Memory on Ice: Making the 1936 Canadian Olympic Hockey Team.

by

Thomas Rorke, B.A., B.A.(Hons.)

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Abstract

The 1936 Olympic Ice Hockey Tournament caused a re-thinking of Canadian attitudes towards their own national game. After handily winning gold in every previous Olympics, the Canadians in 1936 experienced their first ever loss, in a match with Britain. At the time, the event was passed off as an anomaly - Britain in the 1930's was experiencing a brief fad for New World sports, and was able to assemble a team that included many British-born but Canadian-trained players. The event has since been repressed in the Canadian popular imagination. This thesis seeks to re-examine Canada's failure at Garmisch-Partenkirchen, arguing that the failure to win must be seen in terms of unique tensions, particularly the struggle to free hockey from the grip on nineteenth-century notions of amateurism and the uniquely Canadian insistence on linking community representation with the international sport. Using archival sources and the contemporary press, the thesis concludes that the 1936 defeat played a key role in the development of Canadian conceptions of national representation and international sport.

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Introduction

On February 11, 1936, an arresting headline blared across the banner of the *Toronto Globe*: 'ENGLAND DEFEATS CANADA IN OLYMPIC HOCKEY'. The news was nearly as surprising then as it would be today. In the other front page stories, Mussolini's legions were continuing their assault on Abyssinia, Hitler was up to no good in Germany, and the citizens of Barrie were digging themselves out after a blizzard. But *England* beating Canada at Canada's national game took top billing. It was unprecedented. In fact, *anybody* beating Canada in Olympic hockey was unprecedented. Canadians barely knew what to think.

The event is remembered today as an odd blip in the 'Golden Age' of Canadian hockey that lasted from the first Olympic tournament in 1920 to the rise of the Soviet challenge in the 1950's. Some have even ingeniously cast the defeat as an 'extra' Canadian medal. Since many of the victorious British players had lived and been trained in Canada, some pundits argued that the team was 'really' Canadian, and thus that teams of Canadians had 'really' won both the gold *and* silver medals at the 1936 Winter Olympics. Others detected a post-colonial irony in the affair: the mother country had defeated the colonials at their own home-grown game. Canadian sport historian and Olympic official Henry Roxborough wrote "that many on the British team had been developed in Canada and that this was an instance of the pupils defeating the teachers."¹

¹ Roxborough, *Canada at the Olympics*, 101. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson [1975].

As a result of the loss, the 1936 Olympic Ice Hockey tournament has not been used as a 'heritage minute' site for commemorating Canadian identity. We have tended to suppress its memory, but there are a number of reasons why it is worth studying. The narrative is more complicated than that of the easy, big, wins of the earlier Canadian Olympic hockey teams. While it is less useful for fostering national sentiment or marketing sporting nostalgia, understanding the events of the 1936 Olympic Ice Hockey tournament, held in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany (near Munich in the Bavarian Alps), can lead to a better understanding of the place of hockey in Canadian life in the 1930's and the role of sport in Canada's changing cultural relationship with Britain.

While this research will provide a chronicle of the events of the tournament, it will also have a bigger story to tell. One, perhaps superficial, way to explain this story is simply to say that a great goaltender - Glasgow-born and Winnipeg-raised Jimmy Foster - led an underdog team to a big upset. This is a valid observation, but as an explanation it barely scratches the surface. There are more important themes than goaltending in this story.

The 1936 Olympics marked a transformative point in history. The place of sport in society, and in the public imagination, had been contested for some time. Nineteenth century sport had been seen as a site for healthful exercise, and as a tool for inculcating disciplined and polite behaviour. But the Olympics of 1936 signaled to the world great changes in the meaning of sport. The pursuit of national prestige through inter-national

sport had been intensifying throughout the twentieth century.² The Berlin Olympics, famously documented in Leni Reifenstahl's (propaganda) film *Olympia*, were of unprecedented scale, and marked the full transformation of the Olympic Games from "a small public novelty of the Belle Epoque" into a "crucible of symbolic force into which the world poured its energies, and a stage upon which it played out its hopes and terrors."³

The Thirties was a transformative period for sports and modern society. The emergence of radio broadcasts of sport and the construction of a new generation of big arenas and stadiums enlarged audiences and changed the way spectators experienced sport. The immense scale of the 1936 Olympic Games, as much as the Nazis' transparent use of sport to promote racial politics, forever changed international sport. However, the changes that the 1936 Games heralded were not all the work of the Nazis.

In 1910 American pragmatist philosopher William James suggested that sport might serve society as a safe outlet for nationalist sentiment as a 'substitute for war'.⁴ But George Orwell, in his famous essay, 'The Sporting Spirit' would, on the contrary, characterize inter-national sport in the mid-Thirties as "an unfailing cause of ill-will . . . bound up with hatred, jealousy, boastfulness, disregard of all rules and sadistic pleasure in witnessing violence: in other words it is war minus the shooting."⁵

2 The hyphenated form of 'inter-national' is used throughout this paper to accentuate the 'between nations' character of Olympic sport.

3 Peter Beck, *Scoring for Britain*, London: Routledge. [1999]. 91.

4 William James, 'The Moral Equivalent of War', originally in *McClure's*, August 1910, 463-468. See also Mark Dyreson's discussion in *Making the American Team*, 194-196. Chicago: University of Illinois [1998].

5 Orwell, 'The Sporting Spirit', was written December 1945, but refers to the 1936 Olympics. *Shooting an Elephant*, 153, New York: Harcourt, Brace, & Co [1950], .

In Canada, there was consternation over the perceived trend towards mean-spirited 'win-at-all-costs' competition. The comfortable, positive view of sport as healthful exercise for youth that inculcated sportsmanship and community feeling, was not universally shared. Canadians were aware that sport could be a powerful social technology, but were ambivalent about deploying that power. Discomfort with the state of inter-national sport, especially its manipulation for nationalist propaganda, led some to propose alternative models. These included calls to boycott the 1936 Olympics on the grounds of Nazi anti-semitism, proposals for an alternative socialist 'people's Olympics' (scheduled for Barcelona that year), and a proposal that Canada stay away from the Olympic movement in favour of keeping sport 'in the family', through events such as the Empire Games.⁶

Discomfort with the hyperbolic nationalist significations of international sport did not mean the 'national' implications of sport were alien to Canadians. Hockey was certainly seen as a 'national' sport, and had long been used as a hook on which to hang nationalist sentiment. For a while, the project of using sport as a social technology for inculcating polite 'sportsmanlike' behaviour and as a foundation for a national identity went hand-in-hand. Sport promoters could cast the 'national type' as polite, sportsmanlike, and disciplined, and as well praise an effective, adaptable, and successful Canadian masculinity.

⁶ See Bruce Kidd 'Canadian opposition to the 1936 Olympics in Germany' *Canadian Journal of the History of Sport and Physical Education* 9:2 [1978] 20-40 and 'The Popular Front and the 1936 Olympics' *CJHSPE* 11:1 [1980], 1-18, and *The Globe*, Feb 14, 1936, 1, 'Drop Olympics, Empire Games Urged By [MP Thomas] Church.'

This combination worked well through the Twenties, but in 1936 it began to fall apart. Hockey in Canada had skated out of the 19th century as a community-oriented affair; now the old way of doing things was threatened. A silver medal in 1936 seemed to jolt Canadians awake to the depths of the transformations that were occurring.

As international sport was transforming, sport in Canada was also facing up to some internal contradictions. The administration of Canadian sport, which had been more-or-less in equilibrium since the turmoil of what Don Morrow called 'The Athletic War of 1909', was lurching from crisis to crisis.⁷ At the heart of these crises were conflicts about the place of sport in society. The 'Athletic War' had basically been fought over the issue of who would control the definition of amateurism. The period of relative peace that followed its resolution was ending, as Canadian hockey was becoming culturally more important and commercially a bigger business. Different ideas of what sport should be clashed for dominance. Some believed that the purpose of sport was to inculcate discipline, sportsmanlike behaviour and middle class values. Others used sport to create and perform identity- gender identities, ethnic and regional identity, and, of course, national identity. This clash of ideas did not lead in Canada to such extremes as were described by George Orwell as 'orgies of hatred', but nevertheless it created many problems for Canadian hockey.

These problems included the collapse of many of the nation's top senior amateur teams, regional resentment over central Canadian control of the sport, clashes over the

⁷ Don Morrow, 'A Case Study in Amateur Conflict; The Athletic War in Canada, 1906-1908' *British Journal of Sports History*, 3:2 [1986], 173-190.

regulation of 'amateur' hockey, and a disturbing trend that saw the emigration of many of the nation's top players to foreign countries. All of these controversies reflected deeper tensions over the role of sport in society, and all of these controversies escalated during the run-up to the 1936 Winter Olympics. The story of the Garmisch hockey tournament is thus the story of a dramatic sporting event, and also of events that led both to transformations in the way sport was governed in Canada, and in what international sport meant for Canadians. This thesis therefore argues that the 1936 Olympic hockey tournament represents an important moment in the evolution of both Canadian sport and of 'national' sentiment.

The hockey team nominated to represent Canada at the 1936 Olympics was the 1935 Allan Cup *runners-up* Port Arthur Bearcats. For the four previous Olympics, the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association (CAHA) had nominated the Allan Cup champions as the Canadian representatives.⁸ This was not possible in 1936 because the 1935 championship team, the Halifax Wolverines, had disbanded over the summer of 1935. Only four players from the championship team remained with the organization, and the Wolverines were no longer able to ice a team.

A similar fate had befallen the 1933-34 Allan Cup and World Champion Winnipeg Monarchs, who, after an extraordinarily successful tour of Europe, had

⁸ The Allan Cup was the national championship for amateur senior hockey, established in 1908 after the Stanley Cup became open to professional teams. The previous Allan Cup winners and Canadian Olympic representatives had been, in 1920, the Winnipeg Falcons, in 1924, the Toronto Granites, in 1928, the University of Toronto Grads, and in 1932, the Winnipeg Monarchs.

disbanded.⁹ By 1936, the Monarchs club had dropped completely out of senior hockey, although it continued to ice a powerful junior team. Of the Dominion's top teams in the mid-thirties, the Port Arthur Bearcats were perhaps the least affected by the Depression-era malaise of lost players that plagued senior amateur teams. The unraveling of senior hockey in Canada had multiple causes, not the least of which was the economic stress of the Great Depression. But the CAHA considered their 'most perplexing problem' to be the migration of Canadian players to the newly viable leagues in the northern United States and Britain.

These problems were exacerbated by increasingly strict regulations enacted and enforced by the Amateur Athletic Union of Canada (AAUC) and Canadian Amateur Hockey Association (CAHA). These regulations, rooted in a Victorian class ethos, were increasingly out of step with the needs and interests of hockey players, and of hockey clubs. In 1934, the CAHA cracked down on residency requirements for players, insisting that they must have lived in a community for six months before being eligible to play hockey there. Forced to choose between employment and amateurism, many players rejected amateurism, and opted for the professional minor leagues, or dropped out of competitive sport.

1936 was the first year amateur regulations and perceived violations of them had a significant effect on the selection of a Canadian Olympic team.¹⁰ All previous Olympic

9 For an account of the Monarchs tour of Europe see Foster Hewitt, *Down the Ice*, Toronto: S.J. Reginald Saunders [1934].

10 But see Bruce Kidd 'In Defense of Tom Longboat' *Canadian Journal of History of Sport*, 14:1 [1983], 34-63, and his discussion of the fate of the Canadian women's athletics team at the 1928 Summer Olympics in *The Struggle for Canadian Sport*, Toronto: UTP [1996].

teams had traveled intact as amateur entities rooted in their communities, and without serious run-ins with regulators. But, throughout 1935, the CAHA and the AAUC were more or less at war with both the British Ice Hockey Association (BIHA) and with Canadian hockey players over players eligibility to switch teams and communities, the maintenance of their amateur status, and the eligibility of CAHA players to play overseas. As late as January of 1936, CAHA President E.A. Gilroy kicked a number of players off the Olympic hockey team for what he publicly characterized as an attempted transgression of amateur rules. Amateurism, as an ethos, was coming apart at the seams, and the Olympic crisis that it engendered was part and parcel of its eventual downfall.

Even as Gilroy was enforcing what he perceived to be necessary rules, Canadian senior amateur hockey was becoming unraveled. Despite the institutional effort to hold back the tide, strict amateurism was losing its place in Canadian sport. By the end of 1937, the governing bodies for hockey, lacrosse and basketball would disassociate themselves from the AAUC, leaving that 'union' to struggle on without any affiliation with the Dominion's major team sports.¹¹ The events of 1936 thus marked the end of an era for the tight association between amateurism and national representation.

Throughout the early Thirties, there had been continuing sources of friction between amateur hockey and the AAUC. Among these were regulations that made it prohibitively difficult for small communities to organize teams.¹² Athletes and spectators

¹¹ Football and baseball were, in 1936, already operating outside the aegis of the AAUC.

¹² Bruce Kidd, *The Struggle for Canadian Sport*, 60.

of this era wanted sport to represent community values and civic identity.¹³ In an earlier time, these interests had co-existed in balance with the class-conscious interests of the administrators who governed sport and promoted a strict definition of amateurism.¹⁴ However, by the mid-Thirties, the dysfunction of excluding those who could not fit within these strict definitions caused serious cracks to appear in the organizational structure of sport. The exposure of these cracks, through the various Olympic crises of 1936 revealed publicly fundamental contradictions in the sport system. For the most part, sport continued, and strict amateurism faded away.

In nineteenth-century Canada, organized sport had been controlled by a class elite that used the ideology of amateurism to restrict access to sport.¹⁵ The way in which elite sport administrators managed, for instance, to destroy competitive lacrosse in the 1890's, rather than let it fall under the sway of 'lower-class' athletes demonstrates both that elites had this power, and that they were prepared to use it to maintain their political hold on

13 This issue will be further discussed in Chapter 3.

14 'Amateur' in modern usage has the relatively simple connotation that the athletes play 'for the love of the game' and are not being paid to play. Historically, though, 'amateur' functioned as a race and class category. Frank Cosentino argues that "The concept of amateurism was imported [to Canada] as a social instrument to ensure that members of the elite could compete on the sporting fields among themselves." (*Afros, Aborigines and Amateur Sport in Pre World War One Canada*. CHA, 1998 (24)). Many of the hockey players that competed at the 1936 Olympics, on both the Canadian and the British team, were regularly paid by their clubs, without this threatening their amateur or Olympic eligibility.

15 Eric Hobsbawm in *The Invention of Tradition* provides a cogent argument that the Victorian sports clubs that dominated the institutionalization and organization of sport in the last third of the nineteenth century were invented for the purpose of negotiating and regulating membership in the steadily expanding middle classes ('Mass Producing Traditions: Europe 1870-1914, 291-293'). Hobsbawm sums up by asserting that "the crucial informal device for stratifying a theoretically open and expanding system was the self-selection of acceptable social partners, and this was achieved above all through the ancient aristocratic pursuit of sport, transformed into a system of formal contests against antagonists selected as worthy on social grounds." 295.

sport.¹⁶ But by the mid-Thirties, an increasingly skeptical climate of opinion in the midst of the economic stresses of the Depression had eroded the rhetorical power of class elitism in sport. In North America, fully professional hockey and baseball held a solid grasp on the popular imagination of sport. Internationally, the Olympic Games - whose charter embedded amateur ideals- was increasingly becoming a site of symbolic competition between nations, rather than merely a celebration of aristocratic amateurism. Class consciousness and the performance of class values were still important in sport, but sport was coming to incorporate new, important symbolic dynamics. Key amongst these new elements was the growing place of sport in the symbolic representation of the 'nation'.

The British social and political theorist, Eric Hobsbawm, addressed this transformation in his 1983 essay 'Mass Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914'.¹⁷ Hobsbawm came to the subject of sport in the course of his inquiry into nationalism. He considered sport to be an important part of the cluster of 'invented traditions' that supported the social project of fostering national identity and national sentiments. Thus, rather than attempting to understand sport from a sport sociology perspective, or of using sport as an example of traditional culture in a critique of mass society, Hobsbawm's goal was to understand the social construction of nationalist sentiment and national identity. From this viewpoint, as a political scientist, he recognized the importance of sport in creating and structuring national identity.¹⁸ While he focused on an earlier period,

16 See Alan Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart. [1987].

17 Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds: *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge University Press [1983] 263-307.

18 *Ibid*, 300-302.

Hobsbawm's theoretical framework is useful for understanding both Canadian sport and Canadian national identity in the 1930's.

Hobsbawm makes a very useful distinction between two different modes in which sport can be 'national'. The first of these is that sport can be a performative demonstration of the links which bind the inhabitants of a nation state together, one that creates an 'imagined community' that can transcend local or regional differences.¹⁹ The second consists of sporting contests *between* nations, which began by supplementing domestic competition. In this form, inter-national sport was very much *invented* around the turn of the century. The modern Olympics, revived by the French Baron Pierre de Coubertin in 1896, were one manifestation of this, as was the growth of international football, first in Europe, and later in South America.²⁰ Before 1914, international sports, had, in Hobsbawm's words, just "barely begun to acquire their modern character."²¹ But by 1936, the transformation was well underway, and its implications increasingly clear.

The 1936 Olympics were unprecedentedly political. Through the Twenties and Thirties, there had been much lip service paid to the idea of 'keeping politics out of sport.' Hitler's Olympics, and the controversies that accompanied them, such as the Nazi salute given by the England soccer team in Berlin in 1935, left little doubt as to the futility of this

¹⁹ *Ibid*, 301 .

²⁰ Hobsbawm, *op cit.*, 301, notes that the first international football match outside of Britain was between Austria and Hungary in 1902.

²¹ *Ibid*, 301.

project.²² The athletes representing their nations at the Berlin Olympics were seen by many as politically and metaphorically ‘representing their nation’ (rather than their class) on the international stage, and the results they achieved, therefore, mattered in terms of the global pecking order.

In the early years of the modern Olympics, Coubertin had attempted to suppress the production of tables of medals, quantification that facilitated national comparison and hierarchical rhetoric. The attempt failed. Medals tables were eagerly followed by newspapers and sports fans, and were perceived as a sort of national ‘report card’ on the state of the nation’s youth. The symbolic importance of Olympic results was sometimes denied by those who shied away from staking national identity and nationalist sentiment on the risky and uncertain nature of sports results. At the Berlin Olympics, however, both the unprecedented Nazi propaganda effort and the symbolic contestation of Nazi racial supremacy by athletes such as Jesse Owens, made clear - even for those who did not want it to be so - the futility of trying to keep politics out of sport.

In Canada, sport, and in particular hockey, had been very successfully used for the purpose of fostering national sentiment within the context of locally-rooted amateur sport. In the late 19th century, the project of nation-building was in full swing, but Canada shied away from serious involvement in inter-national sport. Canadian teams were largely absent from the sporting competitions, such as cricket and rugby tours, that maintained ‘cultural

22 For the English football team’s Nazi salute, see Beck, *Scoring For Britain*. For Canadian reaction to the politicization of sport, see Bruce Kidd ‘Canadian opposition to the 1936 Olympics in Germany’ *Canadian Journal of the History of Sport and Physical Education* 9:2 (1978) 20-40, and ‘The Popular Front and the 1936 Olympics’ *CJHSPE* 11:1 (1980) 1-18.

bonds' in the widespread British Empire.²³ Neither were regular international competitions with the United States established on any lasting basis. The easy successes of the first Olympic hockey tournaments were widely celebrated, but were principally useful for introspectively fostering a sense of national identity- a sense that hockey was unquestionably 'our' thing- because, on the ice, most of the matches were 'no contest.'²⁴

The Olympic hockey tournament of 1936 marks the first time that Canadians had to address the issue of what it meant for another nation to claim the Olympic gold medal for hockey. Since its invention in the 1870's, Canadians had been using hockey as a symbol of their nation and played it as a performance of their national identity. It was a cultural practice that Canadians could lay claim to: the sport had been invented here, and it was an outdoor winter sport that produced many desirable symbolic resonances. Canadian 'ownership' of hockey was occasionally contested by strong American teams from the northeastern states, but the string of Olympic victories leading up to 1936 left Canadian claims to hockey supremacy on a firm footing. This gave patriotic rhetoricians a free hand in using hockey as an adjunct to claims of a virile northern masculinity as characteristic of the 'Canadian type'.

The easy rhetoric that hockey was 'our game' was boldly challenged in 1936 when the team selected to represent the nation lost at a major international tournament. The

23 Hobsbawm, 301. See also Harold Perkin 'Teaching the Nations How to Play: Sport and Society in the British Empire and Commonwealth' *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 6:2, [1989]145-155, and James Mangan *The Cultural Bond: Sport, Empire, Society*. London: Routledge [1992].

24 After the medal round of the 1928 Olympics Games, won easily by Canadian representative Toronto Grads who, after three games had scored 38 goals and allowed none, Lou Marsh wrote in the *Toronto Daily Star*, "Thirty Eight to nothing!... The Grads couldn't have been trying". February 20, 1928, 10.

metaphorically ambiguous nature of the British team, composed, in part, of transnational migrants, called into question the discrete 'national' categories into which Olympics athletes usually fit. The 'Canadians' on the British team were mostly British by birth, but had immigrated to Canada as children, where they had learned to play hockey. By virtue of their long-term residence in Canada, most of the players on the British team in 1936 were legally Canadian nationals. By virtue of their British birth, they were easily able to make return sojourns in the mid-Thirties to play in burgeoning British hockey leagues. By international hockey rules, they were eligible to represent Britain if they had been residents there for five years (any five years, not necessarily recent or consecutive ones). But many were not legally nationals of the United Kingdom.²⁵ Later, many of them returned to Canada, and lived out their lives in Canada, although some continued to live in Britain. In short, both the legal definition and the conceptual boundary between national identities were somewhat fuzzy.

This question may have meant little to the migrant athletes who moved easily between the two countries in search of fame and fortune unframed by national sentiment. But when historians come to use the events of the period to construct a narrative that supports a certain conception of national identity, it comes to matter a great deal. Understanding the complexities of return migration and transnational identities may make it more difficult to construct a grand narrative about the Golden Age of Canadian

25 For a discussion of citizenship categories as they existed in the interwar period, see Carty and Ward 'The Making of a Canadian Political Citizenship' in *National Politics and Community in Canada*, Vancouver: UBC Press [1986], and John Chesterman 'Natural Born Subjects? Race and British Subjecthood in Australia' *Australian Journal of Politics and History*: 51:1,[2005], 30-39.

international hockey. At the same time, it offers an interesting case study in the emergence of a modern Canadian identity, and of what 'Canadian-ness' meant, both in Canada and in Britain, in the 1930's.

H. Blair Neatby argues that the Thirties were an important decade for the development of an autonomous national identity for Canadians.²⁶ The interwar decades marked the "beginning of modern Canada" and were a period in which Canadians, epitomized by their unity obsessed prime minister, Mackenzie King, began to think obsessively about the issue of their still de-colonizing Canadian identity. Declining British immigration and cultural ties led to a Canadian identity that was increasingly distinct from 'British'. On the diplomatic plane, Canada inched away from Britain, a shift that culminated in the 1931 Statute of Westminster. Economically, Canada developed closer linkages to the United States. What remained of the British tie tended to be more sentimental than practical.

Changing conceptions of what it meant to be Canadian awkwardly coincided with the rapid rise of international sport as an important symbolic site of national representation. While nations such as England, France, Germany, and the United States contested relatively established national identities in a new way, the nation that the Canadian team represented was still nervously coming to terms with its own identity.²⁷ The matter was further confused by the fact that just as Canadians were beginning to think

26 Neatby, *Politics of Chaos: Canada in the Thirties*. Toronto: MacMillan [1972].

27 But see Stephen Pope *Patriotic Games: Sporting Traditions in the American Imagination, 1876-1926* New York: Oxford University Press [1997] for a humorous account of the contestation of American values at the 1908 London Olympics.

of themselves as not-British, the British suddenly developed a great interest in Canadian sport²⁸ The unexpected outcome of the 1936 Olympic hockey tournament thus provoked a crisis of identity for Canadians- we became unsure of our own national mettle as a nation on skates, just as the world embraced hardened new associations between sporting prowess and national virility. This thesis explores this crisis.

To historians today, it is clear that this was a time of great change. At the time, it was perhaps harder to recognize that future patterns were being laid down in the decade of chaos, Depression, and fascism. The lingering idea of the postwar 'return to normal' masked the fact that in the Thirties everything had changed. While British interest in Canadian hockey faded after the war, the purely indigenous troubles of the 1936 Olympic team - caused by the tension between amateur ideals and the reality of sport in Canada - would disrupt Canadian participation in international hockey for the next half-century. Few recognized it at the time, but the Golden Age was over.

The historical memory of this event is strangely muted. The other Canadian Olympic hockey teams of the interwar era were commemorated at the 2002 Winter Olympics, when the Canadian team at Salt Lake wore replica jerseys of the teams from glory years of 1920-1932. The 1936 team, silver medalists, are not so commemorated, although paradoxically it was the 1936 Olympic Games that marked the indisputable arrival of international sport as a symbolic arena in which national identities and

28 See Mike Huggins and Jack Williams, *Sport and The English 1919-1939* London: Routledge [2006], for an account of British professional baseball and hockey in the Thirties. After the War, this interest wafted away, but see Foster Hewitt's *Hello Canada*, Toronto: Thomas Allen [1951], for an account of the last echoes of the earlier British interest in Canadian hockey.

ideologies were contested. The Garmisch hockey tournament was also a harbinger of the globalization of sport, as the British team of 1936 illustrates the rising interest in hockey beyond Canada's borders. Yet Canada's participation in hockey at those Games has become a suppressed memory. Ironically, however, the surprising contestation of a previously uncontested claim to a nationally specific sport offers new insight into the development of Canadian identity in the Thirties, and the process of the making of a truly 'national' team.

And last but not least, the idiosyncratic place of the 1936 tournament in historical memory is intriguing. Canada losing to England at hockey does not 'make sense', in terms of what we think we know of national types, and of national past-times. As a result, when historians have approached this event, they have tended to explain it away, rather than explain it in depth. This thesis will provide a new perspective.

Chapter 2: *Taking a Wise approach to Canadian Sport History*

*The relationship of sport to national athletic traditions, to social class and to certain dominant ideas centring on the code of the gentleman and the concept of manliness seems plain enough, although each of these warrants further investigation.*¹ S. F. Wise

Until recently, most Canadian historians have tended to dismiss sport as a sweaty afterthought to *real* history. As late as the 1982 *Readers Guide to Canadian History*, sport goes unmentioned, even under the sub-heading of 'society and culture'.² Sports have been played in Canada since the days of pre-contact lacrosse, but Canadian sport historians have taken the subject seriously for less than forty years, and have made use of critical theory to understand sport for perhaps only twenty.

While bookstore shelves have sagged under the weight of popular histories of the 'greatest moments in sport', most of these books lack any critical analysis of what it all means and how it fits in to any broader context. As Don Morrow (one of Canada's few prominent academic sport historians) notes, much of the historiography of Canadian sport has been produced by journalists, or academics in departments of physical education. Much of their work is aptly described by Morrow as a catalogue of "one damn fact after another."³ This is unfortunate, since a much more productive agenda for historians of

¹ S.F. Wise, "Sport and Class Values in Old Ontario and Quebec" This essay first appeared in *His Own Man: Essays in Honour of Arthur Reginald Marsden Lower*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's, 1974, and was reprinted in Morris Mott, ed., *Sports in Canada: Historical Readings*. Toronto: Copp Clark Pittman, 1989, 107-130.

² J. Granatstein, *A Readers Guide to Canadian History* 2, Toronto: UTP. 1982

³ Don Morrow, 'Canadian Sport History; A Critical Essay' *Journal of Sport History*, 10:1 [1983], 67-79. An academic example of this genre is Gerald Redmond's 'Imperial Viceregal Patronage: The Governors-General of Canada and Sport in the Dominion, 1867-1909' *IJHS*, 6:2 [1989] 193-217.

Canadian sport was proposed more than thirty years ago.

In an important but underappreciated 1974 essay, 'Sport and Class Values in Old Ontario and Quebec' well-known Canadian historian and social commentator S. F. Wise, who was himself a one-time Ontario Junior A hockey player, argued that sport, like any other aspect of culture, is a viable subject for critical analysis by historians. Wise described how Arthur Lower used to sneer at his interest in sport, and how, in response, he argued that understanding sport could lead to new understandings of race and class values, questions of gender and masculinity, the diffusion of culture, and both ethnic and national identity.⁴

Wise also offered an early analysis of what was uniquely Canadian about Canadian sport. He argued that it had a particularly 'national' bias, because Canadians *wanted* national sport and national champions.⁵ Sport was an aspect of national identity; the desire to 'be a sport', he argued, was also an urge to be Canadian. Interest in sport reflected both community pride and, for Canadians, "the strong belief that their games were their own and they played them superlatively well."⁶ Wise noted early moves in Canada to create national sport organizations to facilitate cross-Canada competitions and

⁴ Wise, 107. In 1974 Wise, with journalist Douglas Fisher, also published the popular book *Canada's Sporting Heroes* Don Mills, General Pub.Co..

⁵ This interest in the 'national' is not unique but in Canada it manifested in an exceptional manner. See Michael A. Robidoux's article 'Imagining a Canadian Identity through Sport: A Historical Interpretation of Lacrosse and Hockey' *Journal of American Folklore* 115:456 [2002] 209-225

⁶ Wise, in Mott, 127. One of the first academic works to discuss the rise of Canadian NSOs is Donald Macintosh's *Sport and Politics in Canada: Federal Involvement since 1961*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's [1987]. Works seriously discussing the imagination of national identity through sport would wait until Richard Gruneau's seminal *Hockey Night in Canada*, Toronto: Garamond [1993].

the organization of national championships. These created a field on which regional differences could be played out while, at the same time producing shared sense of 'Canadian-ness'.⁷ National institutions governing inter-community sports helped Canadians to 'think the nation', bonding the young country into a more cohesive community. Sports, Wise argued, were an integral part of the chemistry of Canada's 'limited identities'. Sport was deemed by erstwhile nation-builders to be important in post-Confederation Canada. It was variously construed as an agent of hegemonic masculinity, an adhesive force for social cohesion, a site for building community identities, and a foundry for patriotic sentiment.

The agenda for study - masculinity, national identity, class values- proposed by Wise in the 1970's was scarcely addressed in the fifteen years after the publication of 'Sport and Class Values'. However, his proposals have recently begun to resonate with the interests of historians and critical theorists in many disciplines. In the last decade many of Wise's ideas have been actively pursued by historians and critical theorists, and despite the long delay, advances in critical theory now provide analytic frameworks that can amplify many of Wise's questions about the role of sport in constructing a Canadian identity, and its role in negotiating gender, ethnic, colonial and imperial identities. In the conclusion to 'Sport and Class' Wise noted the importance of investigating the "dominant ideas centring on the code of the gentleman and the concept of manliness."⁸ While

⁷ Wise (127) noted that "among the first passengers to be carried east" on the newly completed CPR was a British Columbia lacrosse team challenging for the national championship.

⁸ Wise *op cit.*, 126.

scholars, notably Michael Robidoux, eventually picked up on this specific line of inquiry, there has been far more work produced analyzing gender from the feminist perspective. Ann Hall, Bruce Kidd, Helen Lenskj, Mary Louise Adams, and Patricia Vertinsky have all produced major works inquiring into, and often critiquing, the way that sport and gender construction have interacted: often in ways that have limited or marginalized women's participation.

Wise was acutely aware of the importance of aspects of culture, such as folk stories, that projected "the values of fortitude, toughness and endurance so central to the popular culture of French Canada" and thought that these values "have a significance - and merit an investigation - transcending the humble realm of sport."⁹ This was written, of course, in the midst of the mid-Seventies' ferment for a 'new history'. Despite his predominant interest in the traditional topics of military and political history, in 'Sport and Class Values' Wise showed an abiding interest in the possibilities of cultural history. Thus, he echoed journalist Bruce Hutchison's claim that "you cannot gauge 'the true culture of the nation' without giving equal weight to hockey that is given to politics and books and art."¹⁰

If Wise's protean agenda had been followed, it would have greatly furthered the discipline of sport history in Canada and, somewhat paradoxically, would have broken down many of the boundaries that today still separate sport studies from academic

⁹ Wise, 110

¹⁰ Cited by Roy MacGregor in the *Globe and Mail*, Jan 5, 2008, A2. The original Hutchison quotation dates from 1952.

history. But 'Sport and Class Values' had surprisingly little impact on the practice of Canadian sport scholarship. The next generation of scholars looked away from cultural history and identity construction and instead focused on a simpler sociological model. The sport historians of the 1980's, Alan Metcalfe chief amongst them, used sport history as a tool to understand modernization, especially the transition from supposedly 'traditional' society to the industrial, urban, modern present. This emphasis gave short shrift to the social construction of identity and culture, and often ignored the continual flux and rapid pace of change in a past defined as 'traditional'.¹¹

However, the agenda Wise laid out for future study was informed by an independent and sophisticated view of history and cultural theory, including a keen awareness of the social construction of gender and ethnic identities as well as the class values mentioned in his title. His agenda suggested that sport history could be more than just a tragic chronology of the modernization of traditional cultural practices and institutions. Instead, Wise suggested the entirely new project of examining sport in the context of the contestation of regional and civic identities under the umbrella of the nation. Remarkably, for an essay written in the mid-1970s, Wise proposed an agenda of study very similar to the postmodern cultural approach adopted by critical theorists of the early twenty-first century. For instance, his suggestion that sport might reveal trends in the imagination of the developing Canadian identity within the British Empire has, after a

¹¹ Colin Howell, discusses this problem in his essay "On Marx, Metcalfe, and Materialism, Reflections on the Writing of Sport History in the Postmodern Age" *Sport History Review*, [1998], 29, 96-102. See also Richard Gruneau's "Modernization or Hegemony" in Harvey and Cantelon, *Not Just a Game*, University of Ottawa Press, [1988]. See also Mark Dyreson, 'Olympic Games and Historical Imagination: Notes from the Faultline of Tradition and Modernity' *Olympika* VII:25-42.

twenty year hiatus, recently come to be considered a hot topic by Canadian historians.¹²

Canadian sport history got off to a pedestrian but necessary start with broad surveys in the early 1970's, but made what could be considered to be an unfortunate turn in the late 80's with its intense focus on modernization studies. Only in the last decade have historians, influenced by the critical theory of the cultural turn in history, begun to follow the agenda suggested by Wise in 1974. Contemporary Canadian sport historians, nevertheless, do benefit from standing on the higher ground of a subject in which some serious work has been done.

This project is an inquiry into the significance of the 1936 Olympic Ice Hockey Tournament, and its utility in determining the relationship of sport and Canadian identity. As a sporting event, the 1936 tourney is probably roughly equal in importance to each of the other Olympic championships of the interwar period. But the peculiar circumstances of the tournament make it an event that can be used to rethink our understanding of Canadian national identity, especially in the context of declining cultural contacts with the British Empire as Canada became an autonomous urban-industrial nation. The struggle over the composition of the team and the administrative response to its traumatic loss to a British team in Garmisch reveal the gap between what Canadian sport administrators wanted sport to be and what it meant for athletes and spectators. And

¹² For instance, the work of Katharine Moore's "'The Warmth of Comradeship': The First British Empire Games and Imperial Solidarity" *International Journal of the History of Sport* 6:2 (1989):242-251 and her "A Divergence of Interests: Canada's Role in the Politics and Sport of the British Empire During the 1920's" *Canadian Journal of the History of Sport*. 21: 1 (1990), 21-29, as well as Michael Dawson's "Acting Global, Thinking Local: 'Liquid Imperialism' and the Multiple Meanings of the 1954 British Empire & Commonwealth Games" *IJHS*. 23: 1, (2006), 3-27.

most importantly, understanding this event *in historical memory* reveals how Canadians think about the relationship between their national identity and their national sport. While this study draws on the theoretical tools of culture studies, the historical facts presented by earlier scholars will necessarily compose important foundations in the analysis of the Garmisch hockey tournament, and so this project will begin by reviewing the earlier literature.

Before scholars in universities began to think about sport, authors such as Maclean's journalist and sometime Olympic official Henry Roxborough produced books that detailed Canadian sporting history for popular audiences. Foremost amongst his books which sold to wide audiences are *Canada at the Olympics* [1963], *One Hundred-Not Out: The Story of Nineteenth Century Canadian Sport* [1966], and *The Stanley Cup Story* [1971].¹³ *One Hundred-Not Out*, in particular, reflects the old tradition of a grand narrative that begins at Confederation and tells the story of the growth of the nation (through, in this case, the history of sport). A similar audience read broadcaster Foster Hewitt's popular book about hockey, *Down the Ice*, in 1934, and his children's novels with sporting themes, most notably *Hello Canada! (and Hockey Fans in the United States)* [1950] and *Down Olympic Road* [1951].

