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**ATHLETICS AND ACADEMICS:
ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE WITHDRAWAL
FROM ONTARIO HOCKEY ASSOCIATION
JUNIOR A COMPETITION**

**by
JOHN WALLNER, B.A.**

**A Thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of**

Master of Arts

Institute of Canadian Studies

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

April, 1990

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"Athletics and Academics: St. Michael's College Withdrawal
from Ontario Hockey Association Junior A Competition"

submitted by John Wallner, Hons. B.A.
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts

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ABSTRACT

For more than fifty years, from 1906 to 1961, top level amateur hockey was one means by which St. Michael's College of Toronto, a Basilian-run Catholic school for boys, sought to develop in its students the Thomistic goal of the education of the whole person. Then, after winning a Memorial Cup championship in 1961, the College announced its withdrawal from Ontario Hockey Association Junior A competition on the grounds that the long and demanding hockey schedule militated against effective school work. In the case of Junior A hockey, the delicate balance between athletic and academics had been lost to the combined pressures of the growing movement for change in the Roman Catholic Church, a rising general concern over the quality of education and heightened tensions between professionalism and amateurism in sport.

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CHAPTER I

EDUCATION AND SPORT

. . . Recognizing the attraction sport has for boys, the Priests have made great use of sport to train and develop character and cooperation in their students. Most important, however, is the academic formation of the students.¹

This statement appeared in the souvenir program published for the opening of the new St. Michael's College Arena in November, 1960. Before the end of that same school year, however, the sense of a bright hockey future suggested by the new facility was tempered by the withdrawal of St. Michael's top team from Ontario Hockey Association Junior A competition. The withdrawal statement issued by school Principal, Rev. Matthew Sheedy, explained that the "long and demanding schedule, with its lengthy and drawn-out playoff arrangement, militates against effective school work."²

In many ways the decision was not a surprising one for the only school-sponsored team in the league to make - perhaps even giving the suggestion of a convenient excuse for failure to cope with the high level of competition at the Junior A level, but it was quite a surprising decision for the league and national champion. While the withdrawal of St. Michael's College from Ontario Hockey Association Junior A competition might, at first glance, seem to be little more than an isolated "hockey story", further examination of this incident confirms that sports

are, as Marshall McLuhan once put it, "extensions of social man. . ."³ and so, have implications far beyond the playing fields. (see Appendix I). Among those connections and implications are, for example: the debate over the Thomistic interpretation of secular man - a debate with links to both Aristotle and McLuhan; questions of the aims of education, including religio-cultural concerns rooted in the earliest developments of the educational structure of pre-Confederation Upper Canada; and, the matter of professionalism and amateurism in sport, particularly hockey.

If there is an overarching word to describe St. Michael's involvement in hockey, it would be "balance." The school's approach to education reflected a sense of Thomistic spirituality that sees man's relationship with God not just on an other-worldly level, but also in terms of man's secular life; so too, education was seen to be not just an intellectual pursuit, but also to include man's physical life. The Basilian statements of purpose are consistently phrased in terms of both one *and* the other. For example, the school's yearbook for 1952 - appropriately the one-hundredth anniversary of the establishment of St. Michael's College - described the goal of education by saying that there are:

. . .six of them; and we rather hope they cover the field: sports and scholarship; science and gentlemanliness; leadership and "good citizenship." Naturally they tend to overlap a good deal. . .a sound mind in a sound body help us to reach our final goal: God. . .Forget about that final goal, and what happens? We make a "be all and end all" out of those other things. . .instead of being an athlete he becomes a "Turk", a muscular nit-wit.⁴

Among the graduating students' profiles, the yearbook editors observed of Marc Reaume that "If you have to be 'big and dumb' to be an athlete, Marc only half fills the bill, but those marks belong to an "A" student. . .Mechanical Engineering."⁵

The Basilian Superior General, Rev. Edmund J. McCorkell, wrote in *The Tower* that ". . .St. Michael's exists to develop boys into men, by cultivating the gifts of nature and grace which God has given them. . .the parable of the talents. . ."⁶

The principal of St. Michael's College School, Rev. H Basil Regan, emphasized the idea of balance by criticizing the ". . .pseudo experts in the field of vocational guidance who, defining man as a tool-using animal, attempt to measure and circumscribe his spiritual faculties. . ." For Regan, it was the role of St. Michael's to ". . .refute those machinists of the mind. . .by developing and perfecting our students' natural faculties, by co-ordinating them with the supernatural. . ."⁷

A standard reference to athletics that appeared routinely in *The Towers* school yearbook throughout these years stated under the heading *General Information* that:

Sports will always be a great influence with the normal boy. Good health. . .an important help to serious study and a valuable asset for success in after life. . .all healthful forms of athletics come second to academic endeavours. At no time should sports interfere with daily class work. . .⁸

A further comment on athletics came in another edition of the yearbook with the observation that ". . .there is always a sport which entertains and develops the boy at St. Michael's. Whether it be on the varsity squads or on the intramurals, Sports will help the athlete, by the spirit of competition, to face greater obstacles than those on the athletic field. It helps him to develop certain powers given to him by Almighty God and brought out by his instructors."⁹

Fr. Regan commented after another school year on the new dominance of the "technological spirit" promoted by the perception that Soviet education had become superior to the "Community of Democratic Nations." Regan hoped that students at St. Michael's would not limit their "gaze to the confines of the created world, but would strive for harmony through an awareness of the Creator of all existent things."¹⁰ It would seem that whatever the technical superiority of Soviet education, Regan believed it had to be *balanced* by study on a wider scale. A reference to the words of Pope Pius XI emphasized the point with the papal admonition that the ". . .educational environment of the Church embraces the Sacraments. . .But it also includes literature and the sciences, not omitting recreation and physical culture. . ."¹¹

The Tower explored the theme of Goodness in 1959 when the editors concluded that "Goodness in the educational field. . .necessarily includes spiritual, moral, intellectual, and physical development, for 'Christian education' takes in the whole aggregate of human life."¹²

In the inaugural edition of *The Basilian* (the journal of the Congregation of St. Basil) in 1935, Fr. Lynch wrote that "Catholic education aims to develop the whole man. . . St. Thomas teaches that to develop the body is to make it a more powerful instrument of action for the soul. . . Athletics are, moreover, an aid to discipline. . . a fulcrum to spur boys on to earnest study. . . But let us, by all means, avoid extremes."¹³ Fr. Lynch's essay emphasizes the three elements that remained constant in the Basilian approach to education and sports: a spiritual basis for combining education and sports; references to the moral, character-building or pedagogical benefits of education and sports; and a caution on the need for a balanced approach to athletics and education.

Father McGee commented that "physical training, athletics included, supplies an outlet for that surplus energy which is the mark of a healthy, growing boy. . . We believe there is a common bond between Athletics and the mental and moral training of. . . students. . . penalized for violation of rules teaches. . . that there is a measure of justice. . . character-building. . ."¹⁴ Like Fr. Lynch, however, Fr. McGee put athletics in a larger context - secondary to the preparation of young men for "eternal life."¹⁵

The yearbook for the 1961 "season" was a very different publication, but showed, nevertheless, continuity of thought with the early volumes of *The Basilian*. Unlike the usual collection of student photos arranged by grade, graduate profiles and a scrapbook of the past year's activities, this special edition was entitled the

Hockey Yearbook; a tribute to the Junior A, Junior B and Bantam champions, and reminiscences of St. Michael's hockey history. Like his predecessors, Fr. Wm. O'Brien observed that "...a Catholic school cannot be proud of a team only as a fine aggregation of hockey players; but as representatives of a school tradition of Christian education - the forming of the whole man. . .Other teams may play hockey for other reasons. But at Saint Michael's hockey is a means to an end, and the end is to develop character and to show our society something, at least, of Catholics in Action."¹⁶

There were indications that the philosophy of balance was being taken to heart, too. Frank Mahovlich, a star on the Majors, refused an invitation to join the Kitchener-Waterloo team for the Senior A playoffs because he was "too busy with his studies."¹⁷ When Dave Keon was chosen as St. Michael's outstanding athlete for 1959-60, it was reported that not only athletic abilities were considered, but also that "the boy chosen must be a good student, dependable and a good example to other boys."¹⁸ Fr. Les Costello, a St. Michael's star in the mid-1940s who also played professionally with the Toronto Maple Leafs before entering the seminary, said that he was:

influenced at the time by Dave Bauer. He was the guy who wanted you to read Gilson and Maritain and all the great philosophers. He said there was a lot of things to do in life besides play hockey. . .¹⁹

When Cesare Maniago came to St. Michael's in the late 1950s, he wanted to play top level junior hockey but also to "continue on with an education. It seemed

that St. Michael's was the only team in Canada that really offered anything like that. . .²⁰ Like Costello, Cesare Maniago was influenced by Fr. David Bauer - "the most convincing individual at that particular time. . .He said if I wanted to pursue professional hockey as a career, to give it two years. . .It wouldn't be too late to go back to school."²¹

Bauer is reflective of a long tradition that is also a part of athletics and education at St. Michael's: the influential priest-educator, himself a scholar, sportsman, and philosopher, whose direct influence has been critical for the development of sports at the school. When Rev. Louis Bondy died at age 91, a fairly typical tribute was offered to "a priest and a deeply spiritual man, a college professor and. . .competitor when it came to sports and games."²² One of the earliest of these athletic "heroes" was Henry Carr. McCorkell's description of Carr's role in the beginnings of competitive hockey at St. Michael's reveals that Carr "was convinced that athletics helped appreciably to form boys into men, and he also saw competitive sport as a. . .way of getting St. Michael's accepted as a school cut in the same pattern as its neighbours in the city."²³ - Catholics in Action again.

Carr was not alone among the Basilians in promoting the practical aspects of education and sports. Fr. William J. Roach also sought to "place the college in the people's affection by providing public services. . .a community rink. . ."²⁴; this time at St. Thomas College (a Basilian school then located in Chatam, N.B. and later part of the University of New Brunswick at Fredericton, N.B.). Again not

untypically, on Fr. Roach's death in 1961, it was said that he "never lost his early love for hockey and was named honorary chaplain of St. Michael's Hockey Club in 1954. Even at 75, he still joined an occasional practice session of the team. . ."²⁵

Eternal goals based on philosophical foundations and traditions dating back to the Greeks did not exempt the Basilians from practical administrative concerns such as the need of an educational institution for community recognition and support. That was clear from the start with Carr and Roach. These more everyday considerations should be kept in mind for although the school's dedication to maintaining a balanced program of athletics and academics was longstanding, by 1961 it appeared that the irresistible force of scholarship had met the immovable object of big time sports. By examining the overlapping relationships among sports and education, religion and sports and the state of Canadian hockey at this time, it is possible to see the widespread influences which combined with more immediate factors and led to the withdrawal decision at St. Michael's in 1961. Among these elements were a rising general concern over issues in education; growing pressure for change in the Roman Catholic Church; and, strains in the relationship between professional and amateur hockey. For many years these often competing pressures and goals had been successfully balanced in the program at St. Michael's. In the end, however, a crisis point was reached and the hockey-schedule issue became the proverbial "straw that broke the camel's back."

In the very founding and development of the Basilian order there were events and forces that both symbolically and directly came to affect education and athletics at St. Michael's. The roots of the "Irish", as St. Michael's College teams were often known, are in Revolutionary France. There the work of a young priest, Joseph Bovier Lapierre, in the education of young boys at a Minor Seminary led to the establishment of the Congregation of St. Basil in 1822.²⁶ Hanrahan suggests that the name of the new Order was taken from the parish of St. Basil where the new religious community was taking over the administration of a school and from the fact that "St. Basil. . .as a monastic founder, a preacher and an author of a treatise on the study of pagan classics. . .seemed an appropriate choice of these men and the life work they envisaged."²⁷ More symbolically, St. Basil was "one of the four Greek Fathers"²⁸ and his choice as a patron not only made the Community one of the few Latin-rite groups to follow his rule, but also seemed to anticipate the Greek ethos of a "sound mind in a sound body" suggested by the Basilian philosophy of co-curricular education and "the development of the whole person."²⁹ At St. Michael's College the parallels with St. Basil continued in the variety of backgrounds of the teachers and the stress on close student-teacher relationships and scholarship.³⁰

The Basilian concern with education was not a case of "instant morality." For example, the Basilian Constitution of 1863 avowed in its statement of purpose that "this Congregation. . .dedicates itself in a special way to the education of youth in colleges and to the preaching of the Word of God."³¹ Under the direction of men such as the Canadian-born Superior General, Henry Carr, the Congregation of St.

Basil continued to emphasize education. By 1942, almost half of the priests in the community were involved in education and the role of athletics in Basilian schools reflected Carr's own love of sports. The role of athletics was, however, under constant scrutiny. For example, while leaving us to speculate about the details, Hanrahan reports that the role of athletics "was a subject of lively discussion within the Community in the Thirties."³² Essays in *The Basilian* support Hanrahan's contention. If Lynch and McGee offered enthusiastic support for scholastic athletics while acknowledging the need to keep them in perspective, Fr. Stanley Murphy seemed to damn athletics with faint praise. After criticizing the costly tendency of "keeping up with the Joneses in athletics" while there were no aesthetics fees comparable to athletic fees, Murphy called for "order and proportion."³³ While saying that athletics must not be "condemned", but "saved", Murphy questioned whether either Spartan or Athenian models were appropriate to Catholic culture and warned of the dangers of "surreptitious suppression by physical culture. . ."³⁴

Whatever debt the combination of sports and education at St. Michael's owed both philosophically and symbolically to St. Basil and ancient Greece, there was also a debt to the schools of nineteenth century England and their adaptation in Canada. In 1852, after Bishop de Charbonnel of Toronto had asked his former teachers for help, Father Patrick Molony, an Irish-born Basilian, and a delegation of four other Basilians established St. Michael's College.³⁵ Egerton Ryerson had been appointed by the legislature in 1845 to establish a proper school system for Canada West. Public education under the "Ryerson System" showed the Chief Superintendent of

Schools' support for the teaching of gymnastics which ". . .give the pupil a perfect command over all the members of his body. . .and. . .training which gives superiority in one department of active life, must be beneficial in another."³⁶ But St. Michael's College did not follow this gymnastic model and perhaps its location among the colleges that would become the University of Toronto is appropriate, suggesting as it does the English public schools' approach to physical activity. In fact, when St. Michael's entered competitive hockey for the first time during the 1906-07 season, they were combined with Trinity College, Upper Canada College and the Argonaut Rowing Club in the Ontario Hockey Association Group No.3.³⁷

Speaking of the colleges established in Upper Canada during the first half of the nineteenth century, Cosentino and Howell explain the place of sports in the programs of these institutions by reference to the belief that sports "can be used to mold character and prepare one to meet and solve the problems of life. . .the belief in England at the time. . . 'salvation through sports'."³⁸ In this way participation in "manly" sports not only promoted the qualities necessary to fight against sin, but also provided a test of those qualities; the playing field being a much more concrete place to judge these moral abstractions.³⁹ The metaphor is appealing: "Hard work, discipline, teamwork, sacrifice, and heroism *succeed*. . .on a playing field. . .in a few hours."⁴⁰ It was helpful, too, that such a healthy and constructive outlet was available for youthful energy and aggression. Team spirit, the "submerging of self for the good of a little games 'community',"⁴¹ aided discipline and promoted uniformity. Gathorne-Hardy points out that it was felt that "just as the classics

trained your mind for anything, games trained mind, character and body for anything."⁴² This contention was supported later by Bruce Kidd who cited an improvement in academic grades when students followed the Vanves system which involved one-third to one-half of the school day being spent in physical education and the visual and performing arts.⁴³

When John Morgan Gray attended Lakefield private school beginning in 1917 he entered a world where the role of sports was well-described by the way it defined the academic year: "Football Term - Christmas holidays - Hockey Term - Easter holidays - Cricket Term - Summer holidays. . ."⁴⁴ Tellingly, when Gray went on to the University of Toronto he found that ". . .hockey went until well into the spring and left one too tired and excited at the end of the day to settle down and do good work. . ."⁴⁵

During the 1930s, Principal Wallace of Queen's University told the school trustees that "universities are concerned primarily with the intellectual stimulation of students" and for that reason "he worried about the predominance of football. . ."⁴⁶ It seems that St. Michael's was not alone in struggling with this question of "balance" between education and athletics. In 1951 athletics continued to be popular on the Queen's campus but the *Journal* observed in an editorial entitled "So Little for the Mind" that "the budget of the university library was less than 70 per cent of the budget of the Athletic Board of Control. . ."⁴⁷

McMaster University established a Department of Athletics and Physical Education in 1930. Johnston notes that sporting activities "raised the hackles of a number of faculty members who charged that they took time away from what an undergraduate ought to be doing at university. Others just as vigorously disagreed, and . . . keenly promoted extracurricular activities as 'extensions' of formal course work. . . ."⁴⁸ In the late 1940s the debate continued when long-time athletic director Arthur Burrridge's plans for the introduction of a degree program in physical education met opposition. Johnston attributes this situation and Burrridge's subsequent resignation to dissatisfaction with the lack of success of McMaster's varsity sports teams. As well, "the concern long expressed by some was that athletics had at times been given precedence over academic studies."⁴⁹

There are apparent parallels between these schools and Roman Catholic classrooms. The co-curricular programme at St. Michael's was well-described by a former student of the school who went on to establish a similar institution near Regina, Saskatchewan. Fr. Athol Murray said of his approach at Notre Dame College that:

It goes back to the great fundamentals of education which say that true education is to be found in good fellowship, in friendly dispute and debate, in the conversation of wise and prudent men and women, in music, picture and the play, in the casual book, in sports and games and the mastery of the body.⁵⁰

The comparisons between St. Michael's and other college sports programmes are also illustrative of the perceived benefits and the difficult drawbacks that must continually be reconciled in competitive scholastic sports. Hockey at St. Michael's

was a likely focus for examination and evaluation by the school authorities when these constant underlying pressures coincided with a resurgent general interest in education and significant religious change in the early 1960s. Certainly there were precedents for strict measures to balance the athletics-education equation. In 1947, for example, during the same year that Dean Armstrong complained about 'football bums' at McMaster,⁵¹ two players from the St. Michael's Majors were suspended for failing to keep up their work.⁵²

Frank Deford suggests some differences between Roman Catholic and Protestant colleges in the United States that might parallel the situation which existed at St. Michael's College; the Basilians were also based in the United States and during the critical years leading up to the withdrawal decision had almost as heavy representation there as in Canada.⁵³ Deford contends that "sports was always safe territory for Catholics - especially at a time when the intellectual or social pursuits of Protestant colleges were seen as too liberal, even libertine."⁵⁴ As well, Harvard and the other Protestant-oriented schools were regarded as the established order next to whom the Catholic schools often looked little better than "extended high schools". In sports, however, there was a much more "level playing field",⁵⁵ an opinion with which Henry Carr likely would have agreed.

