport worthy of pursuit by young men who sought to improve themselves. Finally, I will examine the role of fatherhood because *Grip*, through its publisher John Wilson Bengough, assumed a fatherly role towards Hanlan to guide him and the readers on the proper ideals of manhood. *Grip* used fatherhood to demonstrate that Hanlan, even in defeat, could display appropriate masculine traits

that could be modelled by young Canadian men. These various tools of manliness such as the self-made man, reclaiming masculinity, muscular Christianity, and fatherhood have connections to the notion of hegemonic masculinity as they reflect how the understanding of appropriate and desirable masculinity and manhood was represented through Hanlan in the illustrations published in *Grip* and the *Canadian Illustrated News* to display an exemplar of success, courage, and strength.

### **Representing Hanlan as the Ideal of Masculinity**

*Grip* and the *Canadian Illustrated News* used Hanlan because he possessed elements of what we understand today as hegemonic masculinity. Professional athletes such as Hanlan provide examples of the type of man who engendered hegemonic masculinity by displaying desired manly traits distinguished from those associated with subordinate men and women.<sup>1</sup> Sociologists R. W. Connell and James Messerschmidt define hegemonic masculinity as “a way men position themselves through discursive practices.”<sup>2</sup> Not all men can or are expected to realize hegemonic masculinity as this term refers to a specific type of man, one whose character and disposition are held up as being exceptionally manly. Hegemonic masculinity is also an attempt to represent multiple discourses in defining a dominant man.<sup>3</sup> These traits are evident in various discourses including power in its various forms, social behaviours, occupational success, heteronormative sexuality, patriarchy, and competence in outdoor pursuits.<sup>4</sup> Hanlan, as an example of an individual who possessed qualities associated with hegemonic masculinity, is displayed as possessing the desired traits of strength, power, skill, success, gentlemanly behaviour, and being a successful rower inspired both *Grip* and the *Canadian Illustrated News* to position him as a model for representing Canadian manhood.

## **A Hegemonic Masculine Analysis of Grip's Coverage of the 1879 Hanlan Elliott Boat Race**

Many of the illustrations and texts of Hanlan were used to socially construct him to appear as a gentleman who embodied socially and desirable hegemonic masculine ideals. To promote this gentlemanly quality *Grip's* 21 June 1879 issue described Hanlan in ways consistent with him displaying the hegemonic discursive practices of being well-mannered and confident in his ability to defeat Elliott.<sup>5</sup> The unknown author of this article reveals their uncertainty that Hanlan can win as the writer does not believe a colonial Hanlan can defeat the superior Englishman, Elliott.<sup>6</sup> However, in the editorial comment, Hanlan responds to the writer's concern by stating:

Well...in matters of this description, the result is always exceedingly problematical. A wrong diagnosis of one's apparently slight indisposition by one's physician might be ruinous, not to mention that a more tangible, let us not say monetary interference would perhaps be capable of deciding the result of any contest, but my present undisguised opinion is, that I can knock the spots out of him!<sup>7</sup>

The confidence Hanlan demonstrates in these remarks highlights his bravado and self-assuredness in winning. Hanlan's interview in *Grip* reveals his hegemonic masculine qualities, including, for example, confidence and politeness. The writer uses Hanlan to demonstrate this model form of manliness, as a way to convince mostly middle-class readers that Hanlan is a respectable person to look up to and an ideal of Canadian manhood.

A collage illustration published in *Grip's* same 21 June 1879 issue celebrated Hanlan's victory over Elliot (figs. 1a. and 1b.), as shown in chapter two of this thesis, addresses the role of nationalism surrounding his rise to rowing prominence. However, this collage also provides insight into the ways hegemonic masculinity became central to Hanlan's portrayal aligned with his physical traits and how people saw him. In the collage, Bengough positions Hanlan in the

centre surrounded by highly esteemed individuals both fictional and real. Hanlan is presented as the ideal man through an overemphasis on his physical build by displaying large thighs, thick calves, defined biceps, and being the same height as the other individuals.<sup>8</sup> These features are used to illustrate that being well-muscled and athletic is one aspect that defines what it means to be a man.<sup>9</sup> Hanlan stands straight and appears to be demonstrating politeness in a relaxed disposition when facing George Bull, the then-popular cultural male symbol for England. In the collage's central text bubble, Hanlan asks George Bull, "have you have any more Champions Mr. Bull before I put my coat on?" The artist employed this remark to illustrate Hanlan's ascendancy wherein he emphasizes that the race did not tire him at all and he wants a more challenging opponent. Bengough thus mocks George Bull, who is trying to comprehend what had happened, as the colonial Hanlan had just defeated the favoured Elliott. Bengough presents Hanlan as the dominant model of manhood, as defined by his athletic achievement, contrasted by the illustration of the defeated Elliott who is unable to display markers of proper manhood.

### **Representing Hanlan as a Self-Made Man**

Regarding hegemonic masculinity, Hanlan's portrayal in print media drew on the popular notion of the self-made man. Several historians make arguments about how the idea of the self-made man and success was prevalent in the 1870s and 1880s.<sup>10</sup> Historian T. J. Jackson Lears, for example, advanced the concept of the self-made man with industrious work habits, moral discipline, good physical health, and indomitable will.<sup>11</sup> Lears points out that achieving these desired characteristics was not about intelligence but was based on hard work. These ideas concerning the self-made man are critical to understanding how Hanlan, a man with working-class roots came to be portrayed as a gentleman in the images published in the *Canadian Illustrated News*.

## Hanlan as a Model of the Self-Made Man

This narrative of the self-made man was evident in interviews and newspapers, where editors and publishers created a story of Hanlan emerging out of the working class to become a gentleman rower representing values of the middle-class. The *Canadian Illustrated News* cover page in the 12 October 1878 issue, as shown in fig. 5, creates a representative image of Hanlan as a self-made man. Hanlan came from a working-class family, where he was raised as a fisherman on rowboats and helped to manage his father's hotel.<sup>12</sup> He had a difficult early life because his parents died while he was young and he had to rely on his older sisters for guidance and support.<sup>13</sup> In an interview, after he had retired, Hanlan recalled that he did not receive any money from his parents' savings, which affected him greatly, "I said to myself, Here I am: I have no friend or anybody to help me, and I must help myself."<sup>14</sup> This remark from Hanlan suggested that he saw himself and his rowing achievements as the outcome of being a self-made man.