The first academic efforts at understanding the history of sport took place within schools of physical education. An early example was Stewart Davidson's 1949 McGill doctoral thesis on the history of physical education in Canada. Until the Seventies, this

¹³ Roxborough often wrote on sport for *Maclean's Magazine*. His article about the 1936 Winter Olympics is discussed on Chapter 6.

was the most conspicuous vein of Canadian sport scholarship, with significant works produced under the aegis of schools of physical education at the Universities of Alberta, Western Ontario, and Windsor. These schools connected the physical arts they taught and the historical roots of those activities through sport history. Thus sport scholars produced works that were an adjunct to the training of sports instructors, rather than - as Wise hoped for - a critical examination of sport *and* society. Scholars within schools of physical education naturally focused on 'school' sport, sport that was intended to be educational and character building.¹⁴ Histories that reinforced these traditions offered a means of maintaining and reinforcing the educational and character building project of sport. This may indeed be a legitimate project, but it is not one that easily lends itself to the historian's quest for critical analysis.

Some notable critical scholars, in particular former Olympian Bruce Kidd, emerged from this phys-ed environment, but, in the main, this period was characterized by chronicling and cataloging past events, with only modest injections of theoretical analysis. University of Alberta scholars Maxwell and Nancy Howell, in their 1969 book *Sports and Games in Canadian Life: 1700 to the Present*, for instance, produced an encyclopedic work that details, by sport and by region, basic historical facts about Canadian sport.¹⁵ In 1970, the Howells, who supervised a doctoral program in sport history at the University of Alberta, founded the *Canadian Journal of the History of*

¹⁴ Such as G. J. Burke's *An Historical Study of Intercollegiate Athletics at the University of Western Ontario 1908-1945* [1979].

¹⁵ *Sports and Games in Canadian Life* Toronto: MacMillan. 1969.

Sport and Physical Education.¹⁶ Alberta was the first Canadian university to grant a significant number of doctoral degrees in sport history and sport studies. However, few of their dissertations made it into book form, and later scholarship took other directions rather than building on their early work.¹⁷

In the late 1980's, the role of sport in Canadian life became a hot topic, as current events stimulated academic interest. In early 1988, Canada hosted the Winter Olympics at Calgary, but Canadian athletes performed poorly and failed to win any gold medals, provoking a now perennial national debate about the productivity of Canadian athletes in international competitions. That summer, at the Summer Olympics in Seoul, Canadian sprinter Ben Johnson won the gold medal in the marquee 100m race against American Carl Lewis, but was stripped of his medal after testing positive for the anabolic steroid stanozolol. Coincidentally, Canadians were also shocked by the hockey trade that sent Wayne Gretzky from Edmonton to Los Angeles.¹⁸ The fall from grace of one Canadian icon (Johnson) and the sale of the other (Gretzky) to an American team triggered a real questioning of the role of sports and sports figures in national life, and in the imagination of national identity.

¹⁶ The *CJHSPE* later became the *Sport History Review*.

¹⁷ Two exceptions to this may well be Keith Lansley's 1971 dissertation *The Amateur Athletic Union of Canada and Changing Concepts of Amateurism* and Frank Cosentino's *A History of the Concept of Professionalism in Canadian Sport* [1973]. These are rarely cited, but are important early works in a topic that obsessed Canadian sport theorists in the 70's and 80's

¹⁸ University of Otago sport historian Stephen Jackson's article 'Gretzky, Crisis, and Canadian Identity in 1988: Re-articulating the Americanization of Culture Debate' *Sociology of Sport Journal* 11(4) [1994] deals with the Gretzky trade, and Jackson has also analyzed the aftermath of the Johnson debacle and subsequent Dubin inquiry into the use of performance enhancing drugs in Canadian sport in 'A Twist of Race: Ben Johnson and the Canadian Crisis of Racial and National Identity' *SSJ* 15(1) [1998]

While these incidents produced a sharp crisis of identity in 1988, the issues had been simmering throughout the preceding years. It was in this context that a number of important academic works addressing the role of sports in Canada were produced. These include Alan Metcalfe's *Canada Learns to Play* [1987], Jean Harvey and Hart Cantelon's edited volume *Not Just A Game* [1988], and Morris Mott's edited volume *Sports in Canada: Historical Readings* [1989].

Leading the charge was University of Windsor professor Alan Metcalfe. In his *Canada Learns to Play*, Metcalfe presented one of the first book-length critical analyses of sport in Canada.¹⁹ *Canada Learns to Play* is frequently and properly cited as a seminal work in Canadian sport history. Metcalfe's starting point was to examine sport with the tools of social history.²⁰ He argued that the nineteenth century rise of urbanization and industrialization caused fundamental changes in Canadian sport.

This argument followed the analytic framework suggested in Allen Guttman's influential 1978 book *From Ritual to Record*, which in turn leaned heavily on the sociology of modernization as conceived by Max Weber and Talcott Parsons.²¹ The suggestion was that early 'traditional' sport became institutionalized and therefore controlled, commodified, and disciplined as society industrialized and modernized.

¹⁹ *Canada Learns to Play: the emergence of organized sport, 1807-1914*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1987. Metcalfe also wrote the important articles 'Sport and Athletics: A Case study of Lacrosse in Canada' *JSH* 3;1 [1976] 1-19; 'Organized Sport and Social Stratification in Montreal, 1840-1901' in Gruneau and Albinson, *Canadian Sport: Sociological Perspectives* [1976] 77-101 and 'The Growth of Amateur Sport and the Development of Amateurism in Canada 1807-1914' in Harvey and Cantelon, *Not Just A Game* [1988].

²⁰ Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play*. 225.

²¹ Allen Guttman, *From Ritual to Record: the nature of modern sports*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1978, 69.

Metcalfe cited the central importance to his work of both Guttman's theory and of E.P. Thompson's discussion of the legitimation of discipline in industrial society.²² *From Ritual to Record* served as a model, in part because it adeptly used Thompson's critique of industrial capitalism in the context of the emergence of organized sport in the nineteenth century.²³ Guttman used this framework in his analysis of the effect of modernization on 'traditional' amateur sport, and its transformation to modern, commercial and professional.

Metcalfe's narrative in *Canada Learns to Play* begins with what he characterizes as traditional and pre-modern sports, and he chronicled the way in which these 'traditional' practices were substantially changed and dominated by the rise of industrial society. Thus, he argued that the collapse of organized lacrosse in the 1890's was a crisis engendered by hidebound adherence to amateur ideology. By insisting on a draconian interpretation of amateur rules and suspending most of the major clubs for infractions of this ever-tightening set of rules, lacrosse administrators effectively brought organized play to a halt, divorcing it from the rhythm of emerging urban-industrial society. Metcalfe saw this amateur zealotry as an attachment to pre-industrial value systems.²⁴ But, as Graham Scambler and Don Morrow have demonstrated, the idea of excluding non-amateurs from organized sport dates only from the (already industrial) 1860's.²⁵ Even Allen Guttman

²² See his prefatory 'Bibliographic note', where Metcalfe cites in particular Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class* and the article 'Time, Work-Discipline and Industrial Capitalism.' *Past and Present* 38, 56-97.

²³ *Ritual to Record* is also cited in the preface to *Canada Learns to Play*.

²⁴ Ken Sandiford 'Canada Learns to Play' *Sporting Traditions* 5:2 [1989] 242

²⁵ Graham Scambler, *Sport and Society: History, Power and Culture* [2005], and Don Morrow 'A Case Study in Amateur Conflict, the Athletic War in Canada, 1906-08' *BJSH* 3:2 1986: 183-190

has recognized that amateur rules were simply “an instrument of class warfare.”²⁶

Metcalf documents the decline of lacrosse as a major public sport in the late nineteenth century, and its replacement in the sports world and in the public imagination by hockey.²⁷ Hockey replaced lacrosse as a dominant sport in Canada in the 1890's because it was better able to avoid entanglement in these class conflicts, and thus better able to represent the interests of athletes and spectators. To cast this transition as merely one from traditional to modern thus fundamentally misunderstands the relationship of sport and class values.

Wise characterized this late nineteenth-century era somewhat differently, avoiding the problem of a traditional/modern dichotomy.

The last forty years of the nineteenth century, and not just the decade of the 1890s was the era of the rise of organized sport in Canada. Social historians must inevitably examine this sporting revolution; when they do, they will discover that it was not a divergence from the main lines of our social development, but part and parcel of that development.²⁸

An important and under-appreciated aspect of Wise's ‘Sport and Class Values’ was the critique of A.R.M. Lower's contention that the appearance of hockey rinks and ‘organized’ sport in the 1880's meant that the “old social and economic solidarities were beginning to break up.”²⁹ Wise noted that this argument constructed as ‘old’ a social order of no more than thirty years existence and critiqued Lower's contention that sport

²⁶ Guttman, *From Ritual to Record*, 31.

²⁷ For further discussion of this, see pages 73-74 below

²⁸ Wise, 114.

²⁹ *Ibid*, 109.

principally signified societal regression and decadence. Instead, he argued that

sports and games had never been absent from Canadian life ... Not only the English, but every people making up the Canadian population had its distinct tradition of athletics, a tradition usually closely related to the social position and outlook of the group.³⁰

Wise further argued that the 'organization' of sports should not just be understood in terms of modernization, or as the capitalist project of governing and disciplining workers by controlling play. Without standard and codified rules, teams could not play each other, or organize championships. Without organization, they could not play on a regional or national basis; rules allowed sports to transcend locality. Thus, the organization occurred, not merely out of a need to legitimate domination, but because sporting competition was becoming a major nation-building and cultural practice. And the organizers and promoters were not motivated merely by commercial avarice. While an aspect of modern sport was its marketing, the customers were not merely dupes of the marketers; they were interested in the events that were being promoted, and sensed their social impact. Inter-community, inter-regional and fully 'national' sports allowed turn-of-the-century Canadians to think nationally, and so to imagine themselves as members of a national community. Proponents of the amateur ethos like to set it up against the straw man of the supposedly tragic commercialization of traditional sport, and tend to gloss over the unfortunate fact that the amateur ethic barely pre-dates the birth of the sports it sought to govern.³¹

³⁰ *Ibid*, 127.

³¹ See Graham Scambler *Sport and Society: History, Power and Culture*. New York: Open University Press. [2005].

While Metcalfe's work may have fundamental flaws, it started a discussion about many important issues, such as the hegemony of amateur ideology, the roots of commercial and professional sport, and indeed, the link between sport and identity.³² *Canada Learns to Play* heralded a renaissance in Canadian sport scholarship. Even those who rejected his analytic framework were inspired by his ability to interweave historical events and critical analysis and thus provide a usable explanatory framework for understanding both Canadian sport and, more broadly, Canadian society.³³

In the late 1980's and early 1990's historians variously began to tell stories about how sport has played a role in constructing gender, how schools have used sport to inculcate desired values, and the role of sport in the negotiation of national, inter-national and imperial identities, and, not least, about hockey's place in Canadian life. The versatility of sport as an entry point to understanding society was becoming apparent. Historians have consequently come to use sport to understand many aspects of Canadian history, especially conceptions of national character, class identity, and masculinity and femininity.³⁴ Gender

³² Nancy Bouchier, 'Canadian Sport History' *Acadiensis XXVIII*, [1998], 98-102.

³³ Howell, 'On Marx, Metcalfe and Materialism', *Sport History Review* 29 [1998], 101.

³⁴ Bryan Palmer was the first to seriously discuss sport in the context of labour history with his discussion of worker's baseball in Hamilton in *A Culture in Conflict: Skilled Workers and Industrial Conflict in Hamilton, Ontario 1860-1914*. [1979], and the understanding of sport and class has been advanced, not only by Wise, but by the many historians of amateurism. See Alan Metcalfe "The Growth of Organized Sport and the Development of Amateurism in Canada 1807-1914", in Harvey and Cantelon, *Not Just a Game*. [1988], Don Morrow "A Case Study in Amateur Conflict, the Athletic War in Canada, 1906-08" *British Journal of Sports History* 3, 2 1986: 183-190, and Bruce Kidd "In Defense of Tom Longboat" *CJHS* 14, 1 (34-63) and chapters 3 and 4 in Kidd's *The Struggle for Canadian Sport* [1996]. The question of class and that of modernization was initiated by Alan Metcalfe's *Canada Learns to Play* [1987], but was far advanced by Richard Gruneau in his *Class, Sports, and Social Development* [1983], and in his important essay "Modernization or Hegemony: Two views on Sport and Social Development" in Harvey and Cantelon, eds., *Not Just a Game* [1988].

and women's historians have produced significant recent work.³⁵

However, only recently have Canadian sport historians begun to address sport in the context of understanding questions of national identity, and inter-national affairs.³⁶ The goal of historians who have used sport examples has often been to understand the internal structure of Canadian society, and thus Canadian sport historians have only slowly been drawn into the debates that concern sport historians in the United States, Britain, and elsewhere in the world- such as the role of sport in creating colonial and imperial mentalities, and sport in the Cold War.³⁷ On the whole, Canadian sport historians have usually taken a narrow focus on historical events and historical interpretations that address distinctively Canadian issues. This has meant that Canadian historians of sport have used a limited set of analytic frameworks.³⁸ By contrast, in both the United States and the ex-

³⁵ Sport has been a fertile field for women's historians and historians of gender. Key works in this field include Helen Lenskyj, *Out of Bounds: Women, Sport and Sexuality* [1986], Ann Hall *The Girl and the Game: A History of Women's Sport in Canada* [2002], Laura Robinson *She Shoots, She Scores: Canadian Perspectives on Women and Sport* [1997]. Recently, gender inquiries have begun to also discuss masculinity. Philip White and Kevin Young's *Sport and Gender in Canada* [1999] and Michael Robidoux's *Men at Play* [2001] are key works in this field.

³⁶ Few Canadian sport historians have answered Philip Buckner's famous question 'Whatever happened to the British Empire?' Among those who have, Gerald Redmond has written some classic pieces from a very traditional perspective, and Michael Dawson and Katharine Moore have addressed questions of Canada's relationship to Empire in the Twentieth Century, as Kevin Wamsley has done for the post-Confederation period. See note 17.

³⁷ British sport historian J.A. Mangan has greatly advanced thinking about sport in British public schools and its role in the imperial imagination, but his writing has a global sensibility, and during a visiting term at the University of Alberta he wrote an article on sport in Canadian public schools, which makes up a chapter in *The Cultural Bond*. The principal Canadian work that follows Mangan's lead in addressing sport and private schools is Jean Barman's, *Growing Up British in British Columbia*. For Cold War sport history from an internationalist perspective, see Finnish historian Markku Jokispila's insightful "Maple Leaf, Hammer, and Sickle: International Ice Hockey During the Cold War" *Sport History Review* 37, (2006) 36-53

³⁸ Alan Bairner, *Sport, Nationalism and Globalization*. Albany: SUNY Press. 2003

colonies of the British Commonwealth, sport history has addressed different issues and used analytic frameworks strongly influenced by post-colonial theory.³⁹ Post-colonial theorists frequently address 'identity' issues, and in particular the issue of developing an independent national identity after colonial rule. As well, post-colonial studies have recently begun to analytically compare colonial societies.⁴⁰

Sport in Canada has long carried what post-colonial historian Michael Dawson calls multiple meanings. Sport in Canada did contribute to the construction of 'imperial mentalities' while simultaneously supporting anti-colonial sentiments and fostering local identities. Sport has served as a tool of resistance as often as it has worked as a building block for hegemony. Its particular history in Canada is clearly distinct from that of the other major British settler societies.⁴¹

Contemporary historians have used analytical tools first used by post-modern and post-colonial theorists to provide new insights into understanding Canadian sport and society. Earlier suggestions that sport was an unimportant aspect of leisure, rather than entirely interwoven with culture and politics, eroded in the 1980's. The line that sport should remain separate from politics has been increasingly exposed as a discursive argument that the political values reproduced by sport should not be questioned. Colin Howell, in his

³⁹ Especially the ideas of J. A. Mangan, Ann T. Hall, and Australian sociologist David Pearson.

⁴⁰ In Canada, Philip Buckner has called for a re-integration of Canadian and Imperial history. See Buckner 'Whatever happened to the British Empire?' *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association*. 4 (1993) 3-32. See also Michael Dawson, 'Acting Global, thinking Local: Liquid Imperialism and the multiple meanings of the 1954 British Empire and Commonwealth Games. *IJHS*, 23:1, 3-27 [2006]

⁴¹ Harold Perkin 'Teaching the Nations How to Play: Sport and Society in the British Empire and Commonwealth' *IJHS*, 6:2, 145-155 [1989] and James Mangan *The Cultural Bond: Sport, Empire, Society* [1992].

2001 book *Blood, Sweat and Cheers, Sport and the Making of Modern Canada*, argues that Canada is “the product of the lived experience of all of us”.⁴² This naturally includes conceptions of gender, race, and class identity. Foremost amongst the Canadian scholars who have advanced how we think about these issues is Bruce Kidd.

Kidd, who represented Canada in athletics at the Tokyo Olympics in 1964, has written some of the most influential texts in Canadian sport history. These include *The Death of Hockey*, which Kidd co-wrote with Brian MacFarlane in 1972, a number of important articles on Olympism in Canada and the role of state support in athletics and, in 1996, *The Struggle for Canadian Sport*.⁴³ Kidd was among the first to note the many possible meanings that could be produced by various forms of sport and physical culture. Sport did not have to mean any one thing, it could be used to transform gender identity, promote solidarity amongst workers, champion community identities, or erase them, in favour of a more homogenous national imagination.⁴⁴

The Death of Hockey is largely a polemic, but it marks the beginnings of critical analysis of sport rather than writings, such as those by Henry Roxborough and Foster Hewitt, that were essentially adjuncts to the culture of sports fans. Kidd, in *The Death of Hockey* argued that the NHL’s tight control of hockey perverted the meaning of hockey in Canada. From the professionalization of the Stanley Cup in 1908, to the CBC’s *Hockey Night In Canada* broadcasts, and the 1967 expansion of the NHL exclusively into American

⁴² Howell, *Blood, Sweat and Cheers*, 145, Toronto: UTP. 2001

⁴³ Kidd, *The Struggle for Canadian Sport*. Toronto: UTP. 1996,
Kidd and Brian MacFarlane, *The Death of Hockey*. Toronto: New Press. 1972

⁴⁴ Bouchier, ‘Canadian Sport History’, *Acadiensis* XXVIII

cities, selling hockey meant that the NHL would control the meaning of hockey. This led to the marginalization of other potential meanings, such as a pan-Canadian production of civic identities through community based senior hockey teams.

Kidd's argument that cultural meaning was constructed and malleable opened up many new critical avenues for scholars. Among the historians to take up this challenge was Richard Gruneau. In a seminal article titled "Modernization or Hegemony", Gruneau contrasted modernization theory with a Gramscian analysis of how discourses about sport revealed how people thought about society.⁴⁵ Contemplating the relationship of sport to governance and hegemony provided a path for thinking beyond class identity, into the fields of gender, ethnicity, region, and nation.

Rethinking the modernization thesis also led to a re-thinking of the signification of the amateur- professional binary opposition.⁴⁶ Poor Canadian results in international sport in the Sixties and Seventies had been blamed on unfair competition from Soviet 'shamateurs'. In 1970, Canada had dropped out of international 'amateur' competitions in hockey, its 'national' sport, because of the intransigence of the International Ice Hockey Federation (IIHF) and the International Olympic Committee (IOC) on the eligibility of professionals to represent the country in international competitions. The tension between the often contested ideology of amateurism and the symbolic significance of international competition proved to be a catalyst for much academic work on the subject of amateurism, starting with Lansley's

⁴⁵ In Harvey and Cantelon, *Not Just a Game*. Gruneau also wrote the important, *Class, Sport and Social Values* [1983].

⁴⁶ Amateurism is often defined as the opposite of professionalism, and an amateur is popularly defined a player who is paid to play. Historically, its meaning has been more complex, as amateurism often served to maintain race and class boundaries in sport and society.

and Cosentino's 1971 and 1973 dissertations at the University of Alberta, and Metcalfe, Morrow, and Kidd's works on the 'amateur wars' of the early twentieth century.⁴⁷

Sport historians, Wise amongst them, point out that the nineteenth-century discourse of amateurism was not merely a defence of 'natural' sport against the corruption of commerce. It was also an elite discourse that tightly regulated access both to sport and to sport's potential to define and redefine identity. When sport became a spectacle, rather than merely a leisure activity, the possibility opened up that success in sport could support claims to exemplary masculinity, or - especially in the case of sports that signified the nation- a claim to 'national' citizenship. The discourse of amateurism prohibited 'professionalism', and thus limited the availability of coaching and the time that could be spent on training. This made it easier for upper-middle class sportsmen to use sport to validate their own identities. *The Rowing Almanac* [1861] defined an amateur sportsman as one who had attended a short list of schools and universities, ending with an absolute exclusion of tradesmen, labourers, artisans or working mechanics.⁴⁸ Amateur exclusions often went far beyond regulating professionalism and often outright excluded 'inferior' races and classes from competition. Allen Guttman simply and succinctly put it that "the attempt to limit sports to gentlemen of means still survives in the anachronistic amateur rule. . . The amateur rule was an instrument of class warfare."⁴⁹

Bruce Kidd likewise argues, more specifically about Canada, that

⁴⁷ Keith Lansley *The Amateur Athletic Union of Canada and Changing Concepts of Amateurism* [1971], and Frank Cosentino *A History of the Concept of Professionalism in Canadian Sport* [1973].

⁴⁸ Scambler p. 39 *Sport and Society: History, Power and Culture*. [2005].

⁴⁹ Guttman, *From Ritual to Record* [1978]. 31.

The earliest 'amateur codes' restricted participation on the basis of class and race, reflecting the upper classes' desire to reproduce the social hierarchies of Victorian England and the British Empire".⁵⁰

Amateurism was a social technology that utilized sport to reproduce a particular social pattern. The governance project of using sport and sport institutions to maintain social order survived the later discomfort with amateurism's racial and occupational exclusions. What remained was the middle-class ideal that an orderly stable society required firm regulation and governance.⁵¹ In the early twentieth century, amateurism was wracked with conflicts over the definition of 'amateur', and over the issue of how sport should be governed.

Don Morrow, in his article 'A Case-Study in Amateur Conflict: The Athletic War in Canada, 1906-08' was among the first Canadian sport historians to address amateurism critically.⁵² Morrow argues that while the 'amateur war' was, on the surface, fought over the issue of whether amateurs could maintain their status if they played with or against professionals. However, at its core the conflict was about whether Canadian amateur sport would be governed from Toronto or from Montreal. The amateur war of 1909 was resolved in a manner that satisfied the various regional power groups, but that entrenched Victorian class values in a rapidly modernizing cultural field. The compromises made in the

⁵⁰ Kidd, *The Struggle for Canadian Sport*, 27 The famous evidence of this is the Montreal Pedestrian Club's 1873 definition of an amateur as someone who did not engage in the "pursuit of Athletic exercises as a means of livelihood or is a laborer or an Indian."

⁵¹ Norman Baker, 'Whose Hegemony? The Origins of the Amateur Ethos in Nineteenth Century English Society' *North American Society for Sport History Conference Papers*, 2003

⁵² *The British Journal of Sports History* 3:2 [1986]173-190. Reprinted in Morris Mott, ed; *Sports in Canada: Historical Readings*, 201-219

Edwardian era over the governance of sport would eventually collapse in the various crises of 1936

The governance contested by amateur administrators was largely a localized power play concerned with domestic issues, but it frequently appealed rhetorically to 'British' values. However, as Marilyn Barber has noted, in the inter-war period "great differences existed between the Canadian and English concepts of Britishness."⁵³ The Canadian conception of Britishness contained a egalitarian streak that disdained aristocratic snobbery, but that simultaneously appealed to a high standard of moral and cultural behaviour. Immigration from the United Kingdom of those 'dregs of the slums' who wagered at dog-tracks, joined trade unions, and drank in pubs, was seen as undesirable. But the 'Britishness' of the aristocracy was as unwanted as the dregs of the slums. Historian W. L. Morton has commented of his youth in Manitoba, that in the 1920s

British we were, but English in the sense of southern English we never were. On the contrary, every English Canadian in my childhood milieu disliked an English lord, an Oxford accent, and English style.⁵⁴

The notion that sport was used to maintain 'Imperial' mentalities has triggered a number of important studies that have considered sport, masculinity, nation, and Empire.⁵⁵ J.A. Mangan, British theorist of colony and Empire has led the way in inquiring into the

⁵³ Marilyn Barber, 'Nation-Building in Saskatchewan: Teachers from the British Isles in Saskatchewan Rural Schools in the 1920s' in Buckner and Francis, eds.' *Canada and the British World*, 215-234 [2006]. Both Canadians conceptions of Britishness, and British conceptions of Canadian-ness would undergo radical changes in the Thirties.

⁵⁴ *Globe Magazine*, 24 September 1964. Thanks are due to Norman Hillmer for pointing this quotation out.

⁵⁵ John Nauright, 'Physical Degeneration Debates and Colonial Sporting Tours, 1878-1906' *CJHS* 23: 2 [1992], 54-71.

history of the project of defining exemplary masculinity within the educational system. This project also inculcated national and imperial identity, both in England and in the colonies.⁵⁶ Mangan has bravely gone where non-Canadian historians have feared to tread, and addressed Canadian sport history.⁵⁷ This has inspired more Canadian scholars to work in this field, for instance, Jean Barman, whose *Growing Up British in British Columbia: Boys in Private School* addresses many of the same issues as Mangan's work, but in a specifically Canadian context.⁵⁸ Mangan's research into the 'games ethic' at British public schools led him to theorize that sport was a major technique used to socialize boys into the 'imperial system.'⁵⁹ Through regulating masculinity, sport engendered both patriotic sentiments and a sensibility of duty and loyalty to 'the team'. This line of thought has been further developed by historians of Empire, such as Harold Perkin, David Pearson, and Brian Stoddart, who discuss the role of sport in the making of colonial mentalities and the construction and negotiation of

⁵⁶ See J.A. Mangan, *The Cultural Bond*, and *The Games Ethic and Imperialism*. [1985].

⁵⁷ John Nauright, for instance, in his otherwise brilliant article 'Sport and the Image of Colonial Manhood in the British Mind: British Physical Deterioration Debates and Colonial Sporting Tours, 1878-1906' *CJHS*. 23:2, [1992], 54-71 excuses himself by noting that "Canada largely is absent from this discussion due to its quite different sporting history" (p. 68). See also Mangan's, *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*.

⁵⁸ Vancouver, UBC Press, 1984.

⁵⁹ See *The Games Ethic and Imperialism*, and Mangan's edited volume. *The Cultural Bond: Sport, Empire, Society*. [1992]. Recent work that overcomes this problem includes Katharine Moore's "'The Warmth of Comradeship': The First British Empire Games and Imperial Solidarity" *IJHS* 6:2 [1989]:242-251 and her 'A Divergence of Interests: Canada's Role in the Politics and Sport of the British Empire During the 1920's' *CJHS* 21:1 [1990], 21-29, as well as Michael Dawson's "'Acting Global, Thinking Local: 'Liquid Imperialism' and the Multiple Meanings of the 1954 British Empire & Commonwealth Games" *IJHS*. 23:1, [2006], 3-27.

de-colonized identities.⁶⁰

The complex relationship of sport and nation for Canada and the Empire in the early twentieth century has also been addressed by Katharine Moore. Her principal topic is the interplay of ideas in the de-colonizing settler dominions of the British Empire in the 1920's and 30's and how sport reflected these countries' national mentalities. Moore suggests that the period "was characterized by a struggle by members of the Empire to define their own identities, attempting to define their status relative to each other and also to Great Britain."⁶¹ In the 1920's Mackenzie King pursued a policy of dis-entangling Canada from Imperial obligations, a political project that contributed eventually to the Balfour Declaration and the Statute of Westminster. As many parts of the Empire, including Canada became increasingly culturally independent, there developed an "acute sense of doubt as to the long-term prospects of the Commonwealth."⁶²

In the late 1920's, Bobby Robinson, manager of the Canadian Olympic Team and editor of the *Hamilton Spectator*, promoted the idea of an 'Empire Games', which were eventually held in Hamilton in 1930. There was little federal involvement in this event, which was organized by the City of Hamilton with the assistance of members of the Canadian Olympic Association. In contrast to the nineteenth century, when other countries measured

⁶⁰ Perkin 'Teaching the Nations How to Play; Sport and Society in the British Empire and Commonwealth' *IJHS* 6:2 [1989] 145-155. Pearson 'Theorizing Citizenship in British settler societies' *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 25:6 [2002] 989-1012. Stoddart 'Sport, Cultural Imperialism, and Colonial Response in the British Empire' *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 30:4 [1988], 649-673.

⁶¹ Moore, 'Warmth of Comradeship', 242.

⁶² Moore 'A Divergence of Interests' 46, quoting from R.F. Holland, *Britain and the Commonwealth Alliance*. [1981].

themselves against England, the shift in world power [to America, in particular] now caused the Empire to judge itself against an external sporting standard.⁶³ But there was still a strong feeling of shared identity in the Commonwealth, the idea of 'British-ness', even if cultural and political links were increasingly informal. The organizing committee of the Empire Games offered substantial subsidies to teams from Australia and New Zealand, and with those subsidies, those nations eagerly attended, along with Bermuda, Newfoundland, British Guiana, South Africa and the 'home nations' (England, Scotland, and Wales). While some in the colonies were keen to think of themselves as part of the Empire, perhaps as a cultural association rather than a military duty, England was remarkably ambivalent. England, the 'mother country' of the Empire, was slow to warm to the idea of a competitive 'Festival of Empire', and finally agreed to send a team only two days before the New Zealand and Australian teams docked in Vancouver.⁶⁴

The English team was eventually funded after a successful radio appeal, turned up at the Games and did well. This example is also important because it reveals the lack of federal government involvement in using sport to 'think the nation' and to contest national prestige.⁶⁵ Both the Games and the various teams were organized and funded by amateur sport organizations and local government units such as the city of Hamilton. Thus the task of 'representing the nation' fell to 'kitchen-table' sports organizations and municipal councils. The use of sport to represent the nation was remarkably unregulated by the federal state.

⁶³ Moore, 'Warmth of Comradeship', 244.

⁶⁴ Moore, *ibid*, 247.

⁶⁵ In the first half of the twentieth century, the Canadian government overall did little to directly promote any form of culture.

What 'national identity' could mean, and could be used for, was up in the air and available for a variety of players to 'take the ball and run with it.'

Michael Dawson, in his recent article "Acting Global, Thinking Local: 'Liquid Imperialism' and the Multiple Meanings of the 1954 British Empire & Commonwealth Games" examines how events such as the Empire Games expose the interplay of meanings in the context of nation and Empire in the Twentieth Century.⁶⁶ Dawson avoids discussing sporting events as simple analogies to the success of the nation. Instead, he questions what signification sport, nation and empire held, and for whom they held it. Sport, Dawson argues, is always political, and is often used to produce political meanings, and particular representations of nation and national identity. These attempts are sometimes rejected, and sometimes only partially accepted.

Dawson's article also identifies a gap in Canadian historiography. Carl Berger's *The Sense of Power* discusses the nineteenth century affinity between British imperial ideas and English-Canadian nationalism. This bond weakened in the period after the Great War, but few historians have addressed how Canadians imagined their cultural and political relationship with Britain in the decade after the Statute of Westminster (1931). Westminster signified increased cultural and political autonomy in the Dominions, as well as being a harbinger of the end of the formal Empire. But the Canadian relationship with the Empire, and British values, was more complex than a simple national 'maturation'.

S.F. Wise noted in "Sport and Class Values" that "remnants of the colonial elite and

⁶⁶ Dawson, 'Acting Global, Thinking Local: 'Liquid Imperialism' and the Multiple Meanings of the 1954 British Empire & Commonwealth Games' *IJHS*. 23:1, [2006], 3-27.

their imitators continued to indulge in sports thought to be genuinely British in character, but having relatively little relevance to the circumstances of Canadian life.”⁶⁷ For instance, cricket has played a marginal role, mostly confined to the grounds of Upper Canada College, Trinity College School and Rideau Hall.⁶⁸ The history of the drift away from symbolically ‘British’ sports has been attributed to both the odour of upper-class snobbery around cricket, and the desire for sports that would be genuinely ‘Canadian’.⁶⁹ In mid-nineteenth century Canada, there were attempts to introduce ‘gentlemen’s’ sports such as cricket as vehicles for inculcating British values.⁷⁰ However, these attempts were resisted by those who promoted both an alternative masculinity and an alternative national identity. Michael Robidoux, in ‘Imagining a Canadian Identity through Sport’, argues that

the task of defining a national identity is a creative process that requires constructing a shared history and mythology(ies) that best suit the identity imagined by those few responsible for responding to this task.⁷¹

⁶⁷ Wise *op cit*, 114. Gerald Redmond’s “Imperial Viceregal Patronage: The Governors-General of Canada and Sport in the Dominion, 1867-1909.” Redmond details all of the instances where Governors-General patronized sport by donating trophies or honours. Documenting these instances was a worthwhile project, but Redmond never asks, as Roy MacSkimming recently has, “what was the attraction of British aristocrats to Canadian winter sports?” (in *Macdonald: a novel*, p 117) This is a good question, and it is worthy of a more thoughtful answer.

⁶⁸ In contrast, cricket has been central to the de-colonizing identity in many British colonies. See in particular C.L.R. James’s famous *Beyond a Boundary* [1963], about cricket and de-colonizing identity in the West Indies. See also Brian Stoddart’s ‘Cricket’s Imperial Crisis: the 1932-33 MCC Tour of Australia’, and Ramachandra Guha, *A Corner Of A Foreign Field: The Indian History Of A British Sport* [2003].

⁶⁹ Boria Majumdar and Sean Brown “Why Baseball, Why Cricket?” Differing Nationalisms, Differing Challenges” *IJHS*. 24:2, [2007] 139-156. For a discussion of cricket and class see Dominic Malcolm ‘The Diffusion of Cricket to America; A Figurational Sociological Examination’ *Journal of Historical Sociology*. 19: 2. [2006], and Nancy Bouchier, ‘Lacrosse: Idealized Middle Class Sport for Youth’ 243 -253 in Opp and Walsh, *At Home, Work and Play*.

⁷⁰ Robidoux ‘Imagining a Canadian Identity through Sport: A Historical Interpretation of Lacrosse and Hockey’ *Journal of American Folklore* 115, (No. 456) [2002] 209-225, 202

⁷¹ *Ibid*, 210

The Canadian nationalists who were amongst the early promoters of lacrosse, and later hockey, were influenced by German romantic nationalist Johann Herder's argument that the development of a *national* identity required the "elimination of foreign influence", and that "national history/mythology need to be consciously constructed."⁷² As nationally-specific sports, lacrosse and hockey were both indigenous and indigenizing.⁷³ Indeed, Canadian romantic nationalist George Beers argued in 1867 that lacrosse "embodied what it meant to be a Canadian settler in this unforgiving northern territory."⁷⁴ These sports would assert and promote a sense of Canadian identity that would be free from the baggage of sports that specifically coded affinity with England. The adoption of lacrosse as the official national sport would thus liberate Canadians from imperial influence and promote a closer affinity with the 'soul of the nation.' However, lacrosse was desirable for more than its signification of an independent Canadian political identity.

Robidoux argues that First Nations lacrosse players embodied a physical, 'hard' masculinity, that valued both violent aggression and stoic endurance, just the stuff of a 'true north, strong and free' identity. This masculinity was admired and imitated by French Canadian men both on its own terms, and as a binary opposite to refined and gentlemanly British sporting values. Since it promoted both a sense of national identity and a harder

⁷² *Ibid*, 212

⁷³ This use of the term 'indigenizing' follows that of David Pearson in his article "Theorizing Citizenship in British settler societies" *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 25:6 (Nov. 2002) 989-1012. For a 'settler' identity, the *indigenous* is the home-grown, local identity that is at the root of an emergent settler identity rather than a colonial identity. Thus it is *not* synonymous with aboriginal.

⁷⁴ Robidoux, 211

masculinity, sport provided social citizenship claims to its participants. While the political value of lacrosse for nation- building, as Robidoux says, “paled in relation to the actual meanings early participants experienced through playing it”, the performance of a desirable masculinity and the construction of a ‘national’ citizen went hand-in-hand.⁷⁵

As lacrosse codified its rules in the 1870's it became more ‘gentlemanly’, but there was still great advantage in playing an aggressive style. The official discourse from the elite that administered the National Lacrosse Association (NLA) was a strict doctrine of amateurism, prohibiting working class and aboriginal players, as well as ‘professionals’. Enforcement of this policy led to disruptions in competitive play, and in strong athletes eventually pursuing other sporting activities.⁷⁶ The symbolic value of lacrosse as an indigenous sport and as a source of a desirable masculine identity was equaled by hockey, which was freer from the imposition of snobbish class values that limited athletes capacity to use sport as a citizenship claim. With the disruptions to competition and barriers to athletes that the NLA enforced, hockey replaced lacrosse as the core sport in the imagined national community.