The characteristic of Catholic schools that became important at St. Michael's was the expectation that players "go to class, and. . .graduate. . ."⁵⁶ and the dilemma that in the end, in spite of the benefits of sports for their students, when they reach

the top competitive levels "the fact is that Catholic colleges are playing somebody else's game, and even when they win, it is not clear that they do;"⁵⁷ success on the athletic field can too often be at the cost of the very values that participation in sports was meant to promote. The 1961 Memorial Cup may have brought just that conundrum to the trophy case at St. Michael's College. Indeed, examination of the historical relationship between education and sports, especially education and hockey, suggests that there was a certain inevitability to the decision by St. Michael's College to withdraw from Ontario Hockey Association Junior A competition. There has been almost an "oil and water" quality to the mixture of education and top level competitive sports. The athletic scholarship programmes at many colleges and universities in the United States provide examples of some of the pressures exerted on scholar-athletes and their teams - upsetting the balance of the Greek ideal by subordinating the sound mind to the sound body.

The most obvious parallel between St. Michael's and a United States school, especially as it combines Roman Catholicism, education and sports, is the University of Notre Dame. In fact, "Red" Kelly, a former St. Michael's and N.H.L. star, has told banquet audiences that while it is considered that "Notre Dame is big in football, St. Michael's is just as big in hockey."⁵⁸ There are tempting symbolic parallels between the two institutions. Notre Dame was founded in the 1840s by a young French priest, Rev. Edward Frederick Sorin,⁵⁹ and apparently "discipline was based on the stern French principle of keeping the young men too busy to get into trouble. . ."⁶⁰ While football came to Notre Dame after Sorin's time, school

chronicler Francis Wallace describes the founder's likely reaction to the sport by saying that:

He would have objected to any interference with studies, but he would have approved of the game as an outlet for student energies. . .⁶¹

Wallace, however, is quick to counter any impression that the benefits of school sports had priority over studies at Notre Dame. After the death of the legendary coach Knute Rockne, for example, "the university began to lean over backwards on such matters as recruiting and eligibility. . ."⁶² in order to counter allegations that the school had become a "football factory." During a controversy over the firing of coach Terry Brennan in 1958, President Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh said that:

. . .As long as we, like most American Universities, are engaged in intercollegiate athletics, we will strive for excellence of performance in this area too, but never at the expense of the primary order of academic excellence.
.⁶³

Indeed, in the early 1960s Hesburgh's vision of academic excellence would be the force pushing Notre Dame's effort to become a world-class "multiversity"⁶⁴ and his emphasis on education was seen in some circles on the campus as "kowtowing to culture" at the expense of football.⁶⁵ This re-emphasis of education at Notre Dame occurred during an era of widespread interest in learning and illustrates both the kind and degree of concern with studies that seems apparent in the withdrawal decision at St. Michael's. As well, Wallace points out that "even some of the young priests, possibly touched by the freedom winds blowing in from things ecumenical, were having doubts about the authority of the University over them as teachers. . ."⁶⁶

This internal "dialogue" is reminiscent of ongoing discussions among the Basilians, especially over athletics and education.

There were no athletic scholarships as such at St. Michael's and the scale of operation of Junior A hockey in the early 1960s did not rival Division-I football in the National Collegiate Athletic Association, but elements of the American experience were part of the circumstances at the Basilian institution. Given Notre Dame's prominence and the United States component of the Basilian membership and operations, it seems quite possible that the coaching firings and re-emphasizing of academics under Hesburgh were on the minds of some officials at St. Michael's.

Of more immediate concern to the authorities at St. Michael's was the question of education and sports *vis a vis* the other hockey clubs at the OHA Junior A level. St. Michael's was the only team among the seven League members to have a direct academic affiliation, but each of the other organizations had a number of players enrolled in high school or university. Typical of longstanding patterns in the relationship between education and hockey, the Ontario Hockey Association presented a very mixed picture to anyone examining its approach to academics. The Toronto Marlboro situation is illustrative. In the middle of the critical 1960-61 hockey season, Harold Ballard and Stafford Smythe of the Toronto Marlboros, co-sponsored with St. Michael's by the Toronto Maple Leafs, accused the Ontario Department of Education of "putting so much stress on education that the very existence of Junior A hockey was threatened."⁶⁷ A few years earlier, though, it was

reported in a feature article on players in the Toronto Maple Leafs amateur system that Stafford Smythe was "quite proud of the list of players who came up through the chain to go on to universities and colleges. . ."⁶⁸ Perhaps the attitude of Toronto Maple Leaf officials had changed over the late fifties to a point where their goals were less compatible with the Basilians. In any case, the signals were at least confusing.

It is not only at the junior level that hockey and education seem to be travelling in different directions: the situation is longstanding throughout the hockey world. Frank "King" Clancy recalled his experiences in the early days of the NHL when a hockey player with a college degree "stuck out like he had hives."⁶⁹ Little had changed when Bob Pulford continued to work part-time towards a degree while playing professional hockey in the early 1960s and found "there were some questions asked about how I could serve two masters - my hockey career and education."⁷⁰

Although Clarence Campbell's comments to the Empire Club in 1963 came close to two years after the withdrawal announcement, they accurately reflect a consistent "party line" on education and hockey. Campbell first emphasized the \$500,000 annual contribution by the NHL member clubs to the education of their sponsored players. Beyond that, Campbell asserted that of the 123 graduates of sponsored teams attending university "a large majority. . .would never have had the opportunity. . .if it hadn't been for. . ." NHL funding.⁷¹ Junior hockey operators responded to the criticism that study time was sacrificed during the playoffs by

pointing out that playoff revenues were necessary to finance their operations and that the playoffs were scheduled after the February and March school examinations.⁷² As well, "some students were given extra time to prepare for studies and then given air transportation. . ."⁷³ to games. It was also suggested that playing hockey was comparable to any other part-time job held by students - especially since "even the most overworked juniors seldom spend more than 30 minutes on the ice during a game."⁷⁴ The Ontario Hockey League, successor to the OHA Junior A, compares its approach to education to that of U.S. colleges. The OHL names a Scholastic Player-of-the-Year Award each season, checks players' attendance regularly and boasts an attendance rate almost 30 per cent higher than the provincial average.⁷⁵ As well, in late May of 1961, Coach Scotty Bowman of the Peterborough Petes Junior team told a High School Athletic Association banquet that there was "an increasing need for students to continue with their education as long as they are able."⁷⁶ Bowman's remarks reveal the dilemma facing educators, even those most supportive of academics and sports, for an increased emphasis on education stands in contrast to the acknowledgement by NHL President Campbell that the league's funding of education for sponsored players was not "voluntary" action but an expenditure designed to "develop hockey players."⁷⁷

It is the "development" aspect referred to by Campbell that has drawn so much criticism of the relationship between hockey and education. Brian Conacher's conclusion after playing junior, university, international and professional hockey is typical; Conacher "became aware around 1960 that to pursue both hockey and

education was almost impossible."⁷⁸ Conacher points out that not only did the owner of the Toronto Malboros, the junior team he played for, not care about a player's academic success, but also a poor academic record served the owner's interest because this made the player a more likely professional prospect.⁷⁹ Conacher's own experience led him to observe that "anybody on a team competing for the Memorial Cup stands to be playing hockey well into May. . ."⁸⁰ when the late schedule leads to an ". . . inevitable conflict for the boy's 'time'."⁸¹

When the Buckwold joint parliamentary committee studied Canada's involvement in international hockey in 1977, they uncovered "disturbing evidence that many junior players are sacrificing their education to become professionals."⁸² The committee cited as evidence the fact that "some clubs discouraged their players from continuing in school, and there were also 80-game schedules and lengthy road trips to disrupt schooling. . ."⁸³ At the same time as the Buckwold committee deliberations, the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association commissioned a survey on the academic performance of student hockey players and determined that "hockey playing lads tend to show slightly better academic achievement. . ."⁸⁴ Significantly, though, the study did not include players at the junior level and above.

In 1963, a series of articles on the state of hockey appeared in the *Globe and Mail*. The circumstances described by G.E. Mortimer follow St. Michael's withdrawal by less than two years and cover familiar territory, even citing St. Michael's as an example of the effects of a schedule that "was too long and

exhausting, [and] interfered with school work."⁸⁵ The case of Bobby Hull was described. Hull left home to begin his hockey career at age 13 and lost a year of schooling when he was moved twice during one season, although he eventually completed Grade 12.⁸⁶ At least Hull enjoyed a successful professional career with the salary and other opportunities that come from success at the top level of hockey. This stands in contrast to the more typical experience of Robert Sheffield of Toronto, "a promising player who never made good. . .regrets that he quit school and several jobs to attend tryouts for pro-sponsored clubs; that he signed "C" tryout form. . .disqualifying himself from university athletic scholarship he had been offered."⁸⁷ Frederick Hamilton, superintendent of education in Guelph, told Mortimer that "of eight players for New York Rangers' junior team, checked at random, seven failed at least one year, all were working far below capacity. . .emotional pressure, travel, loss of sleep hampered the boys."⁸⁸ Art imitated life when Buck Martin played for the mythical *Guelph Kings* and found that "hockey consumed more time than he had imagined and combining it with school required careful organization."⁸⁹ In fact, "with the fifty-six game schedule and the heavy practice list, Buck had great difficulty staying even with his class at school."⁹⁰ As if the verisimilitude of the novel needed further proof, in March 1960, Brother Paul, principal of St. Columbas Boys High School in Pembroke and coach of the local junior hockey team, criticized professional hockey for denying players on sponsored junior teams "opportunities for continued schooling."⁹¹

Further discussion of Stafford Smythe's criticism of education is appropriate both as a summary of the arguments about education and hockey and as a reflection of circumstances during the pivotal 1960-61 season that were likely to have affected the situation at St. Michael's - particularly given Smythe's relationship to the school through the Toronto Maple Leafs. Smythe's contention that school pressures for honour grades "threatened" hockey drew wide-ranging reactions. The *Toronto Star* observed that Marlboros were in last place in the standings "and this must be the reason why Mr. Smythe suggests that high school academic standards are too tough. . ."⁹² Education administrators were highly critical of Smythe: S.G.B. Robinson, Secretary of the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation, said "the schools' chief aim is not the production of bigger and better hockey players. . ."⁹³; Edward M. Davidson, Chairman of the Toronto Board of Education, was of a similar mind and was "glad that education is making such an impression on young men that they are not signing up to play professional hockey. . ."⁹⁴ When Graeme Bacque wrote to the Editors of the *Toronto Star*, he hoped that Smythe was "spoofing" but suggested that if the hockey official was serious, selective breeding could produce a race of super hockey players for whom education would be unnecessary.⁹⁵ P.J. Gorman was discouraged at what he viewed as an attempt to lower academic standards at the behest of hockey.⁹⁶ Inspired by Smythe's remarks, the *Toronto Star* interview Milton Campbell, a former Olympic champion and professional football player, concerning education and sport. Campbell told the newspaper that he:

would advise any young man who's smitten by the fame and fortune of sports to choose an all-round education to the glory of a playing field. . .But I must confess

athletics teach you something you can't find in a book -
that's to fight, fight for what you want. . .⁹⁷

Even Campbell's assertion later in the interview that he would urge his own son to choose education over sports seems tempered by his statement that there are benefits from athletics that cannot be found in books. John S. Wright focused on the need for "well-rounded boys who have both academic and athletic training" when he responded to Smythe's remarks;⁹⁸ the benefits of athletics being found not only in improved physical fitness but also in the development of "initiative and self-reliance."⁹⁹

In Wright's remarks can be seen the appeal of hockey to the officials at St. Michael's - dedicated as they were to "education of the whole person." However, Smythe's contention that education represented a "threat" to hockey did not reflect the balance implicit in the Basilian approach - suggesting a reaction to the criticism on their part that was likely to be closer to that of other education administrators such as Robinson and Davidson. Indeed, if lines were being drawn, especially by someone as close to the school as an official of the Toronto Maple Leafs, the authorities at St. Michael's were likely to stand on the side of academics. Developments in the Roman Catholic church and elsewhere in the field of education at this time would only confirm that inclination.

CHAPTER II

RELIGION AND SPORT

St. Michael's teams represented not just a school, but a *religious* school and their participation in athletics reflected longstanding relationships between sports and religion. As with the connections between education and sports, these links are based on a combination of Greco-Roman and Christian attitudes - more specifically Thomistic and seventeenth century Protestant attitudes - to physical activity and sports. Seen from this perspective, participation in sports is both an expression of spirituality and a vehicle for carrying a spiritual message to the secular world.

A Basilian priest, Walter Principe, traces the evolution of Roman Catholic spirituality to the fourteenth century and beyond and credits Thomas Aquinas' re-discovery of an Aristotelian view of nature for preparing the "way for a spirituality that is appropriate to lay people living and working in secular society."¹ Interestingly, Principe uses a sports metaphor to convey his definition of spirituality:

History and society are not just hockey arenas. . .where Christians can go in and play games but without the final outcome mattering one bit so long as they play in such a way as not to fall into sin. . .Thus a Christian cannot seriously envision growth in the spiritual life without including his or her entire life, social as well as individual, work as well as leisure, activity as well as prayer. By contributing to the goodness of secular society, by humanizing it. . .²

So, in a theology that is no longer isolationist, all human activities are acceptable expressions of spirituality. However, it is not enough simply to play the game without losing one's soul; there is also an obligation to "contribute to the goodness of society" through this activity. There are suggestions that this second element was critical in the case of St. Michael's and the Ontario Hockey Association. Reflecting on St. Michael's experience in Junior A hockey and the withdrawal decision, Fr. David Bauer said that:

. . .we regretted very much leaving. . .because we knew that this (hockey) is a major recreational institution in this country. . .it would have been a good thing to remain, to have that moderating influence on the sport. . .filter down through. . .I don't know whether we could provide that if we were there today. . .³

According to the Greek thinking in which the Basilian philosophy of sport has its roots, it was necessary to develop both mind and body to the fullest degree possible in order to live a life "in harmony with nature." Sports, then, became not just a matter of participation to develop the body but also a matter of purpose; that is, activity had to be consistent with the growth of the natural duality of mind and body. George F. Will enunciated the Greek philosophy of sports when he pointed out that:

the ancient Greeks. . .believed that sport was a religious and civic - in a word, moral - undertaking. . .most praiseworthy when the activity demands virtues of the spirit - of spirit - of character - as well as physical prowess. Admirable athletic attainments involve mental mastery of pain and exhaustion - the triumph of character. . .over adversity. . .⁴

Just as athletes must try to overcome the laws of physics in order to "run faster and jump higher" in sporting competitions, so too the benefits promoted by

philosophic and religious support of sport contended from the earliest times with forces that seemed to pull in an "equal and opposite" direction; the longstanding conflict between the sacred and the profane. The games of late Greek and Roman times drew Cicero's criticism because they were spectator sports whose purpose was pleasure and profit rather than participation for education and development.

