# Advocates for National Recreation Services in the 1930's Well-being? Work? War?

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Abstract - This paper documents the efforts and impact of advocates for the provision of recreation services by the federal government in Canada in the 1930's. The most evident efforts were the unsuccessful bid to establish a National Ministry of Sports in 1937 and the successful work to include recreation services as part of the Youth Training programs of the late 1930's. Groups which were studied include those whose efforts focused on the Canadian political scene and the practitioners' domain. Individuals in the study include those who worked both inside and outside the structure of organized groups. The visible endeavours of these groups and individuals were preceded by almost a decade of work which is the subject of this paper.

#### I. INTRODUCTION

One of the major initiatives of the federal government in Canada is the promotion of "well-being," including "wellness," and "active living." This paper reports on an investigation of how the services which contribute to that wellbeing have developed - in particular, the recreation, sport and physical activity services developed by the federal government of Canada and begun in the 1930's. During the decade of the 1930's, surrounded by economic, political and social turmoil both nationally and internationally, the federal government was being urged to promote and support activities which we in the 1990's would consider to be ones that contribute to the well-being of Canadians. But, why was the government being pressured. And if we measure success by having their ideas implemented, why did these advocates meet with varying degrees of success?

This study addressed the efforts and impact of influential individuals and groups as advocates for national recreation services in Canada in the 1930's. Preoccupied through the decade with economic depression, unemployment, and social and political unrest, the Canadian federal government did not put leisure, recreation and sport matters into its top priorities in the 1930's. However, investigations have determined that there were several groups of social reformers and practitioners who were promoting that recreation be given both financial and moral support. The description of recreation given by these groups of advocates focused on play or sport

or physical activity or outdoor recreation. The motives that drove these advocates were based on their perceptions of individual, societal and national needs.

Certainly, not all the efforts of these prominent groups and individuals were directed at the federal government, but the main emphasis in this paper is on their work at that level. The most conspicuous support for national recreation services involved the unsuccessful bid to establish a National Ministry of Sports (including recreation) in 1937 and the successful work to include recreation as part of the Youth Training Programs of the Department of Labour in the late 1930's. However, these visible endeavours were preceded by almost a decade of work.

The paper contains the description of the efforts and impact of the various individuals and groups who attempted to promote recreation (including play, physical recreation, outdoor recreation and sport) in Canada in the 1930's. These advocates worked at the national level either because of their own personal interest or because the mandate of their group was a national one. The level of federal involvement that the advocates sought varied from the creation of a Ministry of Sport to financial support for programs offered by other agencies.

Past research attributes the federal government's involvement in recreation and sport to the work of a few individuals and groups such as Ian Eisenhardt and the British Columbia Pro-Rec Movement and A.S. Lamb and the Canadian Physical Education Association, and the Strathcona Trust with a passing reference to the 1937 efforts by Hugh J. Plaxton, M.P. to introduce into the House of Commons a bill which would establish a Ministry of Sports. This investigation has found archival material indicating the existence of several other very active advocacy groups such as National Council of Women of Canada, the Canadian National Parks Association, the Canadian Council on Child Welfare, the Young Men's Christian Association, and the U.S. based Playgrounds and Recreation Association of America. Individuals who played high profile roles in support of these advocacy efforts included W.J. Selby Walker of the Canadian National Parks Association, Charlotte Whitton of the Council on Child Welfare, Major William Bowie of the Montreal Parks and Playgrounds Association, and others, such as Hugh J. Plaxton, M.P., who were not necessarily allied with an

organized group. As well, records of debate in the House of Commons show evidence of rather spirited discussion of the role of local military cadet services in fulfilling the perceived need for physical training - at least for men. Internationally, pressure was exerted by Health Committee of the League of Nations, in its quest to both study and promote physical education and physical training.

While the decade of the 1930's is a convenient time frame, beginning with the stock market crash in 1929 and ending with the outbreak of World War II in 1939, it is a somewhat artificial time frame. The activities that were carried out in the 1930's and which are the topic of this paper, began in some cases well before 1930. However, the dynamics of depression, unemployment, civil unrest, and impending war provided the crucible in which discussion of social concerns was imperative, and in which recreation related matters were given a hearing. What must be asked as the advocates work is reviewed are the questions: why were these advocates promoting recreation? was it for individual and social well-being? was it to make people fit for work? was it to make them fit for war?