The period in which lacrosse and hockey emerged in Canadian society was also the period in which Canadian political institutions emerged. Wise notes that

The generation that found a political solution to the problems besetting British North America in the 1860s was a creative one; our historians have satisfied us on that score. But it was at least as remarkable that the same generation, and the next following, should have created or refined such sports as lacrosse, hockey, football,

⁷⁵ Robidoux, *‘Imagining a Canadian Identity. . .’*, 215

⁷⁶ Robidoux, 212. In this, Robidoux largely follows Metcalfe’s argument from *Canada Learns to Play*.

and basketball.⁷⁷

As Eric Hobsbawm points out, the emergence of traditions of nationally specific sports is often simultaneous with the emergence of national consciousness.⁷⁸ In the other major countries of the British Commonwealth this process has received more attention from historians. The development of an *indigenized* identity has often been constructed through national mythologies that commemorate the key moments of their sporting relationship with Britain. For instance, Australian historians have detailed cricket controversies from the Ashes (1882) to the Bodyline tests (1933) and beyond, as well as the role that Victorian Rules Football (now Australian Rules) played in the development of a de-colonized, indigenized identity.⁷⁹ C.L.R. James' *Beyond a Boundary* is perhaps the greatest of the books that discusses the role that cricket played as a metaphor for de-colonization and independence in the West Indies.⁸⁰ Boria Majumdar ably discusses the contested colonial relationship that India had with Britain through polo, field hockey, cricket and soccer.⁸¹ The role that the New Zealand All Blacks and Maori rugby tours of Britain played in the physical degeneration debates of the Edwardian era is documented by John Nauright and many of the historians of

⁷⁷ Wise, 114-115.

⁷⁸ Hobsbawm, *The Invention of Tradition*, 299-302.

⁷⁹ The 1882 Ashes match was the first time an all-England team lost at cricket to a colonial team. The 1933 'Bodyline' England tour of Australia featured a controversy in which Australians accused the English team of unsporting behaviour. See Brian Stoddart 'Sport, Cultural Imperialism, and Colonial Response in the British Empire' *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 30: 4 [1988], 649-673, and 'Cricket's Imperial Crisis: the 1932-33 MCC Tour of Australia' in Michael McKernan and Richard Cashman, eds. *Sport in History* [1979].

⁸⁰ *Beyond a Boundary*. London: Hutchinson, [1963].

⁸¹ "Why Baseball, Why Cricket?" Differing Nationalisms, Differing Challenges" *IJHS*. 24: 2, [2007] 139-156, and see also Ramachandra Guha, *This Corner of a Foreign Field* [2003].

the Otago School.⁸²

As Robidoux notes, the early goal of the invented traditions of lacrosse and hockey was to imagine an indigenized, 'native-but-not-aboriginal' identity. This project of 'thinking the nation' was tied to sports that were symbolically coded as local, and even endemic to Canada. Hockey and lacrosse were unquestionably 'Canadian', and thus were especially attractive to those who were either marginalized by 'British' sport and sport values, or who just felt no particular affinity to them, notably aboriginals, French Canadians, Irish Catholics and American immigrants.

The move towards "indigenous" sports was an effective strategy for fostering an independent Canadian identity, but it meant that Canadian sportsmen concentrated on sports that were only played in North America. Thus, as inter-national sport emerged, especially in Europe and in the British Empire in the early twentieth century, and other nations quickly seized the opportunity to make citizenship claims in the Olympics and World Cups, Canada often opted for other projects. The meanings produced by *national* sport in Canada remained resolutely internal, eschewing the competitive pursuit of national prestige through sport.

The Canadian historiography on early overseas forays in sport thus focuses on sport and state formation rather than on inter-national competition. The work in this field is sparse, and much of that is very recent. The first to consider the issue were Don Morrow and Kevin Wamsley. Don Morrow introduced the topic in his 1982 article 'The Canadian Image

⁸² Nauright, 'Sport and the Image of Colonial Manhood in the British Mind: British Physical Deterioration Debates and Colonial Sporting Tours, 1878-1906.' *CJHS* 23: 2, [1992], 54-71.

Abroad: The Great Lacrosse Tours of 1876 and 1883.’⁸³ Morrow notes that the practice of promoting the nation through overseas sports tours was well known, but the ‘Great Canadian Lacrosse Tours’ were not meant to demonstrate Canadian affinity for British culture.⁸⁴ The lacrosse tours were colonial spectacles, in which a team of white Anglo-Montrealers played a team of Indians from Caughnawaga. The 1883 tour worked hard to represent Canada as a desirable immigration site, and handed out 150,000 immigration flyers. One player commented “The lacrosse trip has helped emigration more than it is possible to estimate, but the emigration part of this trip has not helped lacrosse. . .”⁸⁵ The lacrosse tours were about creating an image for Canada. They exploited the British “fascination for aboriginals” and presented white Canadians as robust colonials both continuing British traditions and adapting to their new circumstances.⁸⁶ This project carefully avoided any Canadian challenge to ‘British’ sports or British challenge to Canadian-ness.

Kevin Wamsley brought new insights to the historical study of the Canadian use of inter-national sport in his essay ‘Nineteenth Century Sports Tours, State Formation, and Canadian Foreign Policy’.⁸⁷ Wamsley pointed out the role sport played in state formation

⁸³ *Proceedings of the 5th Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education*. Toronto: 1982

⁸⁴ And were thus *unlike* the Australian cricket tours mentioned above.

⁸⁵ ‘The Canadian Image Abroad...’ Morrow, 17

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 17

⁸⁷ Wamsley, ‘Nineteenth Century Sports Tours, State Formation and Canadian Foreign Policy’ *Sporting Traditions*. 12:2, May 1997 73-89. This built on Wamsley’s earlier “Cultural Signification and national ideologies: Rifle Shooting in Late Nineteenth Century Canada” in *Social History/Histoire Sociale*, 20:1 (Jan 1995) 63-73. See also Arnd Kruger ‘“Buying Victories is positively degrading”: European origins of government pursuit of national prestige through sport’ *IJHS*, 12: 2, 183-200.

and governance in Canada. Following the British theorist of governance and state formation, Philip Abrams, Wamsley noted that the *idea* of the state is an important factor in the imagination of the nation, even when the state has little immediate impact. The ‘national’ teams that Canada sent to the Wembley rifle championships in the post-Confederation period acted as a symbol of the state that would be reported across the new Dominion, regardless of the presence or absence of other state institutions.⁸⁸ Wamsley notes, building on Morrow’s study of the lacrosse tours, that the actual outcome of the competitions was less important than the construction of a particular image of Canada. Constructing this image was the goal of these international sporting exchanges.⁸⁹

The preference for image-building over winning competitions continued into the twentieth century, even when it became clear that other nations, Britain and the United States among them, were increasingly valuing victories at the Olympics and in inter-national competition as ornaments of national prestige.⁹⁰ In Canada, sports were utilized and “valorised as signifiers of nationhood, invoked as national symbol[s]”, but were principally used to promote a conception of Canada that emphasized the centrality of white, anglophone, protestant, masculinity, as expressed by the upper-middle class of central Canada.⁹¹ While sport could be used by athletes to exercise a citizenship claim in the new nation, a considerable exercise of power on the part of sport administrators was dedicated to regulating

⁸⁸ Wamsley, ‘Nineteenth Century Sports Tours...’ 73.

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, 75.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, 75 For an unfortunate negative example of this, see Bruce Kidd, *Tom Longboat* [1981].

⁹¹ Wamsley, 75-76.

both who could use sport to make citizenship claims and how powerful those claims could be. Inter-national sport was used to position a particular Canadian-ness as the ideal Canadian identity as a standard by which alternative identities could be judged and marginalized. Wamsley's work is important for two reasons. It is solid sport history that explains how sport was seen in a particular historical period. Further, as insightful cultural history often does, it transcends conventional disciplinary boundaries and discusses how sport fits into the wider context of Canadian politics and society.

Since hockey is frequently cited and usually accepted as a 'national' sport for Canadians, it is natural that what hockey can, and should, be used for is often contested. Don Morrow argues in his 2005 book *Sport in Canada* that "as much as Canadians invented hockey, hockey, in turn, invented Canadians".⁹² Morrow and Wamsley use a newspaper story about the 2002 Olympic hockey tournament to illustrate this. In the epigraph to their chapter 'Sport and the National', they cite journalist James McCarton's account of the 2002 Olympic hockey gold medal game from the Salt Lake City Winter Olympics:

It is impossible to account for the whereabouts of every Canadian yesterday afternoon but it is safe to assume one thing: If there wasn't a television in the room, chances are nobody was there."⁹³

While a few Canadian sport historians have discussed the negotiation of national and imperial identities, there has also been strong literature discussing the hockey in the

⁹² Morrow and Wamsley, *Sport in Canada*. 203.

⁹³ This quotation is used as an epigraph in Morrow and Wamsley's *Sport in Canada*, at the beginning of Chapter 5, (199).

imagination of Canadian identity. Richard Gruneau and his frequent co-author David Whitson greatly advanced the discipline of Canadian sports history, and in particular thinking about hockey, in their 1993 book, *Hockey Night in Canada: Sport, identities and cultural politics*. Whitson intended a “comprehensive analysis of the nature of hockey and its role in Canadian culture.”⁹⁴ Wise and Metcalfe had both noted the links between sport and identity, but the turn towards cultural studies allowed Gruneau and Whitson to explicitly reject the marginalization of hockey as ‘low’ culture. Canadians were interested in both playing and watching hockey; it was part of the culture, and worthy of scholarly investigation. Gruneau and Whitson argue that

memories of sights, sounds, and feelings are the stuff of nostalgia. But they are also the stuff of identity- part of the attachments that both of us have to the places, times and social influences that shaped our developing conceptions of self.⁹⁵

Hockey’s grip on the Canadian imagination is due to its “apparent naturalness, its sheer ubiquity, and its history”⁹⁶ Hockey has been an activity that many Canadians have participated in, but even more it has “a history that has allowed the game to represent something quintessentially Canadian.”⁹⁷

Gruneau and Whitson opened the door to using critical theory to understand both sport and culture, and for other Canadian scholars to begin to use new analytic frameworks. A fine example of an historian studying sport through the lens of recent critical theory is provided

⁹⁴ *Ibid*, 3.

⁹⁵ Gruneau and Whitson, *Hockey Night in Canada*, 1

⁹⁶ *Ibid*, 3. See also Jean Harvey ‘Whose Sweater is This? 29-52, in Gruneau and Whitson’s recent *Artificial Ice* for further development of this theme.

⁹⁷ Gruneau and Whitson, 3.

by Gillian Poulter. Her recent work explores emerging nationalism in Montreal in the mid nineteenth century through a study of snowshoeing clubs. Her analysis employs Judith Butler's theory of performative identity, which, in short argues that identities are not essential, but rather, are constituted by 'performances' of symbolic social actions.⁹⁸ Poulter persuasively argues that the performance of winter sports such as snowshoeing was critical to the emerging settler identity in Montreal, as it represented the pursuit of colonialism (i.e. the St. George's Club trooping across the land using an aboriginal technology, snowshoes), but re-sited those colonial goals as a local project. Poulter is thus among the new generation of sports historians who consider what sport meant for athletes and spectators, rather than what were the desired political goals of sports organizers and administrators.

American scholar Mark Dyreson's critical analysis of American exceptionalism and nationalist discourses has been paralleled in Canada by Kevin Wamsley's work on the construction of civic identity at the Calgary Olympics.⁹⁹ Wamsley's work, however, repeats the trend of discussing only *Canadian* events in a *Canadian* context, rather than taking into account the inter-national context of events such as the Olympics. Few Canadian historians have interrogated the symbolic role of international competition and its mirror in international relations, principally in the Cold War relationship of Canada and the Soviet

⁹⁸ Poulter "Snowshoeing and Lacrosse: Canada's Nineteenth-century 'National Games'" *Sport in Society*, Volume 6, Numbers 2-3, June & October 2003, pp. 293-320(28), and *Becoming Native in a Foreign Land: Visual Culture, Sport and Spectacle in the Construction of National Identity in Montreal, 1840-1885*. Ph.D thesis, York University, 1999. For Judith Butler, see *Gender Trouble* [1990] and *Bodies that Matter* [1993].

⁹⁹ Kevin Wamsley, and Michael K. Heine "Tradition, Modernity, and the Construction of Civic Identity: The Calgary Olympics." *Olympika* 5 (1996): 81-90.

Union.¹⁰⁰ It has been up to historians such as Markku Jokispila of the University of Helsinki to produce articles such as 'Maple Leaf, Hammer, and Sickle: International Ice Hockey During the Cold War.'¹⁰¹ There has been little parallel work, however, on sport and international relations in the period before the Second World War that would mirror the work of Peter Beck or Mark Dyreson on this period in Britain and the United States respectively.¹⁰²

Few Canadian sport historians have engaged with the ideas contained in Eric Hobsbawm's famous analysis of the construction of nationalism, *The Invention of Tradition*. Sport's claim to be 'traditional', or even 'essential' has insulated it from the cold light of 'invention-of-tradition-studies', even in the context of the myth-busters who delight in exposing 'myths' about sport origins.¹⁰³ For an epigraph to his recent article on the emergence of hockey in Quebec, Jean Harvey has recently translated Roland Barthes comment from *Le Sport et les Hommes*:

*What is a national sport? It is a sport that crops up from the essence of a nation, that is, from its soil and climate. Each time, playing hockey is to repeat again that men have transformed the immobile winter, the frozen land, the suspended life and that all of this they have transformed into a buoyant, vigorous and passionate sport.*¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ Scott Young's *War on Ice* [1976] followed Wise's article, and detailed the Cold War Canada-Soviet international hockey rivalry.

¹⁰¹ Markku Jokispila "Maple Leaf, Hammer, and Sickle: International Ice Hockey During the Cold War" *Sport History Review* 37, (2006) 36-53.

¹⁰² Peter J. Beck, *Scoring for Britain* [1999], Mark Dyreson and J.A. Mangan, eds. *Sport and American Society: Exceptionalism, Insularity and 'Imperialism'*. [2007], and Dyreson *Making the American Team*. [1998], and "Globalizing the Nation-Making Process: Modern Sport in World History" *IJHS* 20:1 [2003], 91-106.

¹⁰³ Booth, *The Field*. For a different view on this problem see Charles L. Briggs 'The Politics of discursive authority in research on the "invention of tradition"' *Cultural Anthropology* 11:4, 435-69

¹⁰⁴ Jean Harvey 'Whose Sweater is this? The Changing Meanings of Hockey in Quebec', 29-52 in Whitson and Gruneau, eds., *Artificial Ice*. [2006]

This claim, that national sport grows up from the *essence of a nation*, is a key component of the argument that ties the importance of inter-national sport to national identity. While this research argues that these identities are constructed rather than *essential*, the essentialist claim is a core component of the use of sport, and the use of stories (and even myths) about sport as part of the process of imagining a *national* community. What sport has to offer historical understanding is not an understanding of how rule changes affected scoring averages, it is rather an understanding of conceptions of gender, personal, and national identity.

The presentation of history as a chronology of key cultural events that comprise the national identity myths is not new. However, what is new is the awareness of the political agendas that promote those myths as ‘useful histories’: sport stories, as *lieux de memoires*, narrate national history. And these stories began to transform in the Thirties from myths that ‘represented the nation’ to stories about athletes who were themselves representing the nation.

In an important recent book, *Globalizing Sport*, American historian Barbara Keys discussed the ways in which physical culture was used to foster national sentiments in the first half of the twentieth century.¹⁰⁵ Projects such as German *Turnerverein* and Soviet ‘workers’ sport’ were non-competitive performative activities at which national identities were reproduced and expressed. The 1930's marked the emergence of sport, and inter-national sport at that, as a pre-eminent mode of national representation. The Olympic soccer tournament of 1928 made it clear that nations other than England could use soccer to represent

¹⁰⁵ Barbara Keys, *Globalizing Sport*. [2006].

themselves internationally.¹⁰⁶ This spurred Latin American nations to become interested in the Olympics, and led to the conception of the soccer World Cup, first held in Uruguay in 1930. The growth of inter-national soccer was vigorously resisted by the British Foreign Office; but by mid-decade it had to acknowledge that it was powerless to halt its growth.¹⁰⁷ For the Los Angeles Olympics in 1932, the Italian team trained, and was funded by Mussolini, for the explicit purpose of re-establishing Italy's national sporting reputation on the world stage. This project succeeded; Italy finished second in the medal count at Los Angeles.

The next Olympics were held in 1936 in Germany. The Winter Games in Garmisch-Partenkirchen (near Munich, in the Bavarian Alps) came first, in February, and were followed by the much bigger show in Berlin in August. German *kultur* had long assigned greatest significance to *Turnerverein* (a kind of group gymnastics exercise) as the pre-eminent mode for performing German physicality. It was thought to be inappropriate for non-Germans to be involved in *Turner*. But by the 1936 Olympics, it was becoming clear, even to the Germans, that competitive sport was becoming the dominant mode of national representation, as demonstrated by the massive building projects and government attention to sport in Nazi Germany.¹⁰⁸ Leni Riefenstahl's film *Olympia* exemplifies the focus of the Nazi propaganda machine on the importance of sport for producing political meanings.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Torres, Cesar R., "The Latin American 'Olympic Explosion of the 1920s: Causes and Consequences" *IJHS*. 23: 7, [2006]1088-1111.

¹⁰⁷ Peter Beck, *Scoring For Britain*.

¹⁰⁸ Keys considers the mass gymnastics of *Turnerverein* to be form of physical culture distinct from 'sport' because it is not competitive.

¹⁰⁹ A number of scholars have written about the Olympic Games of 1936, and especially the use of those games as a vehicle for Nazi Propaganda. Foremost amongst these are Richard Mandell's *The Nazi Olympics* [1971], which is dated in its theoretical framework but comprehensive in its approach. Recent

Canadians were ambivalent about the new, politicized, win-at-all-costs sporting nationalism. The Canadian experience at the Nazi Olympics is an uncomfortable story, and the hockey tournament, while controversial, is a complicated story. As a result, the 1936 team has not been the subject of much attention from Canadian historians. Morrow and Roxborough address the issue as an odd lacuna, with throwaway lines.¹¹⁰ The recycling of the memory of other early teams, such as the 1920 Winnipeg Falcons and 1924 Toronto Granites as sites of national memory has been muted in the case of the 1936 team. Mark Savoie, in a 2001 paper “Broken Dreams and Broken Hearts: The Selection of the 1936 Olympic Ice Hockey Team”, examined the controversy over the selection of the team as a further manifestation of the crisis in amateurism, and cast the problem as one of central Canadian hockey administrators discriminating against Maritime hockey.¹¹¹ Greg Gillespie, in “Port Arthur Proud”, disputes that the motives of the CAHA in selection were biased in that way.¹¹² Gillespie, using archival material from the Northwest Ontario Sports Hall of Fame, notes the moral panic on the part of the CAHA administrators about “the reputation of the Dominion in the sport of hockey”, but fails to distinguish between the internal and external application of

works include Guy Walters’ *Berlin Games: How the Nazis Stole the Olympic Dream* [2006], David Clay Large’s *The Nazi Games* [2006], and William Murray and Arnd Kruger’s *The Nazi Olympics: Sport, Politics, and Appeasement in the 1930’s* [2003]. While the backdrop to this study is that the Garmisch hockey tournament took place at the Nazi Winter Olympics, the Nazis are not the focus of this study. The 1936 Games did make it clear however, that the project of “keeping politics out of sport” was not succeeding.

¹¹⁰ Morrow *Sport In Canada, Roxborough, Canada at the Olympics*.

¹¹¹ Savoie, ‘Broken Time and Broken Hearts: The Maritimes and the Selection of Canada’s 1936 Olympic Hockey Team’. *Sport History Review* 21 (2000) 120-138.

¹¹² Gillespie, “Port Arthur Proud: The Halifax Wolverines, Port Arthur Bearcats and the Selection of Canada’s 1936 Olympic Hockey Team” *Proceedings of the Seventh International Symposium for Olympic Research*. 115-123.

that reputation. John Wong, in his recent “Figurational and Sociological analysis of the Canadian experience at the 1936 Olympic Ice Hockey Tournament”, examines why the institutions involved in the administrative dispute were unable to co-operate due to the nascent inter-national institutional networks.¹¹³

However, there has been little analysis of the reaction to the loss at Garmisch, Canada’s first in Olympic hockey, or of the various reasons (the selection crisis, the tournament format, or ‘ringers’ on the British team) offered to explain the event. Savoie and Gillespie address the subject from a local point-of-view, and rarely consider inter-national factors, such as why Canadian players were migrating to Britain, and especially, why British audiences were suddenly so keen to watch Canadians play hockey in the mid-1930’s.

These questions deserve answers. As Andrew Holman has recently noted, historians of sport are now thinking about more than just ‘what happened in the past’. Influenced by Hobsbawm, Benedict Anderson, Homi Bhabha and Pierre Nora, sport historians now

recognize and celebrate, too, the process through which popular memories were created by generations of North Americans. Popular hockey writing has gotten smart recently, and this seems to have struck a chord among North American readers.¹¹⁴

There is still, of course, the production of popular histories such as nostalgic biographies of famous players, but interest in these “heritage stories” is fueled by an awareness that sport histories are not separated from other histories. Sport has been important to people, and so stories about sport are also important. Sport history has the capacity to tell

¹¹³ Wong, “Figurational and Sociological analysis of the Canadian experience at the 1936 Olympic Ice Hockey Tournament” *Sport History Review* 34:2, 2003.

¹¹⁴ Holman, “Hockey and History: Scholar’s new Challenge With Canada’s Game” *Sport History Review* 37 1-4 [2006].

stories that reflect “clearly but critically, who we are, and who we think we are.”¹¹⁵ There is an audience eager to consume these stories, and a vibrant market for commercial products that suggest an affinity to the nostalgia of past sport: retro jerseys and ball caps, various bits of memorabilia, ‘historic’ baseballs. An example of how sport historians have come to grips with the dual project of writing about the past and writing about memories of the past is Ryan Eyford’s discussion of the Winnipeg Falcons story.¹¹⁶

Holman introduced Eyford’s article by commenting that it “examines the social construction of national identity and manliness in western Canada in the early years of the twentieth century through the experiences of a team made up of young men from a “new” immigrant community of Icelanders.” Eyford tells the story of the Winnipeg Falcons who traveled to the Olympics, won the gold medal, and in so doing so established a symbolic place in Canadian society for an ethnic group in Manitoba. His story also shows how “Canada’s cultural institutions -which include the national media, the sporting bureaucracy, and sporting events that act as unifying enthusiasms - help to construct the nation as a coherent identity.”¹¹⁷

Eyford discusses how that story, and the “heritage” that surrounds it continues to be used today for the same project - that of constructing national identity. The memory of the Falcons was recycled in 2004 by Hockey Canada, when replicas of their jerseys were used by the Canadian Olympic hockey team in Turin. As mementos of the team that won the first

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ “From Prairie Goolies to Canadian Cyclones: the Transformation of the 1920 Winnipeg Falcons” *Sport History Review* 37, 5-18 [2006]. The quotations from Holman, above, were in an editorial introduction to Eyford’s article.

¹¹⁷ Eyford, ‘Prairie Goolies’.

significant inter-national hockey tournament, replicas of those jerseys also symbolized the project of using history as an origin myth that narrates “who we are, and who we think we are.”¹¹⁸ Jerseys of all of the Canadian Olympic representatives from the inter-war period have been recycled by Hockey Canada, except that of the 1936 team. That team, of course, was the only Canadian team of this period not to win a gold medal, and therefore its usefulness as a contemporary site of memory of the Golden Age of ‘our game’ is problematic. But the story of the 1936 team, because it bears the burden of a story that failed to conform to a desirable mythic structure, is well worth examining.

¹¹⁸ Holman, ‘Hockey and History’, 3

Chapter 3 :Making the national sport: Hockey's rise in the Canadian national imagination, 1875-1936

The last forty years of the nineteenth century, and not just the decade of the 1890s was the era of the rise of organized sport in Canada. Social historians must inevitably examine this sporting revolution; when they do, they will discover that it was not a divergence from the main lines of our social development, but part and parcel of that development. ¹ S.F. Wise

Hockey is a sport that is intimately linked with Canadian conceptions of national identity and of what constitutes the 'national'. Poet Al Purdy famously called the sport 'the Canadian specific'. The French cultural theorist Roland Barthes, in a discussion of Canadian hockey, has asked the question "What is a national sport?", and his own answer was that

It is a sport that crops up from the essence of a nation, that is, from its soil and climate. Each time playing hockey is to repeat again that men have transformed the immobile winter, the frozen land, the suspended life, and that all of this they have transformed into a buoyant, vigorous and passionate sport. ²

Echoing this point of view, Canadian sport theorists Richard Gruneau and David Whitson regard hockey as "one of [Canada's] most significant collective representations - a story that Canadians tell themselves about what it means to be Canadian." ³ Bruce Kidd and Brian MacFarlane wrote, in 1972, that

¹ S.F. Wise, 'Sport and Class Values in Old Ontario and Quebec', 114, in Morris Mott, ed, *Sport in Canada: Historical Readings*.

² Barthes, *Le Sport et les Hommes*, 55, translation Jean Harvey 'Whose Sweater is this?' in Gruneau and Whitson, eds, *Artificial Ice*, 29.

³ Gruneau and Whitson *Hockey Night in Canada*, 13, argue that the origin of hockey is tantamount to an origin myth for Canadian identity.

Hockey is the Canadian metaphor, the rink a symbol of this country's vast stretches of water and wilderness, its extremes of climate, the player a symbol of our struggle to civilize such a land. Some people call it a national religion.⁴

Kidd and MacFarlane go on to argue that "to speak of a national religion, of course, is to grope for a national identity".⁵ Many scholars agree on hockey's importance as a Canadian identity symbol, but how that hockey became 'national' has not been well documented. While the organizational history of the game has been well studied and discussed, its place as a 'national' sport has not been adequately described. From the 1890's onwards, hockey became extremely popular. The interest in the sport was fueled by, as Barthes suggested, the offer of something uniquely desirable for Canadians searching for a distinct and local identity. There was widespread interest in the game and the sport rapidly became popular. That popularity led a variety of groups to try to control hockey. However, in its early period of rapid but uneven growth and contested meanings, hockey evaded many attempts to control or limit its signification as a truly national game.

The evolution of Canadian sport was of course influenced by sporting practices in both Britain and the United States. Sport, throughout the British Empire, was used in elite boarding schools to promote a particular definition of Britishness and inculcate specific notions of Imperial loyalty and class consciousness.⁶ Sport was seen as a

⁴ Kidd and MacFarlane, *The Death of Hockey*, 4

⁵ *Ibid.*, 4

⁶ See J.A. Mangan *The Games ethic and imperialism*; and *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian public school : the emergence and consolidation of an educational ideology*. For a more general work, see Tony Mason, *Sport and the British*. For a Canadian example of British-style boarding schools using sport to inculcate a class-specific British-ness, see Jean Barman's *Growing up British in British Columbia : boys*

powerful educational tool that instilled both discipline and leadership skills. Consider the line, usually attributed to the Duke of Wellington, that 'the battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton'. In contrast, American sport had a strong republican strain which rejected overt class consciousness.⁷ In the Reconstruction era after the American Civil War, sport was seen as a source of natural and traditional physicality that had the potential to maintain agrarian and republican values in the face of modern, urban industrial society.⁸

Despite these influences, Canadian sport evolved on its own path, in response to local issues and conditions. Class consciousness, and the negotiation of class divisions were less important in Canada than in Britain, and, in any case, British influence in Canada was waning rapidly during the last third of the nineteenth century, the era in which organized sport arose in both places. Likewise, Canada did not share the American Reconstruction era psychology that focused on recovering the social values of the early republic in the face of modern industrial society.

Throughout the industrialized world, sport was seen as a potential antidote to the enervating and unhealthy aspects of urban industrial life. Sport encouraged a healthy

in private school.

⁷ The deeply ingrained British class-consciousness was often replaced, in America, with race-consciousness, which often led to sporting exclusions based on race. Elite American institutions (i.e the Ivy League universities) manage to maintain an facade of overtly republican egalitarianism while in fact producing and maintaining class boundaries.

⁸ For an insightful analysis of the role of sport as a social technology in the Reconstruction era in the United States, see Mark Dyreson, *Making the American Team*.

physicality, teamwork, and fair play.⁹ While modern sport was in fact an invention of the modern, industrial era, sport seemed to symbolically hark back to a lifestyle that was simultaneously healthier, more traditional, more authentic, and more ethical. Hockey, with its imagined association with free flowing play on rivers and ponds, played into this stereotype, but the sport also seemed particularly desirable to Canadians.

While Canada shared the interest in inspiring a muscular Christianity and a modern physicality, Canadians needed to develop an independent identity more than to recover or re-negotiate an old identity.¹⁰ Thus Canadian sport, from the very beginning, moved along its own, in many ways exceptional, path. In the period immediately following Confederation, there were enthusiasts of sport, and of the new Dominion, who looked for sports that had the express purpose of symbolizing the 'national'. The quest for a distinct identity was shared by many of the settler colonies of the Empire, but Canada did not follow the pattern of the other colonies.

For instance, Australians eagerly adopted cricket, and looked to cricket for a metaphor of their continued relationship with England, thus seeing the famous 'Ashes' victory over England in 1882 as a sign of national success and cultural maturity.¹¹ Likewise, in the 'Bodyline' controversy of 1933, trouble on the cricket oval was widely

⁹ Of course, sport also sometimes involved injurious violence, ethnic discrimination, and cheating.

¹⁰ See Bruce Kidd 'Muscular Christianity and Value-centred Sport: The Legacy of Tom Brown in Canada', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 23 (5), 2006, 701-713.'

¹¹ The 'Ashes' series got its name from a mock obituary published in the *Sporting Times* that read 'In Affectionate Remembrance of ENGLISH CRICKET, which died at the Oval on 29th August, 1882...The body will be cremated and the ashes taken to Australia.' A small funerary urn was subsequently donated to be used a trophy for later rematches.

seen as trouble for the political relationship between England and Australia.¹² Indeed, historian Donald Horne has written

Sport was the first form of Australian foreign policy. Until the British got into some wars to which the Australians could send volunteers, it was the only way in which Australians could prove they were best.¹³

Canada's sporting relationship with Britain was rather different, largely eschewing the symbolically important imperial cricket and rugby competitions, opting instead for less competitive projects such as lacrosse tours. Canadian participation at some Empire-wide events, such as the rifle competitions at Wembley, promoted a very colonial identity, that of the skilled and eagle-eyed frontiersman. Success at the shooting competitions was widely reported, and cheered, in Canada, but these triumphs did little to promote a sense of a distinctive identity, defined on its own terms.¹⁴

British historian and theorist of nationalism Eric Hobsbawm argues that the last third of the nineteenth century was the era of the emergence of 'nationally specific sports' that were used to construct and reproduce ideas about nations and nationalism.¹⁵

Hobsbawm argues that competitive sport was an important new social practice that

¹² In cricket, the tactic of 'Bodyline' bowling consisted of bowling the ball directly at the batter's body or head. It was dangerous, and widely perceived as 'not cricket'. England used the tactic during their 1932-33 tour of Australia, and the ensuing sporting controversy became a political and diplomatic one as well.

¹³ Horne, *The Next Australia* [1970], 156. See also Adair, Nauright and Phillips, 'Playing Fields Through to Battle Fields: The Development of Australian Sporting Manhood in its Imperial Context, c.1850-1918' *Australian Masculinities: Journal of Australian Studies* 56, 1998.

¹⁴ See Kevin Wamsley, "Cultural Signification and National Ideologies: Rifle Shooting in Late Nineteenth Century Canada" *Social History/Histoire Sociale*, 20:1 (Jan 1995) 63-73.

¹⁵ Hobsbawm, *The Invention of Tradition*. 299-300.

served the purpose of “providing a medium of national identification.”¹⁶ And so, “the rise of sport provided new expressions of nationalism through the choice or invention of nationally specific sports.”¹⁷ Echoing this insight, Canadian sport historian Don Morrow has argued that “as much as Canadians invented hockey, *hockey invented Canadians*.”¹⁸ This was not necessarily a state project: the promoters of nationalism were often independent individuals rather than government agencies.¹⁹

There is a textbook Canadian example of such an individual: Montreal dentist and sports promoter George Beers. In the summer of 1867, mere weeks after Confederation, Beers produced a pamphlet entitled *Lacrosse: the National Game of Canada*, a pamphlet that dramatically includes with the following passage

On the day which created the greater part of British North America as a Dominion, the game of Lacrosse was adopted as the national game, and it was appropriate and auspicious that this be so. The fact that it was to be the national game, spread throughout the country, and gave it popularity in regions where it had never been seen or heard of before. Suggestive as the game is of its attractiveness, it must also suggest happy ideas about the patriotism of Young Canada.²⁰

¹⁶ *Invention of Tradition*, 300. See also Hugh O'Donnell 'Mapping the Mythical: a geopolitics of national sporting stereotypes' *Discourse & Society*, Vol 5 (3) : 345-380. 1994.

¹⁷ Hobsbawm, 300.

¹⁸ Morrow, *Sport in Canada*. 203. Italics in original.

¹⁹ Hobsbawm also notes that “conscious invention succeeded mainly in proportion to its success in broadcasting on a wavelength to which the public was ready to tune in. Official new public holidays, ceremonies, heroes or symbols, which commanded the growing armies of the state's employees and the growing captive public of schoolchildren, might still fail to mobilize citizen volunteers if they lacked genuine popular resonance.” 263-264 *The Invention of Tradition*.

²⁰ W. George Beers, *Lacrosse: the national game of Canada*. 58-59 Dawson Bros. [1869] This statement has been taken by some later historians to imply that lacrosse was formally adopted as a national game by Parliament. However, there is no evidence in Parliamentary records for this assertion. In 1992 Parliament officially adopted lacrosse as the national summer sport and hockey as the national winter sport.

Note that Beers is asserting that people are playing lacrosse *in order to be Canadian*, even if they have no experience with the game. Rather than lacrosse playing being an essential defining activity of Canadian-ness, it is offered up as a way to perform Canadian-ness, if you are looking for one. The argument here is that while lacrosse is an attractive sport, its greatest appeal is that it is *national*. This might seem to be a relatively radical point (especially for 1869), and so he goes on to explain that:

It may seem frivolous, at first consideration, to associate this feeling of nationality with a field game, but history proves it to be a strong and important influence. Cricket and curling have their national and nationalizing influences on their respective admirers, and so may Lacrosse. Whatever tends to cultivate this nationality is no frivolous influence, even though it may be a boyish sport.²¹

Note that Beers argues that sport is both national and *nationalizing*. Performing a sport (or other cultural practice) that is designated as *national* fosters patriotic sentiment. For a document written in the nineteenth century it is hard to imagine that this statement could have come closer to Benedict Anderson's assertion that *national* sport fosters a sense of identification with the 'imagined community' of nation. Beers concludes his essay by arguing that sport should be used as a social technology to produce symbolic values and identities.

If the Republic of Greece was indebted to the Olympian games; if England has cause to bless the name of cricket, so may Canada be proud of Lacrosse. It has raised a young manhood through the Dominion to active, healthy exercise; it has originated a popular feeling throughout the Dominion in favour of healthy exercise and has, perhaps, done more than anything else to invoke the sentiment of patriotism among young men in Canada; and if this sentiment is desirable abroad, surely it is at home.²²

²¹ Beers, *Lacrosse*, 58.

²² *Ibid.*

Beers re-iterates his argument that lacrosse shall be the cultural element that distinctly identifies Canadians. He goes on to argue that lacrosse has made people healthy, and better yet, *nationalist*. Beers was actively aware that he was *inventing tradition*, using sport as a social technology to produce social cohesion and foster desired values. But when it comes time to argue for *why* Canadians should get all fired up about patriotic national sentiment, Beers concludes with the weakest of his arguments, that if this sentiment is desirable abroad, surely it is at home', which boils down to 'if foreigners are doing it, then we should too'. This is odd, because Beers generally looked for national symbols that were as free as possible of 'foreign influence'.²³

Emblem of National Lacrosse Association of Canada, McCord Museum Collection M930.50.1.742. An early example of the use of sporting symbols to establish a distinctive national identity. Maple leaves, beavers and the date of Confederation all supported by lacrosse sticks and a banner celebrating 'Our country and our game'

²³ In his argument for preferring lacrosse to cricket because of its indigeneity and freedom from foreign influence, Beers casts English cricket as a 'foreign influence', a contention that might have been controversial to some in Canada in 1869. Despite Beers' interest in Canadian symbols free of Britishness, nineteenth century Canadian nationalism accommodated the concepts of a British heritage and a strong local identity. See also Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism 1867-1914*. Toronto: UTP, 1970.