Despite his relative poverty, Hanlan purchased a racing shell for 90 shillings, and he practiced at every chance he got.<sup>15</sup> His dedication to training enabled him to succeed at several local regattas which increased his confidence.<sup>16</sup> However, according to historians Frank Cosentino and C. A. Tony Joyce, Hanlan did receive ongoing assistance from a group of backers—the Hanlan Boat Club (formed in 1876)—who helped with everything including his training, looking after his finances, and controlling his actions and behaviour to assume the appearance of a gentleman athlete.<sup>17</sup> A news article from the *Listowel Standard* notes that the Hanlan Boat Club, during one of Hanlan's races against Courtney, had refused to let him speak for fear that his words would hurt his reputation.<sup>18</sup> The article also noted that Hanlan is "Toronto's most honoured son; the very finest of her wheat."<sup>19</sup> The club, the article suggested, was essential for cultivating Hanlan's public image as a respectable man who remained pure and did not let his past working-class behaviour injure his reputation. The efforts undertaken by this



club to control his behaviour and cultivate his public image could explain why the print media accepted Hanlan as a self-made man whose success as a rower emerged from his natural ability and good character.

Hanlan's rowing achievements quickly captured the print media's attention. Publishers and writers including Desbarats and Leggos, as well as American journalists Jones Baker and Charles Peverelly sought to create an image that projected the idea of Hanlan as a self-made man. The *Canadian Illustrated News* presented Hanlan on several cover pages as a solitary figure, away from any outside influences. These images were constructed in a way that presented Hanlan as solely responsible for his success, achieved through his own determination and hard work. This includes the *Canadian Illustrated News* 12 October 1878 issue, as shown in fig. 5 in this chapter, and the 27 November 1880 issue (fig. 4), as depicted in Chapter two. These presentations made him appear independent, calm, and composed, suggesting to the reader that he is a man capable of making his own decisions without the help of others to assist and guide him. Hanlan, as portrayed in both Canadian and American print media, was consistently presented as possessing these respectable traits, where writers and editors noted that he never showed any nerves, always appearing to be calm. Baker wrote an account of Hanlan's 1879 boat race against Charles Courtney. Baker describes how it was remarkable that Hanlan could compete without showing any nerves, instead displaying confidence, allowing him to dominate his competitors.<sup>20</sup> This type of print media coverage could have inspired spectators to believe that, to be a real man, they ought to act like Hanlan.

In the *Aquatic Monthly*, American editor Charles Peverelly also praised Hanlan.<sup>21</sup> He suggests Hanlan is so dominant because he learned how to row at a young age and over the years, was able to master the skills necessary to handle a rowing boat. Peverelly describes him as

an “oarsman by education... [having] been schooled from early boyhood [in] the art and skill of rowing and handling a boat.”<sup>22</sup> Whereas, when comparing Hanlan to his opponent, Courtney, Peverelly argues that Courtney “is by trade a sash and blind maker.”<sup>23</sup> This phrase likely refers to Courtney being lesser in skill, essentially a curtain maker, compared to Hanlan as a highly skilled tailor. This reference by Peverelly suggests that Courtney does not have the necessary background and rowing experience needed to compete against Hanlan. Peverelly argues that Courtney’s success was from competing against weaker opponents in amateur competitions.<sup>24</sup> Before the 1880s, professional rowing, rather than the amateur version, was viewed as a manly sport. Professional rowers like Hanlan were highly respected. The public acclaim Hanlan received focussed on his years of hard work, determination, and being a respected professional rower all of which supported the narrative of him being a self-made man. The presentation of Hanlan to the public brings into consideration how the *Canadian Illustrated News* and contemporary sports advocates were interested in highlighting his sporting success and manly physique to demonstrate how young men could improve themselves through rowing. The narrative aligned with that of the self-made man, and rowing provided a means for young men to achieve a healthy and positive lifestyle and a way to cultivate the proper notions of manhood.

### **Imagining Hanlan as a Model of Reclaiming Masculinity**

During the mid-Victorian Era, a concern arose that young men were becoming effeminate or soft as a result of industrialization and urbanization.<sup>25</sup> These anxieties arose due to a perceived lack of physical activity for boys and men, along with their inability to access natural outdoor spaces. To promote these positive outcomes of a naturally produced physicality and the opportunity to develop manly skills, boys and young men were provided examples to follow and one of these was Hanlan. The athletic Hanlan was often depicted in a natural setting where

rowing was presented as a means to reclaim masculinity and demonstrated what could be achieved by being surrounded by nature. According to sports historians Robert Kossuth and David McMurray, physical activity in a natural landscape was seen as a way to cure the ill effects of living in an urban setting.<sup>26</sup> Among the common outdoor pastimes used to promote proper manhood were hunting and fishing.<sup>27</sup> These pastimes allowed men from the middle and upper classes to go out into the wilderness and partake in masculine activities.<sup>28</sup> The editor of *Grip*, Bengough, lectured on the importance of physical education, arguing that physical activity helped maintain a strong and healthy body.<sup>29</sup> Bengough; delivered a series of lectures (gathered and published in 1920 after *Grip* was discontinued) produced during his tenure as publisher of *Grip*.<sup>30</sup> In one of his lectures, he notes that outdoor play is vital in retaining a healthy life. The reasoning behind Bengough's belief in the importance of outdoor play was that it keeps the mind and the body sharp.<sup>31</sup> Bengough outlined three health-related considerations he believed were necessary for creating a well-rounded person:

1. The Body, the whole frame from head to foot:—Physical.
2. The Head, which is supposed to contain the brain, which is the seat of the mind:—Mental.
3. The heart, which is supposed to be the seat of the affections, feelings, desires, ideals:—Moral.<sup>32</sup>

Through identifying these three considerations, Bengough asserts that by engaging in physical education in nature, a person can maintain their health and make good decisions in the future. Bengough's ideas on this topic aligned with a muscular Christian ethos and the then-current health reformers' ideas that outdoor exercise helped keep both the mind and the body balanced and healthy.