#### II. THE ADVOCATES

The National Council of Women (N.C.W.), an umbrella organization for a wide variety of groups advocating social reform, pursued goals that included recreation, conservation, health and planning. The N.C.W.'s involvement in national recreation issues began in 1901 when it became a national advocate promoting vacation schools and supervised playgrounds. By the 1930's the N.C.W.'s role was primarily one of liaison between groups who were actively engaged in advocacy or service delivery and the Council's own provincial and local member organizations. Thus, the N.C.W. had appointed liaisons with the Canadian Council on Child Welfare and the Canadian National Parks Association. When matters arose in these organizations that the N.C.W. executive deemed to warrant further promotion, the Council wrote letters of support and reported on this at its next annual meeting. As an advocacy group in the 1930's, the Council promoted the causes with information to its local members, but put very little pressure upon decision makers at the federal level. They gently were in favour of recreation for well-being.

The Canadian National Parks Association (C.N.P.A.) which began in 1923 as an advocacy group with strong ties to the Alpine Club of Canada, promoted recreation in the out of doors. Although its original mandate was to protect a national park in the Rocky Mountains against development and resource extraction, it changed that mandate to promote recreation in the out of doors when that first issue was resolved. Through its executive, individual members and member organizations such as the National Council of Women, the C.N.P.A. worked throughout the 1930's to

promote government involvement in recreation citing the various benefits to individual and community health, and using as a proposed model the German "out into the open" movement. In the late 1930's the mandate changed again to promote recreational travel with issues of parks, highways and the preservation of scenery. The Association's Executive Secretary, W.J.S. Walker was a realter by trade but a committed environmentalist in his volunteer activities. He ran the organization from his home and office, published a newsletter/bulletin service, and wrote letters to supporters and opponents of the C.N.P.A., and lobbied appropriate government departments. While the efforts of the C.N.P.A. were wide ranging, the impact upon the key decision makers of the time appears to have been slight. However, this does not take into account the role that this organization may very well have played in raising the consciousness of decision makers and educating the many recipients of the newsletters and bulletins about the issues of the day. The vision of recreation promoted by the C.N.P.A. was one of well-being with some efforts to promote employment through recreation.

The <u>Canadian Council on Child Welfare</u> (C.C.C.W.) through its Recreation Division was involved in promoting recreation services throughout Canada. The Council attempted to promote the development of a national organization for recreation in Canada, communicated with those who were working in recreation in Canada and the United States, and attempted to promote the development of local level recreation services in Canada.

The Council's efforts to promote recreation matters began in the 1920's through its Education and Recreation Section. The Section's 1923 progress report describes a survey of playgrounds. More action came two years later in the Section's 1925 progress report which related its belief in the right to play, its beliefs that play leads to physical, mental, moral and social fitness (what we in 1994 call well-being) and contained 25 recommendations including one promoting the establishment of an organization similar to the Playground and Recreation Association of America (P.R.A.A.). This was the first documentation of what would be a ten year quest to position the Council in a leadership role concerning national recreation services in Canada. However, the leadership work in the 1920's was limited to presentations at the Council's national conferences, augmented by the preparation of a suggested national program for recreation by a Dr. Gettys of McGill University and its publication in a pamphlet for national distribution. The distribution strategy is not known, but included student teachers including those in Nova Scotia in hopes that they would "help to spread the gospel of 'a wise use of leisure'" (NAC, MG28 I10, Vol 8, File 42, 16 Mar 1929).

The plans to develop a national organization began to be implemented in 1929 by the Council's Executive Director, Charlotte Whitton. Her contact with the New York City based P.R.A.A. began early that year as she attempted to

organize a meeting between herself, William Bowie who was the head of the Council's Recreation Division and the P.R.A.A.'s field worker for the northeastern U.S., Mr. A.R. Wellington. Her goal was not only to develop a national organization, but also to hire staff. The correspondence over three years includes several references to hiring "an excellent young chap," "a good young chap, with energy and promise," and some young chap who knows something of the work" - not a young woman, but a young man (NAC, MG28 I10, Vol 8, File 42, 11 May 1929, 27 Mar 1931, 8 Dec 1932). The meeting to get assistance in forming a national organization does not seem to have taken place due to the inability of all parties to coordinate their schedules, as well the efforts to hire a staff person did not occur until 1933.

Miss Whitton's bid to meet with the P.R.A.A. (later named the National Recreation Association) appears to have been carried out in isolation from many of the recreation workers in Canada. While she was trying to arrange a meeting with P.R.A.A. staff, Canadians were already members of the P.R.A.A., were honorary members and honorary directors, and were soon working successfully to organize the first N.R.A. congress held outside the United States. The Congress was held in October 1931, and as late as April of that year, Miss Whitton was unaware that this event was going to occur.