Beers was attracted to the idea of a 'nationally specific' sport that would be unique to Canada, and thus free from outside influence.²⁴ Lacrosse, because of its obvious ties to aboriginal tradition, could be symbolically coded as an *indigenous* Canadian activity. This made it an ideal symbol for the project of inventing a distinctive, 'not-British', local Canadian identity.

Sport was more than just a means of establishing hegemony and fostering patriotism. The symbolic link between the sport and the nation meant that sport performance could become the basis of a citizenship claim: participation in the 'national' sport made one part of the 'national' community. The capacity of sport to support such a claim led class elites to bid for control of the administration of sport. Anglo-Montreal elites came to dominate lacrosse, and used this power to exclude from organized play working classes athletes, francophones, and Catholics.²⁵ This project led to considerable strife, as the exclusions were regularly contested. Lacrosse competitions in the 1870's and 1880's were regularly disrupted by suspensions of players and entire clubs for violations of the strict, and often racist, code of amateurism. Alan Metcalfe writes that

the Montreal Lacrosse Club would stop at nothing, even the destruction of the organization [the National Lacrosse Association], to maintain its own integrity [i.e. amateurism in its most class-exclusive format]. . . The MLC created and, through its inflexibility, destroyed the organization- a sad day for lacrosse and the men who did so much to promote sport in Canada.²⁶

²⁴ Michael Robidoux, "Imagining a Canadian Identity through Sport: A Historical Interpretation of Lacrosse and Hockey" *Journal of American Folklore* Vol 115, (No. 456) (2002) 209-225.

²⁵ Aboriginal teams, in particular those from Caughnawaga and St Regis, were important for early competitions, but as amateur ideology was adopted by lacrosse administrators, aboriginal players began to be excluded as *de facto* professionals, a designation based purely on race.

²⁶ Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play*, 187.

As organized lacrosse was tearing itself apart in the mid 1880's, hockey was beginning to play a bigger role in Canadian sport culture.²⁷ Invented in Montreal in 1875, in part as a fun form of off-season training for the McGill football team, by the mid 1880's hockey had stabilized into a coherent form and clubs were founded in Ottawa and Quebec City. Hockey clubs, which initially offered club members only a chance to play each other, began to organize inter-club games, and to travel between cities and play matches that attracted considerable public interest.²⁸

The game had yet to acquire any significance as a 'national' tradition, but interest in it began to expand after 1885. The transition began at the Montreal Winter Carnival in 1885, when teams from Ottawa and Quebec City traveled to Montreal to play.²⁹ Games between clubs from different cities encouraged comparisons of the skill and effectiveness of the sportsmen of those cities, and local newspapers began to support local teams as embodiments of civic identity. Within a few short years the sport would spread further, into southern Ontario, and west to Manitoba. Athletes and spectators who had earlier supported lacrosse refocused their enthusiasm on hockey. While hockey did not have the aboriginal associations of lacrosse, it could also point to local origins and, as a winter sport, served as a fine metaphor for the adaptation of Canadians to their environment.

²⁷ The earliest recorded organized game was played at the Victoria Rink in Montreal on March 18, 1875. The game was advertised in Montreal newspapers, and spectators paid admission to watch.

²⁸ The inventors of hockey, James George Creighton and other McGill students, grafted rugby rules (15 men to a side in the earliest versions, the offside rule, and a prohibition on forward passing) onto older stick-and ball games to create a new game. See Michel Vigneault, 'Out of the Mists of Memory: Montreal, 1875-1910', in *Total Hockey*.

²⁹ Wong, *Lord of the Rinks*, 14.

In 1880 the *Toronto Mail* reported that

One of the most enjoyable and most vigorous games known to the devotees of sport in the lower province is hockey on ice. It has never been taken up in Toronto; yet if it were possible to get a few matches the game would shortly popularize itself.³⁰

Several writers note that 'hockey skated up into Ontario from Quebec'.³¹ The first game in Kingston (1886) had to be played with improvised and borrowed equipment, and was played on a rink that featured a bandstand at centre ice. It took seven years after the *Toronto Mail* report, above, for the first shipment of hockey equipment to arrive in Toronto, and the game there got off to slow start, but by the late 1880's games were being played, and the sport quickly expanded into new territories.³²

In 1887 teams from Montreal and Ottawa formed the Amateur Hockey Association of Canada (AHAC), in order to organize a regular schedule of inter-club competition.³³ In southern Ontario, teams from Toronto played early teams from Bowmanville, London, Stratford, Galt (all established by 1890), London, Peterborough, St. Thomas, and Cobourg (which first played in 1891). An Ontario Hockey Association (OHA) was formed in 1890, bringing with it a championship Cup, donated by Toronto businessman A. Morgan Cosby.

³⁰ Cited in Roxborough, *One Hundred-Not Out*, 142

³¹ Possibly the first to use this construction was W.H. Kerr in the *Dominion Illustrated Monthly*, Mar 1893, p. 99. In 1899, in *Hockey: Canada's Royal Winter Game* Arthur Farrell wrote "Hockey skated up into Ontario from the city of Montreal. Kingston was the first western town, excepting of course Ottawa, to play the game as it should be played"

³² Kerr, 'Hockey in Ontario', Roxborough's account in *One Hundred- Not Out* differs in detail, but not in overall narrative.

³³ Wong, *Lords of the Rinks* 16

In March of 1893 the *Dominion Illustrated Monthly* produced two feature articles on hockey: Robert Tait McKenzie's 'Hockey in Eastern Canada' and W.H. Kerr's 'Hockey in Ontario'.³⁴ McKenzie notes at the start the remarkable changes of the last decade, a period in which hockey went from being a game played by a few in Montreal and Ottawa to the rise of national organizations regulating inter-club competition.³⁵ "Hockey in Eastern Canada' has long passages that are clearly derived from rule-books; McKenzie supplies the core rules of both Canadian ice hockey and English field hockey. McKenzie also adds a long excerpt in which he details the amateur regulations of the OHA and assures his readers that the game will remain a purely 'amateur' one.³⁶ It is not clear whether McKenzie himself had thought through and supported the amateur regulations, or if he was merely reporting on their existence.

In his own words, however, McKenzie remarks on the rapid development of tactics and skill on the part of the players, especially since the advent of organized league play governed by a national organization and annual championships. McKenzie also notes the newly built infrastructure of the sport: covered rinks, electric light, and stands that both extended the season and made the game accessible to spectators. Thus "All these advantages combine to lift hockey above all others in Canada as the National

³⁴ Neither Kerr nor McKenzie mention the Stanley Cup, which was being contested for the first time in the late winter of 1893 as their articles went to press.

³⁵ *Dominion Illustrated Monthly*, March 1893 'Hockey in Eastern Canada' In this article, McKenzie also discussed English field hockey and shows a diagram of a pitch, but he clearly considers the sports to be completely different games.

³⁶ The first controversy over 'professionalism' in Ontario would occur in 1897, and openly professional teams would emerge in 1904.

Winter Game.”³⁷ In a remarkable conclusion that echoes Victorian values including muscular Christianity, racial theory, and nascent nationalism, McKenzie wrote of hockey that:

Its whole tendency is to encourage and develop in boys that love of fair play and manly sport so characteristic of the British gentleman. With so many advantages, both intrinsic and extrinsic, one of the most potent influences in building up a race of men, hardy and self-reliant, will, throughout the future, be by Canada’s national winter game.”³⁸

In a companion article, ‘Hockey in Ontario’, W.H. Kerr echoed McKenzie’s hope that hockey will help produce masculine, sportsmanlike, gentlemen. Kerr, like many of his time, and Beers before him, was actively looking for ‘traditional’ cultural practices. However, he was obliged to acknowledge that

Hockey, comparatively speaking, is a new game all over Ontario with the notable exception of Ottawa . . . Hockey skated up into Ontario from Quebec . . . It was quite old before it left home, but it came slowly at first.³⁹

Kerr was, however, pretty sure that hockey would be the ‘nationally specific’ sport that the young Dominion had been looking for. He imagined Canadian-ness to be promoted both by local play of the game, and by teams traveling to other regions to play,

Given a proper chance, Hockey is sure to maintain its position as our foremost winter sport,... and in a few years teams from this part of Canada will be able to hold their own against our instructors from the province of Quebec.⁴⁰

³⁷ *Dominion Illustrated Monthly*, March 1893 ‘Hockey in Eastern Canada’ 64

³⁸ McKenzie, *Dominion Illustrated Monthly*, March 1893 ‘Hockey in Eastern Canada’ 71

³⁹ Kerr, *Dominion Illustrated Monthly*, March 1893: 99. By the accounts of McKenzie and others, ‘quite old’ is perhaps a decade. This line would be very nearly repeated by Farrell in 1899.

⁴⁰ *Dominion Illustrated Monthly*, March 1893 ‘Hockey in Ontario’ [108] Kerr, as does Farrell in 1899, excepts Ottawa from consideration in his discussion of ‘Ontario’.

While the motivation for the articles in the *Dominion Illustrated Monthly* was to discuss the rapid growth and increasing popularity of the game, McKenzie and Kerr both felt the need to explain the sport from first principles, with lines such as “the object of the game is to drive the puck, a cylinder of vulcanized rubber an inch thick and three inches in diameter, between two goal posts, each four feet high, placed six feet apart, by means of a club or stick.”⁴¹

Kerr would have preferred hockey to have been an older, more ‘traditional’ tradition, and he stressed for his readers the tradition, while glossing over its embarrassingly recent invention. He acknowledges that while ‘shinty’ may have been played on Toronto Bay in the 1870's, organized hockey got its Toronto start at the Granite Club in 1888. The next year, three clubs played each other, and the year after that (1890) the Ontario Hockey Association was formed. Kerr wistfully acknowledges the appeal

of being able to trace the game back to the good old days, when all Hamilton used to play all Toronto at one end of Lake Ontario, and the winner used to go to the other end of the Lake to play all Kingston for the championship of the Province, with no bother about gate receipts and on the “grand old game” principle of no referee or umpires; but alas history and truth prevent any such touching reminiscence.⁴²

The game had great appeal to its early adopters, and the game spread so rapidly that it outskated attempts to govern it. The desire for a ‘traditional’ game was matched by the appeal of the game as something essentially Canadian. Whitson and Gruneau have suggested that the game connotes a “happy naturalism, a direct expression of our ability

⁴¹ McKenzie, *Dominion Illustrated Monthly*, March 1893 ‘Hockey in Eastern Canada’ 65 Twentieth century journalists rarely felt the need to explain what a puck was to their readers.

⁴² Kerr, *Dominion Illustrated Monthly*, March 1893 ‘Hockey in Ontario’ 99

to survive, indeed to thrive, in an inhospitable land of ice and snow."⁴³ This connotation early on clashed with attempts to regulate sport, and the reality that the sport was usually played in bounded rinks and arenas. Early administrators and rink operators struggled to keep up with the popularity of the new game. As Kerr writes,

All the Kingston small boys have sticks and even the fair sex indulge in the sport. The only people that seem averse to giving the game full swing are the rink authorities, who say there are too many games to be played.⁴⁴

A cartoon from Arthur Farrell's 1899 book *Hockey: Canada's Royal Winter Game*. Note the stress on the chaos and disorganized nature of the play in a 'natural' site in the Canadian landscape, away from the lamentably restrictive 'rink authorities'. The deliberately archaic spelling of the caption resonates with W.H. Kerr's stated wish that the relatively new game had a longer history, further back in a more romantic and 'traditional' past. Note also the early depiction of a hockey fight in the background.

⁴³ Whitson and Gruneau. *Artificial Ice*. Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press. 2006, 1.

⁴⁴ Kerr, 106.

In 1893 Robert Tait McKenzie assured his readers that amateurism would rule in the new sport. It was not until 1897 that this was much contested when, for the first time, the OHA attempted to enforce its amateur regulations (an activity that would come to consume its attention for the next 40 years).⁴⁵ The OHA had been ruled exclusively by Torontonians until 1896, when Stratford's James MacFadden became president. In 1897, a scandal blew up over allegations that a Stratford player had been offered \$7 to play elsewhere. As Alan Metcalfe writes

The response was immediate, ruthless, and to at least two representatives, illegal. It was moved, seconded, and carried "nearly unanimously" that "when the status of any individual is questioned the burden of proving his innocence shall rest with the accused." In matters of amateur standing a player was judged guilty until proven innocent. It was the threat of professionalism and the protection of amateurism that lay at the heart of the OHA and was the foundation of its power.⁴⁶

The project of maintaining amateurism, however, tended to be "full of flowery phrases but lacking in concrete suggestions"⁴⁷ Administrators attempted to maintain hockey as an amateur sport but, by this time, the racist exclusions of the nineteenth century were largely out of the amateur code.⁴⁸ Assurances that hockey would be exclusively an 'amateur' game would remain believable only for another decade.

It was still early days for hockey's rise to 'national' prominence. In 1893, Kerr

⁴⁵ Alan Metcalfe 'Power: A Case Study of the Ontario Hockey Association', *Journal of Sport History*, 1992 19: 7.

⁴⁶ Alan Metcalfe, *ibid.*, The internal quotation is from the *Toronto Globe*, December 6, 1897.

⁴⁷ Metcalfe, *ibid.*, 7.

⁴⁸ Metcalfe, *Journal of Sport History*, 1976 3(1) 'Sport and Athletics; A Case Study of Lacrosse in Canada 1840-1889', 7, documents that as late as 1881 Indians were "barred from membership in the [Lacrosse] Association on account of their being professional."

could manage, in a nine page illustrated article, to mention every club in southern Ontario, and discuss every significant match yet played in the province. The Toronto teams were still at a competitive disadvantage against longer established teams from Ottawa and Montreal. And, while Kerr sees hockey as 'our foremost winter sport', he does not make any argument for the game as 'national and nationalizing', as Beers had hoped for lacrosse. But in short order, hockey would surpass lacrosse in popularity, and hockey would become the pre-eminent national sport.

Kerr and McKenzie, writing for publication in the spring of 1893, were unaware of a new great symbol of the sport that would capture the imagination of Canadians. The Dominion Hockey Challenge Cup was gifted in March of 1893 by the outgoing Governor General, Lord Stanley of Preston, and was first awarded to the Montreal Wanderers, 1893 champion of the AHAC. The Stanley Cup competition was expressly meant to foster competition between teams from different regions. With such a trophy, hockey was on its way to becoming truly *national*.

While hockey's status as an amateur game reserved for a class elite was on thin ice, the notion that hockey would be a 'national' sport was beginning to spread. In 1896, Montreal's *La Presse* referred to the sport as the national sport of Canada.⁴⁹ Strong teams from the Prairies began to ride the rails east in search of hockey glory and the claim to national presence. Winnipeg, which could claim its first hockey team in 1889, challenged

⁴⁹ Harvey 'Whose Sweater is that?' 34. See also Michel Vigneault, "Out of the Mists of Memory, Montreal, 1875-1910", in *Total Hockey*.

for the Stanley Cup and won in 1896.⁵⁰

In a story that still resonates with the ‘nationalizing sentiment’, a team from Dawson City in the Yukon Territory traveled by dogsled, ship, and train to Ottawa in 1905 to challenge for the Stanley Cup. Despite being soundly thrashed on the ice by the famously one-eyed Frank McGee and the Ottawa ‘Silver Seven’, the epic journey ensured the Dawson City team a romantic place in the Canadian imagination. Hockey heroes such as McGee began to have national reputations, and the Stanley Cup inspired sportsmen across the nation. Transcontinental railways may have bound the nation with a ribbon of steel, but the Stanley Cup reached far beyond the railhead, into the hinterlands, demonstrating a shared culture and community.

By the mid-1890's rinks began to be built expressly for hockey. Among the grandest of these was the Arena in Montreal, with capacity for 10,000 spectators. In 1899 rinks with refrigerated ‘artificial’ ice began to open, including one in Victoria, and thus hockey reached *a mari usque ad mare*. Imagining the sport as dating from the ‘good old days’ continued to appeal to journalists. In 1899, Arthur Farrell (player and organizer with the Montreal Shamrocks Club) resorted to archaic spelling to make this point, with his cartoon captioned “Ye Gude Olde Days”.⁵¹

The rapid growth of the sport in the 1890's can be seen by contrasting the 1893

⁵⁰ The Stanley Cup was not won by a team from Toronto until 1914. Vancouver claimed its first championship 1915.

⁵¹ Farrell, Hockey: *Canada's Royal Winter Game* 22. [1899] For more on Farrell, See the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, ‘Farrell, Arthur 1877-1909’ *Canada's Royal Winter Game*, notably, does not offer a definition of ‘amateur’. See page 74 in this chapter for the ‘Gude Olde Days’ cartoon.

articles in the *Dominion Illustrated Monthly* with Farrell's 1899 book, *Hockey, Canada's Royal Winter Game*.⁵² In 1893, McKenzie and Kerr had praised the sport, but were writing for a reader base that was still potentially unfamiliar with hockey. By 1899 writers could assume more reader knowledge about the sport.⁵³ Farrell felt no need to define 'puck', and in fact exclaims "that a book on our national winter sport has not yet appeared in Canada is a marvel."⁵⁴ However, Farrell recognized that while hockey could be considered "our most popular winter game, long established, thoroughly appreciated" there were still many towns where the game was barely known or just beginning, and he felt that a hand-book of the game would help promote the spread of hockey.

Hockey was still just *becoming* national, and that project continued to need active promotion. But Farrell saw that "Rinks are springing up everywhere, and even their greatest capacity cannot accommodate the enthusiastic crowds of spectators who rush to witness an exciting match"⁵⁵ The idea of inter-national hockey (i.e. between national teams) was merely a glimmer to nineteenth century writers such as McKenzie and Farrell. Although *Hockey, Canada's Royal Winter Game* does mention hockey in the United States, it merely muses that "indeed, it will not be surprising if some day, an enterprising

⁵² Farrell was a prominent hockey player and a member of the Montreal Shamrocks team that won the Stanley Cup in 1899. The Shamrocks club was also important in hockey history as a Catholic club, originally formed by Irish Montrealers, that served as a bridge for the sport to the francophone population of Montreal. The Shamrocks supported the entry of Le National, and later of the Montreal Canadiens, into the top leagues.

⁵³ Farrell *Hockey, Canada's Royal Winter Game*. 27

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 13

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 15

Canadian team sails the broad Atlantic".⁵⁶ However, Farrell foresaw an important domestic role for hockey, as Farrell predicted future " 'Arenas' in every town in the Dominion, crowded to the doors with enthusiastic spectators, and whereas we now have only a few first-class teams, we will soon have a hundred." ⁵⁷

Hockey had replaced tobogganing and snowshoeing as dominant winter physical activities. The Canadian imagination had been captured by the Stanley Cup, which

has given birth to the keenest competition among our leading clubs, jealous of its possession. It has brought together teams that have travelled thousands of miles for the encounter, and has placed the game of hockey, through these important matches, more prominently before the public than anything that any other man has ever done for it. ⁵⁸

And, as Kerr had acknowledged in 1893, the attraction of the game also extended to women. Farrell shows little foreshadowing of twentieth century attempts to exclude women from the game, arguing

The convincing, the clinching proof of the fascination of the game is this. That even the gentler sex, not satisfied with enjoying it from the standpoint of spectators, have graciously added their own, to the many charms that it already boasts, by bravely lining up to meet, in gentle combat, their tender adversaries. It is surprising how many ladies' teams exist in Canada, and although we do not read of fast, exciting games between these graceful votaries of the sport, it is a slow, small town that can glory in not one such. ⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Farrell *Hockey, Canada's Royal Winter Game*. 17

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 18

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, 19

⁵⁹ Farrell, 45. The first documented women's game was played at the Rideau Rink in Ottawa in 1891 (*Hockey: A People's History*). Women's hockey continued to be a meaningful part of Canadian sporting culture until after World War II, when it came to be seen as too 'unladylike', and went into a serious decline before its revival in the 1980's.

While Farrell, and McKenzie before him, praised the sport for its healthful exercise and promotion of sportsmanlike team play, it was also increasingly becoming a site of civic representation. Hockey rapidly diffused throughout central Canada, and it quickly became a new field for the contestation of emergent civic identities. Canadian sport, which had successfully used hockey and lacrosse in the nineteenth century to establish an indigenized, not-British, *local* and national identity, had in the new winter sport, an activity that unself-consciously resonated in the national imagination. In the early years of the sport, domestic development was the focus, and there was no effort to follow the model of inter-colonial cricket in the British Empire, or of inter-national football in Europe, and to use inter-national competition to further emphasize the ‘national’ significance of the sport.

Hockey became a site for French Canadian sportsmen to perform a robust physicality in competition with other ethnic teams (such as the Montreal Shamrocks), and to represent their community.⁶⁰ Many Montrealers were eager to consume the spectacle and found it easy to identify with their teams. With less of the class-elite baggage that had dragged down lacrosse, hockey became a more accessible “arena for ethnic representation and rivalry.”⁶¹ The first (1894) French Canadian hockey club in Montreal was called Le National (Association Athletique d’Amateurs le National). The founders of ‘Le National’ recognized that the “English play almost all sports and French-Canadians

⁶⁰ Harvey, ‘Whose Sweater..’. 33

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 33.

remain indifferent”, and they wanted this to change.⁶² Sport was recognized as important, and as political. Sport was seen not as just a healthy leisure activity, but as a means to ensure that “our race, in the world of sport like in other spheres of life, is not inferior to the other races.”⁶³ The French Canadian hockey clubs, starting with le National, but later the Montreal Canadiens, were founded with the explicit purpose of representing and contesting ethnic and *national* identity for French Canadians.⁶⁴

Interest in hockey, and in the use of hockey to represent civic identity, spread across the country faster than local players could be developed. Civic boosterism, as much as the possibility of profits, lay behind the first move to fully professional hockey, in the International Hockey League (IHL), which began play in 1904-1905 with teams based in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Houghton, Calumet, and Sault Ste. Marie in Michigan; and Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario. Houghton and Calumet were mining towns with census populations of 3,359 and 4,668 respectively, yet they built hockey rinks with seating capacities of 2500 (the Houghton Amphidrome, opened in 1902) and 4000 (the Palestra in Calumet).⁶⁵ Likewise, matches between teams representing the Ontario and Michigan sides at the Soo attracted immense local interest.

⁶² Harvey, 33. This echoes closely Baron Pierre de Coubertin’s arguments that a modern Olympic movement might engender a more robust physicality in French youth.

⁶³ Harvey’s translation from *La Presse*, May 17, 1895, p.1 MacAloon makes a similar point about de Coubertin in *This Great Symbol*.

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, 34. Jean-Pierre Janson notes that *La Presse* referred to hockey as the national game of Canada as early as 1896. Note again that sport does not *become* political, rather, organizations with political goals founded sports teams and used them in the ‘arena’ of ethnic rivalry.

⁶⁵ Mason, 6, ‘The International Hockey League and the Professionalization of Ice Hockey, 1904-1907’, *JSH* 25(1) 1998, 1-18.

Hockey was brand new to the area, and the small towns of the IHL had limited player resources. The desire of spectators to watch the sport outpaced the development of play in many areas. The IHL teams scrambled to acquire good players from Ottawa and Montreal.⁶⁶ But even in an area where there were few homegrown players, the chance to use the sport to play out civic rivalries led to the construction of arenas that could seat 80% of a town's population, and it was common for teams to pay out more than the entire gate to the players.⁶⁷

Professional leagues drew players from Ottawa, Montreal and Toronto to the IHL and northern Ontario's Temiskaming League. This represented a significant challenge for the Toronto-based OHA. Pay was not so much an issue for governance as player mobility. In fact, by 1905 some OHA clubs were offering to *pay* players *not* to turn 'professional'.⁶⁸ At this point, 'amateur' seems to have meant little other than an offering of fealty to the OHA. The significance of the early IHL is that it shows how important hockey was outside the big cities of central Canada, and how the widespread demand for hockey made the sport difficult to govern for the amateur regulators. Civic boosters and moneyed entrepreneurs, whose interests in the past had often aligned with national sports organizations, broadly opposed the tight application of onerous residency

⁶⁶ Ottawa player 'Hod' Stuart was paid \$1800 to play for Calumet in 1904. The pace of IHL recruiting led the *Montreal Star* to lament that if the trend continued "there will be no more good players left [in Montreal] at all next winter. Mason, *ibid.*, 15.

⁶⁷ The hockey team from the Canadian Soo easily beat the team from the Michigan Soo before the advent of the IHL, but was considerably weaker as an IHL franchise, and lost money in every year of its existence.

⁶⁸ Mason, 8, reports that The *Sault Ste Marie Evening News* pointedly noted that "the question arises as to whether honest professionalism or dishonest amateurism is preferable."

requirements and the puritanical 'amateur' abhorrence of money in sport.⁶⁹

In 1893, when McKenzie had praised adherence to amateur ideology, it was not entirely clear what other options existed. The first amateur scandal in Ontario, in 1897, was over an alleged offer of \$7.⁷⁰ But by 1904, control of the sport by amateur governing bodies was seriously threatened by forces not easily controlled by the elite social networks in Toronto and Montreal. The rise of the IHL coincided with the OHA's adoption of a conservative definition of amateurism, one that regulated residency as closely as payments to players. The new amateur definition included residence rules and mandatory certification through a system of amateur cards which restricted access to OHA hockey to those effectively in communion with the elite.⁷¹ The demand for the game was strong, however, and in areas outside the metropolitan networks of social control, the OHA and other amateur promoters could do little to prevent the attempts of civic boosters to assemble strong teams.

The conservative definition of 'amateur' adopted by the OHA in 1904 was the definition preferred by the executive, who were mostly members of Toronto's social elite.

⁶⁹ The New Ontario Hockey League (NOHL) was an association of four professional teams in Fort William and Port Arthur which began play in the 1907-1908 season. The NOHL's residency rule was that new players had to be in town for a mere twenty days before they could play. E. Fitzsimmons, 'Early Pro Leagues' in *Total Hockey*.

⁷⁰ Metcalfe, 'Power...', 7. Organized league play had existed for about five years when McKenzie wrote his article in 1893. Within four years teams were beginning to pay players, and within 10 years professional leagues would be forming. In another five years, the Stanley Cup would be in professional hands. Many commentators lament the 'professionalization' of the sport as a corruption of an earlier, more authentic, traditional civic model. However, the sport arose simultaneously with the rise of amateur ideology, and its first decades were characterized by a struggle for control of the sport. It was the desire of small towns for representative hockey teams that led to professionalism, and metropolitan elites that attempted to prevent it.

⁷¹ Metcalfe, 'Power: A Case Study of the Ontario Hockey Association', *Journal of Sport History*, 1992 . 19: 1, 9.

The 1904 re-definition was closely contested, passing by a 4-3 vote of the executive and by a 43-27 vote of the broader membership. Residency, as much as pay for players, was a key requirement, and the source of much dispute.⁷²

The OHA attempted to push itself into a leadership role in defining who could play hockey, but it had only limited influence over the powerful clubs from Ottawa and Montreal, and limited influence over hockey on the resource frontier of northern Ontario. Interest in hockey was pushing the sport into the orbit of both civic boosters and well-endowed capitalists, and in the face of large paying crowds of spectators, the amateur ideologues could do little to assert governance over the sport.⁷³

The first decade of the twentieth century saw hockey's continued rise in Canadian culture. The Stanley Cup spent most of the decade with champion teams in Ottawa, Winnipeg, and Montreal, but challenges for the Cup came from teams based in Halifax, Toronto, Rat Portage (Kenora), Brandon, Dawson City, Kingston, Smiths Falls, and Edmonton. Hockey clubs and leagues became established, and their competitions attracted paying spectators. Civic boosterism usually outweighed commercial prudence, and, despite large gates many teams operated at a loss. There were few models of how commercial/professional sport might work, and many of the league structures were

⁷² Metcalfe, 'Power', 10, notes that "By the mid-1920s the threats to amateurism were met through a complex system of playing certificates, residence requirements, amateur cards, transfer rules, eligibility requirements, and regulations governing reinstatement. From 1925 to 1936 it was these issues that were central to the concerns of the executive and annual meetings. Eighty-five percent of the 108 executive meetings during this time were devoted to these issues."

⁷³ While much money was invested in hockey, little money was made there by sporting entrepreneurs. Financial losses were common in the early professional leagues. These were sites where millionaires spent their money, not where they made it.

experimental and ultimately unstable.

With its exciting play, its powerful symbolic resonances, especially that of being a specifically Canadian sport, and its unique niche as a winter spectator sport, hockey moved powerfully into the public consciousness. The 'Amateur War' was fought out at Annual General Meetings of sport organizations, and sometimes on editorial pages. Amateur promoters bemoaned that sport would lose its meaning if professionalism prevailed, and that spectators would be uninterested in watching 'mercenaries' contesting civic honour. But in the midst of this struggle for administrative control of the sport, athletes signed up for professional teams, and spectators flocked to watch them. Railway companies offered excursion rates to away games, and those unable to travel would gather outside telegraph offices, waiting eagerly for news of their local teams' away games.⁷⁴

It was a boom time for hockey, and in this era, the barriers to entry were few. Any town with money, or a strong cohort of local athletes, could play. The very instability of the system did cause some doubt, and not just amongst amateur ideologues. In 1906 the *Toronto Globe* complained that while "the Stanley Cup provides a fine spectacle and makes money for the teams and the rink proprietors . . . the competition does not advance the interests of the national sport."⁷⁵

The Temiskaming League was the first fully professional league entirely in Canada: it was established in 1906 and funded by mining and timber entrepreneurs. The

⁷⁴ Mason, 'The IHL', 6

⁷⁵ McKinley, *Hockey: A People's History*, 50-51.

league featured teams based in Cobalt, Temiskaming, Haileybury and Renfrew.⁷⁶ After 1911, these teams either moved to bigger centres or folded, and elite-level hockey leagues became focused on bigger centres such as Ottawa, Toronto, Montreal and Hamilton. The early professional leagues, including the IHL, were based in smaller centres, often places like Cobalt, Ontario, that did not have the cultural institutions (i.e. sport institutions controlled by amateur ideology) of Montreal or Winnipeg, but which had the cash to attract players and plenty of potential spectators.

The last of the small town teams to win the Stanley Cup was Kenora, in 1907. Later that year Kenora would lose the Cup back to the Montreal Wanderers, who then became the first big city team to turn professional.⁷⁷ The Temiskaming League teams joined Ottawa and Montreal in a (professional) National Hockey Association (NHA) in 1908, but within a few years the smaller northern towns had dropped out, and teams from Toronto, Hamilton and Quebec City had joined the league.⁷⁸ The NHA, whose teams would later form the core of the NHL in 1917, was probably the most important of the professional leagues operating before the beginning of World War I, as it included the old centres of Montreal and Ottawa.

⁷⁶ See Frank Consentino, *The Renfrew Millionaires: the Valley Boys of Winter 1910* for a strong case study of an early professional team founded by civic boosters with little regard for commercial profits.

⁷⁷ Mason, *op.cit.*, cites the *Sault Ste. Marie Evening News*, Dec 31, 1906, as reporting the rumour that the NHA's Montreal Wanderers and the IHL's franchise had agreed to exchange players to ensure that Pittsburgh would win the IHL championship and the Wanderers would win the Stanley Cup. If true, it would represent a remarkable flouting of amateur rules that governed the Stanley Cup competition at the time.

⁷⁸ The NHL formed in 1917, as a result of a re-organization of the National Hockey Association, that was meant to exclude a difficult Toronto franchise owner.

However, there were other significant professional leagues by this time, including the Ontario Professional Hockey League (OPHL), the Pacific Coast Hockey Association (PCHA) and Maritime Professional Hockey League (MPHL). The PCHA, in particular, was a strong league that aggressively recruited players from the Ottawa and Quebec City NHA teams. The PCHA also expanded into the United States, adding franchises in Portland (1914) and Seattle (1915).

In 1914, the NHA and the PCHA negotiated an agreement that their respective league champions would play for the Stanley Cup.⁷⁹ This was an early instance of the East-vs-West championship structure that would eventually become popular in North American sport, and which created a symbolic ground for the contestation of regional identities.⁸⁰ When the PCHA began admitting American teams, the trustees of the Stanley Cup declared that the trophy was no longer merely for the Dominion championship, but the championship of the world.⁸¹ After the PCHA collapsed in 1926, the NHL established the championship format of a playoff between the winners of the Canadian and American divisions, but for the 1928-1929 season the format was changed again, allowing for crossover playoff matches between the divisions, so that teams from the same division could play each other in the final.

⁷⁹ Vancouver Millionaires defeated Ottawa Senators in 1915, becoming the first PCHA team to win the Cup, in the first championship played during the War. The 1919 influenza epidemic shut down the Stanley Cup championship in 1919, but the Cup was contested throughout the War years.

⁸⁰ The contraction of the NHL to seven teams in 1938 and six teams in 1943 led the league to operate a single six-team division from 1938 to 1967. After the 1967 expansion the league returned to an East-West format.

⁸¹ Diamond, Dan; Eric Zweig, and James Duplacey. *The Ultimate Prize: The Stanley Cup*. [2003], 20.

While professional hockey teams attracted both elite players and many spectators to both their league matches and the Stanley Cup competition, hockey in smaller towns gained momentum as well. The trustees of the Stanley Cup, after Cup holders Montreal Wanderers announced their professionalism in 1908, decided to open the competition to professional teams and eventually became the Cup, the championship trophy of the fully professional NHL.

In response to the move to open the Stanley Cup to professionals, Sir Montagu Allan established in 1908 a purely amateur national championship. The Allan Cup would be an exclusively amateur competition open to teams from across the country.⁸² While the organizational structure of hockey institutions was often unstable in the first decades of the twentieth century, the promoters and administrators of amateur sport had a plan for achieving their goals. For many, the Allan Cup was a key part of this project, blending the highly desired opportunity for civic representation and boosterism with the class cachet of amateurism.

Towns wanted teams in order to 'put themselves on the map'.⁸³ Rapid population and economic growth in the prairies provinces meant that towns had every opportunity to 'make it to the big time' if they acted quickly to make themselves cultural centers as well as market hubs. The Allan Cup promoted a model of amateur teams playing out claims to

⁸² *CAHA minutes*, 1929. In 1908 the AAUC established the Mann Cup as the national amateur lacrosse championship, in lieu of the older Minto Cup, that had also become open to professional teams that year.

⁸³ Mason, *op. cit.*, 7. See also Bruce Kidd, *The Struggle for Canadian Sport*, for his discussion of the 'Saskatchewan Amendment' to amateur regulations, intended to make it easier for small towns to field sports teams.

Communities used hockey teams in the early years of the twentieth century to 'put their town on the map'. The Dawson City Nuggets (above) famously traveled by dogsled, boat, and train to their 1905 Stanley Cup challenge in Ottawa. (McKinley, *Hockey: A People's History*, 33)

Below, the best team money could buy in 1910. The Renfrew Creamery Kings became the Millionaires after a 1909 free agent spree that saw them acquire the contracts of Frank and Lester Patrick, 'Newsy' Lalonde, and Fred 'Cyclone' Taylor. (Cosentino, *The Renfrew Millionaires*, quotation from 89, photo from 185)

The Renfrew Millionaires, 1910

an energetic and robust civic identity, first in their regions, and then nationally.⁸⁴

Manitoba assembled an 'all-star' team that toured Eastern Canada, quite successfully, in 1894. News of the tour results were eagerly awaited in Winnipeg by those interested to see how the local boys would stack up against central Canadian competition. When Winnipeg first won the Stanley Cup, in 1896, telegraphed play-by-play reports of the game were announced in the packed ballrooms of three Winnipeg hotels.⁸⁵

The Manitoba teams that contested Allan Cups, and the Western Canadian teams that traveled east from places such as Vancouver and Dawson City to challenge for the Stanley Cup, were evidence of cross-Canada relationships that were cultural as well as economic. As George Beers might have hoped, hockey helped Canadians to 'think the nation'. Even challenging and losing badly, as the Dawson City team did in 1905, gave the challengers a confirmed place as performers of the national pastime. The sport gathered steam in the first decades of the twentieth century and became the nationalizing sport that Beers had hoped for.