Escaping from the problems found in cities in the Victorian Era has been noted by historian Patricia Jansen as a form of patriotic fascination for many Canadians.<sup>33</sup> The allure of

nature allowed individuals to escape from the pressures of industry and recreate themselves. Jansen notes that there was a heavy emphasis on romanticizing nature in the creation of an advertisement.<sup>34</sup> For example, E. Herbert Adams in his travel guide, *Toronto and Adjacent Summer Resorts*, advertised the beauty of visiting Toronto Island. The allure of the island it was suggested, provided a way for people in Toronto to escape the pressures of the city and industrialized life as the island provided wilderness and leisure opportunities. The island was also home to the Amateur Aquatic Association, which supported sporting events including canoe racing, diving contests, sculling, swimming, and paddling.<sup>35</sup> These athletic opportunities allowed the people of Toronto to use the natural landscape of the island which generated a reputation for producing remarkable athletes, such as Hanlan, to make Toronto famous internationally.<sup>36</sup> Jansen argues that the pleasures brought by the wilderness instilled aesthetics embraced by the middle class that were critical to promoting health and bodily vitality.<sup>37</sup> For instance, Adams, in his summer resort guide, advertised Hanlan's Point (a beach named after Hanlan) as being composed of the "typical specimens of Canadian people, venerable old age, middle life with its sturdy manhood and womanhood, athletic young men and beautiful maidens in all the buoyancy of life, and childhood with the flush of innocence on the cheek."<sup>38</sup> This description suggests that the island was considered to be good for the reader's health and was safe for everyone. These types of advertisements lured people to venture into the outdoors as a respectable way to teach both men and boys the proper values of manhood through various recreational activities.

Rowing represented an outdoor activity where boys and men could reclaim their masculinity. There is evidence from the print media and sports advocates to suggest that it was also considered to cure the ill effects of industrial life. Print media in the United States associated rowing with health, in that the rigorous physical activity helped calm the mind and the body. For

instance, sports editor of the American publication the *Aquatic Monthly*, Charles Peverelly, believed that rowing allowed young men to “cultivate their muscular development [but] still retain all the graces and refinements of life.”<sup>39</sup> These traits, which could be developed by participating in rowing, were sought out by middle-class boys and men because of their associations with appropriate masculinity. Peverelly also wrote a lengthy account of rowing in *The Book of American Pastimes*, arguing that “[n]o recreation, no method of exercise, no outdoor or in-door sport, offers fewer temptations and more advantages than rowing.”<sup>40</sup> Peverelly and others believed that the movements of rowing put the athlete in a balanced condition, as it allows both the mind and the body to work together through the strenuous exercise.

As Hanlan proved himself a champion rower, the public adored him and saw him as an inspiration in representing the best of Canadian manliness. An important element of demonstrating this included Hanlan being viewed as the model of athletic success who built himself through training in a natural environment. An image that captures this cultivated acquired manliness is demonstrated in the cover page of the *Canadian Illustrated News*'s 12 October 1878 issue (fig. 5). This image is associated with the race for the Championship of America that took place in Lachine, Quebec near Montreal between him and American rower Charles Courtney.<sup>41</sup> Fig. 5 shows Hanlan alone and surrounded by trees on a rocky shore with his shell next to a boat house. This image of Hanlan places a particular emphasis on his muscular arms and legs, perhaps to show their target readers, Canadian boys and men, that the way to become a man is to row.<sup>42</sup> The background of the image displays a rustic and rural environment, as opposed to the industrial waterways where Hanlan usually rowed.

The above-described photograph (fig. 6) was created by William Notman and Henry Sandham who were known for capturing the modernity of Canadian life by manufacturing

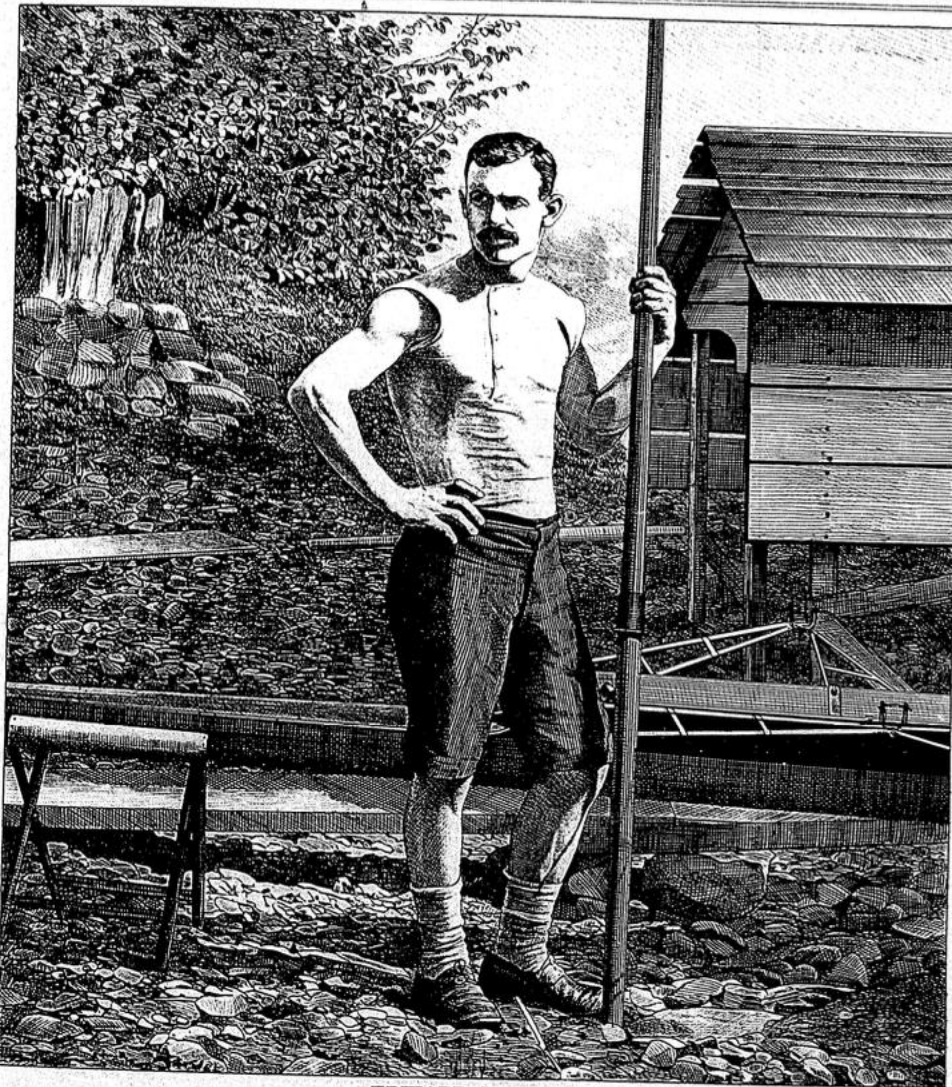
images to fit their version of the ideal world.<sup>43</sup> According to curator Stanley Triggs (former curator of McGill University McCord Museum of Photography) when Notman and his staff produced an image, they would take a photo of the individual in their studio, cut the figures out of the negatives, and then carefully paste them onto another photograph, often in a rural setting.<sup>44</sup> George Desbarats and William Leggos published this curated image, as it is slightly different from the original Notman and Sandham photo (fig. 6), to seemingly capture the ideal of manhood on the magazine's cover page.<sup>45</sup> The *Canadian Illustrated News* 12 October 1878 image (fig. 5), according to historian Joan Schwartz, was a marketable object, as it attracted the interest of both the social elite and sports enthusiasts.<sup>46</sup> The image of Hanlan in fig. 5 represents this idealization displaying him as calm and stern. The image reinforced these selective qualities because the photographers positioned Hanlan to highlight the physical elements that they felt most effectively reflected the social and cultural ideals of manliness. This image created a means of representing the goal of reclaiming masculinity.