The National Recreation Association (N.R.A.) continued to act, although definitely in an arms-length relationship, as the organization which provided recreation services to Canadian cities. The N.R.A.'s annual review of statistics contained material from Canadian cities; the Canadian members and Canadian cities received publications from the Association; and at least one Canadian city, Hamilton, used a field service worker to study and make recommendations on recreation. However, the relationship wherein the N.R.A. provided information to and about Canadian cities was viewed by the Council as an irritating and frustrating situation, as noted by Charlotte Whitton when she wanted to find ways and means to finance a national organization and not "be left to exist on the incidental services of the United States organization" (NAC, MG28 II0, Vol 8, File 42, 28 Mar 1932)

Notwithstanding the setbacks in the efforts to establish a national organization for recreation, the Council continued in its work to raise the profile of recreation in Canada. By now, of course, Canada was in the grips of the Depression, with the unemployed, particularly unemployed men, being viewed as a major social problem in many communities. In 1932, the Recreation Division's chairman, William Bowie of Montreal, took on the twofold mission of making a trip funded by the Council to various Western Canadian cities. Bowie was to investigate the role that the Council could play in coordinating recreation services in Canada, and also to speak to interested groups about providing recreation services for the unemployed. The Council's offer of Bowie's services

was met with mixed reactions. He was certainly not welcomed with open arms by local officials, many of whom felt that they did not have a problem, or if they did they could solve it and he could not tell them anything new, or if there was anything new, they could not afford the solution. The final report from Bowie's trip points out some interesting contrasts between those cities which did not think that the issue was relevant when they were originally contacted and the events and discussion at the actual meeting.

The Council's promotion of recreation moved into a higher gear in 1933 coincident with the desperate unemployment situation that led the federal government to take measures such as relief camps for unemployed men. While there was still no national organization for recreation, the Council held its first Round Table Conference on Leisure, inviting 16 key individuals and representatives of organizations to a one day meeting in Ottawa to discuss the challenge of leisure. As plans for the Round Table were being finalized, the Council, in partnership with the National Council on Education, hired a staff person, Eric Muncaster, to initiate contacts with national and provincial organizations and to provide assistance to local groups through a series of bulletins which he wrote. The distribution network for these bulletins included at least 600 names.

Among the Council's efforts to promote recreation services at the local level was to investigate the recreation programs and facilities in the federal Relief Camps for unemployed men. Described by some as "slave camps" with an underlying motive to make men fit for war, should it ever come (Burton, 1991, p. 179), the relief camps were woefully lacking in recreation opportunities. The Council's efforts then focused on finding local groups such as the Kiwanis Club to supply playing cards, games and books to the Department of National Defence run relief camps. In this fashion, the Council continued to promote, but not provide, recreation services. Thus, although there was no separate national recreation organization, the Council's Recreation Division acted as one. All this changed again though when neither the Council or the National Council on Education could fund Muncaster's employment after March 31, 1934. While there is no "prove" of the effectiveness of the Council's work in recreation, in July 1934 William Bowie proclaimed that "there is no doubt that the work that has been done . . . has had a telling effect on community consciousness. Supervised play has almost become a slogan in certain cities across the country" (NAC, MG28 I10, Vol 9, File 42, 25 Jul 1934).

In the heart of the depression, with exceedingly limited funding the Council's organized, concerted involvement in national recreation began to decline. The Recreation Division, by then renamed the Leisure Time Activities Division, engaged in occasional correspondence with other groups, such as the Y.M.C.A., the Kiwanis, B.C. Pro-Rec and groups focusing on Adult Education, but did little to actively

promote recreation. The Council's initiatives appear to have been eclipsed by those emanating from the national counil of the Y.M.C.A. and Ian Eisenhardt and the B.C. Pro-Rec organization. The Council's impact on national recreation services which had focused on the themes of wellness and making men fit for work may well have increased the local and national consciousness of the problems, but did little to create new national recreation services.

The work of the Pro-Rec, the British Columbia Provincial Recreation Programme, with its dynamic proponent, Ian Eisenhardt, have been well documented by Lappage (1978) and Schrodt (1979 and 1984). As the Council on Child Welfare's efforts were declining, the Pro-Rec efforts were increasing with strong political and financial support within British Columbia. Eisenhardt was one of the many entries on the mailing lists from the Recreation Division of Council on Child Welfare, but he was not known to Charlotte Whitton. She did not seem to know who he was, misspelled his name and referred to him as "Mr. Eisendradt, or some similar name" in September 1933 (NAC, MG28 I10, Vol 8, File 42, 21 Sep 1933). However, by late 1934, the Council was very interested in Eisenhardt and was soliciting information from him after his work was noted in an editorial in the Montreal Gazette. Soon after this, part of the text of one of Eisenhardt's radio broadcasts was used in a Council publication. The leadership role appears to have shifted - from the Council to Eisenhardt.