The opposition of amateur ideologues to professionalism in hockey was further formalized in the 1914 establishment of the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association, formed as an affiliate of the Amateur Athletic Union, as a bulwark against professionalism in hockey. However, despite this effort, the cat was out of the bag. Hockey was established as a site of civic representation, not of class representation. As

⁸⁴ This is the 'purpose for which the sport was intended' that Kidd and MacFarlane cite as threatened by the 1967 NHL expansion into American cities.

⁸⁵ McKinley, *Hockey: A People's History*, 22

Alan Metcalfe writes

By this time [1914], though, hockey had expanded to such a degree that the CAHA had jurisdiction over only a small portion of the teams and leagues playing the game, so that hence a view of monolithic control would do an injustice to the reality of hockey. It had expanded far beyond the boundaries established by a social elite to become Canada's national game.⁸⁶

This was *national* in Hobsbawm's sense of a nationally specific sport, but hockey was not yet imagined as a site of inter-national representation. The first Canadian hockey teams to cross the Atlantic did so as exhibition teams, in the spirit of George Beers' lacrosse tours of the 1870's.⁸⁷ Canada's claim that hockey was "our" winter sport was uncontested by any other nation.

The importance of hockey, in the construction of Canadian masculinity, as well as of national sentiment was put to the test with the outbreak of War in 1914. Hockey, as a national sport, and hockey players, who embodied the ideal national character - took a lead role in the Canadian war effort. At the outbreak of war, Captain James T. Sutherland, who managed the Kingston Frontenacs and the hockey program at the Royal Military College, publicly urged players to "trade stick and puck for Ross rifle and

⁸⁶ Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play*, 72. By 1914 writers had been calling hockey a national pastime or a national game for nearly twenty years. However, Metcalfe is also emphasizing the geographic spread of the game, and the rise of serious competitive teams from coast to coast. Whether the decision is based on the geographic spread of the game, or on a more intellectual basis such as journalists calling the sport a national pastime, the game had evolved extraordinarily rapidly from a form of off-season football training in the 1870's at McGill, to a national cultural phenomenon in no more than thirty years.

⁸⁷ See Don Morrow, 'The Canadian Image Abroad: The great Lacrosse Tours of 1876 and 1883' *Proceedings of the Fifth Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport*. The point is that the Lacrosse tours were exhibitions of Canadian teams, designed to appeal to spectators and potential immigrants, and were therefore quite different from the antipodean cricket and rugby tours of the era which directly challenged English cultural supremacy in the 'Imperial' sports.

bayonet.”⁸⁸ The metaphor of sport as training for war was often cited; Sutherland argued that the mental and physical skills needed to play the game of hockey were the same qualities needed “in the greater game that [was] now being played in France”⁸⁹

Leading players such as Frank McGee and Conn Smythe immediately enlisted.⁹⁰ In doing so, these men again represented the ideal masculinity of the times, playing robust yet gentlemanly games in times of peace and jumping to the defense of the nation in time of war. The trinity of sport, manliness and militarism engendered a conditioned response to the call of duty.⁹¹ Many hockey leagues suffered as hundreds of professional and senior amateur players enlisted. However, while some hockey players going off to war served as well-publicized role models, the impact of the sport on home front morale was too important to sacrifice. Frank and Lester Patrick, who had been stars in the previous decade and, who in 1914, owned and operated the PCHA, attempted to enlist, but the Canadian government asked them instead to continue to operate the hockey league to keep up morale on the home front.⁹² The PCHA was thought to be crucial “to sustaining

⁸⁸ J. J. Wilson, ‘Skating to Armageddon’ *IJHS* 2005, 322. Sutherland became president of the OHA in 1915, and of the CAHA in 1919.

⁸⁹ Wilson 322. See also the recruiting poster illustrated on p 72 of *Hockey; A People's History*

⁹⁰ J. J. Wilson, ‘Skating to Armageddon’, *IJHS* 2005, 32 The affinity between the masculine ideals that glorified sportsmen on one hand and military service on the other, were clearly apparent to both sides. Hockey administrators seemed quite clear that their public perception depended on hockey players as role models for youth. Likewise, military officials clearly appreciated sport’s role as both ideological and physical training for war, and it’s parallel appeal to an ideal, *national* masculinity. Smythe was the captain of the University of Toronto Varsity Blues in 1914.

⁹¹ See in particular Moss, *Manliness and Militarism*

⁹² Wilson, ‘Skating to Armageddon’.

morale during the war.”⁹³ Likewise, the Ottawa Senators request to withdraw from competitive play for the duration of the war was rejected by the NHA.

The most famous players, such as Smythe and McGee, were not immediately deployed overseas. Instead, they were used on the home front, leveraging their hockey reputations into further recruiting efforts. Smythe applied for, and was granted, an OHA franchise for the 1915 season on behalf of the 40th (Sportsmen's) Battery of Hamilton.⁹⁴ The team became highly profitable in the OHA's early season, due to high spectator interest in the military team.⁹⁵

A recruiting poster for the 148th Battalion that targeted hockey spectators. Military recruiters sensed an affinity with the masculinity performed in hockey arenas, and frequently exploited this affinity in their appeals.

Reproduced from Michael McKinley, *Hockey: A People's History*, 72.

⁹³ McKinley, *Putting a Roof on Winter*, and Wilson, 326

⁹⁴ For an in-depth history of this, see Douglas Hunter *War Games: Conn Smythe and Hockey's Fighting Men*. Toronto; Penguin [1997].

⁹⁵ Smythe also managed to 'double his money' by wagering the team's profits to date (around \$3000) on the team's last game before deployment overseas. McKinley, *Hockey: A People's History*, 73-74.

Canadian hockey leagues had, for the previous decade, been enacting ever more restrictive regulations with respect to player residence. The goal of these regulations was to foster civic identification with teams, and to avoid the moral (and class) ambiguity of hockey ‘mercenaries’ moving from town to town. These regulations were immediately relaxed in 1915, to allow military personnel to play in organized leagues, either for local clubs near their billets, or for quickly organized military teams. The 61st Battalion, based in Winnipeg, immediately became an elite team, winning the Allan Cup in 1916.

The 228th Battalion, mustered from throughout northern Ontario and based in North Bay, quickly joined the NHA, and performed very well in its first year. Throughout the war, the NHA made a number of grand proclamations of patriotism and commitment to the war effort.⁹⁶ These proclamations were interspersed with frequent public relations *faux pas*. The NHA admitted a team from the 228th Battalion (aka. the Northern Fusiliers) to the league for the 1916 season, but took the prudent, although perhaps unpatriotic, step of insuring themselves for \$3000 in the event of the deployment of the 228th overseas. The league attempted to collect after the 228th’s eventual late-season deployment, but gave up the effort after charges from journalists that the attempt to collect was ‘unsporting as the soldiers had withdrawn for a more important game.’⁹⁷

The trials of player recruiting to the 228th can easily be seen as military officials

⁹⁶ For instance, the Montreal Wanderers announced that only married men and munitions workers would be signed and allowed to play for the team. This was a mostly empty proclamation, as most of the Wanderers were already married.

⁹⁷ Wilson, 326. For a longer history of the 228th Battalion’s adventures with professional hockey, see Holzman and Nieforth, *Deceptions and Doublecross: How the NHL conquered hockey*. Toronto: Dundurn Press [2008] 103-130.

running amok with the fun of managing an NHA team. It is noteworthy, though, that the morale boost of the team was deemed to be sufficient that officers relatively high up the command structure signed off on these shenanigans. The popular morale boost, and the powerful symbolic lure of the combination of military and sporting masculinity, sometimes even trumped the operational requirements of the CEF. The 228th hockey team, perhaps in an honest search for a morale boosting masculinity, was itself rocked by scandal when it was revealed that they were paying players to join, and that several players, while bona fide recruits to the Canadian Army, had not originally joined the 228th.⁹⁸

The Great War got many Canadians thinking about what it meant to be Canadian, and Canada's engagement in the War provided a new basis for imagining the nation. The citizenship claim to Canadian identity that could be asserted through hockey was strong enough that restrictions on league membership were often contested on racial and ethnic grounds, rather than merely through playing skill. The maintenance of domestic hockey throughout the War, and the widespread participation of military teams in domestic leagues, deepened the symbolic place of hockey in the national imagination, and thus broadened the definition of who might claim status as a 'Canadian' sportsman.

The expansion of sport participation from the anglophone protestant elite to the broader population was sometimes slow, but it was inevitable. In Montreal, anglophone

⁹⁸ The 228th discharged several players before deploying overseas, as the players had been recruited exclusively for the purposes of playing NHA hockey. Two of the players complained that they had received only half of the \$1200 their contracts specified when they were discharged. McKinley, *Hockey: A People's History*, 74-75.

Catholic (Montreal Shamrocks) and eventually French teams (Le National and the Canadiens) were gradually included in the premier leagues. The exclusively English league of the 1890's was remarked on by Baron Pierre de Coubertin when he visited Montreal.⁹⁹ But by the 1911 season, the marketing appeal of a team composed entirely of French Canadians was a major selling point for the inclusion of the Montreal Canadiens in the nascent NHA.¹⁰⁰

The Winnipeg hockey system followed a somewhat different path, although from the 1892 formation of the Manitoba Hockey Association it also attempted to remain exclusive to anglophone and protestant communities. Even protestant and obviously 'white' Icelandic players had to fight for inclusion.¹⁰¹ As a location where hockey developed early, and where there were plenty of good players, Manitoba teams did not have to resort to professionalism to recruit strong players. Winnipeg teams were early to challenge for the Stanley Cup, but their geographic isolation kept Manitoba teams out of the NHA and the PCHA. Instead of participating in the ferment of the early professional era of 1907-1913, Manitoba teams instead targeted the Allan Cup, which was itself rapidly becoming an important national symbol.

The emergence of the Winnipeg Falcons team is an interesting example of the rapid transformation of sport structures. The Winnipeg senior amateur league, despite its

⁹⁹ McKinley, *Hockey: A People's History*.

¹⁰⁰ As with the NHA's re-constitution as the NHL in 1917, one of the motivating factors behind the formation of the NHA was the interest of the other teams' owners in cutting the Montreal Wanderers out of the previous league structure. McKinley, *Hockey: A People's History*.

¹⁰¹ Eric Zweig, 'The Return of the Falcons' *The Beaver* Feb 1999, 79: 1, 39-43.

instability, was one of the strongest in the country. Five different Winnipeg teams won six Allan Cups in the period between 1911 and 1920.¹⁰² Through the war years in Winnipeg the senior league consisted of the Winnipeg Monarchs, the Victorias and the Britannias.¹⁰³ Strong teams from Brandon and Selkirk played matches in another 'Manitoba' circuit. During the war a strong team representing the 61st Battalion regularly played the other Winnipeg teams and contested the city and provincial championships. In 1919, a number of ethnically Icelandic players returned from overseas, and formed a new team, the Falcons. The 'established' teams (some of which were less than ten years old) opposed the admission of the Falcons to the Winnipeg league, and the Falcons wound up playing the Selkirk and Brandon teams in 1919, and winning the Manitoba championship. In 1920 the Falcons competed in the Winnipeg league, won, and as a result qualified to compete in the Allan Cup, which they also won, thus becoming Canada's Olympic representative for the Antwerp Olympics.¹⁰⁴

The Falcons represented change for the Winnipeg League, but change was the

¹⁰² The Winnipeg Maple Leafs in 1908 were the last Winnipeg team to challenge for the Stanley Cup. Winnipeg teams remained amateur, and switched their playing interest to the Allan Cup. The Winnipeg Victorias won the Allan Cup in 1911 and 1912, the Winnipeg Hockey Club won in 1913, the Winnipeg Monarchs won in 1915 and the Manitoba-based 61st Battalion team won in 1916. The Falcons won in 1920. The Winnipeg Monarchs, Allan Cup champions in 1931, went on to become Olympic gold medalists at the Lake Placid Olympics in 1932.

¹⁰³ Note the emphasis on the British-Imperial connection of the Winnipeg teams, which was less common in central Canada. The Montreal Victorias were so called because of their home, the Victoria Skating Rink. The Winnipeg Winniepegs asserted a local, if unimaginative, civic affinity. The Falcons (who had earlier merged with the Winnipeg Vikings) represented an explicitly Icelandic ethnicity (the falcon is a national symbol of Iceland)

¹⁰⁴ Eyford, 'Prairie Goolies' The Antwerp Games were technically a summer Olympics (they ran from March to October, but included figure skating, and, at the insistence of the skating venue owner, ice hockey.

only constant for hockey leagues in the years following the end of the War. The dissolution of the 61st Battalion team in 1919 ended a three year run in which league membership had not changed, the first such period in the league's nine year history. Hockey was popular with fans during these years, but the rapidly developing sport was in constant flux, as entrepreneurs constantly experimented with new structures.

There was a sense that hockey would become symbolically important for Canadians, but at the time there were no models for exactly how this would happen, or what it would mean when it did. The War had not interrupted the Stanley Cup competitions, in part because the military supported hockey leagues across the country. But in the winter of 1918-1919, Cup play was suspended, due to the cross-country challenge of dealing with the influenza outbreak. In the winter of 1919-1920, things were 'back to normal', but they would never really return to their pre-war state, which, in the case of hockey, had been characterized by wide enthusiasm, but also unstable leagues and uneven growth.

In 1920, the status of many members of the Winnipeg Falcons team as decorated veterans of the CEF was insufficient for them to gain access to the senior Winnipeg league. But on the ice they were unstoppable; as Manitoba League champions they managed to defeat the Winnipegs and earn a berth into the Allan Cup, and eventually the first Olympic Championship. This finally broke the ice and ended the freeze out, as affinity with Olympic hockey champions finally trumped previous ethnic exclusions. The Falcons had provided a model of Canadian-ness that, while neither British nor French, demanded inclusion in the imagined community. And Olympic hockey became a new

stage for performing and celebrating Canadian-ness. On their return, Toronto mayor Thomas Church presented the entire team with gold watches.

The 1920 Olympic hockey tournament was the beginning of inter-national hockey. What inter-national hockey might mean for Canada, and how stories would be told about it was unclear, but the story began to develop at the first Olympic hockey tournament, at the Antwerp Games of 1920 (technically a Summer Games, although it ran March-October). At its January 1920 meeting, the Ontario Olympic committee discussed the upcoming Games, and after considerable shilly-shallying, came to the conclusion that “in view of the fact that hockey was our national winter pastime, the Dominion ought to be represented.”¹⁰⁵ As a result of this meeting, the trustees of the Allan Cup were delegated to select (and pay for) a team to represent Canada at Antwerp. The Winnipeg Falcons surprised many in the central Canadian sports establishment by defeating the University of Toronto team, and the Falcons took ship for Antwerp without returning to Winnipeg.¹⁰⁶

Nobody was really sure what going to the Olympics would mean, or even if it would mean anything. It was not clear that Canadians could, or should, claim international hockey supremacy. Even the most nationalist hedged their bets. The Americans were known to be taking the Olympics seriously, and some thought the Czechs might be pretty good.¹⁰⁷ After the Falcons defeated the American team, *The Globe* reported that

¹⁰⁵ *The Globe*, Jan. 12, 1920, 12.

¹⁰⁶ Eric Zweig, ‘The Return of the Falcons’, 39.

¹⁰⁷ *The Globe*, April 19, 1920, 14.

The victory of the Canadians was generally unexpected, though it was recognized that the contest would be keen and close. The general impression here, however, was that the picked team which represented the Republic would prove the masters of the Winnipeg aggregation which represented the Dominion. The result consequently is a disappointment to United States hockey enthusiasts.¹⁰⁸

The first reaction to the result in Canada was one of mild surprise, and the rhetorical chance to foster a bit of patriotic sentiment was missed. A few days later, *The Globe* tried again and came up with a classic statement that the values engendered by sport was more important than the actual results.

Canada's greatest triumph lay in the fact that a champion team represented them and not an all-star aggregation like that which wore the stars and stripes. Had the Americans won, the victory would have meant little, as the superiority of hockey as played in this country would have remained unquestioned.¹⁰⁹

Note the argument that Canada's 'greatest triumph' lay in sending a team to the Olympics that reflected identification with civic values, rather than, for instance, a selected 'all-star' team that could include players from all the regions of the country. The Falcons' victory at Antwerp is remembered, and commemorated as the beginning of Olympic hockey, and in Canada, for having a national representative competing in international hockey. After the Falcons had won the gold medal, carefully hedged positions on the importance of the Games were quickly unwound. Before the Games the question of meaning had been murky, but after the medal ceremony it was crystal clear. Canada owned hockey. Canadian editorialists had a field day proclaiming supremacy in 'our' national sport. The victory suited the times perfectly. Canada had acted as a nation fighting in the Great War, and afterwards Canada had carved out a niche in international

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

sport at the Olympics.

In hindsight, it is easy to see the significance of the event, and to contextualize the social significance of the Falcons' identity, as an appropriate masculinity, as well as an ethnic and civic identity,¹¹⁰ all of which eventually folded into their importance as a *national* team. However, in 1920 the significance of the event was less clear, in part because at the time, sport institutions were just beginning to emerge, or were in considerable flux. Sport's role in society was likewise transforming and becoming more important. Canadian society was itself transforming, leading to new and more robust Canadian nationalism.

By the hockey tournament at the 1924 Winter Games in Chamonix, France, awkward language such as 'in view of the fact that hockey was our national winter pastime, the Dominion ought to be represented' was abandoned. Star Canadian player Harry Watson of the Toronto Granites was quoted in the *Globe* saying that he and his teammates hoped "to justify the confidence that has been placed in us and retain for Canada supremacy in the hockey world."¹¹⁰

During the 1920's, the mad flux in Canadian professional hockey calmed down, and league structures stabilized. In 1926, the PCHA folded, and the Stanley Cup became exclusively the championship trophy of the NHL. The NHL also established itself as a major league, with organized institutional relationships with other professional (and now becoming minor) leagues.¹¹¹ With the demise of the PCHA, the Stanley Cup competition

¹¹⁰ As quoted by Roy MacGregor 'A Gracious Team, A Grateful Nation' in the *Globe and Mail*, Jan 6, 2008.

¹¹¹ See John Wong's *Lords of the Rinks* 107-121 for an account of the process of the NHL becoming a 'major' league.

and the NHL became somewhat less 'national' towards the end of the twenties. The Hamilton Tigers moved to New York City in 1925 and became the New York Americans. By end of the decade the previously powerful Ottawa Senators franchise was in decline, and losing money steadily in what was at the time the NHL's smallest market. Major league hockey became a big city phenomenon that offered only the examples of Montreal and Toronto to Canadians imagining the national game.

Further changes in the way Canadians consumed hockey came through the advent of radio broadcasts of hockey. Foster Hewitt first broadcast hockey games on Toronto station CFCA in 1923. By 1931 the broadcasts aired nationally. Hewitt broadcast the first game from the newly opened Maple Leaf Gardens over the CNR radio network, and the Leafs' Saturday hockey night broadcasts were taken up by the newly formed Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission (which later became the CBC). The national transmissions, which became the broadcast institution 'Hockey Night in Canada', changed the way many Canadians experienced hockey. National broadcasts of major league games underlined the importance of the Toronto and Montreal teams, and mapped out a metropole-hinterland relationship between the big cities and the rest of the country.¹¹²

Local community teams continued to contest the Allan Cup, and the junior league's Memorial Cup, but the era was over for kind of Stanley Cup that made famous the teams from Dawson City, Kenora, Renfrew, Victoria and Winnipeg. What was left,

¹¹² This transition was much lamented by Bruce Kidd, both in *The Death of Hockey* (co-written with Brian MacFarlane), and in his chapter 'Brand-Name Hockey' in *The Struggle for Canadian Sport*.

for communities and teams looking to stake a claim to an ultimate hockey prize, and the claim to ideal Canadian-ness prestige that went with it, was to follow up an Allan Cup win with a World Championship, especially, once every four years, with an Olympic medal.

By the 1928 Winter Olympics at St. Moritz, Canadian hockey supremacy was well established on the ice, and was even taken for granted by the Olympic organizers. Canada had a bye into the medal round, where they cruised to victory, scoring 38 goals in three games and allowing none. Lou Marsh wrote in the *Toronto Star* "Thirty Eight to nothing! . . . The Grads couldn't have been trying".¹¹³ The victories were so easy that Olympic hockey story-telling formula had to tone down the triumphalism. *The Globe* editorialized that while

The triumph that the Canadian Olympic hockey team secured at St. Moritz will naturally bring gladness to the sport loving public of the Dominion . . . it should not be made the occasion for unique elation or boasting. It was too easy a victory, nothing more nor less than a "walk-over" for the Grads.¹¹⁴

The question began to arise of whether the 'Canadian specific' was a little *too* specific. *The Globe* praised the sportsmanship of the team and of the Canadian fans there, but lamented that Canada had won no other trophies at the Winter Games. While Norway and Finland dominated the Games with many medals in skiing and speed-skating, Canada was asserting its presence only with performance in its own 'national' sport.

¹¹³ *Toronto Star*, February 20, 1928, 10

¹¹⁴ *The Globe*, February 21, 1928, 4

The fun of asserting easy supremacy at the Olympics was not enough for some; Regina sports promoter W.M. Van Valkenburg was quoted in the *Star* a few days after the Olympics suggesting that the expense of sending teams to European Olympics was high, and the money would be better spent on domestic hockey.¹¹⁵ The issue of deciding world hockey supremacy would be better done with matches involving the United States, played in North America. But *The Globe* responded, asking

What would the Olympic tourney be without a team representing the Dominion, the founder and home of the game? Certainly the presence of a Canadian outfit capable of beating all others in Canada will be of benefit in a missionary sense, and in that respect probably justifies the sending of the Canucks.¹¹⁶

The eventual success of the missionary purpose of Canadian hockey tours of Europe was echoed in the forecast by the *Star*, which explained to readers that while “hockey is a Canadian game and the Grads are its finest exponents . . . it is a game that the whole world will play wherever there is ice.”¹¹⁷

The changes in sport in the 1920's were not limited to the organization and consolidation of the sport in North America. Older ideas about sport in society, such as muscular Christianity (the nineteenth century arguments that sport produced democracy, along with its moral, physical and hygienic rewards) were being supplanted by more modern, and more nationalistic tropes. In 1928, after the Toronto Grads easy Olympic victory at St. Moritz, *The Globe* argued that “The long winters of Canada and the

¹¹⁵ *Toronto Daily Star*, February 21, 1928. In any case, the next Winter Olympics would be held at Lake Placid, New York. The team of 1928 was the last to be underwritten by the Allan Cup trustees out of the gate receipts for the finals.

¹¹⁶ *The Globe*, February 20, 1928, 10

¹¹⁷ *Toronto Daily Star*, February 20, 1928, 6

excellent opportunities that Canadians have from their childhood have helped produce a race of hockey players . . .”¹¹⁸ The link of national racial characteristics and sporting success was a popular idea in the interwar years, and it led to heightened focus on international sporting results.

In the American press, the Olympic victories of their athletes were attributed not just to rigorous training, but to the superiority of the national character.¹¹⁹ American athletes were the product of Frederick Jackson Turner’s frontier- vivacious, virile athletes capable of overcoming any obstacles. Olympic victories confirmed national ideals and projected national power. As governments recognized the symbolic power of this claim, some poured resources into developing athletes. Mussolini’s support of Italian athletes produced a second place finish in the medal table at the Los Angeles Olympics of 1932. Germany’s Olympics in 1936 were the apex of the Nazi attempt to confirm their ideals and project their national power through sport.

This propaganda project was made possible by the growing globalization of sport.¹²⁰ Globalization entailed a newly competitive and comparative nationalism, performed at international sporting contests. The hope that sport might be a substitute for war (first suggested by William James in 1910) was buttressed by the widespread hope that the Great War had indeed been the war to end all wars. International soccer, and the

¹¹⁸ *The Globe*, February 21, 1928, 4.

¹¹⁹ Mark Dyreson, ‘Scripting the American Olympic Story-Telling Formula: the 1924 Paris Olympics and the American Media’ *Olympika: The International Journal of Olympic Studies* 5 (1996): 45-80.

¹²⁰ See in particular Barbara Keys, *Globalizing Sport* [2006]. For a more modern sociological take see Jean Harvey *et al.* ‘Globalization and Sport: Sketching a Model for Empirical Analysis’ *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*. 23 [1996] 258-277.

Olympic Games provided the chief venues for this project.

The Games, which, before the war, had been medium sized affairs, with events mostly contested by wealthy amateurs, in the 1920's became bigger events, and a much more important site for both the performance of sport and the performance of nationalism. The Olympic soccer tournaments of 1924 and 1928 inspired nations (many of them South American) that had been aloof from the Olympics to become interested in the Games. International soccer, which had begun in Britain as the Home Nations contests, spread across Europe and South America. This interest led to the institution of the World Cup of soccer, first contested in 1930 in Uruguay.¹²¹ The 'national' signification of these matches was powerful, so much so that the British Foreign Office tried (unsuccessfully) to halt the rise of international football in the 1930's.¹²²

Athletics at the Olympics likewise became much more serious in the 1920's, with specialized and well-trained athletes replacing the dilettantes of the pre-war games. While the beginnings of 'sport science' were also to starting change competitive sport, the Games themselves were seen as much more than a festival of physical exercise. American pundit Ida Treat, in the American political journal *The Nation*, wrote that 'Sport today is as national as war is'.¹²³ As a result, victories in international sport, and especially at the Olympics, demonstrated national power.

¹²¹ Cesar Torres, "The Latin American 'Olympic explosion' of the 1920s: Causes and consequences" *IJHS* 23:7, 1088-1111.

¹²² Peter Beck, *Scoring for Britain: International Football and International Politics, 1900-1939*.

¹²³ Mark Dyreson, 'Scripting the American Olympic Story-Telling Formula: the 1924 Paris Olympics and the American Media' *Olympika: The International Journal of Olympic Studies* 5 (1996): 45-48.

There were other new institutions that reflected the growing psychological and political significance of international sport, such as the first Empire (later the Commonwealth) Games in 1930.¹²⁴ The wide variation in interest in the Games in various parts of the Empire, shows the ambivalent nature of international sport in this period, as countries slowly thought through its implications.¹²⁵ Among these implications, was that the disparate parts of the Empire, which had in the past commonly and jointly expressed affinity for British culture and values, now wanted a more public ceremony to re-affirm these ties.

Canada had only limited exposure to international sport in this period, due in large part to its focus on sports particular to North America- hockey, baseball, football, and lacrosse.¹²⁶ Canadian nationalism was also muted in comparison to the aggressive nationalist rhetoric common to Europe in the 1930's. Rather than attempting to demonstrate national *superiority*, sport in Canada was dedicated to demonstrating national *identity*; thus the *Globe's* 1928 praise for the sportsmanship of the fans as much as the skill of the athletes.

However, the 'no-contest' superiority and identity of the St. Moritz Games, would

¹²⁴ See Katharine Moore, ' "The Warmth of Comradeship" '

¹²⁵ England, nominally the cultural centre of the Empire, committed to send a team to the 1930 Empire Games, in Hamilton, Ontario, only after the New Zealand and Australian teams were about to dock in Vancouver. England was especially ambivalent about international sport in this era, in part because its earlier domination of the field was rapidly becoming open to contestation from many foreign quarters.

¹²⁶ In 1934, the CAHA arranged an international series for the 'North American Championship'. The Allan Cup holders Moncton Hawks defeated the Detroit White Stars two games to one in Toronto, April 7-11, 1934. The 1935 rematch was scheduled to be hosted in the United States, but the American AHA was unable to obtain a venue, and the series died out. See *CAHA Minutes*, 1935, 64-65, and 80.

come under new psychological pressures in the 1930's. The Statute of Westminster affirmed that Canada was an independent nation, just as the Great Depression was casting doubt on the viability of the national project. Organized hockey came under new pressures. With the 1934 collapse of the Ottawa Senators, Toronto and Montreal became the only Canadian cities still contesting the Stanley Cup, and they developed national rather than purely local followings. Simultaneously, the CAHA was losing its grip on amateur hockey, as ever tightening amateur residency requirements increasingly conflicted with labour migration in the depths of the Depression. And the missionary project of advertising hockey overseas bore surprising fruit in the early 1930's, causing new and unexpected problems for the CAHA, as British hockey entrepreneur Bunny Ahearne began aggressively recruiting in the Canadian senior leagues.

In the 1920's hockey had consolidated and, out of the wild growth of the early years of the century, managed to form stable institutions. By the 1930's, external pressures, both of the symbolic role of international sport, and the joint economic pressures of a depressed economy and foreign recruiting of players, stressed the new institutions, which still paid at least lip service to many of the ideological strictures established in the 1890's. By the winter of 1935-1936, these pressures came to a head in the multiple crises of the 1936 Canadian Olympic hockey team, crises which would challenge many the meanings of 'national' sport in Canada.

Chapter 4: Representing the Nation: Amateur Ideology, Regional Identity, and Globalizing Sport in the Canadian Olympic Hockey Selection Crisis of 1935-1936.

The manner in which national sports teams ‘represent the nation’, especially in ‘national sports’ was largely un-imagined by the original promoters of the class values of amateur ideology. However, important ‘amateur’ events, most notably the Olympic Games, became clear sites of ‘national’ representation. Selection as a national representative both honours and burdens athletes, but clearly marks them as the acme of the nation’s youth. The selection of Canada’s Olympic hockey team for 1936 marked the first serious selection controversy in Canadian history, and, thus, the first time that the process of selecting national representatives had been seriously debated.¹

The cultural practice of sending national champions (intact community teams rather than ‘selected’ or ‘all-star’ teams) to international competitions emerged in Canadian hockey, without much thought, in the rush to find a candidate for the Antwerp Olympics in 1920. However, the expedient decision of the Olympic Committee that year set a precedent that would carry on for the next half-century. In the absence of any organizational capacity or experience in talent evaluation and team selection, it was simply easier to select a champion team than to choose players one by one.² Additionally,

¹ In 1920, there had been some grumbling about the ‘ethnic’ nature of the Winnipeg Falcons team, but their service records in the Canadian Expeditionary Force and their Allan Cup championship muted this. Some grumbled about the team, but there was no suggestion that any other team had a greater right to play. See Ryan Eyford, ‘From Prairie Goolies’

² This practice also resonated with the etymology of the word ‘champion’, in this context not only representing the ‘winner of a sports competition’, but also as a representative sent out for trial by combat.

time was short, as the decision to attend the 1920 Olympics was made only months before the hockey tournament was scheduled to begin, and at the time there was no selection infrastructure in place, nor any existing funding mechanism.

The Olympic Committee delegated the responsibility of finding a team and paying for it to the Allan Cup trustees. For the trustees, the acceptance of the team's costs (underwritten with the gate receipts from the Cup final) came with the benefit of enhancing the nation-building cachet of the Allan Cup. After the Winnipeg Falcons won the first Olympic gold medal for hockey in 1920, the system of sending a 'champion team' was praised as somehow morally superior to the 'American' practice of selecting a team of the nation's best players.³

The *ad hoc* practice of 1920 became a custom. The system was relatively effective, and produced extremely successful Olympic hockey missions in 1924 and 1928. In 1930, when the Allan Cup trustees handed over control of the trophy to the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association (CAHA), responsibility for the organization and financing of the Olympic team went along with it.⁴ This was an easy burden to bear in 1932, with the relatively low cost of travel to the small Olympic hockey tournament at Lake Placid, New York. Deeper into the Depression in 1936, financing an overseas tour became a bigger problem, and one that was exacerbated by the flare-up of anxiety over the definition of amateurism and the regulation of amateur hockey.

³ See the previous chapter an account of the rapid change in tone from low expectations to natural and moral superiority over the American team and selection system. *The Globe*, April 1, 1920, 14.

⁴ *CAHA minutes*, 1933, 46.

The custom of selecting and financing the Olympic teams through the Allan Cup championships functioned well in terms of promoting community, obtaining funds, and symbolic prestige. However, the custom of sending the Allan Cup champion, and using the Allan Cup finals' gate receipts to fund the team, were not thought out in detail before the invention of the tradition. The praise of the superiority of sending a 'champion team' in *The Globe* came only after the victory- there was no mention of the moral superiority of this manner of selection beforehand. The practice of elevating the amateur champion team to the status of national team was not derived from either British or American traditions, in hockey or in other internationally contested team sports, which at the time were principally soccer, cricket and rugby.⁵ In 1920, international sport was in its infancy, and Canadian participation in it even more so. There were few 'traditions' on which to base decisions, and Canadian hockey adopted its selection practices without much thought. Over the next decade the custom became accepted as a norm, and even as a distinctive national trait.

Historian Mark Dyreson has characterized the American story-telling formula for chronicling the Olympic Games as one that affirmed the superiority of American

⁵ In the interwar period North American football was still similar enough to rugby that North American football teams could play matches with British and French rugby teams. The United States defeated France for the Olympic gold medal in rugby at the Paris Olympics in 1924. For an account of this see Mark Dyreson, "Scripting the American Olympic Story-Telling Formula: The 1924 Paris Olympic Games and the American Media," *Olympika: The International Journal of Olympic Studies* 5 (1996): 45-80, and see Stephen Leacock 'Athletics for 1950', in *The Iron Man and the Tin Woman* [1929] for a satirical account of a predicted Harvard-Oxford football game.

character and values over those of 'old Europe'.⁶ The Canadian story-telling formula that arose after the 1920 Olympics was one of superior moral organization based on community values rather than a 'win-at-all-costs' attitude, as reflected in *The Globe's* commentary on the 1920 Olympic hockey, that

Canada's greatest triumph lay in the fact that a champion team represented them and not an all-star aggregation like that which wore the stars and stripes. Had the Americans won, the victory would have meant little, as the superiority of hockey as played in this country would have remained unquestioned.⁷

The choice to privilege community teams seems somewhat accidental; it played little role in the decision to nominate the Allan Cup champion as the national representative.⁸ This custom, which on the surface offered an opportunity for performing Canadian-ness in a symbolically significant and geographically widespread manner, ironically wound up serving as a fertile ground for the seeds of regional discontent.

The easy victories of the Toronto Granites and Toronto Varsity Grads at the 1924 and 1928 Olympics produced no immediate impetus for change. Indeed, the lopsided Canadian victories in 1928 produced appeals for greater sportsmanship and modesty from the Canadian team, rather than calls for greater skill or athleticism. In 1932, the victory that the Canadian team squeaked out at the Lake Placid Olympics motivated the

⁶ See Dyreson, "Selling American Civilization: The Olympic Games of 1920 and American Culture," *Olympika: The International Journal of Olympic Studies* 8 (1999): 1-41, and "Scripting the American Olympic Story-Telling Formula"

⁷ *The Globe*, April 29, 1920, 14

⁸ There was an additional desirable symbolic resonance; while rather arbitrarily chosen, the Canadian selection system was different from the American one, and thus allowed for a claim that the Canadian system was both practically and morally superior to American practices.

CAHA to discuss the need to ensure a strong team was sent overseas in 1936.⁹ However, there were few serious calls for new selection practices until a crisis broke out in the Canadian senior leagues in the winter of 1935-1936.¹⁰

The crisis was precipitated when the Halifax Wolverines, Allan Cup champions of 1934-1935, disbanded in November of 1935, mere months after their victory.¹¹ The previous World and Allan Cup champions, the Winnipeg Monarchs, had dropped out of competitive senior hockey after their successful European tour in 1934-1935.¹² As a result, the CAHA opted to nominate the Allan Cup runner-up Port Arthur Bearcats as the Olympic representative for 1936. The Bearcats were well-known nationally, having won the Allan Cup in 1929 and the subsequent World Championship in 1930. The Bearcats had problems of their own, having lost star player Jimmy Haggarty to the British leagues after the 1935 season, but, unlike the other potential candidate teams, the Bearcats were largely intact.

However, the deviation from the norm of nominating the Allan Cup champion as the Olympic representative threw into the open the question of how to best select a 'Canadian' team. The Montreal Royals, who had lost to the Halifax Wolverines in the

⁹ *CAHA Minutes*, 1935, 64-65.

¹⁰ In 1920, the Olympic hockey tournament was held in April, allowing time for the Winnipeg Falcons to win the Allan Cup in March and quickly travel overseas. In 1936, the Garmisch Games were scheduled for February, necessitating that the Allan Cup champion from the previous season be sent.

¹¹ This was the lead story in the *Halifax Herald* on November 7, 1935. The unfolding story that played out at the CAHA meetings had been covered on the sports pages throughout early November, but the story jumped to the front page on the 7th when news of the Wolverines collapse became final.

¹² See Foster Hewitt's 1935 book *Down the Ice* for an account of the state of Canadian hockey in the mid 1930's, and an account of the Winnipeg Monarchs tour of Europe.