# CANADIAN Illustrated News

Vol. XVIII.—No. 16.

MONTREAL, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1878.

SINGLE COPIES, TEN CENTS.  
\$4 PER YEAR IN ADVANCE.



EDWARD HANLAN,  
CHAMPION SCULLER OF AMERICA.—FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY NOTMAN & SANDHAM.

Figure. 5 Edward Hanlan Champion Sculler of America. *Canadian Illustrated News* 18 no. 16 (12 October 1878)



Figure. 6 Photograph of Hanlan that possibly inspired the Canadian Illustrated News cover page illustration, William Notman and Henry Sandham (1878) Library and Archives Canada



## **Hanlan as a Role Model of Muscular Christianity**

The emphasis on reclaiming masculinity is related to the concept of muscular Christianity. Historian Donald E. Hall believes that the term “muscular Christianity” originated in 1850 from a book review by T. C. Sanders of Charles Kingsley’s book *Two Years Ago* for the *Saturday Review*.<sup>47</sup> Hall paraphrases Sander’s definition of muscular Christianity by stating that it is “an association between physical strength, religious certainty, and the ability to shape and control the world around oneself.”<sup>48</sup> Muscular Christianity complemented the rise of organized sporting practices in the nineteenth century, serving to counter historical Christian religious concerns over asceticism or the denial of the body and worldly pleasures in favour of the eternal soul and spiritual objectives. Although both *Grip* and the *Canadian Illustrated News* do not explicitly refer to muscular Christianity in their coverage of Hanlan, their concept is strongly characterized by how Hanlan was represented in the imagery. Muscular Christianity promoted the idea that being manly meant displaying courage and strength, which in turn, permitted men such as Bengough, Desbarats, and Leggos to position Hanlan as a masculine ideal who aligned with a muscular Christian character.

Muscular Christianity was also aligned with the idea of cleansing unfavourable habits, such as drunkenness and laziness, thus reinforcing the need for a strict doctrine of physical exercise and a healthy lifestyle.<sup>49</sup> Historian Daniel Coleman argues that these ideas of maintaining respectability through notions of muscular Christianity were expressed in acts to improve English Canadians through self-discipline.<sup>50</sup> Notable nineteenth-century English writers, such as Thomas Hughes and Charles Kingsley influenced the public through their argument that physical activity was essential for maintaining spirituality.<sup>51</sup> Hughes’s novel *Tom Brown School Days* published in 1857 was very popular in the United Kingdom and North America. Historian Bruce Kidd notes that the book was considered a popular resource by Canadian educators, as it

promoted the idea of muscular Christianity.<sup>52</sup> Egerton Ryerson, the superintendent of public education in Canada West/Ontario from 1844 to 1876, encouraged physical education and sports to help boys develop their minds and spirit and to curb unfavourable urges.<sup>53</sup> The influence of muscular Christianity was present during Hanlan's competitive career, allowing the *Canadian Illustrated News* to draw on this acknowledged link between physical activity and appropriate gentlemanly conduct and to hold him up as an exemplary model of Canadian manhood.

The *Canadian Illustrated News* 12 October 1878 issue published an image promoting the 1878 Hanlan-Courtney Boat Race by drawing on values of muscular Christianity. The image created by Notman & Sandham (fig. 7) accompanies a *Canadian Illustrated News* article by Desbarats and Leggos, which is composed of four pictures displaying Hanlan, his boat club, the American rower Charles Courtney, and Courtney's boat club at Lachine. The images are manufactured to promote the respectability of the competition and competitors as Notman & Sandham used this image to shift the individuals and props to present values associated with muscular Christianity and rowing's respectability. Each of the four images comprising fig. 7 appear balanced with their supporters presented above and their athletes. In the left image (fig. 7) depicting Hanlan's Boat Club, Notman & Sandham purposely placed sculling oars and a single shell in front of the individuals representing the Hanlan Boat Club. Together the pictures suggest a common interest among rowers and their supporters in presenting a defined image of respectability and fellowship. This collage of images is similar to the fig. 6 photograph of Hanlan but focuses on all those involved in the race including both the rowers and their backers. The illustration (fig. 7) suggests to readers that rowing is a manly and respectable sport by displaying proper notions of discipline and muscular fitness, as displayed through both Hanlan and Courtney, and their backers. Hanlan, in the bottom left corner of fig. 7 is presented as relaxed,

composed, and fit representing the ideal rower. Similarly, the image to the right-hand panel of fig. 7 is Courtney, who is presented as a duplicate of Hanlan. They appear as almost the same person except that Courtney is slightly more muscular in the torso and arms. Through the image, the reader learns that both of these rowers embody the respected traits of muscular Christianity, as they are illustrated as possessing self-discipline and are presented as being in good physical shape. The emphasis on their muscular physique implies that both Hanlan and Courtney subject themselves to rigorous physical training to be able to perform at an elite level. The match between Hanlan and Courtney, as promoted through this image, was devised to demonstrate that rowing was a respectable sport worthy of public interest. Presenting Hanlan and Courtney as well as their backers, the older figures providing the rowers necessary guidance, as gentlemen in this image provides evidence that the combination of physically superior athletes in the context of gentlemanly competition aligned with in a muscular Christian perspective.