Guttman points out that:

In their secularism as in most of their other characteristics, modern sports are closer to the Roman than to the Greek model. It is, indeed, precisely this pervasive secularism which made modern sports suspect in the view of many religious leaders of the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries. . .⁵

But it was the Greek model that was the ideal, however much the pull seemed to be towards the secularism of Rome. In his *Ethics*, Aristotle suggests that "anyone who wants to be professionally qualified with theoretical knowledge must proceed to the study of the universal. . ."⁶ Within the "universal" as described by Aristotle can be found the three elements significant to the situation at St. Michael's: the duality of man's nature as both body and soul; pleasure - understood as relaxation or leisure and physical activity - and its place in man's nature; and, the doctrine of the "golden mean" or moderation. Similarly, the value of sport as training for future life might be found in Aristotle's admonition that "'Play to work harder', seems to be on the right lines. . ."⁷ However, within the same statement Aristotle indicates both a note of balance and also refers again to the relationship between body and soul when he says that people cannot exert themselves continuously and must relax, but a happy life "does not consist in amusing oneself. . ."⁸ Aristotle declares further concerning the golden mean that:

. . . it is in the nature of moral qualities that they are destroyed by deficiency and excess, just as we can see. . . in the case of (bodily) health and strength. For both excessive and insufficient exercise destroy one's strength. . . preserved by the mean.⁹

When the works of Aristotle reached Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in translations and the works of leading Arab thinkers, Christianity was faced with the task of harmonizing its beliefs with a rationalistic interpretation of human experience. Thomas Aquinas was confident that faith and reason were compatible and that secular knowledge could exist as a distinct aspect of human experience. The Thomistic synthesis developed as a "central idea of a rational understanding of God as the creator and source of all being, goodness, and truth, present in all beings by his power and essence, the uncaused cause, in whom alone essence and existence are one."¹⁰ For Aquinas the all-inclusive and transcendent nature of truth means that revealed truth and sense-perceived or speculative truth are "merely different expressions of one and the same total truth and therefore. . . compatible and contemporary."¹¹ Not only are empirical inquiry and philosophical reasoning permissible in Thomism, but also there is an implied obligation to "develop a deeper reverence for God" through a deeper understanding of nature.¹²

In a further extension of Aristotle, Aquinas also refers to the "soul" in a wide sense. But instead of Aristotelian dualism - the independence of soul and body - Aquinas sees the human being as one substance with two components. Through the knowledge gained by sense-experience, man's rational soul comes to know the existence of God;¹³ it is the entire man who understands - "by his intellect, as he

walks by his legs, but it is the man who understands, just as it is the man who walks.¹⁴ Understanding, then, might also come to the skating man as easily as to the walking man.

Aquinas also recognized the Aristotelian doctrine of the "mean"; not as a mathematical mid-point, but as "the proportion and measure demanded by right reason."¹⁵ And, while knowledge and an understanding of God through nature would seem to make Thomism a wide-ranging philosophy of human experience, it is a "balanced humanism" in which:

...The body is not declared worthless or shameful, and the sciences and the arts are not rejected in name of religion. At the same time man is not declared, with Protagoras, to be the measure of all things.¹⁶

The approach at St. Michael's of the "education of the whole person" in a co-curricular program which included athletics would seem to be a recognition and an acceptance of the Thomistic sense of nature and knowledge. Similarly, there was a balance which kept hockey - particularly Junior A hockey - from becoming the "measure of all things." While the mean as understood by Aristotle and Aquinas was not a mathematical mid-point, the OHA Junior A hockey schedule seems almost to have reduced the question of hockey at St. Michael's to just such a calculation as the number of games increased to the point that balance among the co-curricular elements was in danger of being lost.

The critical rationalism of the Enlightenment and the exposure of the view of knowledge to the radical doubt of René Descartes led to the rejection of

Aquinas' synthesis of Aristotle so that by the early nineteenth century "the theologian who quoted Thomas. . . was rare."¹⁷ By 1850, however, two new movements formed in the Roman Catholic Church, each promoting a different approach to the relationship of the Church with modern culture. The Ultramontanes advocated a rigid neo-Scholasticism in guarded opposition to more liberal observers of modern culture who were ready to seek a new or renewed synthesis as Aquinas had done. The issue became centred in an administrative-institutional conflict between the Rome-centred Ultramontanes and the French-based Gallicans, who advocated a kind of local-control of Church administration at the diocesan level. It was in the midst of this controversy that St. Michael's College was established by the Basilians, an order with its founding roots in Gallican France.

While Pius XI (1836-1878) had been a stalwart ultramontane, his successor Leo XIII (1878-1903), was a career diplomat who attempted to reconcile the Church to the challenges of nineteenth-century thought by an intellectual renewal of Church thinking. But it was not a liberal solution. Leo XIII's encyclical *Aeterni Patris* ". . . exalted St. Thomas and proposed his teachings as the very touchstone of Catholic orthodoxy. Thomism interpreted in the most narrow and unhistorical way . . . conquered. . . Catholic academia."¹⁸ But there was concern over the narrowness of neo-Thomism, especially as it ignored historical method. "Modernists" began to search "for ways of expressing their Catholic faith that would make sense to the modern mind;"¹⁹ a case of fidelity "to the spirit of Thomas rather than the letter."²⁰ However, the Church was not receptive to this sort of Thomistic synthesis and

moved against modernism. Ironically, considering St. Michael's future reputation as a centre of progressive Catholic thought, Rome's general condemnation of modernism came in 1907,²¹ the year of St. Michael's first OHA hockey season.

The experience of the American Catholic Church is illustrative of the development of these controversies in North America. As in Europe, Catholic seminaries became bastions of Scholastic Thomism as the foundation of all sacred study.²² As well, coincident with the arrival of large numbers of immigrants, by 1840 a significant number of parochial schools had been established to protect children's Catholic faith from the Protestant-dominated culture of the public school system.²³ Within the hierarchy of the Church the Irish had a well-established dominance by the 1880s and their "... aims were similar to the liberal Catholics in Europe insofar as they shared their desire to reconcile the Church with modern culture. . ."²⁴

According to Armour and Trott, the academic study of philosophy began in English Canada with the publication of James Beaven's *Elements of Natural Theology* in 1850.²⁵ The emphasis on reason in philosophy made it an appropriate response to pluralism, especially among the Scots and Irish who were influential in the development of colleges and universities and for whom "the tradition of public reasoning"²⁶ was familiar. This is a response to pluralism similar to that of the Greeks of Aristotle's day and to the Middle Ages when Aquinas sought to meet the Aristotelian challenge raised by the Arab intellectuals.²⁷

When Egerton Ryerson was appointed Assistant Superintendent of Schools in Upper Canada in 1844 and went to Europe to examine school systems, he chose the Irish model and recommended the hiring of "Thomas Robertson, a Chief Inspector of Schools in Ireland, as Principal of the new Toronto normal school."²⁸ It would be Ryerson's system that Roman Catholic separate schools would follow. Even close ties were not objected to, as can be seen in the fact that:

. . .when the Baldwin Bill of 1849 established a secular university in Toronto. . .The mentors of the struggling Catholic St. Michael's College who. . .could see no good reason for duplicating all the efforts of their Protestant rivals, immediately sought affiliation. . .²⁹

In 1904, one year after the death of Leo XIII, Henry Carr arrived at St. Michael's and before long introduced changes both in the teaching of Thomistic philosophy and in the playing of competitive hockey - beginning both projects in 1907. Armour and Trott suggest that "Carr was concerned to carry out not the letter but the spirit of *Aeterni Patris*."³⁰ In 1919, Carr brought Sir Bertram Windle from University College, Cork and Maurice DeWulf to Toronto. DeWulf investigated the:

question of the relation of medieval thought and culture to our thought and culture. . .Windle was concerned. . .to urge that a secular understanding of biology would increase the likelihood of our belief in the church's view of the world. . .to make Catholic intellectual life adequate to the challenge of the time.³¹

The arrival from France of Etienne Gilson and Jacques Maritain at St. Michael's in the late 1920's was most important for their general approach which supported Carr's goal of "the creation of a cool-headed intelligent community of men who could be devout without being narrow-minded, faithful without being

suspicious, tolerant without being soft-headed."³² These men and others, such as Gerald Phelan, continued to find connections between traditional Thomism and the issues of the twentieth century. The influence of Carr's "persistently open policy"³³ in both the department of philosophy at St. Michael's and the Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies created an atmosphere suitable for the acceptance of sport, especially hockey, as a legitimate aspect of Christian spirituality.

Harvey suggests that beginning in the 1930s there developed two opposing Roman Catholic opinions on the value and role of sport. On the one hand were "some of the regular clergy, especially those orders heavily involved in social action. . . as well as some priests working in urban parishes. . . (who) rapidly sensed the formative qualities of sport. . ."; on the other hand, "the more detached orders, such as the Dominicans, who saw themselves as the guardian of Church doctrine, as well as the community superiors and bishops, were much more reticent. . ."³⁴

There was concern that the promotion of sport might lead to an over-emphasis on the body and a preoccupation with pleasure - a source of sin. Such excess would upset the balance of moderation in the relationship between the body and soul. As well, competitive sport was seen as going beyond relaxation to the point of becoming profit-oriented. In this regard, the critics of sport were implicitly citing Aquinas' views on play. For example, in the *Summa Theologica* Aquinas writes that ". . . leisure, play and other things that go with rest give pleasure; they relieve us of the distress that comes from overwork."³⁵ In fact, Aquinas states

further that play and recreation have "no educative role, but are acceptable because of their capacity to lighten the labours of the intellect."³⁶ His admonition that the "pleasure given by play is. . .conditional on a proportion. . ."³⁷ supports the idea of balance and moderation concerning sport.

However, the idea of balance seems to have meant consideration of the benefits of sport as well as its potential abuses. Pius XII wrote in 1945 that sport:

could be an effective antidote to sloth and comfort, awaken a sense of order, train one to test and master oneself, and finally to develop natural virtues useful to spiritual ones. In this respect, it could teach loyalty, resolution, and universal brotherhood. . .³⁸

Hamelin suggests that changes in urban life brought on by industrialization caused the clergy to find new ways to approach Catholic laity, especially in the urban areas; involvement in sport was part of this new approach.³⁹ Former hockey executive Frank Selke was in charge of an athletic club at St. Mary's parish in downtown Toronto during the early 1920's and recalled that, while the club's philosophy was Roman Catholic, the realization of "the importance of supervised athletic development for boys" meant that "they encouraged boys of any race or creed to play on their teams."⁴⁰ The Catholic Youth Organization was started in Chicago in 1930 by a priest working with juvenile criminals and was aimed at promoting the "wholesome development" of young people. In Canada, the CYO hockey leagues were one of its most prominent programs and, according to long-time volunteer, Harry Lecours, ". . .there were many boys who might have gone the wrong way. But they got discipline and coaches taught them respect and helped

make them all-round people."⁴¹ Becoming an "all-round person" sounds very much like the Basilian philosophy of educating the whole person and suggests a widespread program in the Roman Catholic community of using athletics in the development of youth; White mentions, for example, that by the late 1940s more than 25,000 young people took part in programs sponsored by the Toronto CYO.⁴²

Perhaps no more visible example of this "ministry through sports" exists than in the case of the hockey-playing "Flying Fathers" - active participants, not just sponsors, and directly connected to the Basilians through priest-player and former St. Michael's hockey star, Fr. Les Costello. The Flying Fathers hockey team began in 1962 when Fr. Brian McKee decided to organize some hockey-playing priests for charity matches. According to Fr. McKee, "it was a way to let our light shine among men."⁴³ The Flying Fathers are to hockey what the Harlem Globetrotters are to basketball - barn-stormers who combine a zany mixture of skilled playmaking and slapstick stunts during their games. As hockey great Gordie Howe put it:

They're entertaining, they're a real crazy bunch, and they cheat. . . But the Lord put them on the road for one reason. There's no way in hell they'd sit in a church and have that kind of impact on people.⁴⁴

The Flying Fathers are representative of a group of Roman Catholic priests who not only support the idea of athletics in a religious context, but are also active participants as well. It is also interesting that like the Flying Fathers, these priests too come from wide-ranging locations, rather than one diocese or one religious community. One such man is Fr. Kyran Kennedy of Hamilton, Ontario, who "coached young people in sports but cared more for their spirit than their

performance;"⁴⁵ it was as a student at St. Michael's that he decided to become a priest. It was not only men such as David Bauer and Les Costello who turned down professional sports careers to enter the seminary and yet still maintained an involvement in sports by making it part of their ministry. Fr. Andrew Greeley recalls in his autobiography, for example, that the pastor of his boyhood parish in Chicago had "played shortstop for the Chicago White Sox. . .before going into the seminary. . ."⁴⁶ and was the "number one Notre Dame football fan in the country. . ."⁴⁷ Abbot Jerome Weber of the Benedictine abbey at Muenster, Sask., "chose religion over hockey as a vocation but still skates expertly in his religious garb on the abbey's enclosed community rink during the winter. . ."⁴⁸ Fr. Ron Hodura of Oakville, Ontario, gave up a chance at major league baseball to enter the priesthood but says that "sports teaches you winning and caring about your teammates. . .how to loose. . .a capsulized version of life with the highs and lows."⁴⁹ Fr. Ted Valencia of Texas holds a black belt in karate and says that karate helps fill the need of a "theology of the here and now" since "if I cannot appreciate the here and now, how can I appreciate the hereafter?"⁵⁰ And, former professional soccer player, Fr. Sergio Gutierrez moonlights as "Brother Tempest" on the Mexican professional wrestling circuit in order to raise funds for his orphanage.⁵¹

This active participation in sports is reminiscent of the scholar-athletes so prominent among the Basilians, who also found a place for sports in their ministries. The Basilian chaplain of the Newman apostolate at St. Michael's College, Fr. Joe McGahey, encountered one student who consistently missed Sunday Mass, but was

won over when his keenness for the "manly arts" led to his managing the boxing program at the Newman Centre.⁵² For Fr. David Bauer, ". . . his work was a way of contacting people, and nowhere was this more evident than in his approach to hockey. Here he worked with people who happened to be hockey players. This made all the difference. . ."⁵³ The old adage says that "one picture is worth a thousand words." In that case, Fr. Basil Sullivan's comments on the window dedicated to Henry Carr in the chapel at Notre Dame College may provide as clear a statement as any on the influence of Thomistic philosophy on Carr and the Basilian education program. Sullivan observed that:

the window symbolizes Henry Carr. . . deepening his insights in the study of Aquinas, and revealing him as a contemporary Christian philosopher and theologian. . .⁵⁴

There is also symbolism in Carr's encouragement of Fr. David Bauer's Canadian national hockey team and the fact that Carr arranged for the team to visit with the great Thomistic scholar, Jacques Maritain, when they travelled to France.⁵⁵

However, just as the Greek ideal of a sound mind in a sound body came to the education system through the model of sports at the English public schools, so too, the religious acceptance of athletics suggested in the philosophy of Aristotle and Aquinas was manifest in a fundamentally English-Protestant model.⁵⁶ Thomism may have provided the approbation and rational, but Protestantism provided the practical example for combining Roman Catholicism and sport, including the re-casting of Weber's Protestant ethic as cultural Jansenism.

In Guttman's view the intellectual revolution of the seventeenth century, the ideas of Newton and Locke, the Royal Society and the advancement of science and mathematics, were instrumental in the accommodation of religion and sports. Out of the empiricism and rationalism of the Enlightenment had come "the transition from the Renaissance concept of 'measure', in the sense of moderation and balance, to the modern concept of measurement"⁵⁷ through which the quantification of sports began; achievement in sports being measured in a manner somewhat similar to the scientific-experimental method. As a result, it is presumed that religious attitude toward sports is based primarily on an assessment of science. Such judgement being more negative in Roman Catholicism than Protestantism, it ought to follow that there is little evidence of Roman Catholic church sponsorship of athletics or of any widespread Roman Catholic participation in sports. In this regard, Guttmann cites Thomas Merton's essay, "Puritanism, Pietism and Science" as demonstrating, in the words of a noted Roman Catholic thinker, that "Protestants were much more likely than Roman Catholics to have been partisans of the 'new science'. . .in which 'empiricism and rationalism were canonized. . ."⁵⁸

Guttman seems to presume that the only correlation between religion and participation in sports is on the basis of attitude towards scientific rationalism and the idea of measure as quantification rather than the Thomistic idea of sense-perception and measure in a more qualitative sense as balance or moderation. This, of course, ignores the Thomistic response to secular knowledge promoted in the Basilian approach to sports; in a manner of speaking, the Basilian approach could

also be said to be based on a kind of quantification - as in the education of the "whole" person. On a larger scale, Guttman's analysis implies that the only reaction by religion to secularization vis-à-vis sports is on the basis of a measurement of quantity and not distinctions of quality. It is as if it must necessarily follow that the secularization of sport as religious ritual leaves it with no religious element possible in athletic competition. In relation to the ideas of Aquinas, sports can be seen to be not so much "sacred" as part of the natural humanity through which man can come to know God in the way that all knowledge leads to God, provided there is balance. As well, the biblical lesson of the "talents" can be seen in the sense of humanity that implicitly and expressly recognizes both athletic and intellectual abilities as appropriate. Sport, then, can be profane without being blasphemous, even if the competition itself is no longer part of a sacred ritual. The "education of the whole person" is a philosophy reminiscent of the idea "that all the human faculties (mind, spirit, body) must be fully and harmoniously developed" which Park attributes to Emerson, Thoreau and others.⁵⁹

Beyond the matter of measure as a significant element in Protestant and Roman Catholic attitudes to sport, the effect of the Protestant ethic is most often seen to be significant. Goldbach refers to Protestant-Roman Catholic differences over deferred gratification and, in a Weberian analysis, relates the willingness to accept the self-discipline necessary for successful athletic training to the qualities needed to accumulate wealth. The concept that work of all sorts was a service to God encouraged sports and recreation as physical "work."⁶⁰ This sense of sport is

a two-sided coin as it also contains the idea of sporting activity being morally acceptable as an alternative to idleness. As Michael Novak has observed, play is "a means to work" since:

play is a pause that refreshes - for harder work later.
Play prepares us for later life. Play teaches us serious
values. . .⁶¹

Novak points to basketball with its Scottish Calvinist and, he neglects to mention, Canadian inspiration and its "moral, Christian, and hygienic basis" - using "fun" to "sweeten. . .moral duty."⁶² Struna's analysis⁶³ not only rebuts the longstanding impression of Puritan opposition to sports but also indicates further how religion and sports came to be reconciled. The idea of work offered a sanction to sports as physical "work" and as service to God by the fullest use of His gifts, which included both mind and body. Sports in moderation refreshed "an overworked mind"⁶⁴ and assisted the establishment of the balance ordained by God.⁶⁵ The mind and body duality and the idea of moderation or balance have a familiar ring to them and suggest more common ground concerning religion and sport than might be imagined between Puritanism and Roman Catholicism. According to Guttman, Christian Graf von Krockow has referred to the Protestant ethic "to suggest a parallel between the 'secular asceticism'. . .of Puritanism and the self imposed denials of an athletic regime. . ."⁶⁶ Similarly, Novak states that the *ascesis* disciplines of Greek athletes, signifying the development of character through. . .self-denial, repetition, and experiment"⁶⁷ were taken up by Christian monks and hermits.