1935 Eastern final, made a case that they should have the opportunity to play the Bearcats for the right to be Olympic representative. The Maritime provinces, which had figured little on the national scene until the rise of the Wolverines and the Moncton Hawks in the mid-1930's, lamented the loss of their chance to have a local team represent the nation.¹³

The question of 'representing the nation' in international sport was becoming an issue all over the world.¹⁴ 1936 represented the first significant selection controversy in Canadian international hockey history. The decade was an era in which sport was rapidly and dramatically becoming a powerful public site for national representation. The full extent of this development would become apparent at the opening of the Summer Olympics in Berlin, but the run-up to the Winter Games offered a first taste of what was to come.

The Allan Cup and CAHA administrators, instead of allowing an open competition for the right to represent Canada at the Olympics, seized in this crucial moment an opportunity to press for ironclad adherence to amateur hegemony. John Herd Thompson and Allen Seager, in their history of the interwar period, *Decades of Discord*, characterize East-West hockey finals as a "socially acceptable means of releasing regional

¹³ Savoie, 'Broken Time and Broken Hearts: the Maritimes and the Selection of Canada's 1936 Olympic Hockey Team' *Sport History Review* 21 (2000) 120-138

¹⁴ See Barbara Keys, *Globalizing Sport*, Cesar Torres, "The Latin American 'Olympic explosion' of the 1920s: Causes and consequences" *IJHS* 23:7, 1088-1111, Peter Beck, *Scoring for Britain: International Football and International Politics, 1900-1939*, and Brian Stoddart, 'Cricket's Imperial Crisis'. See also George Orwell's December 1945 essay 'The Sporting Spirit'.

hostility.¹⁵ With the demise of East-West Stanley Cup finals in 1927, the Allan Cup took its place as the pre-eminent symbolic venue where cities and towns across the country could project their regional sporting identities on the national stage.

The 1920's had seen the rise of a Maritime Rights movement, as Atlantic Canada looked for a more significant role in Confederation. In this context, hockey proved a useful (and malleable) metaphor for narratives of both Eastern alienation, and of the Maritimes taking a bigger role in Canadian cultural affairs. The Allan Cup of 1935, and the Olympic berth that went with it, served Halifax newspaper editorialists first as a narrative of successful Maritime participation in Canadian life, but by November of 1935 the story had changed to one of Eastern alienation and central Canadian hegemony.

The starting point for the story was April 17, 1935, when the Halifax Wolverines defeated the Port Arthur Bearcats to win the Allan Cup. Amateur senior hockey was popular all over Canada, but not until the mid-thirties did competitive teams from the Maritimes seriously challenge for national hockey titles.¹⁶ The Wolverines were only the second team from the Maritimes to have played in an Allan Cup final, following the Moncton Hawks of 1933 and 1934.¹⁷ The final matches, played in Halifax, marked the

¹⁵ Thompson and Seager, *Canada 1922-1939: Decades of Discord*, 187. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart. 1985

¹⁶ Teams from Nova Scotia challenged for the Stanley Cup in 1900, 1906, and 1913, losing badly to teams from Montreal and Quebec City on all three occasions. The Halifax Crescents challenged in 1900, but lost to the Montreal Shamrocks 21-2 on two-game aggregate score. In 1906 the Montreal Wanderers defeated the New Glasgow Cubs 17-5 on two-game aggregate, in a series that marked the Wanderers first use of professional players. In 1913, Quebec Bulldogs defeated Sydney Millionaires 20-5 on aggregate.

¹⁷ Hockey teams from the Maritime provinces had only been eligible to compete for the Allan Cup after 1927, when the Maritime Amateur Hockey Association (MAHA) finally affiliated with the CAHA.

first time an Allan Cup final had been played east of Montreal, and only the third time it had been played east of Toronto.¹⁸ The 1935 Allan Cup was seen as “not just a victory for the Wolverines and Halifax, it was also a victory for the Maritimes.”¹⁹ The victory over an Ontario team was seen as a victory over central Canada, and thus struck a blow for regional pride and identity.²⁰

Local newspapers cheered the victory, both as the third in a row for a Maritime team and also because the Wolverines had thus earned the right to represent Canada in the upcoming Olympics. Given Canada’s past Olympic record, most assumed that the local team would be able to claim honours as Olympic and world champions.²¹ Canada’s previous Olympic representatives had all been teams from either Toronto or Winnipeg.²²

Unfortunately for the supporters of Maritime hockey, and perhaps unfortunately for the prospect of a national team that would be representative of all regions, the CAHA was becoming increasingly nervous about social change. Their response was a crackdown that would damage senior hockey in the Maritimes, and eventually cause the

¹⁸ The Allan Cup would be won by the Sydney Millionaires in 1941, but the finals would not return to the east coast until the 1985 final in Cornerbrook, NL.

¹⁹ Mark Savoie, ‘Broken Time and Broken Hearts: the Maritimes and the Selection of Canada’s 1936 Olympic Hockey Team’ *Sport History Review* 21 (2000) 120-138

²⁰ See Ron Lappage ‘Sport between the Wars’, 88-108, in Morrow *et al.*, eds., *A Concise History of Sport in Canada*. For more on Maritime regionalism in this era see E. R. Forbes, ‘The 1930’s: Depression and Retrenchment’ in Forbes and Muise, eds., *The Atlantic Provinces In Confederation* [1993] and Forbes, *The Maritime Rights Movement 1919-1927: A Study in Canadian Regionalism* [1979].

²¹ There were some slight worries that Canada was coming under challenge in international hockey; in 1932 the United States team had held Canada to a draw at the Lake Placid Olympics, and in 1933 the US became the first team other than Canada to win a World Championship

²² Even as the Moncton Hawks were claiming the 1934 Allan Cup honours, the Winnipeg Monarchs were on a lucrative barnstorming tour of Europe, that would include World Championship gold medals.

Wolverines club to collapse. This was unfortunate, as the sense of regional alienation in the Maritimes might have been alleviated by continued participation in pan-regional and explicitly 'national' events such as the Allan Cup. But, from the beginning of Maritime participation in fully 'national' hockey, the amateur credentials of the MAHA representatives had been challenged by the CAHA, usually at the cost of the playing success of Maritime teams. The CAHA suspended three Truro players just prior to the 1931 Allan Cup competition for violations of residency regulations. The Truro team struggled on, and managed to defeat McGill University, before bowing out to eventual Eastern representative Hamilton Tigers in the second round. In Maritime newspapers, the players were held up as regional heroes, and the 'treachery of the CAHA' was blamed for the defeat.²³

In 1932, the Maritime teams had managed to reverse the past flow of players from the east to central Canadian teams. Moncton Hawks manager Percy Nicklin successfully recruited several top players from Winnipeg, including star goaltender Jimmy Foster. The CAHA and the MAHA bickered over attempts to move Allan Cup games scheduled at Maritime sites to central Canadian venues. The CAHA argued that the cost of traveling *to* the Maritimes would be excessive for Ontario and Quebec-based teams. This opinion was apparently not matched by much concern with the costs of traveling *from* the Maritimes.²⁴

²³ See Savoie, 'Broken Time', and the *Halifax Herald*, Feb. 26, 1935, 5, and Jan. 1, 1936, 9.

²⁴ Parsimony was often the excuse used by the CAHA executive whenever they wanted to avoid trouble. The *Herald* reported Jan 11, 1936 that the CAHA had over \$100,000 in the bank as the selection controversy played out. The CAHA made a habit of simultaneously crowing about its financial success, and attempting to control events in efforts to save needed funds. This was first exhibited in the attempts to keep

After acrimonious debate, the Maritime teams eventually established their right to home games, and later traveled to Toronto for the semi-finals and Vancouver for the finals. The *Halifax Herald* cheered that the match between a Maritime team and the Saskatoon Quakers, to be played in British Columbia, marked a 'true' Canadian championship (and likewise cheered that the Maritimes were getting to participate in this newly broad Canada).²⁵ The victory of the Moncton Hawks signified conclusively that Maritime hockey had truly arrived on the national scene.

In 1934, after the Hawks repeated their Allan Cup championship, some Ontario-based CAHA officials argued that the Hawks were not 'really' amateur. However, the CAHA had certified the players as amateur, and, as the *Halifax Herald* argued, there seemed to be a regional bias to the enforcement of the regulations, as it was common practice for the Allan Cup contenders to import top players.²⁶ The *Herald's* editorialists surmised that while the CAHA wanted to be able to assert governance over the entire geographic spread of the dominion, it preferred to keep the hockey championships, as symbols of ideal Canadian-ness, in central Canada.²⁷ *Halifax Herald* sport editorialist

Allan Cup games out of the Maritimes in the early thirties, and would be repeated in 1937, when the CAHA would plead excessive costs and reject the 'sour grapes' of the 1940 Tokyo Olympics while debating investment options for their unprecedentedly large bank balance.

²⁵ *Halifax Herald*, 7 April 1933, p.5

²⁶ *Halifax Herald*, 18 April 1934, 9

²⁷ This argument constructs 'central Canada' as the Montreal-Toronto-Winnipeg triangle than the more commonly conceived Montreal-Toronto axis, as it seems to have included the Thunder Bay district teams from Port Arthur and Fort William, and Winnipeg teams in their construction of central Canadian hegemony.

Jimmie Smith wrote

One would have thought that the [CAHA] would have joined in with the thousands throughout Canada who this day are showering congratulations on the Moncton Hawks by awarding the 1934 Allan Cup finals to the Maritime Provinces, but once again it was a case of Ontario ruling the roost, and for the tenth time in the last quarter century, the big series will be staged in Toronto.²⁸

The *Halifax Herald* was able to discern and articulate what theorists of sport and culture would finally sort out fifty years later: that amateur regulations in Canadian hockey were enforced in order to maintain central Canadian hegemonic control over hockey. The *Herald's* argument about regional chauvinism also reflects the now-common (but new in the 1930's) practice of projecting political symbolism onto 'representative' national sports teams. The fact that the narrative of the about-to-be-enacted hockey fiasco followed the same pattern as other centre-periphery issues for the Atlantic provinces shows how hockey had moved from its earlier role as a Victorian 'amateur' game to a new role as a national symbol. However, the story was more complex than the defenders of Maritime regional interests supposed.

After the 1926 demise of the PCHA, and the 1927 integration of Maritime hockey into the CAHA, the Allan Cup championship had a chance in the late twenties and early thirties to become a genuinely nation-wide competition that captured a truly national, pan-regional imagination. The Stanley Cup had become by the mid-thirties a trophy exclusive to the NHL, a league with five American teams and four, and then three, Canadian teams. There was a clear opportunity for the Allan Cup to achieve its goal of

²⁸ *Halifax Herald*. April 11, 1933

becoming an important trophy in the national imagination, as demonstrated by the Maritime teams' eagerness to get involved in inter-regional, fully 'national' competitions, and their anxieties about regional alienation.

The CAHA's choices regarding governance of amateur regulations were largely responsible for the eventual marginalization of the Allan Cup competition. Strict adherence to the erstwhile 'amateur' Olympic principles had lost its international backing. In 1927, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) had endorsed the acceptability of 'broken-time' payments (pay to compensate for time lost from work while traveling for sport). However, the Canadian Olympic Committee (COC) and the Amateur Athletic Union of Canada (AAU of C) refused to follow suit; they even continued to use the argument that international standards required them to do so.²⁹ These ephemeral (but strict) 'international standards' were used as a rhetorical bludgeon against the liberalization of domestic rules.

The IOC in this era frequently allowed for local variation in domestic regulations. The expansive spread of Canadian geography, and the time and travel requirements associated with national finals such as the 1933 Moncton-Saskatoon match played in Vancouver would have produced a strong case for a Canadian exception. Of course, no exception was actually required, because the amateurism as defined by the IOC in 1927 specifically allowed for broken-time payments.

²⁹ Lansley 'The Amateur Athletic Union of Canada and Changing Concepts of Amateurism' 182-183 cited in Savoie, 'Broken Time', 10. See also *AAUC minutes* [1934]. It remained IOC policy to allow national committees to stipulate stronger requirements, and Canadian administrators chose a strict interpretation. Canada also joined England's Football Association (FA) in withdrawing from FIFA in 1928 over the issue of broken-time payments, and Canada did not participate in the FIFA World Cup until 1956.

The Canadian amateur ban on broken-time payments was a relic of the 'Amateur War' of the first decade of the century. The establishment in 1909 of the unified Amateur Athletic Union of Canada (AAUC), defined a Class A amateur as

one who has never competed for a wager, taught or competed for a livelihood, received lost time payment, sold or pledged prizes, [or] promoted an athletic competition for personal gain.³⁰

Lost time payments, or broken-time payments, as they were later known, consisted of compensation made to athletes for time lost from work while traveling or competing in sport. The prohibition echoed earlier occupational prohibitions on laborers, as poorer workers would be less likely to be able to afford time off from work to engage in sport. The ban on broken-time payments also regulated creeping professionalism, as pay for 'ringers' in local sport could easily be disguised as wages and broken-time payments.

The prohibition on broken time payments functioned appropriately in local sports leagues; players traveling from Ottawa to Brockville, or from Halifax to Moncton, would find the time lost from work to be only a minor inconvenience. However, the middle-class values behind the regulation generally imagined only *regional* travel. The Olympic Games, symbolically a global festival of 'amateur sport', required a commitment of weeks or months of overseas travel.

The ban on broken-time payments was rooted in the Victorian occupational amateur exclusions, and began to be widely seen as anachronistic and hypocritical in the mid-Thirties. Despite the prohibitions, broken-time payments had become pervasive in

³⁰ Morrow, 'A Case Study in Amateur Conflict; The Athletic War in Canada, 1906-1908' *British Journal of Sports History*, 3: 2 [1986] 173-190.

senior hockey. *Halifax Herald* editorialist Jimmie Smith commented on the 'hypocrisy of the amateur tag', and the regulations of the period:

Personally I find no fault with Moncton or any other team that has an inclination to win the Allan Cup if it goes hither and thither in search of material to accomplish the feat. Under the rules governing amateur sport today it would be impossible to capture the Canadian title without running afoul of the regulations which prevail. And, on the other hand, the officials who control amateurism are quite aware of the fact but still persist in opposing any move to bring the antiquated rules to the 1933 tempo.³¹

Smith went on to acknowledge that:

all we Maritimers and herring-chokers . . . are basking in the reflected glory of the Hawks' victory, but we must confess that we would feel better if all the chaps who played for Moncton were at least Maritime bred. Four of them, we understand, are [Maritimers]. . .³²

But Smith, and from what he represents as his readers' opinions, was willing to go along with the system that allowed for players to move around. The preference for home-grown players was stated merely as a preference. The underlying hypocrisy of the amateur regulations was a bigger problem. Senior hockey implied membership in a coast-to-coast enterprise that was psychologically important for the participating communities, a big commitment for players, and big business for organizers. As Smith argues

What of it, you might say, if every player in Canada was paid during the 1933 hockey season? Do you expect them to play three games a week and get nothing for it? When are they supposed to work? And how are they supposed to live? And where would the gate receipts go if everyone played strictly amateur hockey? Should they not be paid for the time they devote to hockey, or rather, giving three,

³¹ *Halifax Herald* 'Speaking Out on Sports' April 25, 1933, 9.

³² Also in the *Halifax Herald* 'Speaking Out on Sports' April 25, 1933, sports editor Jimmie Smith went on to cite a Madison Square Garden program "Moncton N.B. 'Hawks' sunk their talons into the Niagara Falls 'Cataracts' for a healthy score and earned the right to represent eastern Canada in the Allan Cup finals. The 'Maritime' champs (all players from Manitoba and Ontario) had already eliminated the Montreal 'Royals' for the senior eastern scramble and will now head west for the big slam in Vancouver."

four or five thousand people entertainment? Yet if an athlete is paid for the time he loses from his employment, he is classed as a professional and stands to be suspended.³³

This hypocrisy potentially suited the governors of the CAHA and the AAUC, as it affirmed (upper-middle) class values while holding senior hockey back from the slippery slope of open professionalism. Further, it meant that any clubs or players in need of disciplining could easily be found to be out of communion with the amateur principles they were sworn to uphold. Such arbitrary discipline took hold in the heightened competitive atmosphere surrounding the 1935 Allan Cup. The Olympic berth that went along with the championship meant greater opportunities for national and international recognition. It also heightened administrative zeal for so-called 'Olympism' and amateurism, paying more attention to domestic discipline than actual IOC regulations.

In the late spring of 1934, the *Halifax Herald* noted the importance of the following season's Allan Cup, and predicted trouble from the CAHA as central Canadian administrators were expected to "manoeuvre to secure Olympic representation for their athletes."³⁴ The war of manoeuvre began in October of 1934. Newly-appointed CAHA president E. A. Gilroy ruled all the players in the Maritime 'Big Four' league ineligible if their residency had not been established by January 1 of 1934.³⁵ In this, Gilroy broke with precedent, both by backdating the rule, which previously had been based on May

³³ *Halifax Herald* 'Speaking Out on Sports' April 25, 1933, 9.

³⁴ Savoie, 'Broken Time', p. 14, cites the *Herald*, 4 April 1934, p. 7 and 14 May 1934, 9.

³⁵ The 'Big Four' were Halifax Wolverines, Moncton Hawks, St. John Beavers and the Charlottetown Abbies.

residency, and by the sudden wholesale enforcement of a rule that had previously been adjudicated on an individual case-by-case basis, when it was enforced at all.³⁶

The ruling meant that most of the players of the Charlottetown Abegweits (Abbies) and St. John Beavers suddenly became ineligible. The 'Big Four' teams attempted to re-form as a 'mercantile' league outside of CAHA jurisdiction, but, without the symbolic cachet of the Allan Cup on the horizon, paid attendances crashed, and the Moncton Hawks folded mid-winter.³⁷ Only the Wolverines came out of the season with any strength. The lure of the Allan Cup burned brighter for the Halifax team, as it was slated to host the 1935 final, which for the first time would be played east of Montreal. Interest in the event, already high, was heightened by "those tickets to Berlin thrown into the Allan Cup this year by the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association."³⁸

After a tight semifinal series with the Montreal Royals, the Wolverines out-muscled the Port Arthur Bearcats by scores of 3-2 and 4-3 to win both the Allan Cup and the right to the 1936 Olympic berth. Regional anxieties vis-a-vis central Canadian machinations ran at a high pitch, but the COC offered assurances that the Wolverines would travel to Germany for the 1936 Olympics.³⁹ These assurances assumed that the Wolverines would be an intact and competitive team in the winter of 1936. However,

³⁶ Savoie, 'Broken Time' 15. See also the *Herald*, 31 Oct 1934, 9 and 1 Nov 1934, 9, and Ron Lappage, 'Selected Sports and Canadian Society 1921-1939', 150-151; and 'Sport as an Expression of Western and Maritime dissent between the Wars' 66.

³⁷ Savoie, 15-16.

³⁸ Greg Gillespie, 'Port Arthur Proud; The Halifax Wolverines, Port Arthur Bearcats and the Selection of Canada's 1936 Olympic Hockey Team' *Seventh International Symposium for Olympic Research*, 116.

³⁹ Savoie, 17.

the structural damage done to the finances of the 'Big Four' Maritime clubs the previous season led to their league's collapse, as Charlottetown, St. John and Moncton all declined to participate in the 1935-36 season. The orphaned Wolverines, with no league to play in, lost a pair of players to the professional AHL, and four to the Allan Cup contender Sudbury Falcons.⁴⁰ With few players, and no league, the Halifax club disbanded on November 6, 1935. With the team went "Nova Scotia's hopes to be represented in the historic Olympic games, athletic joust of the nations, at Germany in 1936."⁴¹

The COC and CAHA followed up by announcing that the Port Arthur Bearcats would be by default the Canadian representative at the Olympics, with the note that should it be necessary to strengthen the Bearcats, the remaining Wolverines would be added to the team. The remaining Wolverines (team captain Ernie Mosher, goaltender Sylvester 'Daddy' Bubar, Vincent Ferguson and 'Chummie' Lawlor), were pessimistic about their chances.⁴² Mosher commented for his teammates with "unconcealed chagrin that their hopes of representing Nova Scotia in Berlin for the hockey supremacy of the world had practically vanished " saying

It's a shame this had to happen. . .Of course there may yet be a chance we'll go abroad, and I intend to be in first class shape if the call comes from the Olympic committee. If there is no senior 'A' hockey I'll play anything, even commercial if it doesn't jeopardize my Olympic chances.⁴³

⁴⁰ Savoie, 'Broken Time...'17

⁴¹ *Halifax Herald* Nov 7, 1935 p. 1 'Scant Chance of Playing in Berlin- Nova Scotia's Hopes of Olympic Representation Practically Are Lost' . In the regular sports pages (p. 11) the banner headline 'Wolverines through with hockey', was supported by six stories about the Wolverines and the Olympics

⁴² Savoie, 18

⁴³ *Halifax Herald* Nov 7, 1935 p. 1 'Scant Chance of Playing in Berlin'

The decision to replace the Wolverines with the Bearcats was critiqued from a number of sources, but most often from those interested in claiming the Olympic mantle for a local team. Significant pressure on the COC came from Montreal, home of the Allan Cup semi-finalists Montreal Royals, who had played a very close series with the Wolverines the previous season. Montreal captain Ralph St. Germain publicly challenged the Bearcats to a two game series for the right to represent Canada at the Olympics, but the CAHA preferred the established system, and chose to “select a team that has played and shown its form rather than to select a group of all-stars who might or might not be welded into a workable combination.”⁴⁴ Eventually, the CAHA’s new president E.A. Gilroy announced that the Bearcats would be the Canadian representative, but that they would be bolstered by players from the Montreal Royals, the Wolverines, and the North Battleford Beavers.

At a Port Arthur training camp in December 1935, the Canadian team seemed to have good chemistry. The first ‘Canadian’ team to be made up of players from different regions was initially a perfectly successful experiment. Despite some acrimony the previous spring at the Allan Cup finals over the Wolverines’ aggressive play, the players got along well; the Halifax players reported that they felt at home in Port Arthur, and the Port Arthur *News Chronicle* returned the favour by praising the Halifax players’ skills and behaviour.⁴⁵ Expectations were high for a problem-free defence of Canada’s Olympic title.

⁴⁴ Gillespie, ‘Port Arthur Proud’ 118.

⁴⁵ *Port Arthur News Chronicle*, 8 Jan. 1936, 8.

In early January the team traveled as a group to Toronto, on their way to Halifax where they would embark for Europe. On January 6, 'amateur' discipline, or, as Maritime newspapers had long suspected, regional chauvinism, suddenly reared its head. Prominent sports journalist Lou Marsh reported in the *Toronto Star* that the Wolverines players had been dropped from the team.⁴⁶ The Wolverines' players immediately complained to Gilroy and were told that the story was inaccurate. Hours later, the players were officially dropped, ostensibly over the issue of their demands for 'broken time' payments (compensation for their lost time from work to support their families while they were overseas).⁴⁷ The Wolverines players did not deny that they discussed 'broken time' payments, but reported to the *Herald* that it had been Gilroy himself who had brought up the topic on the team's train trip down to Toronto.⁴⁸ During the initial conversation, the players said that they "believed that Gilroy was sincere in his expressions of concern for their families' well-being", although they also recalled that Gilroy had (they believed, feigned) coughing fits whenever they asked detailed questions about the matter.⁴⁹

Media reaction to the Wolverines' players expulsion was covered nationally, and closely followed Canadian patterns of regional consciousness. The Halifax newspapers, of course, were outraged. Toronto papers, led by Lou Marsh in the *Star*, supported

⁴⁶ Savoie contends that the *Star* edition that first reported the dismissals hit the newsstands hours before the CAHA formally met to 'decide' the issue. 'Broken Time. . .' 19.

⁴⁷ The Canadian Olympic hockey project, which had trained in Port Arthur from early December, would then take them overseas to the tournament in Garmisch-Partenkirchen to be played in mid-February, and the players could not hope to be home before March.

⁴⁸ Savoie, 20, *Halifax Herald*, Jan. 7 (9), Jan 8 (1,8), Jan 9, (1).

⁴⁹ Savoie, 20

Gilroy's 'tough but fair' application of the strict AAUC amateur code. The *Montreal Star* and *La Presse* also backed Gilroy, but in a manner prejudiced by their earlier crusade for the recognition of the Montreal Royals' achievements, and the inclusion of more Royals players on the team. The *Winnipeg Free Press* had some sympathy for the Wolverines, but remembered bitterly the Moncton Hawks recruiting raids of 1933 which had seen goaltender Jimmy Foster travel east.⁵⁰ Further west, the *Edmonton Bulletin* and the *Vancouver Sun* bought into the charges of regional chauvinism, sympathizing with Maritime alienation, and seeing both Gilroy's expulsion of the Wolverines and the Montreal campaign to get more Royals on the team as further central Canadian attempts to assert hegemony over the hockey representation.⁵¹

The story that came out was that Gilroy, when not resorting to coughing fits to avoid difficult questions, asserted that he wanted to keep the facts of the decision quiet, in order to spare the players any further embarrassment. When Gilroy met with MAHA officials in Halifax to discuss the issue, the meeting, from the Maritime point of view, was 'unsatisfactory'.

⁵⁰ Gilroy himself was from Manitoba, and ran unsuccessfully in the Portage La Prairie riding in a 1933 provincial by-election and again in 1936.

⁵¹ Savoie, 21.

The sports cartoon from the *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 11, 1936. The Wolverines are swept out the backdoor by Canadian amateur hockey, as foreign powers look and laugh. A common theme over the next few months in many Canadian newspapers was to note, without taking sides in the disputes, that the constant squabbling reflected poorly on all parties, and the in-fighting only benefitted the foreign powers that Canada competed against.

The controversy became a perfect storm, with the combination of the long-standing local irritation over the hypocrisy of the amateur regulations, Gilroy's utter lack of public relations skills, and exhibition games against a team of Halifax all-stars scheduled to be played on the 16th at the Montreal Forum and on the 20th at the Halifax Arena. The Montreal game was disrupted by belligerent Royals fans throwing bottles onto the ice. On the 20th, after a day of closed-door negotiations in Halifax with the MAHA, a cryptic announcement was made that the Halifax match would be played, but without the Wolverines players. In an information vacuum, *Halifax Herald* sport editorialist Alex Nickerson followed the popular narrative of the 'Ontario clique' discriminating against Maritime interests

Gilroy has come and gone, and the [MAHA] has been treated like the proverbial poor relation, and the people of this province are still in the dark as to the status of the four Halifax hockey players. The C.A.H.A. officials retracted not one word of the insults that had been hurled at the Maritime branch, refused to give any accounting for denying permission to Lawlor, Bubar, Mosher and Ferguson, to play against the Olympics and continued to crack the whip over the Eastern officials as they have since the Truro Bearcats first ran afoul of the parent body.⁵²

As later became clear, it would be more than the Wolverines' players who would be embarrassed when the facts came out. Gilroy was, as president of the CAHA, duty-bound to prohibit broken-time payments, but was in fact demanding them from various municipal and provincial authorities. But the damage was not only done by the 'controlling Ontario clique'.⁵³ The regional alienation angle often spun by the *Herald* would be undermined later when it came out that one of the sticking points had been

⁵² *Halifax Herald*, Jan 20, 1936 p. 9 'Gilroy Predicts Hockey Fireworks'.

⁵³ *Halifax Herald*, Nickerson, Jan 10, 1936, 9.

Nova Scotia Premier Angus MacDonald's refusal to underwrite broken-time pay for the Halifax players.⁵⁴ The Halifax game was scheduled to be played in the immediate aftermath of the expulsion of the Wolverines' players from the team. The Halifax audience was hostile to the Olympic team and more bottles were thrown onto the ice, in a mole-hill sized incident that was made into a mountain of boorishness by Lou Marsh and others.⁵⁵ Bubar, Mosher, and the other expelled players were prohibited from playing for either side in the match, a decision that Gilroy would say publicly (and rather absurdly) that he was unaware of the reasons for. Alex Nickerson suggested in the *Herald* that Bearcats' manager Malcolm Cochrane "thought there was a very grave danger of having some of his players crippled before embarking for England."⁵⁶

The battle was effectively over, but, for Maritimers, the acrimony over the selection process revealed much about the role of the Olympic hockey team as a 'national' representative. Gilroy's actions conformed to the model of central Canadian hegemony that was a bogeyman for alienated Maritimers and westerners in the interwar period. Indeed, the *Halifax Herald* had predicted throughout 1935 that some way would be found to exclude the Halifax players. In the high-pressure atmosphere of January 1936, as the story of the expulsions became a field on which partisans were free to ride their hobby-horses, whether they were stories of regional injustices or of virtuous

⁵⁴ For more on MacDonald, see Stephen Henderson *Angus L.: A Provincial Liberal* [2007], and Ian MacKay *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia* [1996].

⁵⁵ *Toronto Star*, Jan 17, 1936.

⁵⁶ *Halifax Herald*, Jan 20, 1936 p. 9 'Gilroy Predicts Hockey Fireworks'.

amateurism. If the expulsions had in fact been planned in advance, the scheduled Halifax exhibition would reflect absurdly bad planning on Gilroy's part. More details came out after the CAHA annual meetings in April of 1936, where a beleaguered Gilroy battled unsuccessfully to save his reputation and his presidency.

The trouble over the 'demands' for the broken-time payments was, it was revealed, not the result of regional chauvinism under the mask of 'simon-pure' amateurism. Rather, it was the result of some poorly handled brinkmanship over the issue of who would underwrite the payments. Gilroy had been working behind the scenes to arrange broken time payments for the Halifax players, but in the light of the lip-service that he paid to completely money-free amateurism (and the support that he received for this stance in Winnipeg and Toronto newspapers), he was reticent to make his dealings public. Jack Conn, president of the Wolverines club, had telegraphed Gilroy on Oct 26, 1935, asking, among other things

Will all trip expenses of team be looked after by Olympic Committee?
What provisions will be made for players to care for their families while
away?"⁵⁷

Gilroy immediately replied

Olympic Committee pays all trip expenses fourteen men which includes
manager of team. . . .Olympic Committee does not provide for families of
players while away.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ 'Details of Olympic Dismissals released' Canadian Press story, April 16, 1936. *Albert Pudas scrapbook*, Northwestern Ontario Sports Hall of Fame (NWOSHOF).

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

After two months of quiet, Gilroy telegraphed James Wry, president of the MAHA, on December 28 of 1935

This wire confidential. As per our understanding that Olympic Committee would not provide for families of players while they are at the Olympics, are not city of Halifax and province of Nova Scotia looking after families of Halifax players.[?] Rush reply.

And an agitated Gilroy followed up on New Year's Day of 1936 with another telegram

Situation one that hockey reputation of Dominion of Canada is affected. As executive member of C.A.H.A., it is your duty to reply to my wire of Dec. 28.

Wry finally responded on Jan 2

When it was decided that Wolves were not to go as a team, all arrangements fell through. Have been trying to get information re arrangements made before players left. To date unable to get anything concrete. Wire particulars of present situation.⁵⁹

Gilroy explained (and this explanation appears to pre-date his evasive coughing fits on the train from Port Arthur to Toronto)

Maritime players demanding three months salary. Demand cannot and will not be granted by committee. If their threat is carried out it will be necessary to replace them. Naturally reason for doing so will have to be made public. Their action would cast unfavorable reflection on Halifax and the Maritimes.⁶⁰

What the 'threat' was is unclear. A threat to quit seems unlikely, as such a bluff could be called, rather than requiring management to expel the players. If the threat was to make the affair public, a counter threat to do the same in response seems absurd. If

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ 'Details of Olympic Dismissals released' Canadian Press story, April 16, 1936. *Albert Pudas scrapbook, NWOSHOF.*

either side had in fact made the problem public, it might have spurred some sort of public subscription or civic undertaking to support the players' families. Vincent Ferguson later said that he told Gilroy that "if no provision was made for his family he could not make the trip", but Bubar and Lawlor said that they had neither "suggested nor demanded" broken time payments.⁶¹

Wolverines' captain Ernie Mosher asserted in a long affidavit that whenever the matter of broken-time payments was discussed, "it always emanated from one of the officials in charge of the team." Mosher claimed that Gilroy told him that "Port Arthur is looking after the Port Arthur Bear Cats and Montreal is looking after their boys and it is no more than right that Nova Scotia should look after you fellows." Mosher further related that the Premier of Nova Scotia (Angus MacDonald) had told them that if the Wolverines had gone over as a unit, \$1000 would have been provided, but that the province could "under no condition, give the money to individual players." Mosher also affirmed that Gilroy had asked "Do you think if I were to bring a little pressure as an official of the C.A.H.A., that we could get something out of Nova Scotia?" Mosher also said that Gilroy had said in a later conversation, "If we don't get you fixed up I am not going to permit you to go overseas."⁶²

Thus, Gilroy's counter-threat to expel the Halifax players seems to have been an attempt at brinkmanship that unfortunately backfired. Gilroy's class-consciousness and amateur ethic appears to have manifested itself as a preference for quiet backroom deals,

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² *Ibid.*

rather than pragmatic appeals to athletic or civic virtue. In hindsight, the threat to expose Nova Scotia Premier Angus MacDonald's refusal to support the team would have gotten the CAHA off the hook from the charge of central Canadian chauvinism, but would have exposed the reality of quiet (and often under-the-table) civic boosterism that supported senior hockey, in a manner perhaps in communion with the spirit of amateurism, but clearly in violation of the letter of its law. But Gilroy and the CAHA seemed to be unaware of how the case was playing out in the Halifax media, and were, as usual, tone deaf to the way the team, as selected, had the potential to resonate as a truly 'national' and regionally inclusive team.

In any case, on January 6, Wry finally responded with the uncertain message "Halifax and local government interested. Expect decision hourly. Will advise." On the same date, Lou Marsh broke the story in the *Toronto Daily Star* that the Halifax players would be expelled, and the CAHA later met to formally 'decide' the issue. The story of the expulsions played out in Toronto and Winnipeg newspapers as a proper response to greedy players, and in the Maritimes and the further West as central Canadian chauvinism.⁶³ Gilroy was deaf to both criticisms, and could not manage to find a satisfactory solution upon meeting with MAHA officials on the 19th. No attempt was made either to evade the Halifax match on the 20th, or, for instance, to use the gate to fund the Halifax players.

While the practice of 'under-the-table' payments from civic boosters was undoubtedly common, it seems incredible that, given the storm of outrage in the Halifax

⁶³ Savoie, 'Broken Time...'

papers (the story was the *Herald's* lead on both January 8 and 9), that neither government support nor some form of subscription benefit could have been arranged. If it was true that Gilroy was merely trying to play hardball with Nova Scotian officials, his hypocrisy in claiming 'simon-pure' amateurism is astounding. And, in any case, the claim that amateurism represented genuine virtues, and was not merely a facade for central Canadian hegemony, was wearing very thin. As well, despite its vigorous defence in the press, the claim that amateurism was somehow 'keeping money out of sport' was looking increasingly feeble.

For administrators such as the CAHA's newly elected president E.A. Gilroy, the desire for the cachet of an Olympic title was an affirmation of a peculiar set of class values (and regional chauvinism) that left little space for the actual demands of high-level competitive sport. The blinkered vision of Gilroy and the other 'simon-pure' amateur zealots of the era had led to a rapid discrediting of their style of governance. Like many other Olympic sports, hockey took a sudden turn to the global in 1936. In any case, after the Olympic team embarked for Europe on January 22, it was to confront a new and completely different set of controversies.

Chapter 5: ‘The Most Perplexing Problem’: The CAHA comes to grips with British Hockey.

When the Canadian Olympic hockey team finally steamed out of Halifax harbour aboard the *Duchess of Atholl* on January 18, 1936, it was still missing one player. Jimmy Haggarty, of the ‘35 Bearcats, awaited them in England, where he played for the Richmond Hawks. Another player, well known to the Canadian team, was also waiting for them in England. Goaltender Jimmy Foster, raised in Winnipeg, and star of the Moncton Hawks’ 1933 and 1934 Allan Cup championships, was also playing for the Richmond Hawks in the winter of 1936. But Foster, by virtue of his birth in Glasgow, would be playing for *Britain* in the upcoming Olympics.

Haggarty and Foster were merely two of the hundreds of Canadian athletes performing in England at that time. Their presence illustrates the internationalization of hockey by the mid-1930's. Player migration to Britain was a topic of great concern for the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association (CAHA) in the mid 1930's, but it was a problem that the CAHA had little capacity to address. The selection crisis was “the most perplexing problem CAHA officials have had to deal with in years.”¹

This chapter outlines the circumstances which led to the second Canadian crisis of the 1936 Olympic Ice Hockey Tournament, a crisis stemming from the CAHA’s attempt to control player migration to England. It hinged on the eligibility of players on the team representing Great Britain, many of whom had been born in Britain but who had immigrated to Canada as children. These players, Jimmy Foster amongst them, had

¹ *Pudas Scrapbook*, NWOSHOF, Nov 23, 1935, cited in Greg Gillespie, ‘Port Arthur Proud’, 118

grown up in Canada where they had learned to play hockey and, under the Immigration Act, were legally Canadian nationals.² They were, of course, also amateur athletes under the jurisdiction of the CAHA, which had, in the early 1930's, significantly tightened its rules concerning players changing districts. Any such moves required CAHA approval, but many of the Canadians in Britain for the 1935-36 hockey season had not obtained formal permission from the CAHA to skate on foreign ice.