Figure. 7 The two top panels are the boat houses and backers of Hanlan and Courtney. The two bottom panels left to right are Hanlan and Courtney. *Canadian Illustrated News* 18 no. 6 (12 October 1878)

### **Promoting Manhood Through Fatherhood in *Grip's* Coverage of Hanlan**

Victorian Era philosophies on fatherhood focused on ensuring sons become men to properly fulfill their role as authoritative heads of households, communities, and the nation. These ideals in part emerged from the values of muscular Christianity, which were seen as a counter to the domestication experienced by boys inside the home; however, the role of the father helped reinforce discipline to make sure that their sons became respected members of society.<sup>54</sup> Historian John Tosh notes that fathers, as the primary providers for the family held authority over their children thus paternal control was predicated on the central values of discipline, guidance, and authority.<sup>55</sup> This is very similar to, and supported by, muscular Christianity as the goal was to raise a muscular Christian son. For instance, in *Grip* Bengough

presents himself as a fatherly figure to Hanlan. He engages indirectly with Hanlan from the perspective of a father-son relationship. In his chalk-talks on education, Bengough claims that fathers played a fundamental role in shaping a boy's future.<sup>56</sup> He cautions that the actions of boys will determine the type of men they will become.<sup>57</sup> Boys were to be instructed in the proper notions of manhood, where an older middle-class gentleman was needed to ensure an approved education in this realm.<sup>58</sup> Bengough presents Hanlan as Canada's son and assumes a fatherly role as he served simultaneously as a self-appointed expert on educating boys and young men. Bengough seeks to guide Hanlan's rise to prominence, using his magazine as a platform to provide young male readers with his fatherly advice. *Grip* presents two illustrations (fig. 8 and fig. 9) that allude to the role of fatherhood by using Hanlan to demonstrate what is expected of young men in terms of acquiring the essential physical and character traits expected of young gentlemen.

In *Grip*'s 23 August 1879 issue, Hanlan is shown (fig. 8) receiving advice from *Grip*. *Grip* in illustrated form is depicted as a half raven and half man. *Grip* is shown in glasses and tails, shaking a finger at Hanlan indicating a continued need for fatherly guidance after the dissolution of the Hanlan Boat Club. The function of the club had been to take care of Hanlan by providing him with organizational and financial support, and freedom to focus on his rowing. The club disbanded on 12 August 1879, after Hanlan decided he could administer his own affairs after he defeated Elliott.<sup>59</sup> Hanlan, in the illustration (fig.8), is paying his full attention to *Grip*. Bengough argues that because the Hanlan Boat Club had previously dealt with Hanlan's affairs, it was important for experienced men to continue imparting wisdom.<sup>60</sup> Bengough, in the text accompanying the illustration, questions whether Hanlan is mature enough to handle his own affairs. He gives the champion advice to maintain a good diet and good behaviour which is

expected of all men. In the written article accompanying the illustration, Bengough cautions Hanlan that “Canada and the world have their eyes upon you. Now is your chance to carve your name deep on the public heart.”<sup>61</sup> This quote implies that the decisions and actions Hanlan makes going forward will be judged by Canadians with respect to upholding his image of respectability. *Grip* through Bengough, essentially uses Hanlan as an example of the positive outcomes available to all boys and young men who learned from their elders and conducted themselves as Hanlan had to become a respected man of substance.



**Grip's Advice to Edward.**

Figure. 8 "Grip's Advice to Edward." *Grip* 13 no. 14 (23 August 1879)

## Hanlan-Beach Boat Race 1884

*Grip* again referenced beliefs about Victorian-Era fatherhood when Australian rower William Beach challenged Hanlan's status as world champion in 1884.<sup>62</sup> Beach quickly became a force to reckon with in rowing circles because of his size, strength, and mastery of the sliding seat technique. Sports historian Frank Cosentino remarks that Beach was reportedly compared to a "steel-nerved blacksmith" who weighed ninety kilograms.<sup>63</sup> Beach's physical constitution made him appear to be a suitable opponent for Hanlan, so a world championship race was scheduled.<sup>64</sup> The world championship race became an event generating a large amount of public interest, so much so that the government of Australia proclaimed the day of the race a public holiday.<sup>65</sup> It was reported in Chatham New Brunswick's *Miramichi Advance* that ten thousand spectators in Australia came to see who was the better rower.<sup>66</sup> Hanlan and Beach started the race at an evenly matched pace with Hanlan initially pulling ahead, as it was his custom to play with opponents by slowing down and speeding up. However, a steamboat began to interfere with the race, which caused Hanlan to drift in Beach's direction. Hanlan was able to avoid a collision with Beach without being drowned in the steamer's wake. The added energy required to avoid the collision exhausted Hanlan, at which point it became clear to Beach that he could perhaps win the race. Hanlan became frantic, which caused his strokes to become less efficient and, at one point, almost stopped when one of his blades caught too deep. This panic from Hanlan led Beach to recall "[t]he race is mine", as he pulled ahead of Hanlan by six lengths and dethroned him as the world champion.<sup>67</sup>

After losing to Beach, Hanlan initially refused to accept the defeat. He even approached the umpire by complaining, "Mr. Clark, I claim a foul," to which Clark responded, "[y]ou got over into Beach's water; that caused the foul and I gave the race to Beach."<sup>68</sup> Nonetheless,



Hanlan reportedly regained his composure and demonstrated appropriate respectability by shaking hands with Beach and apologizing with the following remark, “[w]ell you are a better man than I am and I hope you don’t blame me for the foul which was principally caused by the steamer coming down on us. I could not help it.”<sup>69</sup> Hanlan, although disappointed with the loss, made amends with Beach as expected of a gentleman athlete. Hanlan drew on the experiences gained through his career, including early career sessions from his backers, to successfully navigate this inevitable loss.

Bengough seems to sympathize with Hanlan after his loss to Beach in *Grip*’s 13 September 1884 issue (fig. 9) by implying that it is understandable that he cannot win every race but Bengough still believes that Hanlan was Canada’s hero and a role model to Canadians. Bengough, in this illustration, continues to reassure readers that Hanlan is still a man to be looked up to by using Canadian Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald as a reassuring reference point.<sup>70</sup> He portrays both Hanlan and Macdonald as tall and fit. Their opponents—Beach and Canadian politician Sir Oliver Mowat—are depicted as small in the background, suggesting readers ought to consider all that Hanlan has accomplished as sufficient to deserve being held up as the masculine ideal despite losing the race. This sentiment is evident in the illustration where Hanlan is shaking hands with Macdonald. Bengough equates Hanlan’s defeat to Macdonald’s ongoing struggles as the prime minister of Canada. In a nod to the paternalistic understandings of the time, Macdonald addresses Hanlan, saying “NEVER MIND, NED, MY DEAR BOY ; WE CAN’T ALWAYS WIN YOU KNOW.”<sup>71</sup> The message presented in this image seeks to have the reader understand and appreciate the reality of the hardships that can affect even the best of people. Bengough, through the example of MacDonald and the advice of the *Grip* raven, provides Hanlan with fatherly advice and support throughout his career.