Novak contends that while a numerical minority, Irish Catholics in the United States have been disproportionately influential in setting the American Catholic tone, but in a culturally "Jansenistic" manner: severe, disciplined, moralistic, quasi-Protestant. . .⁶⁸ In this regard, Novak seems to be referring not to the theological controversy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the writings of Pascal, but rather to its moral and cultural impact which Cragg describes as "austere and stringent."⁶⁹ By the 1730s, Jansenism "had become a temper of mind. . ."⁷⁰ and it is in this form that Novak sees its impact. Interestingly, Cragg also states that the Jansenist controversy did not reach French Canada, perhaps explaining some of the differences between English and French Canada concerning their respective attitudes to sport. Certainly, in terms of St. Michael's and the Basilians, the French origins of the community and their strong Irish representation in Toronto make cultural Jansenism seem an often appropriate description and a not inaccurate euphemism for many of the qualities associated with the Protestant ethic. In fact, the football coach at Notre Dame University during the 1940s and early 1950s offers a "Jansenistic" image since:

. . . Francis William Leahy was a genuine Irish Catholic with a pedigree that fitted Notre Dame's image as a Gallic-favoured institution perfectly. . . His theories, based almost entirely, curiously enough, on the Protestant Work Ethic, were so perfect that they embarrassed certain factions in his own school.⁷¹

Jansenism can be seen as a parallel to the Protestant ethic in terms of its impact on religious attitudes to sport insofar as it values qualities such as discipline and morality that are seen to be learned through athletics. There is an additional

aspect in which participation in sports is seen as preparation for the "game of life." The English public school system, particularly Eton and Arnold's Rugby, became associated with this "muscular Christianity" which also became part of Canadian private school ideology.

It is generally acknowledged that *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (1857) made famous the role of sports in the moral education of young men at Rugby and it is presumed that this "muscular Christianity" was promoted as part of Arnold's reforms at the school. In a conversation with himself, Tom's father asks rhetorically whether his son was "sent to school to make himself a good scholar? Well, but he isn't to school for that - at any rate not for that mainly. . . If he'll only turn out a brave, helpful, truth-telling Englishman, and a gentleman, and a Christian, that's all I want. . ."⁷² Arnold's attendance at the football matches is interpreted as support for the games at Rugby.⁷³ We are told that cricket and football are "good for the temper..."⁷⁴ and that fighting is "proof of the highest courage, if done from true Christian motives. . ."⁷⁵ However, there is the sound of the dilemmas that would plague the co-curricular program at St. Michael's one hundred years later when the school hero, Brooke, spoke to the assembled Rugby students after a great football victory and declared to loud cheers that he'd "sooner win two School-house matches running than get the Balliol scholarship any day. . ."⁷⁶ There is irony, too, in Tom's counselling and advice to a younger student named Arthur (who may have been Hughes himself) concerning the use of "cribs" to complete Greek assignments. When the younger boy asks Tom not to use the cribs, his mentor asks, "how on

earth am I to get time to play in the matches this half, if I give up the cribs?"⁷⁷

After further discussion, Tom concludes that:

only the question remains whether I should have got most good by understanding Greek particles or cricket thoroughly. . . I never should have had time for both.⁷⁸

As is often the case with myths, there is disagreement about how much "muscular Christianity" was actually a part of Thomas Arnold's philosophy. Wymer suggests that because of Arnold's commitment to spiritual improvement and Christian ideals, "Arnold unquestionably encouraged the boys to indulge in all forms of manly exercise with the same enthusiasm as he himself displayed. . . Though it is doubtful if he gave any direct lead in putting sport on a properly organized basis. . ."⁷⁹ Bamford contends that football was already established at Rugby when Arnold arrived there.⁸⁰

Whatever Arnold's actual or imagined role in the establishment of games as an influential and important part of school life, both he and the "Rugby system" were given a stamp of approval similar to an unofficial "by appointment to Her Majesty. . ." designation when Queen Adelaide visited Rugby in 1839 and requested to see a football match.⁸¹ The day was a success and "gave Arnold increased prestige. . . and Thomas Hughes material for a chapter in *Tom Brown's Schooldays*. . . that. . . was later to give the game of Rugby football to the world."⁸² As a result, we have come to associate a wide range of virtues as developing from participation in school games. According to Charles Kingsley, for example:

Games conduce not merely to physical, but to moral health; in the playing-field boys acquire virtues which no books can give them; not merely daring and endurance,

but, better still, temper, self-restraint, fairness, honour,
unenvious approbation of another's success.⁸³

Hodgins has noted that in founding Upper Canada College, Sir John Colborne felt it important that the "old Manly British Field Sports" be a significant part of school life.⁸⁴ And Wymer states that while they might disagree with him on points of religious doctrine, "Whigs and Tories, Protestants and Roman Catholics, all agreed that Dr. Thomas Arnold, D.D., was a great educationist and an outstanding character. . .⁸⁵

As S. F. Wise has demonstrated, during the "last forty years of the nineteenth century. . .Canadians. . .were among the most sports-minded people in the western world."⁸⁶ There was, then, a society-wide sporting movement in the period immediately prior to the taking up of hockey at St. Michael's College in 1906. Significantly, the universities were among the leaders in the organization of sport. As well, there were also more recent examples than Arnold's years at Rugby school of the religious element in the sporting movement.⁸⁷ It was out of a tradition which emphasized "hard work, 'manly' sports and the value of education" that James Naismith became a scholar-athlete at McGill and went on to pursue his own version of muscular Christianity through the Y.M.C.A. - and the invention of the game of basketball in 1891.⁸⁸

A brief examination of the Basilian evaluation of the role and worth of hockey as part of a school program suggests support for Wymer's assertion concerning Roman Catholic acceptance of the ideas attributed to Arnold - at least

in spirit if not in name. As well, the inclusion of the British school sports at nearby Upper Canada College suggests both an example and common ground for the basis of the approach at St. Michael's. A definition of "Bauerism" in a recent hockey program said of Fr. David Bauer the "the overriding lessons of his practices and his games were teamplay, sportsmanship, dedication, mutual respect, clean play, faith and discipline."⁸⁹ In the same hockey program, Kevin Hood referred to the lessons "about life and sport in the Basilian system. . ."⁹⁰ St. Michael's principal, Fr. P. F. McCabe, wrote of the Basilian tradition of "a healthy involvement in many facets of school life. . .to grow spiritually, physically, socially and intellectually."⁹¹

It has been suggested that in the post-World War II era, the realization of the possibility of total destruction led to a level of complacency which meant that although the universities were growing quickly, there was an emphasis on material things and a corresponding interest in "more engineers, doctors, lawyers, and 'good-guy' social scientists, not philosophers."⁹² This apparent de-emphasizing of philosophy may have also meant some lessening of the sense of reconciliation between the modern world and Thomistic philosophy that by 1961 contributed to a more ready scepticism concerning the relationship between hockey and education; put another way, perhaps the imbalance in post-war society called for the application of the golden mean.

Martin identifies a longstanding trend towards secularization in religion that extended into the mid-twentieth century⁹³ and ascribes the religiosity evident from

the end of World War II until the mid-sixties as "a veneer covering a secular search for identity. . ."⁹⁴ Harvey has pointed out that "clerical authority in sport, as in all areas of social life, was sharply questioned during the 1950s. . ."⁹⁵ and although this observation concerns the situation in Quebec, it seems to apply equally well to English Canada and beyond. As well, examples of sports as preparation for the "Game of Life" were increasingly negative as, for example, the abuses of scholarship programs at American universities showed.

As concerns sports, the most direct post-war religious development has been the emergence of "Christian athletes", especially at the professional level. The brochure promoting the Christian Athlete Hockey Camp states that the program "is designed to assist in the development of the complete athlete; physically - mentally - socially - and spiritually, through a personal relationship with Christ."⁹⁶ While the "complete athlete" may sound very much like the Basilians "whole man", the hallmark of the Christian athlete movement is its distinctly Christian fundamentalist profile. It is also most prevalent among professional football and baseball players. In this sense, the "Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ" seems most often to be understood as directly involved in the individual player's immediate success in a particular game and season - affecting a batting average or number of touchdowns - almost as a kind of talisman. This stands in contrast to the Basilian sense of sport as an expression of man as body and soul and an avenue of knowledge or sense-perception through which man can better come to know God.

In the face of this secularization St. Michael's continued to support a very competitive Jr. B hockey team as part of the education of the "whole man" until 1989 when the school once again followed a championship with a withdrawal announcement.⁹⁷ But, as has been recently stated, commitment to an ideal "does not mean that the challenge of the programme was always realized. . .it was not, and many a Principal had to restate its objectives."⁹⁸ Just such a restatement seems to have been made at the time of the Jr. A withdrawal. Ironically, while Thomism did appear to provide the philosophical basis for St. Michael's to find a place for Jr. A hockey in their program in spite of the alleged impact of rationalism and the concept of measure, the "numbers" of the schedule seem finally to have caught up with them in 1961.

The Roman Catholic Church responded to the post-World War II secularism by convening the Second Vatican Council. During the time that the Basilians were making their decision concerning the OHA, the forces of secularism were already having an impact and may have helped to prompt a "restatement of the objectives" of the hockey program.

CHAPTER III

EDUCATION AND RELIGION, 1960-61

With all the overlapping influences that both drew St. Michael's into hockey sponsorship and affected the school's relationship with the sport, the immediate element in the withdrawal decision was related to concerns involving the classroom and the effect of the length of the hockey schedule on study time. The Basilian philosophy is, after all, the education of the "whole person" and the concerns of the St. Michael's authorities may have been heightened by the changes and dialogue in the education community.

The post-World War II era in Canada was one of great scientific and technological changes in Canadian society; it was also an era of great general interest in education. Stewart Reid traces this interest to Hilda Neatby's criticism of Canadian education in her 1953 work, *So Little for the Mind*. By 1960, media coverage of education was extensive - to the point that "most metropolitan newspapers, for example, appointed 'education editors', and regular columns such as that of J. Bascom St. John in the *Toronto Globe and Mail*. . . served to focus attention on the subject."² A questionnaire showed that only four of two hundred senior high school students "could identify the leaders of all three of Canada's major political parties."³ Controversy about educational aims and philosophy prompted the ranking of these topics as the "number one subject" for a proposed 1962 conference

during Education Year.⁴ Several new educational institutions, including Laurentian and York universities, were established in 1960.⁵ In 1961, the concern over educational matters began to focus on teacher training and qualifications and greater centralization and standardization in curricula, texts and buildings.⁶ Rising education costs were also a topic of discussion.⁷ Ontario and the federal government announced a joint technical training program on June 1, 1961,⁸ part of "a major reorganization of the province's secondary school system to begin in 1962."⁹ Experiments with educational television as a teaching device were attempted at a number of institutions.¹⁰ Roman Catholic Bishops in Ontario urged extension of the separate school system in the fall of 1962 and were met with strong opposition.¹¹ The preparatory work for the bishops' report may well have been underway in June, 1961, prompted, perhaps, by events such as the April 1961 Ontario order-in-council establishing an Advisory Committee on University Affairs.¹²

At the April, 1961 joint annual meetings of the Catholic Education Conference and the Ontario Educational Association, the assembled delegates were told by OEA President, Harold A. Klinck, that "the real rewards of higher education are the pleasures of achievement and improving mankind."¹³ References such as this to the purpose and philosophy of education were common at this time. For example, in a lecture at the University of Western Ontario, Sir Philip Morris, the head of Bristol University, "called for a balance in the curriculum as between the humanities and sciences. . ."¹⁴ and said of universities that "their greatest challenge is to maintain a firm hold on the spiritual and moral values on which a living society

must rest."¹⁵ It was reported that C. E. Phillips, Director of Graduate Studies at the Ontario College of Education, believed that Canadians wanted their schools to "help young people to achieve their full potentialities. . ."¹⁶ If the authorities at St. Michael's needed confirmation of the seriousness of some of their concerns, the words of J. Bascom St. John were telling. He wrote in May of 1960 that the problem with the education system was that:

its purpose is misdirected. . .it has got lost in a confusion of means and ends, and. . .it fails to educate the whole person.¹⁷

There was a Roman Catholic parallel to Hilda Neatby's *So Little for the Mind* in Monsignor John Tracy Ellis' slightly earlier work which established the myth of the anti-intellectualism of the American Catholic population.¹⁸ Ellis' judgement echoes Neatby's reference to the "new barbarianism" in which "matters of the mind are scorned as 'high brow'"¹⁹ and reflects both a frequent broad criticism of Roman Catholic education and of the state of North American education generally at this time. As has been seen, these questions of the quality of education were coincident with discussion of the future of education in light of rising costs, technological change and its effect on curriculum and teaching methods, and increases in student population. Greeley contends that Mary Perkins Ryan's *Are Catholic Schools the Answer?* (1963) summarized "a number of issues about Catholic schools that were being powerfully debated in the early 1960s,"²⁰ suggesting the possibility that the debate was known to the St. Michael's authorities in 1961. Ryan argued for the partial abolition of parochial schools in order to encourage "more religious faith and more scientifically cultivated instruction. . ."²¹ and criticized the "authoritarian

'clericized' structure of American Catholic life"²² indicated by the heavy dominance of priests and other religious involved in education.

These references to situations in the United States assume a North American "pan-Catholicism" for which there is some justification, especially as the Basilians were well-established south of the border and so were even more likely to be aware of the American debate. For example, Ryan was not alone in criticizing the role of the clergy in education. In the fall of 1960, there was extensive discussion in the province of Quebec over plans by the Jesuit Order to establish a second French Catholic university in Montreal. The Jesuits were opposed by those who favoured more lay control of heretofore church-dominated institutions.²³ This, of course, was the era of the Quiet Revolution in Quebec and the call for increased "laicization" in education may indicate the degree to which the wide mood for change in the Roman Catholic Church contributed to rising French-Canadian nationalism; in any case, the call for diminished church-control in education was duplicated in many places.

The quality of education in Ontario separate schools was criticized when MLA Albert Wren told the legislature in late March of 1961 that "most uneducated unemployed Canadians are products of Roman Catholic separate schools."²⁴ Wren's remarks came little more than a month before the official opening of a new high school in Toronto at the Sisters of St. Joseph's Morrow Park Convent. Significantly, the new facility boasted "an extensive library. . .and. . .language laboratory. . ."²⁵ As

well, the school included "tennis and basketball courts for both sisters and students which were flooded for skating during winter."²⁶ The location of St. Michael's College School mid-way between the Ontario Legislature and St. Joseph's Convent in the city of Toronto suggests a vantage point in two directions. Whatever the imagery, for any concern over the quality of education raised by Wren's remarks there was a clear example of a newly improved separate school - including sports facilities, but emphasizing instruction and participation rather than competition.

In discussing the role of Charlemagne in Christian education and the longstanding tendency of religious education toward secularization, Dewart also states that "from the earliest times, Christianity had promoted education. . .because the preservation and transmission of Christian doctrine require a specialized institutional effort."²⁷ For all the changes of the twentieth century, particularly in the post-Vatican II era, this constant goal of Catholic education and the competing forces of secularization were emphasized again recently when Monsignor Dennis Murphy of the Institute for Catholic Education said in response to growing pressures for the hiring of non-Catholic teachers in Ontario separate schools that, "the basic reason to have a Catholic school is that the faith and values are transmitted in a community context."²⁸

Houston and Prentice's study of nineteenth century Ontario schooling suggests parallels affecting the situation at St. Michael's College. By the mid-1840s, shortly before the establishment of St. Michael's, the Irish-dominated Roman

Catholic population of Toronto accounted for just over 20 percent of the city's population.²⁹ Not surprisingly, then, "Catholicism in Upper Canada was stamped indelibly as Irish. . ."³⁰ As well, Houston and Prentice comment that "to many in the Catholic community in Upper Canada in the 1850s Catholic schools appeared essential for both spiritual and cultural survival."³¹ Significantly, for many the Church became a cultural champion - something that seems very clear in the wide response to the success of Henry Carr's first OHA hockey championship team in 1907. The early 1960s were not exempt from these pressures and concerns. For example, on the eve of the Second Vatican Council in November 1960, the general secretary of the Student Christian Movement told the Canadian Council of Churches that "few Canadian university students have any connection with the Christian church and many are openly hostile."³² However, Rev. John F. Madden responded "that at St. Michael's College a quarter of the student body attends mass daily without compulsion. . ."³³ This situation would seem both to encourage St. Michael's authorities as to the importance and effectiveness of their school program in terms of religious education and put them on notice to continue to "fight the good fight" in the face of a apparent general decline in religious commitment.