For players who only played in the English League, the disapproval of the CAHA was of little import. But as the Olympics drew near, the CAHA pressured the Ligue Internationale du Hockey sur Glace (LIHG) and the IOC to uphold the CAHA suspension of the migrant players. This precipitated a crisis in the nascent international network of sporting organizations, and for the organizing committee of the Garmisch games. The CAHA initially adopted a hardline position, that the international hockey required the various national governing bodies to support one another's rulings. But it had long supported other values, such as an ethos of 'sportsmanship' that frowned on any 'complaints' and that valued proper etiquette over a 'win-at-all-costs' attitude.

This created a dilemma for CAHA President E.A. Gilroy and Canadian Olympic Committee chair P.J. Mulqueen. There was a clear expectation that Canadian participation in the Olympic hockey tournament would re-affirm Canadian hockey supremacy, and thus defend Canadian international prestige. But the ethos of 'sporting'

² British subjects who became residents of Canada would normally acquire status as a Canadian national upon five years of residency, while retaining their status as British subjects. The Markwald case of 1922 made it clear that British subjects who were Dominion nationals were in a legally distinct category from British subjects who were nationals of the United Kingdom. See also Carty and Ward 'The Making of a Canadian Political Citizenship' 65-79 in Carty and Ward, *National Politics and Community in Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press. 1986.

behaviour enjoined them from trying too hard to ensure the victory.

Eventually, the CAHA backtracked from its initial hardline position as it struggled to decide which of its ironically contradictory sporting principles to uphold. The CAHA's ticklish dilemma would provoke lasting consequences. By the end of April 1936, the aftermath of the eligibility crisis at the Olympic tournament led to Gilroy's resignation, the withdrawal of the CAHA from the Amateur Athletic Union of Canada (AAU C), and a thorough rethinking of the role of amateur ideals in Canadian sport. The CAHA's dogged determination to enforce amateur ideals in Canada had come to a sorry end due to its obsession with Edwardian-era class values, and its coincident neglect of the national and nationalizing sentiments attached to hockey.

The CAHA's attempt at enforcing amateur hegemony had always been contested within Canada; this had been evident in the selection controversy in the Maritimes. However, the controversy over player migration more directly threatened the CAHA's governance of the sport. This issue deeply concerned the CAHA's board members, for *governance* was of paramount importance to the organization. The CAHA annually announced in the minutes of their annual meetings that: "The Canadian Amateur Hockey Association has fully justified its existence by becoming one of the largest governing bodies of amateur sport in Canada." That is, the CAHA justified its existence by governing, and by providing governance to the sport within Canada.

The maintenance of amateurism in Canadian hockey was one of the CAHA's main aims despite the practical difficulties this policy presented. The founding membership of the CAHA had included Quebec and all of the provinces to the west, but

none of the Atlantic provinces. Throughout the 1920's, delegates from the western provinces pressed for a more liberal application of the amateur code.³ Throughout North America, what amateurism ought to mean was vigorously debated. However, regardless of the outcome of the debates over the definition, the CAHA decided early on that whatever amateurism was they were for it, and more importantly, they would enforce its application. The CAHA thus justified its existence in terms of asserting a parochial governance rooted in amateurism and its attendant class values at a time when hockey was inexorably tending to both professionalism and internationalism.

The CAHA, despite playing the role of 'the establishment', was a relatively new institution, founded in 1914, and only able to assert coast-to-coast governance of hockey after 1926. That year saw many changes in how hockey was organized, changes that would further alter the way Canadians thought about hockey as a national sport. The CAHA's governance of amateur hockey was geographically consolidated in 1926, when the CAHA finally assimilated the Maritime provinces under its governing umbrella, and could thus claim to be a truly 'national' organization. Also in that year, professional hockey in North America moved from its early, disorganized, state to the relatively stable structure of one major league (the NHL) and five minor leagues.⁴ The trigger for this transformation was the collapse of the Pacific Coast Hockey Association, which left the

³ See Bruce Kidd's discussion of the politics of the 'Saskatchewan Amendment' in *The Struggle for Canadian Sport*. See also John Wong, 'Sport Networks on Ice', 197.

⁴ Wong, 'Sport Networks on Ice' The minor leagues were the Canadian-American Professional League, the Canadian Professional League, the Prairie League, the California Hockey League, and the American Hockey Association, (formed in 1925 by the former member teams of the western half of the United States Amateur Hockey Association).

NHL free to establish itself as the sole major league in North America with a regularized business relationship with the various minor leagues.

This consolidation of the professional leagues furthered the CAHA's project of legitimating its control over amateur hockey, as stable professional hockey became a less disruptive force to the amateur senior leagues. The collapse of the PCHA in 1926 marked the end of PCHA-NHL Stanley Cup finals, and so the Cup ceased to be a Canadian-centred east-west competition. The NHL gained sole control of the Stanley Cup, and began expanding into the United States: the Hamilton Bulldogs collapsed and were resurrected as the New York Americans, and new teams joined the league in Boston, Chicago and Detroit. This transformation was positive for the business viability of the NHL, but negative for the Canadian use of the Stanley Cup competition as a social technology for thinking the nation.

While the NHL expanded into the United States, lured by the money and prestige of playing in big American cities, there was anxiety at the annual meetings of the CAHA over the question of Canadian amateurs migrating to 'American hockey'.⁵ This issue was first referred to as the 'tourist problem' when the CAHA discussed it in 1927.⁶ Through the early 1930s, the 'tourist' issue replaced the question of defining amateurism and professionalism as the major issue discussed at CAHA annual meetings. The board began to obsess over the question of whether or not transfers were 'legitimate', and

⁵ This issue had not previously been a big problem, as organizations such as the IHL that spanned the Ontario-Michigan border sometimes exploited the idea of national rivalry, but did not shrink from the mere idea of Canadians playing hockey beyond the national border.

⁶ *CAHA minute book*, 1927, 30.

regularly debated and tightened residency requirements. The CAHA's response in 1927 was to add new conditions to the residency qualifications for amateur status and to debar any player who had played for any American team from playing for a CAHA team for a full year after his return.⁷

In their regulation of amateurism, the CAHA justified their position by exploiting the expression of community values and community identity through sport. Players moving around threatened the myth of community solidarity, and the threat to the rhetorical appeal of community sport in turn threatened amateur governance. It was by virtue of its control of the sport that the CAHA imagined itself to be valuable to society. It pursued the project of governance with an air of imperial authority, but the practical matters of the sport often got out of control. For instance, it considered that the governance of hockey domestically was threatened by the possibility of players leaving CAHA jurisdiction, even if to a neighboring jurisdiction also governed by strict amateur codes.

In 1929, the CAHA tightened even the domestic residency requirements for hockey eligibility. The old requirement was that to qualify for play in an amateur league, a player had to be a resident of the community by the May 31 preceding the start of the next hockey season. The new requirement was that residency had to be established by January 1 for the season starting the following October. This meant that unless the CAHA judged a player's move to be for *bona fide* employment reasons (or, for a junior

⁷ *CAHA minutes*, 1927, 30. That Canadians might go anywhere other than to the United States was not yet imagined by the CAHA.

player, his parent's employment dictates), any move would mean that a player would miss a season of hockey because the January deadline was in the middle of the previous season. Many moves were deemed to be *bona fide*, but the regulation gave the CAHA a powerful new tool for governing player eligibility.

When the residency requirement for valid amateur registration was changed from the end of May to the beginning of January, the CAHA unwittingly disenfranchised large groups of players that were not their intended targets. Amongst these were students, who found themselves ineligible to play for their university or college teams. University sport had always been at the core of acceptable sporting behaviour for amateurs, and the CAHA quickly created an exception for 'bona fide' students playing for their school teams. Other exceptions were granted for men transferred by the military or police, with a special note that RCMP trainees would be eligible for amateur status if transferred to Regina, Saskatchewan.

The 'tourist problem' regulations were only meant to target hockey vagrants and mercenaries. Suitably governed and class-appropriate masculinities such as university schooling or police work were never meant to be the targets of amateur disciplining. The tightened residency requirements did have some effect in damping down 'mercenary' player movement, but the attempt to hold back the tide went about as well as such projects usually do. The crackdown damaged teams such as the 1931 Truro Bearcats, and caused the complete collapse of the Maritime League in 1935. The regulations worked to enforce amateurism, but at the expense of the day-to-day operation of hockey leagues.

The manner in which the CAHA governed Canadian hockey in the 1930's was the

result of a pre-occupation with sporting issues of the past. During the 1920's, CAHA annual meetings were largely consumed by debating the definition of amateurism, and bickering about the issue of whether it was morally acceptable to re-instate retired professionals as amateurs. The CAHA recognized the value of sport for building up community identity, but the administrators of amateurism underappreciated the social and political importance of the identities constructed through sport.

Young men moving around were seen as threatening the imagined model of teams of 'local boys' representing the community in contests with 'local boys' from other communities.⁸ But as in the early days of the IHL and the Temiskaming League, when frontier boom-towns had a strong appetite for competitive hockey that led them to import players, by the Thirties many 'communities' found their desire for elite hockey mismatched with the actual talents of the local players. These communities, thus, had to import players to get involved in 'national' competitions such as the Allan Cup. Doing so was more important to them than adherence to amateur ideals or to the idea that 'local heroes' had to be homegrown. As a result, the CAHA's imagination of what amateur hockey ought to be was often at odds with the interests of hockey clubs and hockey players. The CAHA imagined a 'true and simon-pure' amateurism, in which young athletes would be model citizens of their communities, and would represent those communities as native sons, with no regard for 'filthy lucre' or the taint of a 'win-at-all-

⁸ See John Walsh and Steven High 'Rethinking the Concept of Community' *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 32:64 [1999], 255. Historians and cultural theorists have often defined community as an essentialist concept of "the ideas of a shared place and a static, self-contained entity," Walsh and High argue instead that 'community' should be seen both as a continuous process of constructing and sustaining social bonds, and as well, a rhetorical tool that joins people imaginatively.

costs' attitude. The CAHA imagined well governed and well disciplined young bodies, striving heartily, but within the bounds of sportsmanship, etiquette, and middle class values.

Player movement jeopardized the ideal of athlete-as-role-model, imagined as the holder of a junior but stable middle class job, and with some sort of 'standing' in the community. Communities wanted teams that could win games, composed of the best players they could get. The idea that players might move, and thus abandon their ties to their 'community' identity was threatening, even at the height of the Depression.⁹ CAHA board member D.P. McDonald asserted a tight link between the popular imagination of amateurism and the spectator appeal of hockey, saying:

If we take out this word "amateur" or change our set-up in the Senior series to such an extent that the community spirit is not with us and where the man on the street is going to say, "... it is just a racket"; we are not going to have minor league hockey, and nobody is going to be particularly interested.¹⁰

The movement of 'mercenary' athletes was seen by the promoters of amateurism as somehow distasteful, and not consistent with the desired symbolism associated with community sport. Thus, the CAHA could turn a blind eye to players who found their work careers eased along by hockey clubs and civic boosters; such players had an acceptable place in the community. But the appearance of open pay-for-play remained

⁹ One aspect of the myth of community was that strong community bonds would lead people to 'pull together', and thus jointly overcome economic hardships. This had some basis in fact, although one of its manifestations was increased opportunity to tie together community representation through sport and the local job market, as civic boosters with capital and jobs to offer could easily recruit athletes to their local teams.

¹⁰ *CAHA minutes*, 1940, 48-49. This quotation postdates the arguments of the mid-30's by four years, but is a pithy synopsis of the wordy arguments of the period.

threatening, both to the desired social purpose of sport, and to the CAHA's governance of that sport.

As hockey grew in popularity, the CAHA's vision of amateur hockey could not contain the forces of the powerful identity politics that manifested in inter-regional sport. The CAHA could discipline teams that over-stepped the normative boundaries of amateurism in the pursuit of regional glory, but they could do little to contain the regional politics of the age. And fortunately, the big profits that went along with big crowds, attracted by symbolically significant matches, soothed nervous amateur administrators.

However, rather than encouraging Maritime hockey upon its belated 1926 confederation with the CAHA, the central Canadian leadership of the CAHA picked a series of squabbles with Maritime clubs that exacerbated feelings of regional exclusion, and resonated with the political rhetoric of the Maritime Rights movement. These squabbles centred over the issue of players transferring between administrative branches within the country, but the next issue that would blindside the CAHA was the migration of players entirely out of the country, to the United States and overseas.

The identity politics of hometown hockey attracted the money of spectators and civic boosters. However, players often sought greener pastures rather than remaining the hometown heroes that the civic boosters wanted to encourage. This created tension when players packed up and changed teams at the end of a season. Jimmy Foster's 1932 move from Winnipeg to the Moncton Hawks inspired nervousness amongst those using hockey

to promote community identity and role models of middle class masculinity.¹¹ However, moves such as Foster's were at least *within* Canada. The problem multiplied as Canadian hockey players began to migrate not only to the United States, but overseas as well.

The focus of the CAHA's governance was entirely domestic, and largely ignored sport and sporting developments overseas. Canadian sport was geographically removed and somewhat detached from the rising importance of national competition through sport in Europe. As British cultural historian Peter Beck argues, the Olympics "offered states visibility on the world stage alongside an effective focus for domestic opinion".¹² But CAHA and the Amateur Athletic Union of Canada (AAUC) were deeply enthralled with the process of engaging domestic opinion, and were blissfully naive about the transformation of the Olympics that would occur in 1936. European fascism, and other competing nationalisms, changed the Olympics from, in Peter Beck's words, "a small public novelty of the Belle Epoque" to a "crucible of symbolic force into which the world poured its energies, and a stage upon which it played out its hopes and terrors."¹³ This change had not yet spread to Canada, and would not do so for decades.¹⁴

Hockey historian John Wong has examined the CAHA in the interwar period from the perspective of organizational network theory. Network theory examines the ties

¹¹ The anxiety was highest in Manitoba and central Canada. In the Maritimes, the move seemed to herald that Maritime hockey had hit the national big time, and that the East was now ready to compete on the national stage.

¹² Beck, *Scoring for Britain*, 91.

¹³ Beck, *Scoring for Britain*. 91.

¹⁴ See Alan Bairner, 'Maple Leaf Americans', in *Sport, Nationalism, and Globalization*.

between institutions, and suggests that their dominance, influence, and legitimacy are tied to the strength of their links with other similar organizations.¹⁵ The CAHA assiduously cultivated organizational ties with Canadian amateur institutions such as the Amateur Athletic Union of Canada (AAU of C), but consistently neglected international ties, even with parallel bodies in the United States. While the CAHA and the AAU of C began in the 1920s to promote sport as a key component of Canadian national identity, the focus remained on domestic championships, with international competition seen as a prize for domestic achievement rather than as an important site of national representation in its own right.¹⁶ International competitions were “golden tickets thrown into the Allan Cup”, adjuncts to domestic titles rather than separate projects pursued on their own terms.¹⁷

Canadian sport organizations became members of international sport organizations, but rarely took leadership roles in them.¹⁸ This insular perspective of the CAHA contributed to its belated reaction to the sudden ‘problem’ of the rise of British hockey. The CAHA largely ignored the rise of hockey overseas.¹⁹ Other than frequent

¹⁵ Wong, ‘Sport Networks on Ice’ 191-193.

¹⁶ In 1927 the CAHA established a residency rule that required athletes representing Canada in the Olympics to reside in Canada for five consecutive years. This mirrored the naturalization requirement to qualify as a Canadian national under the Immigration Act. It was only after the 1936 hockey controversy that the IOC would adopt a similar rule.

¹⁷ And indeed, in 1924 and 1928, the Allan Cup competition was a much harder test for the Toronto Granites (1924) and Varsity Grads (1928) than the subsequent Olympic tournament.

¹⁸ Wong, ‘Sport Networks on Ice’. Canadian Olympic Committee official P.J. Mulqueen sat on the board of the LIHG from 1925-1931.

¹⁹ In 1924 the Ontario Hockey Association demanded, but did not ultimately attend, a meeting with the United States Amateur Hockey Association to address the issue of player migration to the United States. The CAHA’s bar on returning players dated from 1922. See Wong, ‘Sport Networks on Ice’, 198.

rhetorical appeals that other nations would not accept Canada if Canada did not enforce a conservative definition of amateurism, the CAHA took little notice of foreign hockey and foreign sport organizations.²⁰

Pressure to conform to these rules was also entirely domestic, as the IOC, early in the century, had decided not to enforce class-based definitions of amateurism, and had left open the rules governing compensation (such as broken-time payments) to athletes.²¹ As a result, while the CAHA was working to legitimate its control over domestic hockey, some players, like Foster and Haggarty, found their own way to escape from the strictures of the system, by migrating to a new frontier for hockey. In doing so, these players exacerbated tensions over what hockey was thought to mean for community values, and unwittingly changed the way Canadians thought about the links between the national sport and their national identity.

For the promoters of sport, there was a silver lining to the problem of player migration within Canada: increased interest in the game inspired by newsworthy transfers and elite players playing in areas of large spectator interest. Bigger storm clouds were on the horizon, however, and from 1933 onward CAHA annual meetings were consumed by new problems. Bickering about the definition of amateurism, a staple of CAHA meetings in the 1920's, declined, and a new issue replaced it - the question of what to do about players moving out of the country to the United States and more surprisingly, to England.

²⁰ *CAHA minutes*, 1936, 28-29.

²¹ See John MacAloon, *This Great Symbol*.

Within Canada, the CAHA governed amateur hockey and, thus, was able to dictate eligibility conditions. However, it had little power over players who were prepared to move beyond its jurisdiction, as its ties to overseas sport organizations were weak. Due to its preoccupation with domestic governance in the 1920's and early 1930's, the CAHA had limited, and often, acrimonious ties with the United States Hockey Association²² It was a member institution of the AAU of C, but had no close ties with other national sport organizations.²³

The CAHA was affiliated to an international governing body, the League International du Hockey sur Glace (LIHG, later the IIHF), the European institution that organized the World Championships.²⁴ The LIHG was an international body, with five founding members: Britain, France, Belgium, Switzerland and Bohemia.²⁵ The LIHG

²² The USHA was itself unstable in this period. The entire Western branch of American amateur hockey turned professional in 1924, becoming the American Hockey Association, repudiating amateurism and the AAU by affiliating itself as a minor league with the NHL in 1926. Wong 'Sport Networks on Ice' 194.

²³ Eligibility arguments and the Olympics certainly predated the 1936 tournament. In 1920 at Antwerp, Canada accused the US of using seven Canadian-born players. The Belgian Olympic Committee ruled that naturalized citizens were eligible to compete in the Olympics, and in any case, after the Canadian victory the issue faded away. The incident foreshadowed the 1936 controversy over British use of Canadian nationals, but the fact that the CAHA, LIHG, and IOC had not addressed the issue in the aftermath of the 1920 tournament illustrates the insular focus of the CAHA in the 1920's, and its lack of interest in forging institutional ties, even with its American counterparts.

²⁴ The relationship between the CAHA and the LIHG resembled the relationship between the English Football Association and FIFA in the 1930's. The FA attempted to maintain its traditional authority over soccer, based on the sports traditional English roots, and largely refused to engage with soccer as played outside of Britain. This left England outside of new structures, most notably FIFA's World Cup. After World War II the FA normalized relations with FIFA, but during the 1930's the main focus was the effort to maintain old prerogatives. Similarly, the LIHG was primarily concerned with regulating European ice hockey, and acknowledged Canadian hockey as having a unique status as the game's founding nation.

²⁵ Wong, "Sport Networks on Ice", 194. Canadians studying at Oxford and playing as the Oxford Canadians participated in the first European Championship in 1910 as 'non-official' competitors. The LIHG (founded in 1908) did not pretend in its early years to global governance of the game, but was recognized by the IOC at the 1920 Antwerp Olympics as a important governing body. The CAHA had only limited interest in the LIHG in the early years, although W.A. Hewitt later served on its board from 1936-1939.

principally concerned itself with European hockey, and rarely backed the CAHA in any dispute with its core members of the British Ice Hockey Association (BIHA) and France. The institutional ties between these national sports organizations were informal and weak, and the newly founded institutions had limited powers in any case.

The result of this institutional isolation was that the domestically oriented CAHA was ill-equipped to deal with the new crisis that was brewing: the threat of English hockey, and a new, and suddenly contentious, relationship between the Canadian and British hockey organizations. In the early thirties the CAHA, rather than employing someone directly to look after its interests, retained Irish-born hockey agent and promoter James 'Bunny' Ahearne as their agent. This system seemed to work at first, but the relationship became strained in 1935, and blew up into outright conflict in 1936.²⁶

Domestically, the CAHA had attempted to deal with the 'tourist problem' by requiring CAHA permission to maintain amateur status while playing overseas. The regulation was widely flouted, or at least, ignored, and the CAHA resorted to announcing suspensions of the amateur status of players moving to Britain. These suspensions generally had little impact, as the BIHA ignored them, and the players, while overseas, required no services or permissions from the CAHA in any case. The matter, an administrative nuisance in 1934 and 1935, took on new importance as the 1936 Olympics

²⁶ However, Ahearne was back on board as the CAHA's British agent in 1938 (see *CAHA Minutes*, 198, 76-79). Between 1951 and 1975 Ahearne was continuously either President or Vice President of the IIHF. He was periodically involved in conflicts with the CAHA over the status of Canadian players at the World Championships, and later earned the enmity of the Canadian hockey establishment when he cast the deciding vote against allowing Canada to host the 1967 World Championships.

loomed on the horizon.

After the Moncton Hawks successful Allan Cup championship in 1934, star goaltender Jimmy Foster moved to England's Richmond Hawks.²⁷ A year later he was followed by Port Arthur Bearcats' forward Jimmy Haggarty and Winnipeg Selkirks' star Alex 'Sandy' Archer. These players were part of a large flow of Canadian athletes to Britain in the mid 1930's. While Haggarty applied for, and obtained, an official CAHA transfer, Foster and Archer did not.

One of the key questions raised by the 1936 Olympic Ice Hockey tournament is the context behind the sudden competitive presence of Britain in Olympic hockey. Britain had never had a powerful international team before 1936, and has never had one since. But in the mid-thirties, hockey became popular in Britain, and it was suddenly possible for Britain to challenge Canada and the United States in international hockey. While it remains true that selection controversies, the tournament format, and just plain sporting luck favored the British, their team was strong enough to take advantage of those factors. Merely eight years before, in 1928, when the Canadian team defeated the British Olympic entry by a score of 19-2, no number of lucky bounces or questionable officiating could have turned the result.

Ice hockey in Britain was transformed in the first years of the thirties. Before 1930, ice hockey in Britain was played mostly by students at Oxford and Cambridge, and by those who spent their winters vacationing in Switzerland. Hockey grew rapidly as a

²⁷ Foster continued to be a household name in the Maritimes after his departure from Moncton. The *Halifax Herald* reported his selection to the England team with a banner headline on 22 Jan 1936.

spectator sport in England in the early 1930's. Hockey had been played in Britain before the Great War, but most of the players were Canadians studying at Oxford or Cambridge, or ex-colonial aristocrats with ties to Canada, such as the Stanley family, who promoted the sport, and who played with the Prince of Wales (later King George V) in the early years of the century.²⁸

(Left to right) Present Queen of Norway, Present King of Norway, Princess Victoria, Prince of Wales (later King George V), —, Queen Alexandra, King Edward VII, Prince Christian, Princess of Wales (later Queen Mary), Duke of Connaught.

ROYALTY WATCHING ICE-HOCKEY MATCH AT HENGLER'S RINK (NOW THE PALLADIUM)
FEBRUARY 4TH, 1904

A royal audience for a hockey game in 1904, reflecting the early period of hockey in England, when both the players and spectators tended to be from class elites. Major B.M. Patton. *Ice Hockey* [1936], x. Patton was a founding member of the LIHG (IIHF) in 1908, and first president of the BIHA in 1914. The NHL's Prince of Wales trophy was donated in 1925 by Prince Edward (later Edward VIII and Duke of Windsor).

²⁸ See Patton *Ice Hockey* [1936], and Bowman *Down the Ice*, 30-31 [1937] for accounts of this game. The first rink with artificial refrigeration was The Glaciarum, in Chelsea (London), built in 1876. The Niagara Skating Hall at Westminster and the Princes Skating Club would follow in 1896.

The Oxford-Cambridge ice hockey series, played mostly by Canadians at those universities, is the oldest continuous rivalry in hockey, dating to 1885.²⁹ Through the early Twentieth century the Oxford varsity team called themselves the Oxford Canadians, a reflection of both the nationality of most of the players, and a symbolic appeal to the desirable physicality that Canadians represented.³⁰ In the winter of 1903-1904, a formal league formed in England for the first time, and it was won by the London Canadians. The finest of the British born players were praised for being 'as strong as any Canadian'.³¹ British hockey muddled along in the early years, becoming a founding member of the Ligue Internationale du Hockey sur Glace (LIHG, later the International Ice Hockey Federation (IIHF)), and sporadically contesting the European championships in the 20's.

Britain's first Olympic team, for the Chamonix Winter Olympics in 1924, was selected after a trial held in Manchester, and consisted of two native born Englishmen and seven Canadians who had lived in Britain long enough to meet the LIHG residence requirements.³² The British team at Chamonix became the first to score on Canada in the Olympics, tallying twice in a 19-2 loss, and came away from the tournament with an

²⁹ Before 1932, the Oxford-Cambridge varsity match was usually played at elite ski resorts in Switzerland during the Christmas break. The 1885 match, at St. Moritz, is recognized as the first game played outside of Canada. The rise of both suitable venues and interested spectators led to Oxford-Cambridge Varsity matches being played in England rather than Switzerland after 1932. See B. H. Patton, *Ice Hockey* [1935].

³⁰ See C.P. Champion, 'Mike Pearson at Oxford: War, Varsity, and Canadianism' *Canadian Historical Review* 88, 2, June 2007, 263-290.

³¹ Drackett, *Flashing Blades*, 31. England won the first European Ice Hockey Championship, held at Berlin in 1908. The British Ice Hockey Association was founded in 1913, but disbanded during the World War, and was re-constituted in 1923.

³² Phil Drackett, *Flashing Blades*, 37. At the time, five years sufficed, so Canadians who had stayed in Britain after the World War qualified.

Olympic bronze medal. Britain was, however, unable to raise a team for the European Championships later that season. The first high-profile tour of a major Canadian team to England saw the Montreal Victorias defeat England 14-1 in 1926. But English hockey managed to build from there, and the Montreal tour marked the beginning of an arena construction boom.³³

As the Thirties began, ice hockey in Britain transformed from a sport played by aristocrats and Canadian students into a mass spectator sport. Hockey was part of a popular wave of 'New World' sports, which included dog track racing, speedway (dirt-track motorcycle racing), and baseball. Speedway and dog tracks often shared facilities, which sometimes included baseball diamonds on their infields.³⁴ The new sports were modern, invented overseas in the United States, Canada and Australia, and were fast paced, fun to watch, and not controlled by class elites. Stadiums that supported dog racing, speedway, and baseball were constructed on the model of Harringay Stadium. Adjacent to the 1927 stadium was 10,000 seat Harringay Arena, modeled on Maple Leaf Gardens, and completed in 1936.³⁵ Both were owned by Alfred Critchley, an entrepreneur who had made his fortune as the founder of the Greyhound Racing Association.³⁶

Hockey shared the symbolism of the other sports in that it was modern, and free of

³³ The first rink to be built in England after the War was the Ice Club, at Millbank in London, in 1926.

³⁴ Huggins, *Sport and the English, 1918-1939*.

³⁵ Bowman, *Down the Ice*. See also Mike Ticher, *The Story of Harringay Stadium and Arena*. [2002]

³⁶ Critchley clearly modeled the Arena on Maple Leaf Gardens, but the Harringay hockey teams were marketed to crossover spectators from the Harringay track, as the hockey teams were named Greyhounds and the Harringay Racers. See *The Guardian*, January 19th, 1936. Harringay Arena closed as a sports venue in 1958, and was used as a warehouse until its demolition in 1978

In the Thirties, hockey and other New World sports in Britain adopted an explicitly modern look. Above, the Wembley Arena (also known as the Empire Pool and Empire Arena), completed 1934 for the Empire Games. Below, a 1936 program advertising a match between the Racers and the Greyhounds, and the exterior and interior of Harringay Arena in the 1930's. The Harringay Arena was modeled on Toronto's Maple Leaf Gardens.

Arena images reproduced from Wikipedia: 'Wembley Arena' and 'Harringay Arena'. Harringay Arena program from Martin C. Harris Archive/ Gallery at A to Z Encyclopedia of Ice Hockey (www.azhockey.com).

the elitist connotations of the old school imperial sports, in particular rugby and cricket. The new popular sports originated in the New World and symbolically coded modernity and newness.³⁷ Some of these sports eventually gained a permanent place in the British sport market, in particular, dog track racing and speedway (dirt track motorcycle racing).³⁸ As well as these, the period was marked by a florescence of interest in North American baseball and ice hockey.³⁹ Baseball was often played on the infields at dog tracks, but ice hockey required purpose-built rinks. An arena building boom in the late twenties and early thirties, while not as widespread as the dog track explosion, fit the needs of the new sport.

The baseball leagues were initially funded by betting-shop Littlewoods Pools, which underwrote the 1933 establishment of the Baseball Association and the organization, in 1935, of an eight-team league in northern England.⁴⁰ By the end of 1936,

³⁷ Speedway motorcycle racing originated in Australia. Much of the technology for dog racing, including the electric hare and the wagering totalisator were invented in New Zealand. Baseball, of course, was associated with the United States, and ice hockey with Canada. Many Canadians played both professional baseball and hockey in England in this period. For anecdotal evidence see Trevor Boyce, *British Ice Hockey Players from the Golden Days*.

³⁸ Speedway and dog racing often shared facilities, and a working class audience interested in gambling. At some tracks, baseball was played on the infield grass. Ice Hockey appealed to the same audience, but of course could not share facilities. See Huggins, *Sport and the English, 1918-1939* and Bloyce, 'John Moores and the 'Professional' Baseball Leagues in 1930's England', *Sport in History*, 27:1, 64-87.

³⁹ Huggins notes that by 1936 there were eight professional baseball teams in London, and as many more in a northern league in Yorkshire and Lancashire. The operations of these teams have been the focus of a number of recent scholarly articles, including Daniel Bloyce 'Glorious Rounders': The American Baseball Invasion of England in Two World Wars - Unappealing American Exceptionalism', *IJHS*, 25:4, (2008) 387 - 405, 'That's Your Way of Playing Rounders'. The Response of the English Press to American Baseball Tours to England, 1874-1924', *Sporting Traditions* 22 (2005): 81-98., and Smyth, 'The Development of Baseball in Northern England, 1935-39'. *The IJHS* 10 (1993): 252-8. These articles, while they usefully document the popularity of baseball in England, do little to explain its sudden rise in popularity in the Thirties, and its equally sudden post-war demise.

⁴⁰ Huggins, *ibid*, 64, and Daniel Bloyce 'John Moores...'

there were also eight professional baseball teams in London.⁴¹ While baseball assiduously marketed its association with America, most of the players were Canadian, due in part to British labour law that favored British subjects.⁴² It was even easier to recruit Canadians who had been born in Britain and who had immigrated to Canada as children.⁴³

English interest in modern North American sports soon came to include ice hockey.⁴⁴ Hockey was a fast-paced sport that offered spectators the opportunity of affinity with a desirable, modern masculinity that was not bound up in old-fashioned class structures. The marketing of hockey explicitly represented the sport as a Canadian game. In the first British-published book on the sport, Major B.H. Patton's 1936 book *Ice Hockey* includes a chapter outlining the rules of the sport. Article 2 was that statement "Ice-Hockey originated in Canada and should not be confounded with 'Bandy'."⁴⁵

Even teams that were not manned entirely by Canadians bought into Canadian symbolism, choosing such names as Niagara Skating Club, Wembley Canadians,

⁴¹ Huggins, 64-65. Huggins' primary source that documents British baseball in the 1930's is the short-lived weekly journal *Football Pictorial and Baseball Review* that briefly flourished during the baseball fad of 1935-36. The London baseball teams played at the adjacent sports fields at Harringay and Wembley as well.

⁴² Huggins, *op.cit.* Bloyce notes that the British press coded baseball as American rather than as Canadian, despite the fact that baseball had also replaced cricket as the most popular summer team sport in Canada well before the end of the nineteenth century. While the English press had reacted with some contempt that the Americans had seemingly rejected cricket for baseball, there was no such contempt, or even acknowledgment, that the Canadians had done the same. See also Boria Majumdar and Sean Brown, 'Why Baseball? Why Cricket? Differing nationalisms, Differing Challenges', *IJHS* 24:2 [2007] 139-156. For further discussions on the development of baseball in Canada Humber, *Diamonds of the North*.

⁴³ *The Times*, Sept 25, 1935, 5, 'Ice Hockey'.

⁴⁴ see also Kivinen, Mesikämnen, and Metsä-Tokila, (2001) 'A Case Study in Cultural Diffusion: British Ice Hockey and American Influences in Europe', *Sport in Society*, 4:1, 49-62.

⁴⁵ Patton, *Ice Hockey*. 96.

Birmingham Maple Leafs, Cambridge Eskimos, and Glasgow Mohawks. Modernist Wembley Arena was even engineered to offer a simulacrum of the Canadian climate, opening as a swimming pool in the summer months, but in the winter months converting, with the aid of state-of-the art refrigeration equipment, to an ice surface upon which Canadians skated and played hockey.⁴⁶

A rink building boom in the late 1920's provided many more venues for the rapidly growing sport. Five new rinks opened in 1929, a year that also saw Britain participate in the World Championship for the first time (they finished tenth). Canadian-born London businessman Freddie Summerhayes organized a commercial team, the Grosvenor House Canadians, in December 1929, with a regular schedule of matches at the Grosvenor Arena. The games were commercially successful, and in 1930-31 an eight team commercial league began to operate.⁴⁷ Chief amongst the new venues was the Empire Arena and Pool at Wembley, completed just in time for the second Empire Games in 1934.⁴⁸ Two more large arenas would soon follow, with Freddie Summerhayes' second rink, the 10,000 seat Empress Stadium at Earls Court seeing completion in 1935, and the new Haringay Arena completed in 1936.

The number of indoor rinks in England doubled between 1934 and 1937. People

⁴⁶ Bowman, *Down the Ice*, 38 See also 'Hockey at Wembley *Saturday Night*, Feb 17, 1934, 18. for a description of the engineering transformation from pool to ice rink.

⁴⁷ Bowman, *Down the Ice*, 35-36.

⁴⁸ Bowman (37-38) contends that A.J. Elvin, owner of Wembley Stadium, conceived the idea of the Wembley Arena after being given tickets to a hockey match at the Hammersmith Ice rink in 1930. This would have been before the 1934 Empire Games in London had been planned. Bowman also claims that Elvin told him that while the Arena was designed so that it could be converted into a swimming pool in the summer, it had been purpose-built for ice hockey.

British hockey in the Thirties explicitly marketed the Canadian-ness of the sport. Above, a 1936 Birmingham Maple Leafs Program, and a Richmond Hawks program cover from the Jimmy Foster Era. Below, Winnipeg-born British Olympian Gordon Dailley and Canadian Olympian Jimmy Haggarty in their Wembley Monarchs uniforms. Martin C. Harris Archive/ Gallery at A to Z Encyclopedia of Ice Hockey (www.azhockey.com).

would pay to watch hockey, and Canadian players flooded in to fill the demand. The Canadian sportsmen, while perhaps provincial in their manners, seemed to be physically healthier, and to embody a desirable modern masculinity.⁴⁹ Ottawa-born BBC radio broadcaster Bob Bowman interviewed the British (and British-born) Olympic captain Carl Erhardt “to find out whether he thought that Englishmen could be taught to play ice hockey as well as Canadians.”⁵⁰ Erhardt replied that he thought not, but “when ice hockey became almost a major sport in London, there were several Englishmen who were good enough to find places on teams composed largely of specially imported Canadians.”⁵¹

The flow of Canadians to England, and the upswing in British interest in what was thought of as a distinctively Canadian sport, eventually attracted some attention in Canada. In November of 1935, the regular column ‘Letters from London’ in the iconic Canadian magazine *Saturday Night* reported on the new popularity of the sport in England.⁵² The game that was invented in Canada, and that was used as a symbol of Canadian distinctiveness, was being eagerly adopted by the very people that it was intended to distinguish Canadians *from*. The writer for *Saturday Night* noted in his first paragraph that “for a good many years it looked as if there was something about the game that did not suit English conditions or the English temperament.” But the audience for hockey in

⁴⁹ See John Nauright: ‘Physical Degeneration Debates’.