Figure. 9 Hanlan and Macdonald shake hands. *Grip* 23 no. 11 (13 September 1884)

## Conclusion

The success Hanlan experienced through his rowing career and how he was presented as an athlete through training, the support of his club, and images published in the print media played a critical part in him becoming a role model of manliness for Canadian men and boys. Both *Grip* and the *Canadian Illustrated News* advanced their social and political interests by

highlighting Hanlan's success as a means of asserting what ought to be considered manly. As they published their images of Hanlan, these magazines provided cues of manliness, such as courage, strength, and success that readers could relate to. The *Canadian Illustrated News* constructed him as an embodiment of the self-made man. Hanlan, through the imagery presented in the *Canadian Illustrated News*, became a model for the broader idea of reclaiming masculinity in the mid-late-Victorian Era. Because Hanlan was a rower, health and sports promoters were able to advocate through his example that rowing provided a particularly valuable way for young men to cultivate their true manhood by rowing in the natural landscapes. Desbarats and Leggos used similar values associated with muscular Christianity by displaying him as possessing values of fitness and gentlemanly appearance. *Grip* through Bengough was paternalistic towards Hanlan by offering him fatherly advice. Both magazines, nonetheless, presented Hanlan as the embodiment of manliness, as he was portrayed as possessing dominant traits of manliness that we can understand today through the concept of hegemonic masculinity.

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<sup>1</sup> R. W. Connell and James Messerschmidt, "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept." *Gender & Society* 19, no. 6 (2005): 850. [https://doi: 10.1177/0891243205278639](https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243205278639).

<sup>2</sup> Connell and Messerschmidt, "Hegemonic Masculinity," 841.

<sup>3</sup> Richard Pringle, "Masculinities, Sport, and Power: A Critical Comparison of Gramscian and Foucauldian Inspired Theoretical Tools," *Journal of Sport & Social Issues* 29, no. 3 (2005): 267. <https://doi-org.uleth.idm.oclc.org/10.1177/0193723505276228>.

<sup>4</sup> Nick Trujillo, "Hegemonic Masculinity on the Mound: Media Representations of Nolan Ryan and American Sports Culture," in *Reading Sport: Critical Essays on Power and Representation*, eds. Susan Birrell and Mary G. McDonald (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2000), 15, 16.

<sup>5</sup> Cable From Our Special in England, "Hanlan the Great: Interviewed Before the Race – England and Elliott in Extremis: – A Hollow Victory!!!" *Grip*, June 21, 1879, 2, Canadiana Serials: Periodicals, Annuals and Newspapers, [https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8\\_06509\\_317/1](https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8_06509_317/1)

<sup>6</sup> Cable From Our Special in England, "Hanlan the Great," 2.

<sup>7</sup> Cable From Our Special in England, "Hanlan the Great," 2.

<sup>8</sup> J. W. Bengough, "The Hanlan Elliot Race; With a few Popular English ties as to how 'Our Boy does it,'" *Grip*, June 21, 1879, 4,5, Canadiana Serials: Periodicals, Annuals and Newspapers. [https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8\\_06509\\_317](https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8_06509_317)

<sup>9</sup> Trujillo, "Hegemonic Masculinity on the Mound," 15.

<sup>10</sup> Clark Kerr, *Industrialism and Industrial Man: The Problems of Labor Management in Economic Growth* (Cambridge Mass, 1960), 43, quoted in T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 18.

<sup>11</sup> Lears, *No Place of Grace*, 18.

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- <sup>12</sup> Richard K. Fox, *Edward Hanlan America's Champion Oarsman: His Life of His Great and Complete Aquatic Record Victories with Illustrations and Portraits of Famous Rowers* (New York: National Police Gazette, 1886), 8, Monographs, Canadiana <https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.45233/1>
- <sup>13</sup> Harry Palmer, "Ned Hanlan on Rowing," in *Athletic Sports in America, England and Australia: Comprising of History, Characteristics, Sketches of Famous Leaders, Organization, and Great Contests of Baseball, Cricket, Football, La Crosse, Tennis, Rowing, and Cycling. Also Including the Famous "Around the World" Tour of American Baseball Teams, Their Enthusiastic Welcomes, Royal Receptions, Banquets, Great Games Played Before Notables of Great Foreign Nations, Humorous Incidents, Interesting Adventures, etc., etc.*, ed. Harry Clay Palmer, J. A. Fynes, Frank Richter, and W.I. Harris (New York: Union Publishing House), 658. HathiTrust Digital Library.
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- <sup>15</sup> Palmer, 658.
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## **CHAPTER FOUR: Conclusions**

Edward ‘Ned’ Hanlan was the most successful and world-renowned Canadian athlete from the mid-1870s to the 1880s thanks to his dominance at various regattas that attracted spectators in Canada, the United States, England, and Australia. The print media, particularly *Grip* and the *Canadian Illustrated News*, took an immense interest in Hanlan, and they used his image in their illustrations to present a model of nationhood and manhood to their readers. This was of consequence because as a new country Canadians were in the process of creating their own identity. Hanlan’s success provided the opportunity for magazines to illustrate his body and physique for readers to feel national pride and be inspired by his dominant masculinity. Although Hanlan’s impact and visibility in the print media was relatively short-lived, his influence occurred at a time when Canadians were beginning to form a national identity while also considering the values of manliness in constructing this new nation. To these ends, Hanlan’s story provides an example for examining the links between the professional athlete, illustrated print media publications, and the emerging idea of a Canadian nation. The importance of this story for Canadians is evident through Hanlan’s accomplishments remaining embedded in the nation’s consciousness after his retirement and following his death.

### **Retirement and Death**

Hanlan retired from professional rowing after losing the World Championship title to Australian rower William Beach in 1884. Following his retirement, Hanlan took two coaching positions one with the University of Toronto in 1887 and the other with Columbia University in 1901.<sup>1</sup> Hanlan was also elected as alderman for Toronto Island in 1898.<sup>2</sup> Sadly, ten years later, on 4 January 1908 Hanlan, passed away from pneumonia.<sup>3</sup> On his passing many Canadians began to both mourn and recollect Hanlan’s place in the nation’s early history. News of Hanlan’s death

rippled across Toronto, Eastern Canada, Western Canada, and the world. Coverage of his death was reported in Canadian communities such as Saint John NB, Calgary, AB; Toronto, ON; Victoria, BC; Saskatoon, SK; and Winnipeg, MB.<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately, both *Grip* (their last issue was published on 29 December 1884) and the *Canadian Illustrated News* (final edition on 29 December 1883) had ceased to exist by the time Hanlan died.<sup>5</sup> Yet, had they still been in production, it is likely each would have commemorated their fallen hero. In Toronto, a special city council session commemorated Hanlan's passing. The Toronto City Council ensured that the proper arrangements were made to allow people to pay their respects to a fallen hero.