While Eisenhardt was in charge of the Pro-Rec programme, he was also working on the national front as a consultant to the Youth Employment Committee (Y.E.C.) of the National Employment Commission (N.E.C.). In September 1936 he met with representatives of the Y.E.C. to discuss B.C.'s scheme, to help develop recommendations regarding physical training schemes for the unemployed, and to promote the idea of federal funding for provincial projects such as Pro-Rec. His ideas were used by the Y.E.C. in its report to the N.E.C. and subsequently included as part of the thinking of the N.E.C. as it attempted to provide programs to make unemployed young people fit for work. The most well documented program is that part of the Dominion-Provincial Youth Training Program which funded the training of physical recreation leaders in British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba and New Brunswick by 1940. Also included in the program were projects to provide physical recreation opportunities in training camps for forestry, mining, agriculture, and various occupations. The overall aim of the program was to provide training to unemployed young people.

Eisenhardt's first appearance on the national recreation scene was certainly not his last. The influence of the B.C. Pro-Rec movement spread eastward as Alberta developed a recreation leadership training program using B.C. staff who were on loan from Pro-Rec. Saskatchewan and Manitoba soon also developed programs based on this model. His

speeches and articles were cited in numerous publications. And finally, as the National Physical Fitness Act was proclaimed and its attendant organization, the National Council on Physical Fitness was developed, Eisenhardt, now Major Ian Eisenhardt, was hired as National Director of Physical Fitness in 1944. Eisenhardt's contributions were firmly based on the principle of recreation for well-being and recreation making people fit for work - work in recreation leadership and work in other fields.

The mission of the Young Men's Christian Association (Y.M.C.A.) during the 1930's as before was to provide social, educational and recreational opportunities for young men. As was the case with other organizations, the social issue of dealing with the unemployed became critical to the Y.M.C.A. early in the 1930's. The Calgary Leisure Time League became a model of the provision of the Y.M.C.A.'s services to unemployed young men. While it does not appear to have been a serious dispute between organizations, there is evidence in the files of the Canadian Council on Child Welfare to suggest that there was the potential for a clash between the Council's programs and those of the Y.M.C.A. Any potential clash was not viewed seriously by the Council which viewed the Y.M.C.A. as restricted to Protestant groups and of course to men and boys. Apparently the Y.M.C.A. wanted to cooperate and shared a similar philosophy to the Council that "the problem is much too large for voluntary organizations to handle adequately and that a thorough-going policy on the part of Government is essential" (NAC, MG28 II0, Vol 9, File 42, 28 Feb 1934).

The Y.M.C.A. joined the ranks of those critical of and interested in improving relief camps in 1935 when it called upon the Department of National Defence to hire a man (preferably with Y.M.C.A. experience) to arrange for religious, mental and social activities in the camps. While always a key player in the delivery of local recreation services, in 1936 the Y.M.C.A. attempted to have an impact on the policies and programs recommended by the National Employment Commission (N.E.C.), citing the organization's "technical knowledge and practical experience" (NAC, RG27, Vol 3364, File B171). While the proposals from the Y.M.C.A. which offered to cooperate in program delivery, to provide assistance and expertise, and to share the Y.M.C.A.'s experience in programs such as the Calgary Leisure Time League were politely received, the N.E.C. records indicate that the proposals were noted by the N.E.C. with no further action. However, the Y.M.C.A. did have one influential individual who may have quietly promoted the Association.'s ideas. Joseph McCulley, who was chairman of the Y.M.C.A.'s Young Men's Committee, was a member of the Youth Employment Committee (Y.E.C.) of the N.E.C. His work and that of the Committee were believed to have had an impact on the development of the policy and plan of the Y.E.C. The strength of the Y.M.C.A. was in its delivery of local services. At the national level it appears that it was not

a high profile, key player, but very probably did so behind the scenes in its promotion of recreation for wellness and recreation to make Christian young men fit for work.

The Canadian Physical Education Association (C.P.E.A.) was established midway through the decade in 1935. While the Association has been investigated by other researchers, particularly Blackstock (1965), Bray (1957) and Gurney (1982), of interest to this project is the impact that the C.P.E.A. had on the campaign for national recreation services in the five years after the organization's birth. While Ian Eisenhardt, an Association member, was an active participant in policy development through the National Employment Commission, the C.P.E.A., through A.S. Lamb, appears to have concentrated its efforts on the discussions with the Federal Department of Pensions and National Health. These discussions focused on the need for physical fitness of the young. As well, the C.P.E.A. became aware of the League of Nations interest in setting up a national committee for physical education and urged that the Department of Pensions and National Health become involved. A.S. Lamb's personal campaign in this time period focused on the need to enhance the physical fitness of the military, particularly the proper training of physical instructors. He was fiercely determined to promote his philosophy of physical fitness to the Canadian military officials who continually ignored his approaches. While the C.P.E.A. as a whole was interested in recreation in pursuit of well-being, Lamb, its President of the time, was also tenaciously promoting recreation and physical training to make men fit for war.