Education would become only one of the major topics of post-Vatican II study and recommendation. Considered together with the rapid scientific, technological and cultural changes of the twentieth century, including their effects in the particular fields of education and religion, the St. Michael's withdrawal decision could be said to have been made during the proverbial cursed "interesting

times" of Chinese mythology. Bellah points out that after Vatican II the Roman Catholic Church "moved away from its sectarian rejection of the world toward a more active engagement with the world and its culture."³⁴ It may be that during such a period of significant transition and with wide concern being raised both concerning the quality and direction of education and the relationship of religion and education, the Basilians would re-evaluate the place of hockey in their program. At a time of renewal, perhaps the role of "champion" would be somewhat further removed from the hockey arena.

Change has been a hallmark of the twentieth-century and by the early 1960s the heretofore unchanging Roman Catholic Church was about to become part of the trend - experiencing the "dialogue" of change both as an institution and in its theology. While many changes in the Church seem to date from the Second Vatican Council, it is generally agreed that the council was called in response to the pressures of secularization evident before the first assembly in 1962. And while the papal bull announcing the actual date of the Council referred to the "awe-inspiring unity" of the Church,³⁵ there were two clearly different schools of thought about whether or not such unity meant "uniformity" or openness to change. Pope John XXIII issued the call for the Council in January 1959, and so the OHA withdrawal decision at St. Michael's was made in the midst of these pre-Council events and forces and may have been affected by them.

McBrien discusses the principles of Roman Catholic sacramentality and explains that:

the Catholic sacramental vision "sees" God in and through all things; other people, communities, movements, events, places, objects, the world at large, the whole cosmos. The visible, the tangible, the finite, the historical - all these are actual or potential carriers of the divine presence.³⁶

In an echo of Thomism, Hebblethwaite credits Pope John XXIII with responding to the "ferment of the Gospel" and the idea that the Spirit can be found beyond the boundaries of the Church "in the most surprising places."³⁷

The approach to sacramentality discerned by McBrien, focusing as it did on a theology understood through the humanity "from below" rather than the hierarchy above,³⁸ led to a more "grass-roots" approach to religion. This later-day "renaissance" was important to the Council rather than springing from its deliberations.³⁹ However, *aggiornamento* took the mood not only of optimism but also of dissent. Germain Grisez points, for example, to the refusal of many Catholics, priests, religious and laity, to respond to Pope John XXIII's request for pre-Vatican II prayer and penance as a sign that the general mood of dissent of the early 1960s had reached the Church.⁴⁰

Tellingly, as George Bull observes, the conservatism at the centre of the Church resulted in "tensions throughout the Catholic world between theoretical norms and the actual demands of modern life, resolved in most cases by the failure of the Church to play any vital role even in predominantly Catholic societies."⁴¹ For

example, in Europe during the early 1950s, the reform movement in the Church had manifested itself in the French and Belgian-based worker-priest movement through which priests lived as industrial workers in an attempt to bring the Church to the world of the worker. In 1959, Rome prohibited any kind of industrial work by priests.⁴² There were also indications of illiberality even within the diocese of Rome. Most symbolically concerning the situation at St. Michael's was a sports-related example of these conservative/liberal poles in which American seminarians in Rome were not allowed to attend the 1960 Olympic Games taking place in that city.⁴³

It is interesting to speculate about the degree to which discussion among the Basilians might have been influenced by events such as the 1960 Olympic ban and any implications it seemed to offer for the hockey program at St. Michael's. Was hockey a way of reaching out to people in the "hockey factories" as the worker-priests had done, or, were such programs forbidden because like the Olympics, they were sports and therefore forbidden?

Rev. Edward O'Connor of the University of Notre Dame examined the relationship between science and Christianity and the apparent rise of science without "the guidance which used to come from Christian faith."⁴⁴ However, O'Connor struck a Thomistic note when he went on to suggest that the truth of Christianity ought to be strong enough to withstand the scrutiny of science and that such investigation might well have a cleansing effect on Christianity.⁴⁵ In spite of his

optimism, though, O'Connor emphasized the critical importance of a loving lawgiver to "guide the use of science."⁴⁶

Against the background of the extensive changes in the world of religion that led to the Vatican council, many of the Roman Catholic religious orders were themselves coping with the forces of change. The Basilians were part of these "interesting times." Armour points out that "Toronto was a centre of liberal Catholicism"⁴⁷ and that the influence of Catholic philosophers Etienne Gilson and Jacques Maritain had been to make "Christianity, taken broadly, intellectually respectable."⁴⁸ These two men were affiliated with the Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies at St. Michael's College and, although their tenure there was during the late 1920s and early 1930s, their influence extended well past that time. The atmosphere of active philosophical and theological thought and discussion centred at a Basilian educational institution would certainly seem to provide an impetus for the examination of current religious issues within the Basilian order itself during the pre-Vatican II period. However, there were also some organizational matters within the order which needed attention.

Hanrahan suggests that both external opposition and internal structural weaknesses in the order were constant elements with which the order had to contend.⁴⁹ The significance for St. Michael's College was the possible influence that this longstanding turmoil had at the time that decisions were being taken concerning the school's hockey program. While the theme of education remained constant in

Basilian philosophy, the French and North American branches of the Order were not always of such a common mind on other matters. A series of disagreements led to a request to Rome and the granting, on St. Basil's Day, 1922, of a decree "declaring the separation of the two Provinces and the beginnings of two new Congregations of Priests of St. Basil of the Diocese of Viviers and of Toronto. . ."⁵⁰

In September, 1955, overtures from the French Basilians led to a Decree of Union reuniting the two Communities.⁵¹ Coincidentally, in 1955 the Basilians were in the midst of a period of rapid growth which peaked in 1964.⁵² Just as the post-World War II years saw the acceleration of scientific, technological and social changes that would prompt the deliberations of the Second Vatican Council, so too, those years brought extensive organizational changes to the Congregation of Priests of St. Basil. After the 1942 General Chapter there was a rapid expansion of the order in the United States, including both the establishment of new colleges and the opening of an American Novitiate at Rochester, N.Y.⁵³ This meant that not only were more Basilians assigned to the United States, but also that Americans represented an increasing proportion of the membership of the Community: while 35 percent of Basilians were working in the United States in 1942, by 1954, the figure had increased to 41 percent.⁵⁴ The extensive American presence in the Basilian order, both in terms of actual membership and geographic location, suggests that a North American-wide perspective was likely well-represented when the Community discussed religious issues during the 1950s and early 1960s.

While this rapid expansion might have offered new educational opportunities and an expansion of Basilian collegiality, it also had the makings of an administrative nightmare, echoing perhaps too much of corporate expansion and too little of reflection and spirituality. The Basilian ranks grew from 531 in 1954 to 638 in 1960 and during that time nine new institutions were established.⁵⁵ Not surprisingly, perhaps, "the General Chapter of 1960 sounded an alarm and asked for a halt."⁵⁶ As well, the leadership of the Basilians was disrupted when Superior General Father Flahiff was named Archbishop of Winnipeg in 1961.⁵⁷ Flahiff had been re-elected at the General Chapter of 1960, indicating support for the expansion moratorium.

By 1961, then, the picture emerges of a Basilian order coping with the logistics of a great expansion of numbers and facilities during a time of unexpected change in leadership, widespread concern over educational issues and growing pressure for change in the Roman Catholic Church. It seems quite possible that the role of athletics in the school curriculum, discussed within the Community as early as the Thirties, might have come under examination once again under these circumstances. In fact, the withdrawal decision may have been a kind of moratorium on hockey issues, too, since Hanrahan reports that "there were more profound issues in the conception and practice of religious life and the priesthood. . .intimately connected with the whole process of change in the Church"⁵⁸ at this time and that there were a "wide variety of responses, ranging from enthusiasm to dismay, from a sense of an evangelical summons to an opening for a grinding of axes. . ."⁵⁹

CHAPTER IV

HOCKEY 1960-61

The final Memorial Cup-winning game was hardly over when reports were predicting that St. Michael's record fourth championship would be their last. Stories of the anticipated withdrawal routinely cited what would become the official explanation - the length of the season and its effect on players' studies. Even during the previous season there were indications of scheduling problems at various levels in the Ontario Hockey Association. Toronto Maple Leafs scout Bob Davidson spoke of the 60 games played by the Scarboro peewee team which went to the Quebec City tournament and admitted that it was "too much hockey for youngsters" and that soon parents might force their children to quite playing in order to "pay more attention to school."¹ Coach Curly Davies of the Toronto Dileos peewee team claimed that "minor hockey players are being burned out by onerous schedules."² Davies found support in various quarters. William Farquharson, recreation director of the London Public Utilities Commission, singled out the Toronto Hockey League as operating a professional style schedule and emphasized his belief that "an athletic program should be secondary to school work."³ Other coaches added that the Toronto minor hockey system put too high an emphasis on winning. While the assistant director of the Catholic Youth Organization, Norm Ware, said that CYO teams had no more than one practice and one half-hour game a week during a 20

game season, he also admitted that all-star teams played more games.⁴ When there was discussion of a North Bay Junior A entry joining the Ontario Hockey Association, Stafford Smythe warned that the extensive travel faced by such a team would be a major problem because of the salaries for players who "would hardly be able to go to school or hold jobs."⁵ Smythe's priorities might well have sounded an alarm for the authorities at St. Michael's whose concerns would have been more directed to the effect of travel on school attendance and grades rather than financial cost.

By the critical 1960-61 hockey season there were strong indications that scheduling difficulties were coming to a head. In December 1960, Stafford Smythe admitted that the Junior A schedule was too long but contended that the League could not afford the revenue loss from playing fewer games.⁶ As with Smythe's comments about education "interfering" with hockey performance, these remarks could not have been very comforting to the authorities at St. Michael's for whom profit was not the first priority. In particular, Fr. David Bauer was unhappy about the St. Michael's game scheduled for Christmas day at the suggestion of Stafford Smythe and said that it "was a family day and people liked to stay home."⁷ When the OHA playoffs began, Fr. Bauer protested against the heavy schedule,⁸ but drew criticism from columnist Frank Orr who referred to the "old student bit" used by St. Michael's and the threat to "pull out of the Junior OHA" over the effect of the busy hockey schedule on schooling as a "cry. . .heard for many years."⁹

The reports about St. Michael's capture of the national Junior A championship Memorial Cup were unanimous in predicting that the school's "cry of wolf" would soon become reality with the announcement of St. Michael's withdrawal from the League - because of the schedule. For example, Mike Armstrong wrote that "among the reasons for withdrawing is that College officials are strongly opposed to the long season and extended playoffs that are said to seriously affect the players' studies."¹⁰ Lorne Bruce also noted school officials' opposition to the number of games and particularly to proposals to increase the "schedule to 60 from 48 games and introduce prolonged playoffs."¹¹ Jack Marks commented that "even the most rabid supporters of hockey in the religious order have determined that students must not be forced to participate in long schedules."¹² Frank Orr grudgingly acknowledged that education had always been the priority at St. Michael's, but again questioned their complaints about the length of the schedule asking why none of the other teams in the league, each of whom also had players in school, did not complain too.¹³ Orr's remark, of course, begged the question whether or not education had the same priority with the other teams as it did with St. Michael's. Orr, however, did suggest that the rumoured schedule increase for the upcoming season was not only proposed but likely, and noted the school's long opposition to such a move.¹⁴

Once again, when the actual withdrawal announcement came, the problem of the length of the schedule was cited as the significant reason for the decision. In the official statement, St. Michael's principal, Fr. Matthew Sheedy said that:

the Junior A hockey program as it is now constituted, with its long and demanding schedule, with its lengthy and drawn-out playoff arrangements, militates against effective school work.¹⁵

Gary Lautens, in a clear reference to the schedule problems, wrote that when St. Michael's was forced to choose between hockey and education, there was really only one option because of their "honourable commitment" to schooling.¹⁶ Even Frank Orr now acknowledged that "the lengthy playoffs and the pressure of competition was standing in the way of lads getting their education."¹⁷ It is often said that actions speak louder than words. If so, it is worth noting that when Toronto Maple Leaf's general manager and coach, Punch Imlach, announced plans to form a new five-team Metro Toronto Junior A league for the upcoming season, he declared: "we'll have a 36-game schedule and there won't be a single road trip."¹⁸ St. Michael's would be a member of the new league. With the perspective of hindsight, G.E. Mortimer agreed that the effect of the long and exhausting schedule on school work had been the reason for the withdrawal when he wrote a series of articles examining the state of hockey in 1963.¹⁹ Still later, when accusations were made in 1966 that playoff games on successive nights had negative effect on study time, Rex Macleod compared playing hockey to any other part-time job usually held by students and suggested that since "even the most overworked juniors seldom spend more than 30 minutes on the ice during a game"²⁰ there was no problem. Macleod, of course, chose to overlook the difference between the "stop-time" used at sporting events and regular time and more importantly, ignored all the additional non-playing time players must devote to hockey. Even five years

after St. Michael's withdrawal the party-line seemed to belittle the significance of the length of the hockey schedule for scholar-athletes.

This was not, however, the only aspect of the situation pointed out by hockey observers. One of the most frequent additional reasons referred to was the "criticism and adverse publicity from members of the OHA Junior Council over the past two years."²¹ Jack Marks reported that the "the Irish officers feel that the Junior Council no longer wants St. Michael's in the League. This belief has been strengthened by statements made at council meetings and by employees of National Hockey League teams who often act as spokesmen for their Junior A club."²² Harold Ballard, co-owner of the Marlboros, said that he did not "blame a fine person like Father Bauer not wanting to be humiliated by a few nitwits who have criticized and ridiculed him and the school. I think the OHA should make some concessions. They'll be sorry when the attendance starts to go down."²³ Not untypically, Ballard's position on the situation was not without its contradictions, especially concerning the education issue. But he did accurately describe the tone of the deliberations at OHA Junior A Council meetings.

Concerning the withdrawal decision itself, Niagara Falls owner-coach Hap Emms and S.J. Bibby of Hamilton were opposed to any further concessions to St. Michael's.²⁴ Regarding the immediate issue of the length of the OHA schedule itself, Emms was critical of St. Michael's own "scheduling". The withdrawal announcement came only one day before an OHA council meeting and seemed to

him to put the rest of the League in the awkward position of being publicly embarrassed on short notice.²⁵ Emms also cited accommodations to St. Michael's over the previous ten years such as the institution of four point games and seemed to hoist the school on its own petard by saying that, while they complained about playing too many games, "they have gone on exhibition tours and went out west to play in the Memorial Cup"²⁶ and so "played more games than any other team."²⁷ Since the only way to avoid the western trip for the Memorial Cup final and all the additional games it involved was to lose earlier playoff rounds, Emm's arguments seem to be a kind of sophistry which suggest that "if you do not want to play extra games, do not win." Emm's comments are less a solid argument than an indication of long-festering difficulties and a widening philosophical gap among the League members. S.J. Bibby, President of the Hamilton Red Wings, gave further evidence of these differences when he cited previous attempts to adjust the schedule on behalf of St. Michael's and concluded that these efforts had been "nothing but trouble."²⁸ Bibby referred to the financial necessity of a 60-game schedule "these days if you want to get off the hook"²⁹ and indirectly emphasized a very basic difference between St. Michael's and the other OHA member teams: making a profit was not as high a priority for the Basilians.

An unsympathetic attitude from the OHA Junior A Council does not seem surprising when events of the previous season are considered. Over the years there were a number of difficulties which contributed to the attitude of unwillingness that became so apparent at the time of the withdrawal. While the OHA Junior A

League had only seven member clubs, their direct affiliation through sponsorship with the National Hockey League teams seemed to multiply the complexity of their dealings with one another. For example, in October 1957, the OHA Junior A Council voted against a proposal by Montreal Canadiens representative Sam Pollock for an exhibition game between the OHA all-stars and the Ottawa Canadiens at Ottawa with Queen Elizabeth as a special guest. When it was learned that Her Majesty would not attend the game, "not only did Pollock lose his game, but the Council decided to eliminate his players from the OHA all-star match."³⁰ At the same meeting there was a more significant decision which illustrates the recurring problem of recruitment and disagreement over the status of players in the OHA. In this case, the Council voted not to allow the Montreal Canadiens-sponsored Peterborough TPT's two extra eastern branch-to-branch imports.³¹ In May 1960, Sam Pollock was again at the centre of a vote by the Council. On this occasion Pollock tried unsuccessfully to reverse an earlier motion denying the Junior Canadiens their special status in the Memorial Cup playdowns; a deadlock was broken by the casting vote of OHA president Ken McMillan. Stafford Smythe was especially critical of Pollock's proposal because he could "see no reason why the farm team of the most powerful hockey team in Canada should get a bye into the Eastern Canada finals" and was especially upset at "the idea of two guys voting to rescind this motion because they have a deal cooking with Canadiens. . ."³² At the Junior A Council meeting after St. Michael's withdrawal announcement, Pollock and Smythe crossed swords once again in what Frank Orr called "battle 9,876 of their long time war."³³ Pollock accused Smythe of trying to form a super-team by adding

St. Michael's players to his Marlboro team and of using the threat of a Marlboros withdrawal from the League as a lever to gain concessions from the League. Smythe, for his part, claimed that Pollock had been trying to secure St. Michael's ouster from the League for years. And Rudy Pilous of the Chicago-sponsored St. Catherines team commented that all of the arguments and manouvers were simply "a squeeze play between Maple Leaf Gardens and the Forum"³⁴ which left the other Council members "caught in the middle."