During the funeral, ten thousand people reportedly passed through St Andrew's Presbyterian Church.<sup>6</sup> His funeral procession drew an impressive train of people with one hundred and fifty-five horse-drawn carriages following the hearse to mourn, along with thousands who paid their respect for Hanlan's service to his country. For instance, Francis Nelson published a poem titled "Canada's Boy in Blue" in the *Hamilton Evening News*, reminding readers of their fallen hero:

The flags hang low that long ago at our topmost mastheads flew, To toll afar of the rising star, young Canada's boy in blue.  
By pluck, not luck, the brave Canuck worked out his meed of fame,  
Till from coaly Tyne to the farthest line was none but heard his name.  
From the Northern Lights to the Southern Cross he carried the Maple Leaf.  
And in what lands ho tarried, stout foemen he harried, to add to his laurel sheaf.  
The flags hang low that to-day ye know his last long race is rowed.  
He has heard the call that comes to all, be the North or the South their abode.<sup>7</sup>

Nelson's poem commemorates the life and accomplishments of Edward Hanlan, regarded as the most successful Canadian rower and athlete in the 1870s-80s. Hanlan's death impacted Canadians as his success as a professional rower remained iconic and inspirational.<sup>8</sup> Newspapers from across Canada published many accounts of his life, focusing on the achievements that made Canadians proud. The *Hamilton Evening News* republished an article from the *Montreal Herald*,

commemorating Hanlan, where they note that when he competed, he represented Canada, which made many Canadians proud of him. The article's closing remark states, "Ned Hanlan was the first of our national heroes. It would not soon be forgotten of him."<sup>9</sup>

The large, public funeral held for Hanlan served as a reminder of the feats he achieved as a professional rower and as one of the first symbols of Canadian nationalism and masculinity. The genesis of this nationalism came with Hanlan beating American, British, and Australian athletes. Hanlan's death thus reignited the heroic acts that Canadians felt inspired by, particularly because he was a working-class man from a younger nation who defeated the best rowers in the world.

### **Concluding Remarks**

Considering this research study of Hanlan and the research methods employed to discern why he was widely praised by *Grip* and the *Canadian Illustrated News*, it is possible to answer my research question of how representations of Hanlan in these magazines provided insight into White English Canadian notions of class, nationhood, and masculinity. The chosen methodologies helped evaluate and analyse the illustrations and text published in these magazines. Deconstruction was used to unravel the illustrations and text to understand who the real and fictional individuals were while also considering the classical themes of manliness that both *Grip* and the *Canadian Illustrated News* used when portraying Hanlan as the ideal Canadian man. Paradigms, concerning the way in which reality is constructed, demonstrate how the publishers created a version of Hanlan from the perspective that he was an individual worthy of respect and honour. As a result, he was always portrayed as polite and a well-mannered gentleman despite his working-class background. Representation addresses how Hanlan was illustrated to promote ideas of nationalism and manliness. Hanlan was also portrayed as a symbol



of the ideal Canadian man through traits associated with those ideals such as independence, courage, and strength. Politics reveal the political positions of the magazine creators John Wilson Bengough from *Grip* (Liberal) and George Desbarats of the *Canadian Illustrated News* (Conservative) as they sought to advance different political interests when depicting Hanlan. Revealing the political interest of these magazines is important as it clarifies why each presented Hanlan to fit as their version of nationhood and manhood. Hanlan, from Bengough's perspective, was presented as an individual who was victorious and independent with no need for British nor American guidance. Alternatively, Desbarats with his Conservative stance had Hanlan appear as a gentleman with the use of classical heroic representations that were largely disconnected from Canadian politics. Praxis considers how I positioned myself as a researcher to demonstrate how my analysis of Hanlan is based on my personal connection to rowing while attempting to answer why he became an icon for Canadians through his successful rowing career, one that allowed Canadians to form a community and shared national pride. These methods provided the necessary guidance to answer my research question while also clarifying why these magazines recognized Hanlan's importance in promoting nationalism and manliness.

Owing to his dominance in competitions, charisma, and ideal masculine appearance, Edward 'Ned' Hanlan became a world-renowned rower. Large crowds were attracted to his success, making him one of the most popular athletes in the mid-to-late Victorian Era. Hanlan's success was primarily advanced by way of coverage through the print magazines *Grip* and the *Canadian Illustrated News*. The magazines' images and text successfully recreated and portrayed Hanlan as a respectable athlete by showcasing traits such as confidence, strength, and independence, commonly associated with ideal masculinity and national pride. The extensive coverage of boat races by these magazines helped him become a Canadian hero, which

influenced White middle and working-class readers in not only what was important for their country but also about what was expected of them to be a man.

There were influential national sentiments concerning manhood in Canada before Hanlan emerged. These influences are important to consider, as they impacted how *Grip* and the *Canadian Illustrated News* viewed Hanlan and his rowing accomplishments. As the Dominion of Canada came into being in 1867, individuals and groups began to form national ideologies and practices to position Canada as distinct from Britain and America. These efforts included the Canada First movement and lacrosse. The Canada First movement (an ideological position that sought to advance the interests of Canada and Canadians) believed that Canada needed to be composed of a single identity: White Anglo-Saxons. The White Anglo-Saxon was a reference to the northern connections of the Old World as it was believed there were ancestral connections with Canadians. The Canada Firsters believed that being from the north made them physically superior due to their ability to thrive in the barren, rugged geography and cold climate. These beliefs promoted in the print media, including *Grip* and the *Canadian Illustrated News*, supported Canada in being a nation distinct from the United States and Britain.

Lacrosse also became a practice used to promote a national identity when Canada was formed in 1867. In the 1860s and 1870s, lacrosse advocate George Beers promoted lacrosse as a Canadian sport distinct from such British pastimes as cricket and rugby. Beers dismissed the integral origin of lacrosse as part of Indigenous cultures that founded the sport, by reconstructing it as a game led and played by Canadian Anglo-Saxons. As part of an attempt to promote Canadian nationalism in the early 1870s, both *Grip* and the *Canadian Illustrated News* looked to the sport of lacrosse and the philosophies promoted by the Canada First movement and this coverage provides insight into the ways Hanlan was portrayed in these publications.