The role of physical training and physical activity was also debated in discussions of the Cadet Service within Canada's military services. The records of the House of Commons budget debates in 1934, 1936 and 1937 offer prime examples of the rhetoric about physical activity helping to make men fit for work and for war. As the federal financial support for cadet service declined each year, sparks flew between the hawks and the doves. The hawks always carried the day in the vote to approve the funds, but the doves, often led by members of the newly formed Cooperative Commonwealth federation (C.C.F.) raised key issues about whether the cadet corps was providing adequate physical training to the boys in it. Although the budget was always passed, there is evidence that questions were being raised about the adequacy of the physical training not only by members of parliament, but also And, was government funded physical by educators. training, in the interests of well-being, to make Canadians fit for work or fit for war?

While the focus has been on groups operating within Canada, the <u>Health Committee of the League of Nations</u> also played a role in the development of awareness of the need for recreation, particularly physical training. Beginning in 1924, the Health Committee, as part of the promotion of wellness, started its investigation of physical training, which it apparently hoped would lead to the adoption of rational

methods of physical education. Moving slowly, by 1930 the Health Committee had established a group of experts to study physical education. None of these experts were from Canada. In 1931 the Committee's studies were limited to physiology and athletic training. However, five years later in 1936 the Committee's focus was broadening to consider physical training and health. In the later years of the 1930's (1936 to 1939), the Health Committee focus was shifting. Rather than carrying out studies, the Committee was developing recommendations whereby national administrations were asked to set up national committees to study and implement the Health Committee's programme. There is no evidence in the records to indicate that Canada participated in the creation of a national committee or the provision of information to the League of Nations. While the primary focus of this set of activities at the League was on physical training, the Health Committee was also aware of the work of the International Labour Office (I.L.O.) regarding the study of Although the rhetoric notes the desirability of cooperating with the I.L.O., there appears to be no action to carry this out. Recreation was viewed by this group as physical training for fitness, certainly a more narrow focus than well-being.

While the research noted to this point has dealt primarily with organized groups and their employees or executive members, there were also individuals who were active in promoting recreation as part of their advocacy work for several causes including social welfare. The individuals previously noted as part of this investigation include W.J.S. Walker, Charlotte Whitton, William Bowie, Ian Eisenhardt, Joseph McCulley, and A.S. Lamb. Not yet presented is the brief role in recreation of H.J. Plaxton.

The primary contribution of <u>Hugh J. Plaxton, M.P.</u> was to bring forth to the House of Commons in early 1937 the motion that "in the opinion of this house, in the interest of public health there should be established a ministry of sports" (House of Commons Debates, 20 Jan 1937, p. 114). The wide ranging debate which followed provides splendid examples of rhetoric in which recreation through physical activity could improve health, build character and develop a hardy race.

In the end, the motion was withdrawn. Plaxton was not heard from on this matter again and the matter as such was not discussed again in the House of Commons; but, yet again, the cadet services issue and physical training was debated four weeks later. This time with no input from Plaxton. Although Ian Eisenhardt in B.C. was interested in Plaxton's ideas and wanted to use him to "help . . . in putting over the idea of keeping young Canadians fit" there is no record of Plaxton responding to Eisenhardt's overtures (BCPARS, GR459, Box 11, File 3, 22 Jan 1937). Thus, Plaxton's contribution, which had the potential to be quite impressive, warrants but a small chapter in the review of the advocates for well-being.

## III. CONCLUSION

The contribution of this paper to our understanding of history is through the investigation and publicizing of the role of several advocacy groups and individuals whose efforts contributed to the development of leisure, recreation and sport in Canada: advocates who delivered rhetoric and action; advocates who delivered policies and service; advocates who raised consciousness. Depending upon the advocate and the year, recreation was intended to improve well-being, or to make people fit for work, or to make them fit for war however, by the end of the 1930's the overriding concern was the military one - to make men fit for war.

This study's findings can assist proponents of recreation, well-being and active living to understand the historical context of the current policies and the role of advocates including both social reformers and professionals in the development of these concepts as well as the policies to implement them. This understanding can help them clarify the position currently being advocated regarding well-being and adds more pieces to the puzzle that is our history.

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