In September 1960, Hap Emms' plan to move his Junior A franchise from Barrie to Niagara Falls was approved easily because there was no rule to prevent it. Stafford Smythe moved a resolution to make future transfers subject to a majority vote of the Council.³⁵ Emms, of course, was one of the Council members to state strongly his opposition to any accommodation of St. Michael's concerns. Emms was further upset with St. Michael's because of a tie game between his Niagara Falls Flyers and St. Michael's in early December of 1960 which gave the Majors sole possession of first place. St. Michael's gained the tie by winning a protest and Flyers officials were upset enough to file a counter protest themselves.³⁶

During the OHA final series between St. Michael's and Guelph, St. Michael's won the third game of the series and Guelph manager Jack Humphries was upset over the performance of referee Hugh McLean and penalty timekeeper Jack Hewitt, claiming that the officials were biased against his team and demanding that they not be assigned to any further games in the series. During the game in question

Guelph players received what Humphries judged to be severe treatment, including two misconduct penalties and one game misconduct. As well, when Humphries went to speak to the officials, police were called to intercept him.³⁷ While it was not an explicit part of the Guelph team's complaint, it may have been that they were particularly sensitive to the officiating because of the situation concerning St. Michael's star Bruce Draper. Draper had suffered a concussion in an earlier game and had returned wearing a helmet. Many observers were critical of what they thought was the "kid glove treatment" being given to Draper by the officials and thought he was "sneaking in a lot of goals" as a result.³⁸ While such friction and allegations were typical of playoff hockey dating back to the late nineteenth century and were often as much gamesmanship as legitimate grievance, they may have seemed more significant at a time when the authorities at St. Michael's (especially those officials not directly connected with the hockey program) were evaluating the likelihood of negotiating a compromise with the OHA Junior A Council over the scheduling issue.

Jimmy Skinner of Hamilton was also unsympathetic to St. Michael's position and his concerns pointed to an important area of contention in the relations among the OHA Junior A Council members. At a meeting in September, 1960, Skinner protested what he termed violations of draft rules by St. Michael's and Marlboros in the cases of Rod Seiling and Don Duke, whose anticipated enrolment at the school would circumvent their selection by other drafting teams.³⁹ The Ontario Hockey Association draft of eligible graduating midget hockey players was an

unending source of controversy and confusion since, by enrolling at St. Michael's at a younger age and playing for the school's teams at lower classifications, a youngster became part of the St. Michael's hockey system and was not, therefore, eligible for selection by other OHA Junior A teams when he reached the normal midget level draft age. As the only school with direct Junior A membership, St. Michael's seemed to some other Junior A organizations to have an unfair recruiting advantage. As well, there were additional arrangements based on the special status of players' previously enrolled at St. Michael's that only seemed to heighten the complaints. For example, in 1957, St. Michael's arranged for the Marlboros to take their fourth choice in the draft since "St. Mike's felt they might be wasting their draft choices if the players chosen might later be found to be inadmissible to the college. . ."⁴⁰ St. Michael's was not really denied anything, though, since the OHA Junior A Council also agreed to allow any player drafted under this arrangement to be switched from the Marlboros to St. Michael's.⁴¹

However, licence to make special arrangements was not always available to teams. In November 1960, a 14-year-old hockey player named Bob Boyce signed to play with two different Junior B clubs, one in Belleville sponsored by Chicago of the NHL, and one in Peterborough sponsored by the Montreal Canadiens.⁴² Montreal had executed a bit of sleight of hand by purchasing his release and signing Boyce when they realized that Belleville had neglected the technical requirement. The Ontario Hockey Association authorities refused the boy permission to play with either team and solved the problem quickly. Nevertheless, the incident raised

ethical questions and prompted OHA past-president William Esson to say that although "we have a rule that says the pros can't touch or sign a boy until he's 16 years old, with these sponsored clubs they're just beating the limit. It's a one-way street the pros are walking with us."⁴³

In March 1961, officials from Montreal and Detroit moved against Toronto at a meeting of the Junior A Council of the Ontario Hockey Association in order to block the importation of midget hockey players who had special status under Toronto Hockey League rules.⁴⁴ While all other midget level leagues in the province followed Ontario Hockey Association rules preventing such imports, the Toronto Hockey League did not. This "importing" allowed the Toronto-based teams, St. Michael's and the Marlboros, to give what amounted to tryouts to players before they became eligible for the OHA draft and to move players under age 16 to sponsored teams where they would be ineligible for the draft. Jack Humphries, New York Rangers Scout and Manager of the Guelph Royals, proposed that the draft age be lowered from 16 to 15 to prevent the bidding wars by making the top midget players available to all Junior A teams and not just St. Michael's and the Marlboros.⁴⁵

In April 1961, Gary Lautens called for a federal government examination of professional sport. Among other things, Lautens pointed to the OHA draft as an example of the lack of a free market in professional sport since ". . . no firm in the country can draft employees, free of charge, from small towns and claim ownership

of a man without his consent nor even knowledge - but it happens in hockey and football."⁴⁶ Only a week after Lautens' column appeared the OHA Junior A Council adopted new draft rules which eliminated the 16-year-old age limit and instituted a four-player reserve list for each club; all youngsters not on a list would be eligible for the draft. The Toronto Marlboros voted against the change and St. Michael's abstained. One player mentioned in discussion about the rule change was 15-year-old Barry Watson, the son of former NHL player Harry Watson, who had planned to enter St. Michael's and now would be part of the draft.⁴⁷

Controversy built before the final ratification of the new rule at the OHA annual general meeting in May. For example, columnist Frank Orr received a "letter" from a nine-year old player named Gordon Gluck, whose prodigious minor hockey scoring feats seemed better suited to an as yet unknown Wayne Gretzky several years in the future. Naturally enough, Gluck's budding-superstar credentials supposedly brought him a great deal of attention from professional scouts and caused the youngster to complain that the new rules would allow any team to put him on their reserve list without his knowledge or permission. At the same time, "Toronto wants me to go to St. Mike's but I am no good in school."⁴⁸ Joe Watkins identified the crux of the problem when he referred to past charges that "some clubs have 'hidden' young players until they reached the required age although they might possibly be on another club's list" and were, as a result, "sewn up long before another junior team had an opportunity to draft them."⁴⁹ It was reported that the

proposal was sponsored by Sam Pollock, the Montreal Canadiens Farm Director and the registered owner of the Peterborough OHA Junior A team.⁵⁰

The OHA draft continued to be a source of difficulty at the organization's annual meeting in May 1961, when a delegation of parents led by Lucile Black protested against plans to extend the draft so that even players 12-years old and under would potentially be eligible. Mrs. Black commented that she and her husband "had a talk with Father David Bauer. . .and he is in 100 percent agreement with us."⁵¹ The protesters' demonstration was aimed at Pollock's proposed new rule that would remove the age-16 draft minimum and allow each OHA Junior A club a four-player reserve list, registered with OHA headquarters and subject to change at any time.⁵²

Further indication of the significance of the rule proposal was suggested by Frank Orr when he said that "education is luring away more hockey players every year and the team who can combine the educational and hockey facilities will be the one who owns the most stars."⁵³ Since the Toronto Maple Leafs were able, through St. Michael's, to offer just such facilities to prospects, in the eyes of other OHA Junior A teams they enjoyed an advantage under the age-16 minimum limit. Youngsters could enter the Basilian school and become involved in their hockey program before becoming available to the rest of the League in the draft. It would seem that the proposed lower age limit was designed to open the draft to this heretofore select group of players. As it turned out, the measure was amended to

permit the current draft regulations to stand, but with a prohibition for the 1962-63 season against the "moving of players under 16 years of age, for the purpose of evading the draft."⁵⁴ Jim Proudfoot attributed this move by the Junior A Council to "widespread and outspoken opposition" and to the "Toronto Marlboros. . . powerful trump card: A Maple Leaf Gardens threat to withdraw from junior hockey, taking with it two clubs, Marlboros and St. Michael's College."⁵⁵ It is interesting to note that just prior to the season after St. Michael's withdrawal, the Toronto Hockey League:

Ratified a change in its agreement with the Ontario Hockey Association. . . which requires a player under 16, moving to Toronto, to play in his own age grouping..the regulation was aimed at preventing Maple Leaf-sponsored teams from bringing players into Toronto under 16 years of age, and hiding them on a THL team where they would not be subject to the Junior Council's annual draft. . . prime example. . . Jim Keon. . . attending St. Michael's College. . .⁵⁶

Jack Marks' comments on the longstanding criticism of St. Michael's use of education in recruiting are a good summary of the view that, because St. Michael's was a "college franchise", they had "an inordinate influence on attracting young potential pros into the Maple Leaf-sponsored amateur chain."⁵⁷ As Marks said, the:

promise of a disciplined education has been a strong influence in talks with players' parents. The college has been able to attract young men below the 16-year old OHA draft age into a school where they can progress in their studies and through the St. Michael's hockey set up.⁵⁸

Frank Orr agreed that education at St. Michael's was a great "talking point" for a Toronto scout trying to win over the parents of talented young players since "for a parent who is allowing a 16 year old lad to leave home the thought of the protection

of St. Mike's and the necessity of good marks to qualify for the hockey team is a big factor. . .⁵⁹ And, of course, the long list of St. Michael's graduates who had gone on to successful National Hockey League careers certainly suggested that a youngster could learn both academics and athletics at the school. Although Orr could see the appeal of St. Michael's on this basis, his reaction to it was more reflective of the school's critics. Orr commented that St. Michael's and the Toronto Maple Leafs had used "this old student bit to the hilt"⁶⁰ with the picture of "golden educational chances" at St. Michael's. Gary Lautens also acknowledged the unpopularity of St. Michael's in some circles because of "their unique status" and the attraction that the supervision at the college offered to parents.⁶¹

Parents were not the only ones to find the regime at St. Michael's appealing. As Gordon Walker noted in the late 1940s, Majors Coach Joe Primeau had an advantage over his fellow Junior A coaches who had to deal more frequently with players who broke training, something which was harder for players to do when they were "living under the strict supervision of college authorities."⁶² According to Walker, this fact, as well as the benefits of "scholastic loopholes in hockey's regulations", meant that St. Michael's had its opponents "hog-tied."⁶³

One long-time critic of St. Michael's education "trump card" was former Detroit Red Wing Coach and General Manager, Jack Adams, who claimed that the situation made nearly every Roman Catholic priest in Canada an unofficial scout for St. Michael's and the Toronto Maple Leafs.⁶⁴ In his biography of Harold Ballard,

William Houston claims that St. Michael's was invaluable to the Maple Leafs because it drew players from across Canada since "it was much easier to convince Catholic parents in Northern Ontario, for example, to send a son to Toronto to play hockey if the parents know the boy would be living at a good boarding school."⁶⁵ Former Toronto Maple Leafs owner Conn Smythe recalled that "one attraction we had when going to sign players of school age was the chance to offer them tuition at St. Michael's. . ."⁶⁶

There were specific cases of the use of education in recruiting. For example, Les Costello had been a great St. Michael's player in the 1940s and was followed to the school by his brother, Murray. In 1957, yet another Costello brother left Northern Ontario for St. Michael's. In this case, Jackie Costello had played for the previous three seasons with the New York Rangers-sponsored South Porcupine Juvenile Hockey League, "but his education and the Costello tradition at St. Michael's won out. . ."⁶⁷

For Jack Adams, and probably many others, one of the most galling cases of this sort of recruiting concerned the case of Frank Mahovlich.⁶⁸ Mahovlich was a 14-year-old *wunderkind* playing hockey in Timmins, Ontario when he drew the attention of NHL scouts. Toronto Maple Leafs Scout, Bob Davidson:

found out the boy's parents were interested in having him continue his schooling. Since they were Roman Catholics, that meant St. Mike's. Eventually, Father Ted Flanagan, who was running sports at St. Mike's at the time, came up for a chat with Mr. Mahovlich, too. We managed to convince them Toronto was the right place to come.⁶⁹

In 1960, Rod Seiling was attracting similar attention as a 15-year-old star in Elmira, Ontario. Both New York and Montreal offered bonuses of several thousand dollars to sign Seiling.⁷⁰ Toronto was successful in wooing the promising prospect because his family was attracted by the idea of the education and athletics program at St. Michael's and by the interventions of former St. Michael's player, Darryl Sly, who was a school teacher in Elmira.⁷¹ However, just before the start of the 1960-61 season, Jimmy Skinner of Hamilton alleged that Rod Seiling's father had received \$7,200 from the Toronto Maple Leafs organization to enrol his son at St. Michael's.⁷² As well, Skinner announced that Hamilton would lodge a formal complaint about the case of Don Duke who "is a Protestant and suddenly wants to go to a Catholic school. . .Is St. Michael's in the school business or in the hockey business?"⁷³ Duke was also from Elmira and had been Hamilton's first draft choice but "balked at coming to Hamilton and wants to attend St. Michael's College School in Toronto. . ."⁷⁴ Fr. David Bauer declined to comment on the situation but did point out that Duke had not enrolled at the school.⁷⁵ Fr. Bauer's remarks on the Duke case were reminiscent of comments attributed to him in a letter written to longtime Toronto Maple Leafs owner, Conn Smythe. In his correspondence, Fr. Bauer gave his opinion that eventually St. Michael's would "see fit to discontinue in the Junior A series because of its growing professionalism, its long schedule and rough play which so often results in unfavourable publicity difficult for the educational institution to handle gracefully."⁷⁶

As if to emphasize the "education and recruiting" issue from yet another angle, in May 1961, Stafford Smythe proposed to the OHA Junior A Council that school fees be exempt from the weekly salary limit of Junior A players.⁷⁷ While all of the teams in the League had players attending classes, St. Michael's was the only team whose complete roster was composed of students and so might have been seen by some as the chief beneficiaries of such a proposal.

Although the salaries for Junior A players were not extravagant, the fact was the the players did receive regular payments for playing hockey. This fact made Jimmy Skinner's questions about which "business" St. Michael's was in seem even more pressing and brought to mind Fr. David Bauer's letter to Conn Smythe when it was reported that Montreal Canadiens' official Sam Pollock had stated that Junior A teams "are definitely professionals. . ."⁷⁸ Cec Perdu reported in the Peterborough newspaper which regularly covered the Junior A team with which Pollock was affiliated that officials of other teams in the OHA were uncertain as to what exactly Pollock meant by his statement, although "junior teams are pro in a minor way."⁷⁹ Toronto Marlboros coach Turk Broda agreed that "all amateur teams are semi-professional."⁸⁰ Jack Gatecliff referred to the previous situation when junior and senior "amateur" hockey players received money by "devious methods" but said that circumstances had changed and legal contracts now legitimized the payment. As well, the Ontario Hockey Association had "even deleted the word 'amateur' from its name."⁸¹ As if to make certain that the confusion was complete, Pollock had earlier told the OHA annual general meeting that:

players in our system receive 90 percent better guidance than they do at home. . .they practice, play and have strict laws and curfews. But when they're home, they're out to all hours, driving a car and drinking. . .⁸²

Gary Lautens commended Pollock for his "unselfish work with the young" and asked whether this exemplary guidance might have come from "hymn-singing between periods."⁸³ Implicit in Lauten's "commendation" of Pollock's social service record is a sense of incredulity at the idea that a professional hockey organization could reasonably claim to be inclined or able to supersede parents in giving guidance to young men. Yet, the motto of St. Michael's College School aimed at giving just such guidance when it proclaimed "Teach Me Goodness, Discipline and Knowledge" and the Basilians' priorities are not primarily those of professional sports. Pollock's remarks were the most explicit indication of increasing professionalism in OHA Junior A hockey and his direct allegations were only heightened by his "guidance" claims. There were, however, other indications of "creeping professionalism", including both specific examples and aspects of the sponsorship system on which Junior A hockey was based.

Sponsorship of amateur hockey players began during the 1920s when National Hockey League teams began to sponsor individual junior players in return for exclusive rights to the sponsored player.⁸⁴ By the late 1940s, the system had evolved to the point of NHL sponsorship of entire junior teams in a coast to coast network in which control extended not only to the various junior teams themselves, but also to all the minor teams with which they were affiliated. Players were bound in "perpetual servitude" to the sponsoring NHL team by a reserve system and the

signing of a "C" card.⁸⁵ The system lasted until 1967 when the NHL expanded from six to twelve teams and instituted a universal amateur draft to replace sponsorship, although this represented no significant change to the owners' monopolistic control. (see Appendix III)

One particular aspect of the sponsorship system was the fact that at an early age young hockey players could become "employees" transferred from one branch to another by their hockey corporations since, as Diamond and Stubbs have observed, "in many cases, players had to leave high school to report to junior teams far away from home in order to progress in their parent clubs' system."⁸⁶ A former NHL player, Mike Robitaille left Midland, Ontario for the New York Rangers' farm team in Kitchener at age fourteen. He boarded at a house where his roommate was an eighteen-year-old on parole for car theft and who routinely returned in the early morning hours with a case of beer. As Robitaille puts it, he "grew up in a hurry" and "the first casualty was his education."⁸⁷ In Robitaille's case, "the General Manager of the team was very understanding" and offered to get him a job working at the arena - giving him a chance to practice with the older players. Robitaille became a grade eight drop-out.⁸⁸

In May 1960, Senator Estes Kefauver announced the introduction in the United States Senate of anti-trust legislation aimed at professional sports.⁸⁹ While the focus of the bill was mainly professional baseball, it also included professional

basketball and hockey - giving one more signal of the growing abuses in professional hockey.