After Hanlan won the 1876 Centennial Regatta in Philadelphia, both *Grip* and the *Canadian Illustrated News* took the opportunity to promote him as an emerging Canadian hero. The coverage Hanlan received in these magazines showcased his traits which were widely regarded as ideal by many Canadians. Both magazines used illustrations to present Hanlan as athletic, muscular, and handsome. Their extensive coverage of Hanlan reinforced an imagined community similar to political scientist Benedict Anderson's use of Cf. Seton Watson's argument suggesting that an imagined community is created by individuals who do not know one another, coming together for a shared interest. The interest in the print media coverage of Hanlan provided opportunities for these magazines to promote a Canadian national identity that fit their political interests. The readers were inspired by his success and entertained by the skills and dominance he displayed while rowing.

*Grip*, through the perspective of John Wilson Bengough, used the success of Hanlan to promote national pride. Bengough adopted a Liberal approach by presenting Hanlan as independent, self-reliant, and a son of Canada. The illustrations and text of Hanlan in *Grip* were presented to instill national pride within Canadians and to distinguish the nation from the United States and England. This nationalistic focus was displayed in illustrations covering the 1877 Hanlan-Ross Boat Race (poem), the 1879 Hanlan-Elliott Boat Race (figs. 1.1-1.3), and the 1880 Hanlan-Trickett Boat Race (fig. 3). Bengough used contemporary art, references to classical antiquity (fig. 3), and caricature (figs. 1.1-1.3) to dramatize these races and promote Hanlan as a model of the ideal Canadian. The coverage was presented to guide the reader by showing Canadians their favourite rower Hanlan in a positive light and to instill national pride.

The *Canadian Illustrated News*, also used the success of Hanlan to attract readers and convey its position related to Canadian nationalism and manliness. Like *Grip*, who alluded to

classical themes, the *Canadian Illustrated News* fully embraced Hanlan by displaying him as a Greek hero/athlete (fig. 2 and fig. 4). Publisher George Desbarats and artist William Leggos purposely chose Hanlan, as he fit well with their goal of uniting the people of the new country of Canada. They specifically placed images of Hanlan, following his important victories, on the magazine's cover pages to encourage readers to identify and familiarize themselves with this iconic individual (fig. 2 and fig. 4). Like *Grip*, the *Canadian Illustrated News* provided extensive coverage of the boat races listed above. The continued high-profile coverage by the *Canadian Illustrated News* provides evidence that Hanlan was viewed as a popular figure who the magazine saw as a means of asserting its political message.

Through a masculine perspective, both *Grip* and the *Canadian Illustrated News* used Hanlan's image to help reinforce an explicit understanding of manliness in Canada. Hegemonic masculinity a concept theorized by R. W. Connell and James Messerschmidt is employed to understand the process by which a dominant form of masculinity was formed and reinforced. Hanlan can be argued to have represented a model of hegemonic masculinity, as he dominated his sport. Because of this, *Grip* and the *Canadian Illustrated News* recognized the value of using Hanlan to promote their values of manliness that aligned with those of the publishers and contributors. They wanted Hanlan's image to represent a type of manliness that was prominent in the Victorian Era. Thus, this hegemonic masculine form of manliness drew from muscular Christianity, the socially lauded belief in the self-made man, and the nineteenth-century concern over reclaiming masculinity. Additionally, the notion of fatherhood in the 1870s and 1880s provided a way to reinforce Hanlan's position as Canada's favoured son. The use of Hanlan as a model of manliness was used to attract and educate readers through his journey of dominance as a professional rower.

The cover page of the *Canadian Illustrated News*'s 12 October 1878 issue (fig.5) used an illustration of Hanlan as a self-made man to inspire readers by presenting the hard journey that he endured to become a successful athlete and entrepreneur. Hanlan had grown up in a working-class family and had to deal with many hardships. Yet, Hanlan did receive help to become a rowing champion from the Hanlan Boat Club, who looked after his finances and his training, organized the races, and educated him on how to present himself as a respected individual through the late 1870s. In the same image, the magazine also associated Hanlan with themes of reclaiming masculinity. This concept of reclaiming a man's true self was sought by health reformers and sports advocates focused on concerns that men and boys were becoming effeminate and soft—the result of urbanization and industrialization. Hunting and fishing were common outdoor pastimes that health and social reformers viewed as important for encouraging men to venture into the outdoors. In addition, travel guides advertising Toronto Island were used to attract potential visitors to the beauty and wilderness that the island had to offer. The outdoor pastime of rowing and the muscular physique of Hanlan were presented on the cover page of the *Canadian Illustrated News* 12 October 1878 issue (fig. 5) to promote manly themes such as strength and respectability and to steer individuals away from the moral and physical dangers associated with city life. Another contemporary conception of masculinity that influenced how the magazine presented Hanlan was muscular Christianity. In that same 12 October 1878 issue, the *Canadian Illustrated News* (fig. 7) presented an image of Hanlan to promote rowing as a means of achieving respectability by displaying strength and discipline. Additionally, *Grip* employed themes associated with fatherhood by alluding to Hanlan as Canada's son to remind readers of the popular expectations of manhood and to celebrate Hanlan as a successful son. *Grip* used two illustrations to reinforce this stance (figs. 8 and 9). The first was published when the

Hanlan Boat Club dissolved in 1879 (fig. 8) and then, four years later in 1884 (fig. 9), when Australian rower William Beach defeated Hanlan. By representing Hanlan as a representative of the dominant form of masculinity, the magazines wanted their readers to be proud of this rower's accomplishments as he represented the values of the ideal Canadian.

The coverage of Hanlan by both *Grip* and the *Canadian Illustrated News* promoted both national pride and identity, along with a symbolic representation of dominant masculinity within Canada. Hanlan's success as a rower, and his positioning as an ideal of Canadian manliness, allowed these magazines to promote and reinforce the idea of an imagined community through mass-producing images of Hanlan to be consumed by their readership. Hanlan's success provided the means to promote the connections between rowing and the idea of what defined Canadian masculinity. Hanlan, in these magazines, represented a dominant form of masculinity used to inspire readers to what it meant to be a man. This was accomplished through illustrated displays of Hanlan as strong, confident, polite, and surrounded by nature, which reinforced attributes ascribed to respectable manhood in the mid-to-late Victorian Era. The success of Hanlan helped create a shared common belief in understanding Canada as a nation and the role of manhood and masculinity in securing the nation's future.

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