In September 1960, Jack Perrin, Owner and General Manager of the Winnipeg Warriors of the Western Hockey League, invoked a clause in the professional sponsorship Affiliation Agreement in order to ban the Toronto Maple Leafs and New York Rangers from operating sponsored junior teams within a 50-mile radius of greater Winnipeg.⁹⁰ Perrin accused the two NHL teams of a "lack of co-operation" with his professional team on the basis that they made it difficult for him to operate competitive teams in the Manitoba Junior Hockey League because "they get to protect 18 players. . .I get nothing. . ."⁹¹ New York Rangers president, Murray Patrick, responded that Perrin's comments and actions were simply a case of "blackmail".⁹² As with the Kefauver bill, this situation had little direct bearing on St. Michael's, but was a sign of the widening gap that increased professionalism would cause for the school. Of most concern for St. Michael's were the allegations of a "lack of co-operation" by the Toronto Maple Leafs.

National Hockey League sponsorship came under attack closer to home in April 1961, when the CBC television station in Toronto studied the system of sponsorship on its *Toronto File* program.⁹³ After a series of interviews with players, parents, experts and officials, the program concluded that the THL should be prevented from signing young hockey players until they had graduated from high school, or even university, and, if they had dropped out of school, at least until their

class had graduated. It was also stated by various of the interviewed guests that hockey and school work were difficult to combine. The father of NHL player Eric Nesterenko said that during his son's minor hockey career it reached the "stage where he couldn't possibly continue with his studies. . ."⁹⁴ Nesterenko had played his minor hockey in the Toronto Maple Leafs system.

Only days after the withdrawal announcement there was further news of NHL sponsorship, but in this case it was the pros who felt abused. National Hockey League officials were reportedly complaining about the loss of young players from sponsored junior teams to United States colleges and universities.⁹⁵ On their own behalf, the NHL representatives said they had actively encouraged young players to pursue higher education - even to the extent of financial assistance. However, the college recruiters were aiming at 18 and 19-year-old players who were often just coming into a critical stage in their hockey development while playing on sponsored teams. It was the consensus among NHL sources that very few college hockey players were capable of going on to play professional hockey. This was both a reflection of the direction and calibre of college hockey and of the fact that "the college man is under no obligation in a hockey sense"⁹⁶ and had the freedom to pursue other options because of his education. So, the college hockey player could represent a double loss: on the one hand, the player might leave a sponsored junior team at a critical point in his hockey training and never become a "finished" professional prospect; on the other hand, if the college player did develop, he became a "free agent" outside the NHL reserve system. What this meant to St.

Michael's was that it gave an indication of the growth of an alternative format for combining hockey and education around school teams playing more abridged schedules; in fact, some of the school's own players had already shown an interest in this approach. At the same time, the position of NHL officials on this issue revealed clearly that although it might be possible to combine junior hockey and education, the emphasis in sponsorship was heavily on the development of players rather than on personal development.

In the middle of the hockey season following St. Michael's withdrawal from OHA Junior A hockey, a situation came to light which had originated a year earlier and related to the circumstances at the school. The actual incident was the trade of a promising young player named Wayne Carleton from the Unionville Seaforths of the newly formed Metro Junior A League to the Toronto Marlboros of the same League; St. Michael's was also a League member.⁹⁷ A year earlier Carleton had been a 14-year-old phenomenon in Beeton, Ontario who, like Mahovlich and Seiling before him, had scouts swarming after him. The controversy arose because of the fact that while Carleton was theoretically unavailable until his sixteenth birthday, the Marlboros had managed to circumvent the process and place him on their roster. This came about when the Unionville team became sponsors of the minor hockey teams in Beeton and thereby gained access to all the players in the Beeton minor hockey system, including a certain Wayne Carleton - who was quickly brought up to the Unionville team and then traded. Because Carleton continued to live and attend school in Beeton and because the Unionville team was sponsored by the

professional Portland team of the Western Hockey League who had not joined the 1961 agreement to desist in moving under age 16 players to avoid the junior draft, the Marlboros were able to contend that technically there was no breach of the accord.

Two elements arose from the Carleton incident. The first was that the Marlboros' obtaining of the under age player had many parallels with the accusations levelled at St. Michael's over the use of education in recruiting, insofar as the placing of the youngster in a sponsored minor league system made possible the circumvention of the OHA draft since the player would be on a reserve list when he turned age 16 and therefore unavailable to the rest of the Junior A teams. Of course, unlike the situation at St. Michael's, the attraction with the Marlboros was not education.

The second significant aspect of the Carleton case was the comments it drew from Stafford Smythe. According to the Toronto Maple Leafs official, they already had "a substantial investment in Carleton"⁹⁸ and it would probably grow considerably before he was ready to play professional hockey. However, if he decided "in the meantime. . .to study philosophy or play hockey at Denver University, Leafs money will go down the drain."⁹⁹ It was Smythe's conclusion that the sponsorship system had to be "scrapped" so that NHL teams could be left to concern themselves only "with the pro rights to young players."¹⁰⁰ Considering Smythe's comments a year or so earlier in December 1960, in which he criticized education for interfering with

hockey, it seems reasonable to assume that some sense of his attitude toward sponsorship was known at the time of the withdrawal decision and may have had the effect of warning the St. Michael's authorities about the changes that would lead to NHL expansion and the institution of the universal amateur draft in 1967. Under a draft system St. Michael's would have needed special status in order to ensure that students at the school played exclusively for St. Michael's teams and were not made generally available to the rest of the League. Such a factor may have lent a practical consideration to the education concerns at the school. Such considerations were not unknown at St. Michael's. As Conn Smythe said, "to enter St. Mike's a boy had to be a good student first, although it didn't hurt if he was a good hockey player, too. St. Mike's liked to win. . ."¹⁰¹ Smythe went on to say that St. Michael's was never rigid about a boy's religion and once when he questioned the Basilians about a "Protestant kid from Cornwall" who had been turned down at the school, giving rise to allegations of religious bias, it was said in response, "You know Connie, he isn't much of a hockey player."¹⁰²

A speech by NHL President, Clarence Campbell, to the Empire Club of Canada in March, 1963 provides a useful glimpse of sponsorship even though it follows the withdrawal decision, since the conditions involved remained substantially the same over this time. Campbell's first point was that over ninety-five percent of professional hockey players came from sponsored teams.¹⁰³ Campbell also stated that, like other businesses, the NHL needs a "source of supply" and eventually

entered "into the full development of player talent at lower levels so as to ensure that we would be able to carry on our show."¹⁰⁴

Although emphasizing the "supply side" of the hockey business, Campbell also spoke of the role of the NHL in the education of young players. According to the NHL president, most of the \$500,000 spent annually on sponsorship went to "providing the living expenses, the tuition and the books of the boys. . ."¹⁰⁵ In an echo of the Broadway play, *The Music Man*, Campbell urged parents to realize that:

there are other distractions besides hockey that will take young boys away from their books. They used to play in pool halls and now they play in hockey clubs. . .¹⁰⁶

So, not only were the sponsored junior hockey teams helping with players' educations, they were also keeping the boys out of pool halls - giving the youngsters the "guidance" of which Sam Pollock spoke. And as concerns education, Campbell was ready to claim "some fair measure of credit for their educational programme. . ."¹⁰⁷ As conclusive proof of the NHL's role in education, Campbell referred to a survey of United States universities by *Newsweek* magazine that showed "there were between 300 and 400 Canadian students in those universities there on hockey scholarships."¹⁰⁸ Campbell claimed that those scholarships were earned by players on sponsored teams. However, an education gained through a sports scholarship at an American university may not have struck all observers as being so significantly the product of National Hockey League largesse.

As well as some fundamental aspects of sponsorship, the day-to-day operations of the OHA teams provided indications of increasing professionalism. For example, in March 1960, the Toronto Marlboros hockey organization began searching for a full-time manager; a change from the past when such positions were often held as outside jobs. Concerning the possibility of former NHL player and, more recently, St. Michael's Majors Coach, Bob Goldham, filling the position, it was remarked that although he was qualified, he "couldn't run six teams, coach one and work, too. . ."¹⁰⁹ In May 1961, St. Catherines Teepees were "in the market for a full-time coach"¹¹⁰ since the incumbent, Gus Bodnar, was also part-owner of a business and could no longer split the two duties.

Commenting on St. Michael's withdrawal a few days after the announcement, Jim Proudfoot said that the school had had no choice because the OHA Junior A league "had lapsed so far into professionalism. . ."¹¹¹ and it was a matter of simple fact that "an education institution has no excuse any more for participating in a purely commercial enterprise."¹¹² Proudfoot called the Basilian presence in the OHA Junior A League a "temperate influence" which acted like a "nagging conscience" and without which the League Council would feel free to "expand their schedule, stretch their playoff rounds and make any other moves they can think of to turn a fast buck."¹¹³

The "exception that proved the rule" concerning growing professionalism in hockey was a story which appeared within the week after the withdrawal

announcement and concerned a proposal to reduce NHL rosters by perhaps one player. Apparently, League President, Clarence Campbell, had conducted a survey which showed that the six member clubs had been "getting along with less players than they are entitled to carry."¹¹⁴ This story offered the possibility that the NHL may have been planning to reduce roster limits. Such a development would have been reflected in the junior leagues and may have left the OHA Junior A Council with the feeling that one less "hockey factory" might be necessary to supply this "down-sized" corporation. Such a feeling may have encouraged the Council members to be less responsible to St. Michael's concerns.

The world of the "professional" and the world of the "scholar-athlete" would not seem to share much common ground. So, after attempts to introduce rule changes concerning the OHA draft that were clearly aimed at St. Michael's and the spectre of "professionalism" linked to Junior A hockey by one of the Council members, some unease on the part of school officials could be understood. At the Memorial Cup dinner in April 1961, Fr. David Bauer gave an indication of what may have been the Basilian outlook on professionalism when he stated that hockey had "fallen on evil days" and suggested that officials should "take a long, long look at what we are doing to it."¹¹⁵ and at an awards dinner in late June 1961, and advocated the establishment of a "national coaching clinic to help rid hockey of the tendency to win at any cost. . ."¹¹⁶ It was Fr. Bauer's view that such a clinic would aim at promoting leadership through an emphasis on character development through sport and what he termed the "artistic techniques of the game"¹¹⁷ - in contrast to the

current situation in which long schedules led to back-to-back games and tired players resorting to violent techniques.

There were incidents related to OHA games, especially during the playoffs, that might have contributed to further dissatisfaction or apprehension with the Ontario Hockey Association administration on the part of St. Michael's and demonstrated the need for the coaching clinics of which Fr. Bauer spoke. Late in the season, prior to the withdrawal decision, there were indications of growing sentiment against "dirty play in Junior A hockey games."¹¹⁸ However, it was also noted that St. Michael's was exempted from this criticism.¹¹⁹ At the same time that these complaints were being aired, defenceman Roger Cote of the Toronto Marlboros appeared in the news when the OHA Junior A Council decided not to suspend him for charging an opposition player and causing him to suffer a concussion. When asked whether Cote was a credit to hockey, Stafford Smythe replied that Cote was since he had "drawn more people into the rinks than any other player."¹²⁰

The close ties between junior hockey and the National Hockey League made outbreaks of fighting during the professional league's exhibition games prior to the 1960-61 season noteworthy since they were a "wonderful example" for hero-worshipping youngsters, as Martin Maslin observed in a letter to the editor.¹²¹ Maslin went on to suggest that perhaps it was the "tickle of the cash register" which encouraged NHL management to condone the bloodletting. By the time the 1960-

61 hockey season was nearing its end, Frank Orr noted that it had been a "bad winter for hockey trouble,"¹²² causing "considerable hollering" and "more sensational headlines about the rowdies of the rinks than in other years. . ."¹²³ Nevertheless, attendance at Junior A games had been the best in a decade and Orr concluded that "fans love the scrapping." It also seemed that heavy fines by the OHA had not reduced the rough play.¹²⁴ For example, after the final whistle of a game between Hamilton and St. Catherines, Dave Early of the Teepees was severely injured when his head struck the ice during a fight with Hamilton defenceman John Miszuk.¹²⁵

The arrival of the playoffs did not change the situation. Coach Scotty Bowman of Peterborough was suspended for the remainder of the quarter-final playoff series against Hamilton and 12 players were fined for their part in what was termed a "near riot" which broke out only 22 seconds after the start of the opening playoff game.¹²⁶ The suspension was Bowman's second of the season. Later on during the playoffs, "Bruce Draper, the Majors' ace pivot, was slammed hard. . .into the boards and narrowly missed a serious injury. . ."¹²⁷ This was the most serious of a number of incidents that caused St. Michael's officials to feel that there were deliberate attempts to injure Majors' players.¹²⁸ Yet, the balance of opinion was far from sympathetic to either Draper or St. Michael's and, rather than seeing his injury as an incident of violence, observers seemed to see it as a ruse by St. Michael's. Bob Hanley's comment was typical as he claimed that Draper received "kid glove treatment" after returning from his injury.¹²⁹ According to Hanley, if Draper was well enough to play, he was well enough to "take his licks with the rest" and not use

a "psychological advantage" as a means of "sneaking in a lot of goals."¹³⁰ Frank Orr described the charges that Guelph and Hamilton players deliberately attempted to injure St. Michael's players as "pure bunk"¹³¹ and agreed that Draper had taken advantage of his special status. So, by the end of the OHA playoffs, St. Michael's felt that they had played an onerous schedule during which there had been deliberate attempts to injure Majors' players; meanwhile other League members felt that the schedule was not heavy enough to balance the books and that St. Michael's had taken unfair advantage by focusing attention on the allegedly violent play of their opponents.

There were other incidents during the playoffs which might have contributed to St. Michael's dissatisfaction with the Ontario Hockey Association. On March 12, 1961, St. Michael's quarter-final game with St. Catherines was halted only moments from the final whistle by Toronto's 6 p.m. Sunday curfew. The Majors led 4-3 at the time and OHA rules dictated that the game would have to be played over. With just 10-seconds remaining "St. Catherines players stalled and stalled on orders of coach Gus Bodnar and manager Bob Wilson."¹³² A further twist to the situation came about when the starting time for the game was moved ahead by one hour at the request of Stafford Smythe. Father David Bauer commented that he was "quite disturbed and upset over the manner in which the third period was conducted. . ."¹³³ The OHA refused to make any adjustment, adhering strictly to the rules. After a team meeting, Father Bauer said that "it's a bad thing when your players can see through the plans (by St. Catherines) to escape the rule. . ."¹³⁴

During the 1960-61 season, there were even events on the ice that highlighted the relationship between hockey and education. One particular "on-ice incident" reflected education developments which were becoming a growing concern to the OHA. When St. Michael's and the Marlboros played a regular season game at Barrie, Ontario, in December 1960, the Majors' goalie, Gerry Cheevers, played his first Junior A game as a forward. This was not just an innovative coaching strategy to take advantage of the abilities of a versatile athlete or an emergency replacement. Cheevers felt that the move would "give him a better chance for a U.S. college hockey scholarship"¹³⁵ and the team management's willingness to promote the player's education might well have reflected a concern that also made them critical of the length of the OHA schedule. The other side to the U.S. college scholarship coin, though, is the anticipated pressure that the possibility of significant player losses in a "recruiting war" between Junior A teams and American schools might have brought to bear on the school and its relationships with the rest of the League. The threat appeared to be very real as reports indicated that the "greatest competition these days for young players is coming from the United States colleges and universities."¹³⁶ To the rest of the OHA Junior A Council allowing Cheevers to improve his chances for a U.S. scholarship may have seemed tantamount to "consorting with the enemy." There was also unofficial encouragement for the scholarship option a short while later, though, when NHL player, Ron Murphy, commented that, since he had quite school in Grade 9 to play hockey, a professional hockey career was the only one open to him. However, Murphy compared his situation to fellow NHLer, Billy Hay, who had gone to Denver University and was

an example of what Murphy hoped was a trend.¹³⁷ Frank Orr predicted that because of a growing emphasis on education among the population at large, hockey and education were "heading for a shotgun wedding"¹³⁸ after which the hockey administrators would have to provide at least high school education for young players or else find that parents would be reluctant to see their boys join Junior A teams. Orr repeated the point later and added that "more young players are realizing the values of an education and combining it with hockey. . ."¹³⁹ Clearly, the American college hockey scholarship was an attractive way of making that combination.

At almost the same time that Cheevers was debuting in his new position, Stafford Smythe and Harold Ballard "charged that the Ontario Department of Education was putting so much stress on education that the very existence of Junior A hockey was threatened."¹⁴⁰ Although the gist of Smythe's argument was that the heavy workload and pressure for honour grades in Grade 13 put undue pressure on all students,¹⁴¹ it was his description of education as a threat to hockey which drew the most attention. As has been seen, reaction to Smythe's statements was quick. For example, G.B. Robinson, Secretary of the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation, said that the statement was ". . . more stupid than I might have expected . . ."¹⁴² A *Toronto Star* poll of sports officials and personalities was largely, but not entirely, sympathetic to Smythe. To the question: "Is an education essential to a professional athlete?" - Chief Coroner, Dr. Smirle Lawson, a former Varsity and Argo football star, said that he agreed "with Staff Smythe 100 percent. . . A good

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healthy body is as essential as an overcrowded brain;" Lloyd Percival, Director of the Sports College, "wouldn't say an education was essential, but it would be extremely helpful for an athlete. . ."¹⁴³

Even though Smythe was not alone in criticizing the Grade 13 system, the anti-education tone of a leading Toronto Maple Leaf official was not likely to give comfort to the authorities at St. Michael's, especially when his supporters all seemed to come from the sports world and include in Percival someone who had been a fitness adviser to the St. Michael's hockey teams. A counterpoint to Smythe's stand on education was offered a short while later by Ontario Liberal Leader John Wintermeyer who alleged that "education policies in Ontario have produced more hockey players than physicists. . ."¹⁴⁴ Whether by too much or by too little, the education-hockey equation seemed, in the view of many observers, to be significantly out of line. Father David Bauer gave a strong indication of the St. Michael's College sense of the nature and state of the relationship between education and hockey about a month before the withdrawal announcement when he said that "what the Junior A Council doesn't appreciate is there has been a tremendous revolution taking place in the academic world. . .I can't see how any school in Canada could enter the OHA Junior A League as it is presently constituted."¹⁴⁵

CONCLUSION

All of the overlapping goals and pressures converged in a somewhat accelerated fashion on the specific issue of the length of the OHA schedule. The number and frequency of games were the mechanism through which the "balance" of education and hockey could be maintained. By advancing to the Memorial Cup finals in 1961, the Majors extended their schedule to the breaking point. Continuing relations with the Junior A Council offered no sense of possible adjustment in the future. In fact, there were reports that the 48-game schedule of 1960-61 would be expanded to "a 54-or-60-game schedule the next year."⁴⁶ The management of the sponsoring Toronto Maple Leafs were on record with statements critical of education. "Gentlemanliness" and sportsmanship had been severely tested by on-ice incidents throughout the regular season and playoffs. The heightened general interest in education could only emphasize any concerns that the school had over the effect of the schedule on academics. The pressures for change in the Roman Catholic Church added to the organizational concerns of a rapidly expanding Basilian order and may have reawakened reservations about the combination of hockey and education that had a long history in the religious community.

Balance in nature is described by the physics maxim that 'for every action there is an equal and opposite reaction.' It seems that in the case of St. Michael's College and the Ontario Hockey Association, the school's reaction to the disruptive

forces of the length of the hockey schedule was to oppose them by withdrawing from OHA Junior A hockey. Gary Lautens pointed to the broader basis of the Basilian involvement in hockey when he wrote that:

in a sense, St. Mike's was the conscience of the league, a force interested in protecting the player, in preserving some balance with education; profit was not the consuming motive of the Majors. . .but St. Michael's College made the only possible choice when they came to the point where they had to decide between education and hockey. . .¹⁴⁷

The point was emphasized by a list of conditions enumerated between 1978 and 1980 when it appeared that St. Michael's might return to Junior A hockey. Fr. Brian Sweeney, Director of sports at the school, said initially that while the Basilians would consider proposals for a revived Junior A entry, it must be remembered that since "education remains our primary purpose. . .we must be sure the needs of both school and student can be met."¹⁴⁸ Nothing came of the original proposal, but the matter came up again in 1980. Appropriately enough, the first item among the changes that a St. Michael's Hockey Club would hope to achieve in the League, as outlined in the Statement of Objectives, was "length of schedule."¹⁴⁹

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CHAPTER 1 Education and Sport

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APPENDIX I

Sports are present on more than just the Sunday afternoon television screen. Today in our society, concerned as it is about violence, there is the complaint that "sports are selling aggression and fantasized superiority."¹ The admiration of this style of "play", says Dr. Silas L. Warner, suggest to people that rules are only temporary obstacles and that ends justify means.² At the same time Dr. Ray Whitman promotes sports as a way to release pent-up hostility.³

Trent Frayne points out that sports are a vehicle for social mobility because "There is no nepotic influence to permit the performer to learn the business, in the standard phrase, from the top down. And as he passes his prime there is no way for him to be booted safely upstairs to the sanctity of some high-sounding title."⁴ For example, it was this sense of opportunity that turned the great Canadian athlete, Lionel Conacher, to hockey in the 1920s when "it was the only Canadian game at which a man could make a living."⁵ This is the "democracy of ability" espoused by de Coubertin as he led the revival of the Olympic games in the late nineteenth century. Levasseur and others have suggested that this "fair play" and mobility "lead to passivity and reduce the possibility of conflict between the classes."⁶ As well, according to this analysis, the success of top athletes legitimates existing political and social structures.⁷ On the international level when Canada's team defeated the

Soviet team in the 1972 hockey series we can see that democracy "triumphed" over communism, albeit by only one goal. Even earlier Frank Orr wrote that it was:

starting to get a little tiring to read where foreign athletes are continually writing..about what atrocious physical condition Americans and Canadians display. First it was Prince Phillip, who has absolutely nothing to do but stay in good trim playing polo and yachting...The thing that makes me laugh about all this knocking from Europe and Britain about the existence we have here, the poor way of life the lack of culture..why so many of them want to migrate here.⁸

Currently sports, especially jogging, cycling and aerobics, have become the visible signs of a new concern over health - sometimes called the "wellness revolution."⁹ "Lean" diets, mineral water instead of wine, "lite" beer and jogging suit fashions as street wear have made fitness a fast-growing industry. In fact, one entrepreneur in this field, Mackie Shilstone, is promoting "human performance wellness education", creating individual diets and exercise for each athlete.¹⁰ All of which is curiously coincident with the enormous popularity of a 300-lb football player whose eating habits and great bulk have won him the sobriquet "refrigerator"; and is perhaps indicative of our own ambivalence over fitness, too. *Participation* used the image of a more physically fit 60-year-old Swede to awaken the consciousness of Canadians not only to the state of their health, but more symbolically to the state of the nation as a whole - "the true North soft and free." Earlier, during the 1960s, the bicycle offered a way to Make a Statement - "about pollution, about materialism, about imperialism, about militarism...two wheels good, four wheels bad."¹¹ Of course, by the 1970s, with the rise of the fitness fad, a 10-speed 'designer' bicycle made yet another statement about materialism.

Lionel Tiger suggests that sports perform the same function in our society as hunting did in earlier societies, namely, promoting male bonding. Accordingly, Tiger points to the use of huntable animals' names for sports teams. Sports are also the *lingua franca* for North American males, providing ready topics of conversation and offering "social organizational sublimations for the old hominid pattern of ganging, hunting, triumphing and politicking..."¹²

Sometimes the politicking of sports is very direct, as Prime Minister Brian Mulroney demonstrated when he used the sports vernacular to say that:

the starting line is the technological dimension. Either we go into the game and become important players in this major league or we become a nation that will, during its entire lifetime, play in the Junior B circuit...¹³

Damien Cox also saw a connection between sports and politics when he commented on the reaction of the *Milwaukee Journal* to the Toronto Blue Jays' American League pennant drive in 1985. The newspaper stated that:

This year, America's team is the Toronto Blue Jays. Forget the geography. The Blue Jays embody traditional American values - hard work, selflessness, teamwork and the absence of identifiable superstars.¹⁴

Sports are "greying" with the North American population as the number of over-30-year old weekend athletes has grown significantly in the last 15 years.¹⁵ These players are part of non-contact and touch football leagues, squash clubs and the like that Tiger seems to have anticipated as the Baby Boomers continue to bond.

NOTES

Appendix I

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APPENDIX II

When NHL Scout Blackjack Snead met with the executive of the Snowshoe Lake Junior Hockey Club in Leslie McFarlane's novel *McGonigle Scores!*, the sponsorship contract which he asked them to approve:

...was five pages long and no more involved that a federal agreement of freight rates; one qualifying clause alone wandered through a wilderness of three hundred words; and much of it was set in type so small that it baffled the naked eye. It would have taken an hour and a half to read it all the way through, and Snead knew of no one who had ever tried...¹

The actual history of NHL sponsorship of junior hockey clubs and individual players is in many ways as confusing as the contractual maze facing the fictional Snowshoe Lake hockey executives. Sponsorship is one of those elusive topics about which investigation is largely a series of primary source deadends and circular citations in secondary sources; eventually most commentaries rely upon Kidd and Macfarlane, whose account of sponsorship in *The Death of Hockey* concentrates on the classifications and operations of sponsorship and gives less consideration to chronological development and finances. Newspaper coverage at the time of the major agreements between the National Hockey League and the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association is virtually non-existent. The available records of the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association cover only the post-expansion period since 1967.

However, those sources and more recent works such as Scott Young's history of the Ontario Hockey Association and an interview with CAHA president, Murray Costello, make it possible to describe sponsorship more fully.

Since the nineteenth century the Canadian tradition has been to develop sports on a wide basis with an administrative structure, codified rules and a national championship format.² The process is illustrated in the evolution of the sponsorship system in hockey. Farm systems in Canadian hockey are as old as the Stanley Cup itself. In the early 1890s the Ontario Hockey Association required each of its affiliated senior hockey teams to sponsor a junior team in order to ensure a steady supply of reserves.³ And, well before the establishment of the National Hockey League in 1917 OHA rules also declared that by appearing in even one game a player's rights belonged to that team until it chose to release him.⁴ In effect, then, amateur hockey in Canada had organized itself in anticipation of professional hockey sponsorship: the junior, senior and intermediate classifications established a hierarchy of players and a vertical integration of teams that assisted player development and recruiting and provided a structure with which the professionals could later negotiate; the system of player releases restricted free agency and promoted the "ownership" of players.

By 1926, the Stanley Cup had become exclusively an NHL trophy and the League had expanded to the United States, creating an increased demand for players. It was during this time that NHL teams "began to support and sponsor

individual junior amateur players in return for an undertaking that the boy sign only for the sponsoring team."⁵ For example, in 1926 Conn Smythe bought the Toronto St. Pats NHL franchise, re-named them the Maple Leafs and began paying the tuition of talented junior players at St. Michael's College.⁶ Professional teams' recruiting of junior amateur players increased in an unstructured way until the 1930s when a combination of forces brought the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association and its affiliates into an agreement with the National Hockey League.

The first factor leading to a sponsorship agreement had to do with the question of amateurism and professionalism in hockey. By the mid-thirties economic hardship was severe and many players were attracted to the teams - especially those in resource-based and manufacturing communities such as Kirkland Lake, Flin Flon and Trail - which could provide employment both on and off the ice.⁷ However, hockey and all other important sports in Canada were bound by the Amateur Athletic Union definition of amateurism which prohibited the realisation of any financial advantage from playing a game.⁸ It was only by adherence to that definition that an athlete could obtain the AAU card necessary for playing organized hockey. Without a legitimate avenue for playing hockey and earning some sort of compensation, talented players were either practising a kind of selective morality when they signed their AAU cards or going outside of Canada to play. The AAU standard seemed quite out of touch with the contemporary situation and, in early 1935, the OHA led the vote as the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association passed a four-point motion outlining certain situations under which

amateur hockey players could receive financial compensation, such as by obtaining "legitimate employment as a result of his ability as a hockey player."⁹ The dilemma became even more pressing after the 1936 Olympics.

The Halifax Wolves had won the 1935 Allan Cup and were the designated Canadian representatives for the 1936 Olympics. However, the Halifax team had lost several players and the runner-up Port Arthur Bearcats, boosted by some selected additions, were chosen to go to Germany on Canada's behalf.¹⁰ The Amateur Athletic Union denied the Canadian team member any lost-time payment in compensation for their lost income from their regular jobs due to participating in the Olympics and, to make matters worse, the Olympic hockey gold medal was won by an English team "made up almost entirely of Canadians - two of whom had been suspended by the OHA for migrating without permission."¹¹

In 1936, the NHL and CAHA reached an understanding by which the professionals agreed not to interfere with junior players and to pay a sliding scale decreasing from \$500 for players who graduated to NHL or minor professional rosters.¹² As well, at the May 7, 1936 NHL annual meeting territorial rights were recognized when it was agreed that Montreal Canadiens would have the right of first refusal on the services of French-Canadian players.¹³

In September 1940, the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association allowed "players receiving definite salaries...to play in CAHA organizations."¹⁴ On

September 23, 1942, the New York Americans suspended operations and the National Hockey League became the "Original Six" teams under whose direction sponsorship would become fully developed.¹⁵ During the Second World War the payment schedule for graduating juniors signing pro contracts was re-drawn to reflect the fact that players were frequently lost to the pro teams for long periods due to military service. Under the new terms flat payments were introduced to replace the old formula which had been based on player signings and junior players were made eligible for NHL play for the remainder of the war.¹⁶

In 1947, the critical sponsorship agreement between the CAHA and the NHL was negotiated. Among the provisions of this agreement were that:

No player under 18 will become a professional unless the player and his amateur team seasonal contract; each NHL team to pay \$2,000 per season and \$1,000 per season for each minor-league team for all players turned pro...three forms: The Try-Out Agreement "A"; Option Agreement "B"; and Option Agreement "C".¹⁷

In addition to the "A", "B" and "C" Forms, the Players' Lists included: Players' Reserve List, Goalkeepers' Reserve List, Negotiation List, Voluntarily Retired List, Inactive List and Sponsorship List.¹⁸

The Players' Lists, in turn, were combined with the definition of sponsorship to finalize NHL control over amateur hockey players. Article 8 of the 1958 NHL-CAHA agreement directed that each of the 27 NHL and minor pro teams could sponsor two amateur clubs. Since an amateur club was defined as consisting of

Senior, Intermediate, Junior A, Junior B, Juvenile, Midget and Bantam teams, it was difficult for even a player in his early teens not to fall within one of these categories.

In financial terms, the basic agreements of 1947 and 1958 established that the NHL would pay the CAHA an annual sum of money to be distributed among its member affiliates "for the development of hockey." In addition professional teams paid a sum of money for each amateur player who turned professional. As the Hockey Committee report points out:

So far as we have been able to determine no one has produced or appears to want to produce factual evidence of what is a reasonable cost of operating Junior "A" club. With few exceptions, the Junior "A" sponsored clubs have refused to submit to us details of operating costs...¹⁹

The Hockey Committee report, however, did cite the example of three Ontario Hockey Association Junior B franchises which "folded" because of financial losses; the report quoted an official of one of those teams to the effect that operating costs dictated NHL affiliation in order for a team to survive.²⁰ Among the costs subsidized by the NHL sponsors were players' salaries (eg. in the early 1950s this ranged between \$10 and \$15 per week based on a player's experience), scouting systems, training camps, coaches, managers and equipment - amounting to a sum of about \$500,000 annually across Canada.²¹ Teams also received financial compensation for players graduating to professional rosters and were funded indirectly by the NHL moneys distributed by the CAHA.

Unfortunately, none of the reports or other examinations of NHL sponsorship provide enough factual detail to treat the topic of sponsorship thoroughly. What can be said in the case of St. Michael's College sponsorship is that funding covered basic operating costs and player's books and tuition but was not directly a source of significant extra income for the school.

NOTES

Appendix II

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2. *Report of the Task Force on Sport For Canadians* (Ottawa, 1969), p.9.
3. Scott Young, *100 Years of Dropping the Puck: A History of the OHA* (Toronto, McClelland & Stewart, 1989), p.234.
4. *Ibid.* p.235.
5. John Barnes, *Sport and the Law in Canada* (Toronto and Vancouver, Butterworth & Co. (Canada) Ltd., 1985), pp.39-40.
6. Bruce Kidd and John Macfarlane, *The Death of Hockey* (Toronto, New Press, 1972), p.54.
7. Scott Young, *100 Years of Dropping the Puck*, pp.191-2.
8. *Ibid.* p.189.
9. *Ibid.* pp.189-90.
10. Jim Coleman, *Hockey is Our Game: Canada in the World of International Hockey*, (Toronto, Key Porter Books, 1987), p.40.
11. Scott Young, *100 Years of Dropping the Puck*, pp.190.
12. *Ibid.* p.198.
13. Charles L. Coleman, *The Trail of the Stanley Cup: Vol. 2, 1927-1946 inc.* (n.p., National Hockey League, 1969), p.282.
14. Ron Andrews, "Looking Back on the CAHA's 75 Years..." in *Hockey Today*, Edition 89/90 (Ottawa Canadian Amateur Hockey Association 1969), p.31.
15. *Ibid.*
16. Scott Young, *100 Years of Dropping the Puck*, pp.198.

17. Ron Andrews, p.35.
18. Hockey Committee of the National Council on Fitness and Amateur Sport,
Report on Amateur Hockey in Canada (1967), p.13.
19. *Ibid.* p.50.
20. *Ibid.* p.49.
21. *Ibid.* p.23.

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