⁵⁰ Bowman, *Down the Ice*, 33.

⁵¹ Bowman, 34.

⁵² ‘Hockey Catches On’ *Saturday Night*, November 9, 1935, 17. See also ‘Hockey at Wembley’ *Saturday Night*, Feb 17, 1934, 15-18. *Maclean’s Magazine* had a feature article on the same topic, titled ‘Ice Hockey, by Jove!’ in its March 1, 1936 issue. This issue is dated after the close of the Olympic tournament, but was clearly written before it, as it makes no mention of the tournament.

England was rapidly changing on class lines.

As *Saturday Night* noted, hockey in England began at the elite universities, and was often learned at elite ski resorts in Switzerland. That period was coming to an end. The rink-building spree, and a viable working-class audience brought hockey to a much wider audience.⁵³ The stereotype of a reserved tea-drinking cricketer did not fit the reality of actual sports audiences at hockey games in London. *Saturday Night* commented on this new category of sports fans, that had always in fact existed, but had been subordinated to an imagination of English elite sporting etiquette. For hockey fans at Wembley

gone is the notion that English excitement at a game finds its most feverish expression in well-bred mutterings of “Oh, well-played, sir!” They don’t mutter, and they don’t say “sir”. They just yell.

Fans were “packing every available rink for the matches.” At the Wembley Arena, capacity crowds of over 8,000 were common, and newly completed rinks, such as the ones at Brighton and Harringay, embarked on seating expansions with months of the completion of the original construction.⁵⁴

As a new sport, played in newly built venues, there were few barriers to entry into the sport for entrepreneurs, other than the ability to secure skilled players. One young entrepreneur who was able to take advantage of the opportunity was James “Bunny” Ahearne, who saw his first hockey game at the Golders Green rink in 1931. Shortly

⁵³ Mike Huggins, *Sport and the English, 1914-1939*

⁵⁴ ‘Hockey Catches On’, and Bob Bowman’s *Down the Ice* [1937], See also ‘Ice Hockey, by Jove’ in *Macleans*.

thereafter he began, through his own travel agency, British-American Tours, to manage travel arrangements for touring Canadian teams in Britain.⁵⁵ It was standard practice at the time for Allan Cup champions on the way to World Championship matches in Europe, to travel via England and play exhibition matches there. For instance, the Canadian and American teams played at Hammersmith Arena in 1930 on their way to the world championship at Chamonix. British-American Tours went after this business aggressively, and also carefully cultivated their relationship with the BIHA, to the extent of offering the BIHA office space and secretarial services.⁵⁶ British-American Tours even advanced the BIHA funds to finance the tours of North American teams.⁵⁷

As a consequence of their close working relationship, Ahearne was invited onto the BIHA executive in 1932, becoming its general secretary in 1934. In his capacity as a travel agent, Ahearne became the CAHA's agent in Britain in 1933, handling travel arrangements for Canadian teams, and occasionally representing CAHA interests to the BIHA and the LIHG.⁵⁸ By all accounts, Ahearne and British American Tours did a fine job of organizing tours and matches for traveling sides. Ahearne's influence in the BIHA likely helped smooth things out. In this respect, Ahearne was an ideal European agent for the CAHA. But the CAHA was also counting on Ahearne as a liaison with the BIHA in their squabbles over player eligibility, and the suspensions of players who had left the

⁵⁵ *Ice Hockey Journalists of United Kingdom Hall of Fame*, 'Bunny Ahearne', Bowman, *Down the Ice*, 41

⁵⁶ Bowman, 41.

⁵⁷ See also Foster Hewitt's 1935 book, *Ice Hockey*, for an account of the Winnipeg Monarchs 1934-35 tour of Europe.

⁵⁸ *CAHA minutes*, 1933.

country without obtaining the CAHA's permission. In this, Ahearne's business interests took precedence over his relationship with the CAHA.⁵⁹

The CAHA was concerned about player transfers *within* Canada, but even more worrying was the movement of Canadian hockey players to the United States or Britain. In 1934-35, taking advantage of the new big arenas opening at Wembley and Harringay, Ahearne teamed up with ex-Moncton Hawks coach Percy Nicklin, and embarked on a recruiting tour of Canada, a sweep that landed dozens of players for British clubs, including Moncton Hawks goaltender Jimmy Foster. Ahearne and British-American Tours brought hundreds of Canadian athletes to England between 1934 and 1937. These athletes performed for both baseball and hockey teams, and some played for both on a seasonal basis.⁶⁰

By late 1935, the number of Canadian athletes playing sport in Britain was reaching into the hundreds, and the CAHA was increasingly alarmed about the trend of recruiters "openly offering Canadian players transportation and set salaries to go to England to play what they termed amateur hockey."⁶¹ The migration threatened the CAHA's governance, and threatened amateur hegemony, as it was clear that the English leagues were paying their players.⁶² The CAHA attempted to resist the recruiting of

⁵⁹ See *CAHA Minutes*, 1939, 76-78, for further discussion of Ahearne's loyalties.

⁶⁰ Huggins, *Sport and the English 1918-1939*, 64 and 67-68, and Bloyce, 68, cites the *Daily Mirror*, 23 March 1934, 28, and 30 April 1936, 31.

⁶¹ *CAHA Minutes*, 1935, 13.

⁶² See Bob Bowman, *Down the Ice*, for a long list of ways in which clubs transferred money to 'amateur' players.

British teams in Canada, but to little effect. CAHA president E.A. Gilroy announced in August of 1935 that players who moved to Britain without formal permission would be suspended by the CAHA.⁶³

However, in late September, 1935, *The Times* of London reported on the recruiting effort, listing the many new players expected for the season. *The Times* also reported that a “deputation from the [BIHA] is in Canada discussing the question of players being recruited from Canada.”⁶⁴ This deputation, which included Ahearne, assuaged the CAHA’s concerns, but did not stop its recruiting program.⁶⁵ E.A. Gilroy would later assert that at that meeting, held September 21 in Toronto, Ahearne, ‘gave us his word of honour’ that players who left Canada without a CAHA transfer would not be permitted to play in England. But, Ahearne not only did not follow through on this promise, he would shortly make the argument to LIHG president Paul Loicq that transfers should not be required for players moving in the off-season.⁶⁶

CAHA secretary W.A. Hewitt later cabled Loicq a notice that the CAHA did not accept this argument, and attached a list of suspended players. In November, Canadian Olympic Committee chair P.J. Mulqueen followed up on this, and received what he believed to be an assurance from Loicq that the suspended players would not be eligible for the Olympics. In the end, in 1935 the CAHA granted permission to play overseas to

⁶³ *CAHA minutes*, 1936, 12-18.

⁶⁴ *The Times* (London), Sept 25, 1935, p. 5 ‘Ice Hockey- A Busy Season in Store’.

⁶⁵ For an account of this meeting see *CAHA Minutes*, 1936, 12-13. Gilroy refers the other member of the delegation as BIHA vice-president Mr. Airheart.

⁶⁶ *CAHA Minutes*, 1936, 12-13.

about sixty players, but suspended twenty-two and denied permission to others. A number simply went without applying.⁶⁷ In England, the suspensions were ignored.

Deeply upset at the unsatisfactory turn of events, the CAHA passed a resolution that

no Canadian touring hockey team shall be allowed to play against any club on which there are any players under suspension by the CAHA, particularly any club under the jurisdiction of the British Ice Hockey Association”⁶⁸

Underlining the weak organizational links between the hockey governing bodies, that same meeting of the CAHA board inconclusively discussed the question of whether the BIHA or another organization called the British Ice Rinks Union, actually governed ice hockey in Britain. In the end, the CAHA passed a blanket resolution that would cover all the possibilities. The CAHA wanted to make it “perfectly clear that we are not going to permit any Canadian team to tour England until we have secured a satisfactory arrangement regarding players.”⁶⁹

The resolution had little immediate effect. English teams had few qualms about Canadian definitions of amateur status. The traditional tour of the Allan Cup champion to the World Championships in Europe was not scheduled to occur for several months yet. The various declarations and resolutions meant little to the players and teams pursuing

⁶⁷ *CAHA minutes*, 1936, 15 See also Wong, *Lords of the Rinks*, 145-146.

⁶⁸ *CAHA Minutes*, 1936, 109-111 This ban included, to some board members surprise and dismay, Oxford and Cambridge University teams. While Ahearne and British American Tours had been at the forefront of facilitating the player migration, the CAHA pinned little blame on Ahearne, and was back on good terms with him in 1937, when he organized the successful Kimberley Dynamiters tour of Europe. See *CAHA Minutes*, 1938, 76-78.

⁶⁹ *CAHA Minutes*, 1935. 65-68.

their seasons in British and Canadian arenas. However, the resolution meant that the Canadian team did not repeat the precedent set in 1924 and 1928 of playing warm-up games in England before traveling to the continent. Instead, the Canadian team played in Paris against the Français Volants, a team composed mostly of French-Canadian players that had a brief run in the English National League during the 1936 hockey boom.⁷⁰ The United States team did play in England, to a 6-6 draw with a team of London-based Canadians who were not traveling to Germany for either Britain or Canada.⁷¹ This result might have given the Canadian management cause for alarm, as it indicated that the calibre of play in the English league had come a long way since 1928, when North American teams dominated their British and European opposition.

Despite the winter of discontent in Canadian hockey, the controversy was about to come to a head. The Olympics were scheduled to begin on February 6, and the LIHG had scheduled its annual meeting for Garmisch-Partenkirchen on the eve of the Olympics, February 5. Gilroy and Mulqueen planned there to lay out their case, and finally resolve the troublesome matter. And then, the Games would begin.

⁷⁰ *The Globe*, Feb 5, 1936, 6, 'Pudas Says team 'Strong and Smart.' The Canadian Press covered the Games, and the Canadian hockey team in particular quite closely. I have cited these stories as appearing in *The Globe*, but largely identical stories appeared in many Canadian newspapers. Lou Marsh of the *Toronto Daily Star*, a frequent defender of amateurism, strongly backed the CAHA stance. See the *Star*, Feb 7, 1936, 10.

⁷¹ *The Globe*, Jan 24, 1936, p 6 'U.S. Olympians tie Canadians' The American Olympic team lost to a team of 'Wembley All-Stars' 10-5, and defeated Earls Court 3-1.

The sports page cartoon from *The Globe*, February 6, 1936, on the eve of the Fourth Winter Olympic Games, in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany. The Olympic flame had been reintroduced at the 1928 Games in Amsterdam, but the Berlin Games of the summer of 1936 marked the first occasion on which the Olympic torch was relayed up from Olympia, Greece. The first torch relay is documented in Leni Riefenstahl's film, *Olympia*.

Chapter 6: *The Games Begin*

Finally, despite all the controversies at home, it was time for the Olympic Games to begin. In a preview article in *Maclean's Magazine*, Canadian sports journalist Henry Roxborough set the stage for his readers. The account, titled 'The Winter Olympics', began with a romantic survey of athletes performing their national sports including "daring ski jumpers from Japan" and "skiers from the lands of the Vikings."¹ There was also a lyrical description of the twin villages of Garmisch and Partenkirchen, high in the Bavarian Alps, and a glowing description of the engineering works that included the bobsled run, a huge ski jump, and the 10,000 seat outdoor stadium with artificial ice.

Roxborough then addressed the issue of 'Canada's Prospects.' Not much was expected from Canadian skiers. More was hoped for from speed skaters Alex Hurd and Tom White, and figure skaters Constance Wilson-Samuel and her brother Montgomery Wilson.² But the big event for Canada was hockey. The forecast was that "when the thousands of spectators wend their way toward the Bavarian Artificial Ice Stadium, the name Canada will be on all lips, for Canada has never lost a game in Olympic history."³ Roxborough acknowledged that competition would be tougher than it had been in the previous decade, as "Hockey has become something of a craze in Europe". Writing, as he was, before the Games, Roxborough did not fully appreciate the composition of the

¹ *Maclean's Magazine*, Jan 15, 1936, 'The Winter Olympics', 19 and 45.

² Montgomery Wilson would wind up in 4th place in men's figure skating. Two Norwegians, Sonja Henie in figure skating and Ivar Ballangrud in speed skating, would turn out to be the big stars of the Games.

³ *Maclean's Magazine*, Jan 15, 1936 'The Winter Olympics' 45.

Above, Olympic hockey on Lake Reissersee, below, the famous Garmisch Ski jump.

Photos from Beijing Olympic Committee 'Past Games' Archive

British team. He wrote

the Dominion still produces the world's best puck chasers; but our natural hockey resources are being exploited and exported. British, European and United States "amateur" clubs have imported many of our promising crop, while more than 400 mature native sons are scattered among the professional teams. All these stars are naturally unavailable for Olympic duty.⁴

Roxborough praised Canada's natural advantages in hockey organization, in particular the paradigm of nominating an intact 'champion' team, even if modified by the inclusion of 'supplementary' players. In contrast, the Americans (who perhaps, did not quite 'get' it) selected an all-star team. Roxborough praised the 'wise' choice of the Bearcats, as

Port Arthur has always been the recruiting centre for exceptional players, and is the only club to win the Canadian title on three occasions. . . it is generally agreed that the Bear Cats are sturdy, speedy, spectacular, and skilled in the art of goal-getting. Moreover they are experienced, very "teamy", and with the inclusion of last year's centre player [Jimmy Haggarty] who is now in England, will be able to present an unbroken lineup to the challenging nations.

So, with the Port Arthur team intact and aided by a sprinkling of specially invited shooting stars, Canadians can look forward to a possible extension of that long line of Olympic ice-hockey championships which have enhanced the reputation of the Dominion in every country where puck-chasing is a winter sport.⁵

The future would not be so straightforward. The blight of controversy that had cursed the team at home in Canada had not been exorcised by the trip overseas. The Winter Games were due to open on February 6. The Ligue Internationale du Hockey sur la Glace (often called the IHF (International Hockey Federation) in Canadian newspapers) had scheduled its annual meeting on the very eve of the Olympics. The day before that

⁴ *Maclean's Magazine*, Jan 15, 1936 'The Winter Olympics', 45.

⁵ *Maclean's Magazine*, Jan 15, 1935 'The Winter Olympics', 45.

meeting, E.A. Gilroy and CAHA secretary W.A. Hewitt met with LIHG president Paul Loicq to discuss the issue of the eligibility of two of the 'British' players, Jimmy Foster and Alex Archer, who were under CAHA suspension, and thus out of communion with official (and Olympic) amateurism.⁶ On the 5th, Loicq attempted to brush the matter off, blaming Hewitt for a lack of requisite correspondence, but Hewitt pointed out to Loicq that he was at that moment actually holding the telegrams in question. The following day at the LIHG meeting, Loicq raised the matter, suggesting that the players, suspended by the CAHA, were in violation of amateur principles, and thus could not be certified. Thus, the players should not have been able to play 'amateur' hockey in Britain, and as non-amateurs, should not be eligible for the Olympics.

Members from other delegations were well aware of the Canadian complaint. On February 5, Fred Rublen, head of the Winter Games for the American Olympic Committee, stated publicly

It has been well known for some time that 50 to 100 Canadian hockey players have gone to Europe within the past year, to play on club teams or try for places on Olympic teams. ... So far as we are aware, however, all the players selected for the English hockey team are English-born. Therefore, they are strictly eligible, even though they developed their skill in Canada. No question can be raised, except on grounds of nationality or amateur status.⁷

The question of eligibility and amateur status was indeed at issue, and on the eve of the Games, Jimmy Foster and Alex Archer were declared ineligible by a unanimous

⁶ It is by Gilroy's account that it was Loicq that raised the issue. See *CAHA Minutes*, 1936, 12-15.

⁷ *Globe*, February 6, 1936, 6, 'No U.S.A. Protest On English Team' The Canadian protest was raised on the grounds of amateur status, and the CAHA's claim to jurisdiction. Whether the players on the British team were legally nationals of the United Kingdom is an interesting question, but it was never officially raised. Rublen is well known as a long-time head of the American Amateur Athletic Union.

47-0 vote of the International Hockey Federation, chaired by Loicq.⁸ Gilroy maintained that the Canadian delegation “was not protesting against the composition of the British team.”⁹ The issue was instead one of rules and organizational solidarity. “If one member or an alliance is unfair to another, how can the organization continue to live?”¹⁰ Gilroy and Mulqueen insisted on the idea of the ‘contamination’ rule of amateurism: any match involving a suspended player would taint everyone involved, and they further maintained that “Our members will not play against such a suspended player”. American delegate Avery Brundage echoed Gilroy’s organizational argument, noting that:

Canada suspended the players for good reason. I can’t see how the others can do anything but support Canada. More than the strength of one sport is at stake- one American athletic federation gives support to another and to the whole cause of amateur sport.¹¹

Brundage added as an aside, “The Americans will have enough on their hands meeting one Canadian team. They don’t want to face two.” As adamant as Gilroy was about maintaining organizational solidarity and upholding amateur governance, he was also keen to be ‘sporting’. He was quick to quash the rumour that Canada might withdraw from the tournament if the matter was not settled in their favour, by saying “We’re going to play in the Olympics regardless of which players we must play

⁸ The vote was unanimous, but there were three abstentions. See *The Globe*, February 6, 1936, p.6 ‘Two English Stars Ousted on Eve of Olympic Opening’. Page 6 of the Feb 6 *Globe* had five separate articles discussing the controversy, and two other articles explaining the hockey program at the Olympics. London-born Archer played in Winnipeg before moving to the Wembley Lions in 1935.

⁹ *The Globe*, Feb 6, 1936, 6. ‘Vote Unanimous to bar Players’

¹⁰ ‘Vote Unanimous...’

¹¹ ‘Vote Unanimous...’

against.”¹²

In any case the matter appeared to be settled, and the Games, and their much-anticipated hockey tournament were about to being. *The Globe* reported that

The vote cleared the air, and with weather conditions ideal, the Winter Olympics tonight awaited only a few words from Chancellor Hitler to make them official. At 11 a.m. Thursday (6 a.m. E.S.T.), Germany's Fuehrer, following the colourful historic parade of nations will proclaim the games open. Three and a half hours later, Canada's hockey array, confident of keeping the Dominion's supremacy in that sport intact, will square off against Poland in the first competition of the International Athletic Carnival...¹³

Coach Albert Pudas said the team was 'strong and smart', and ready to play. The team had come together at the pre-tournament matches in Paris and St Moritz, and by all accounts the original Bearcats players got along well with their new teammates, Montreal players Ralph St. Germain, Hugh Farquharson, Dave Neville, and Ken Farmer. The match with Poland, played outdoors in swirling snow on Lake Reissersee was a success for Canada: an 8-1 win. Bearcat Bill Thomson scored 4 goals, and Farmer scored two.¹⁴ After the game, the snowstorm continued, and it took hours for the Canadian team's bus to make it back to Garmisch-Partenkirchen.

¹² 'Vote Unanimous'. Note the inconsistency between this and the earlier statement that "our players will not play".

¹³ *The Globe*, February 6 (Thursday), 1936, p.6 'Two English Stars Ousted on Eve of Olympic Opening'

¹⁴ *The Globe*, Feb 7, 1936, p.6, 'Canada's Hockey Team Plows Through Snow To Trounce Poland, 8-1'. Thomson was born in Scotland, and was one of the few Bearcats to later play in the NHL, playing nine games for the Detroit Red Wings, split between 1939 and 1944.

12

THE FOURTH OLYMPIC WINTER GAMES

The Canadian Team, above and below left. Below right, a photo of Canada vs. Austria.

Above photo and game photo, Andrew Podnieks, *Canada's Olympic Hockey Teams*.
Below left, Canadian Olympic Committee Archive.

The notion that the air had been cleared by the Tuesday vote proved as false as the weather report. *The Globe* reported

Twin storm clouds tonight hung over these little villages, hidden among towering mountains. One was a natural phenomenon of snowflakes, swirling down from sullen skies; the other the furore created when the International Hockey Federation ruled two players ineligible to compete for England in the hockey series. While the English early tonight had not gone beyond mild threats, Olympic officials were still nervous lest the Britons stage a last-minute surprise and withdraw from the hockey series.¹⁵

Gilroy jumped quickly from quashing rumours of a Canadian pull-out to defending himself from accusations that he was precipitating a British withdrawal. The 'amateur' ideal that the CAHA wanted to defend through its regulation of player transfers was a tangled web of contradictions. Amateurism also embodied the ideas of fair play, deference to authority and genteel behaviour. These ideals had grown up in nineteenth century English public schools, and whether or not they actually characterized English sport, they were identified with the idea of British-ness. British Olympic Committee president Philip Vassar Hunter invoked the memory of King George V, who had died in late January, and called the Canadian 'complaint' an insult to English sportsmanship, and thus to the memory of the late King "the greatest sportsman in the world."¹⁶

The CAHA and the LIHG at the general meeting on the 5th had acted to preserve amateur governance and organizational solidarity. What followed was a tremendous organizational power play, as Vassar Hunter and Bunny Ahearne quickly spun the

¹⁵ *The Globe*, Feb 7 1936, 6. 'Fear English Team May be Withdrawn'.

¹⁶ *The Globe*. Feb 7 1936, 6. 'Fear English Team May be Withdrawn' See also Guy Walters *Berlin Games* 77-80.

eligibility issue from one of governance to one of sportsmanship. The association of 'sportsmanlike' behaviour with Englishness, and even the sanctity of sport's British origins gave this argument tremendous weight.¹⁷ An emergency meeting of the IOC was convened, on the evening of February 6, with a British pullout threatened to take place before their first hockey match of the Tournament, against Sweden on the afternoon of the 7th.

The Globe's sporting cartoon for February 7, 1936. The beautiful picture of international friendship was being spoiled by black clouds of 'Banning of the English Players', 'Expulsions from Canadian Team', and 'Anti-Nazi Disputes'.

¹⁷ This association was particularly strong in Germany, and the Nazi propagandists used it as a powerful tool. The Nazis pressed hard to schedule soccer internationals with England in the mid-thirties, and widely publicized a photograph of the English team giving a Nazi salute on the pitch in Berlin (see Peter Beck, *Scoring for Britain*.) The salute of the British team to Hitler at the Garmisch opening ceremonies was likewise praised by stadium announcers and wildly cheered in the stadium (See Walters, *Berlin Games*). A British pull-out of the Games would have threatened the legitimacy of the Games, and of their symbolic and propaganda use.

Ahearne thundered that it was “preposterous” that the CAHA claimed jurisdiction over players transferring in the off-season, and that Canada received support at the IHF meeting on the 5th because the other delegations were “apprehensive over Great Britain’s chance of winning the Olympic title”.¹⁸ Gilroy was aghast at the suggestion that he had ‘complained’, and furiously back-pedaled on the issue of Foster and Archer’s eligibility. In the face of aspersions to their sportsmanship, and likely under diplomatic pressure from Olympic officials to avert a British pull-out, Gilroy and Mulqueen caved, and waived the suspensions for the duration of the Olympics. Gilroy would later contend that it was an insult to even suggest that he had ‘complained’, and that in the end he had ‘insisted’ that Foster and Archer be allowed to play.¹⁹ That Foster, Archer, and, as it eventually turned out, winger Gordon Dailley, were not amateurs and not actually nationals of the United Kingdom was glossed over in the rush to defend ‘British’ sporting values.

With that round of IHF and IOC meetings concluded, the focus of the competition moved to the ice. Canada trounced Latvia on the 7th by the satisfying score of 11-0, while Britain began its campaign by grinding out a 1-0 win over Sweden.²⁰ On Saturday, Canada concluded its pool games by building up a 4-0 first period lead and

¹⁸ *The Globe*, February 7, p. 6. ‘Fear English Team may be Withdrawn’ Gilroy and Mulqueen ‘scorned the suggestion’ that the British team was a playing threat, but Brundage’s comment cited above supports Ahearne’s contention.

¹⁹ And, technically, it was Gilroy who moved that Foster and Archer’s IHF suspensions be waived. See also Lou Marsh in the *Toronto Daily Star*, Feb 8, 1936, p 10. See also *CAHA Minutes*, 1936, 12-15.

²⁰ See Phil Drackett, *Flashing Blades*, 15-17 for game reports that closely follow the British team through the tournament.

cruising to a 5-2 victory over Austria. Britain kept up its defensive style of play, and shutout Japan 3-0, thus winning its group. After the end of the preliminary round, the tournament had an off-day on Monday the 10th. Play resumed on the 11th with a semi-final round.

Britain and Canada moved into a semi-final group which also included Germany and Hungary. The other semi-final group was composed of the United States, Czechoslovakia, Sweden and Austria. The first match on the 11th featured Britain facing off against Canada. With the grand prize in sight, the arm-twisting of IOC officials pressing for 'sportsmanlike' behaviour began to lose its effect. In the space afforded by the Monday off, Gilroy re-affirmed his commitment to amateurism as practiced in Canada, and defended his idea of Olympics sportsmanship.²¹ He went so far as to call hockey in Great Britain a 'racket', a charge that, compounded with the eligibility fracas, led *The Globe* to editorialize that 'intra-Empire harmony also is threatened with disruption'.²² But the next move was to play out on the ice, as the first match in the semi-final pools was to feature Britain and Canada.

The match was eagerly anticipated by spectators at the Games. The British defence, forecast to be sub-par by Canadian journalists before the Games, had so far

²¹ *The Globe*, Feb 10, 1936, 6. 'Defeating the Ideal of the Olympics'

²² *The Globe* Feb 10, 1936, 6. 'Gilroy Charges must be Considered Seriously' Lou Marsh in the *Toronto Daily Star*, who usually backed Gilroy, criticized him for the hypocrisy of this statement, noting that it was true enough that hockey was a "money-making racket in England", but that Gilroy had not curbed the same in Canadian senior hockey. Feb 14, 1936, 12.

The victorious British Team (left to right): Jimmy Chappell, Archie Stinchcombe, Alex "Sandy" Archer, Gordon Dailley, Coach Percy Nicklin, Jack Kilpatrick, Carl Erhardt, Johnny Coward, Gerry Davey, BIHA President Philip Vassar Hunter, a German journalist. Front row: Jim Borland, Art Child, Jimmy Foster, 'Chirp' Brenchley. Reproduced from the front cover of Phil Drackett's *Flashing Blades*.

The British team in a more casual moment. Jimmy Foster is at the left in the striped jersey.

Image from BBC Sport Winter Olympic Archive #4663192

perfectly executed coach Percy Nicklin's philosophy of 'defend what you have'.²³ With the aid of stellar goal-tending by Foster, Britain had not yet allowed a goal in the tournament. In contrast, the Canadians had so far led the tournament in scoring, but had a somewhat suspect defense that had allowed three goals to pool minnows Austria and Poland.

Tommy Munns of *The Globe* forecast a tight match, noting that the players probably did not share the "bitter feeling" of the executives, but that there still was

a greater rivalry than has marked any of the other games. Leaving that out of the question, the hockeyists wearing the Maple Leafs have a tradition to uphold, and will realize that England, reinforced by men who learned their hockey in Canada, will offer opposition that cannot be held lightly.²⁴

Played before a crowd of 10,000, the game got off to a fast start, as British winger Gerry Davey scored off a long shot 40 seconds into the game.²⁵ Davey was well known to the Bearcats players, as he had played his minor hockey in Port Arthur before returning to England in 1931.²⁶ The British defended well, led by team captain Carl Erhardt and Gordon Dailley, but late in the first period Montreal Royals centre Ralph St. Germain scored from close in to even the game. Foster was strong throughout, as Canada spent most of the rest of the game on attack, but with two minutes to play, British winger

²³ See the *Halifax Herald* Jan 22, 1936, 'Foster to play for England', for an account of Britain's perceived defensive weaknesses.

²⁴ *The Globe*, Feb 11, 1936, p 6, 'England and Canada in Olympic Game Today' also on that page, see 'English Hockey Progress Will be Indicated Today'.

²⁵ Drackett, *Flashing Blades*, 17.

²⁶ "Gerry Davey". *The British Ice Hockey Hall of Fame*. Davey served in the Canadian Navy during World War II, but remained in Britain after the war, continuing to play for Streatham and the Falkirk Lions.

'Chirp' Brenchley scored off a Gordon Dailley rebound, and Britain led again, 2-1.

Foster deftly turned away five more shots in the final minute, leaving Canada with its first ever loss in Olympic competition.

The story exploded in Canadian newspapers, jumping up from the sports pages to be the lead story on February 12th. Up at the top of page 1, *The Globe* announced 'Canada defeated in Olympic Hockey by England, 2-1' and in smaller type 'Dominion team Suffers First Loss in History of International Winter Games - Should Gain Finals'.²⁷ The story was clear, "Canada's 'amateur hockey authority...was stripped from the Dominion at the Olympic Winter Games tonight by England- and Jimmy Foster of Winnipeg."

Whether it was called authority, supremacy, or ownership, the undefeated run in the national game was over. On the sports page, Munns lamented that "the fond thought about Canada being unbeatable in Olympic hockey has become an exploded myth!"²⁸ And most strangely, Canada had lost to *England!* While the British players were known to have strong ties to Canada, George Beers' old goal of a new national sport that would distinguish Canadian national identity from British-ness had produced an ironic reversal, as a team of 'mercenary' British-Canadian return migrants defeated a team of amateur, and un-hyphenated Canadians.

²⁷ *The Globe*, Feb. 12, 1936, 1. The story was also front page news in the *Toronto Star*, but in a smaller story below the fold.

²⁸ *The Globe*, Feb. 12, 1936, 6. Munns went on to comment on coach Albert Pudas' claim that Canada had 80% of the play, but just couldn't beat the goalie, quoting Leafs' trainer Tommy Daly "W-a-al, boys, the team that scores the more goals generally wins."

There was a silver lining, however. The match had been in a preliminary round, and Canada could still qualify for the medal round with wins over Germany and Hungary. Winning those games would put Canada into the final round, with a shot at the title.²⁹ Despite the loss, the reports that the Canadian team had carried the play against the Brits left commentators with an air of confidence that the medal round rematch would re-affirm Canadian hockey supremacy. Lou Marsh in the *Star* reported "Canada must win from England in the next round unless some other team unexpectedly defeats England."³⁰

The calm was to last no more than a day. On the night of the 12th, a new storm of controversy blew up, as Gilroy and Mulqueen discovered that the tournament would not include a medal round rematch with Britain. Perhaps simply expecting to defeat all comers, the Canadian management had not closely considered the tournament format. In the final round, the results of semi-final round matches between qualifying teams would carry over, and not be replayed. The upshot was that Canada would not play Britain again, and would be burdened with a loss in the final round. The story was front page news in *The Globe* again :

The most exciting, dispute-torn hockey tournament in Olympic history developed a fresh sensation tonight when the Canadian team threatened to withdraw from the competition at once unless more equitable final round arrangements were made.³¹

The hockey news of the day, that Canada had overwhelmed Hungary by a score of 15-0 while Britain struggled to a 1-1 overtime tie with Germany, was drowned out by the

²⁹ *The Globe*, Feb 12, 1936, 6, 'Canada Suffers First Loss in Olympic Hockey History'.

³⁰ *Toronto Daily Star*, Feb 12, 1936, 2 'Canadians Deserved to Beat Old Land'.

³¹ *The Globe*, Feb 13, 1936, 1. 'Canada's Hockey Team Threatens To Leave Olympics'.

new administrative squabble.³² The Associated Press reported that “an indignation meeting” would be held by Canadian management, and a final decision made about withdrawal.³³ There was in fact some precedent for the tournament format, as it had been used in 1924.³⁴ In 1928, an unusual format was instituted, in deference to the extreme strength of the Canadian team that year, and Canada was given a bye into the final round. At Lake Placid in 1932 only four teams entered the tournament, and there was a single round robin followed by a gold medal game. In 1936, with twelve teams in the tournament, organizers reverted to the 1924 format.³⁵ The Games Organizing Committee had held a meeting on February 3rd, before the arrival of the Canadian team, at which they outlined the tournament format.³⁶ The managers of the Canadian mission seemed to be asleep and ineffectual. They had ignored the briefing on the tournament format, and had quickly folded their cards on the eligibility issue.

The sanctification of ‘English’ sporting values came to an ironic fate. It was the

³² In *The Globe*, Feb 13, 1936, 6, ‘Canucks show no mercy to Hungary team’ the CP snarked that substitute Hungarian goalkeeper Monostori was “given the unenviable job of trying to turn back the stream of Canadian pucks. He got all of them but nine.” The match, remarkably, was refereed by British team captain Carl Erhardt.

³³ *The Globe*, Feb 13, 1936, 6 ‘Announced Play-off System Cause for Canadian threat.’ While the term ‘indignation meeting’ is likely a typographical error, it beautifully evokes the acrimonious atmosphere.

³⁴ Podnieks, *Canada’s Olympic Hockey Teams*, 18-19.

³⁵ However, the situation was extremely murky, as the international rules allowed tournaments to held on either a knock-out or ‘points’ system. On the 17th M.H. Halton in the *Toronto Daily Star* argued that the format for the final round was only decided upon at the meeting on the 13th. Feb 17, 1936, p.1 ‘Got Raw Deal at Olympics,’ Says Gilroy’. Another non-official view was presented in ‘Winnipeg Hockeyist Recalls Experiences of European Methods’ *Toronto Daily Star*, Feb 18, 1936.

³⁶ Wong, *Lords of the Rinks*, 226 cites LIHG meeting minutes from Feb 3. Wong notes “according to these minutes, the president of the organizing committee explained the format to the Canadian delegation the following day and the Canadians did not raise any objection.”

Canadians who followed the old 'British' class values of deference to authority and 'sporting' behaviour. Britain, more in tune with contemporary European affairs, adopted a 'win-at-all-cost' strategy and recruited a team of 'ringers' to represent the nation.

A source unidentified by newspapers (but likely Gilroy) argued that "Canada had made a noble sporting gesture in waiving the suspension of two members of the English team, and that it was time for a little reciprocation in sportsmanship."³⁷ However, Gilroy was skating on thin ice. It was more difficult to change the tournament format and schedule mid-stream than to waive eligibility requirements beforehand. Gilroy was trapped in an unfortunate double bind. The amateur ideology that he was determined to uphold dictated a deference to polite 'sportsmanlike' behaviour, and disdain for a 'win-at-all-costs' attitude. But he was nevertheless charged with defending the national honour and national identity that went along with the performance of the national sport.

Tommy Munns in *The Globe* readily identified the hypocrisy. The class values associated with gentlemanly sport seemed a distant memory in the symbolic cauldron of the Nazi Olympics. This was no longer the community arena in Port Arthur; it was the Olympic stage in Germany, and the competition of national ideals and virility outweighed any late Victorian notion of sportsmanship. Reflecting ironically on the hopeful but naive idea that sport might serve as a substitute for war, Munns asked if we were watching the "Olympic Games or a modified world war?"³⁸ While recognizing the potential unfairness of the playoff system at the Games, Munns lamented that "the matter could

³⁷ *The Globe*, Feb. 13, 1936, 6, 'Announced Play-off System Cause for Canadian threat.'

³⁸ *The Globe*, Feb. 13, 1936, 6, 'Canada Figures in Another Olympic Protest.'

have been threshed out in the committee room before reporters were allowed to tell the world that Canadian officials were threatening to quit Olympic hockey.”³⁹ The affair was bad publicity for “Canada, the supposedly invincible nation of hockey.”⁴⁰ The matter was not doing the reputation of amateur sportsmanship any good either. Gilroy’s leadership style, a mixture of sportsmanship, brinkmanship, and intimidation, while effective, if abrasive, in Canada, looked ineffective and provincial on the (newly modern) world stage.

The Globe’s editorial cartoonist likewise likened the story to the tragedy of the Great War, showing Olympic Ideals dead in the battlefield mud, while Dissension, Wrangling and Arguments exploded overhead. February 14, 1936, page 6.

³⁹*The Globe*, Feb 13, 1936, 6, ‘Canada Figures in Another Olympic Protest’. Munns noted that Canada had also threatened to quit the 1932 Lake Placid Olympics.

⁴⁰ *The Globe*, Feb 13, 1936, 6, ‘Canada Figures in Another Olympic Protest’.

On the 13th, the issue was even raised in the Canadian House of Commons. Conservative MP and ex-mayor of Toronto, Thomas 'Tommy' Church, "wanted something done about the 'bad advertising' " that Gilroy was doing for the Canadian reputation abroad.⁴¹ Church suggested that Canada should "leave the Olympics alone" and concentrate on other modes of sport.⁴² In a partisan jab, he remarked "The Prime Minister has recently pacified Europe, surely he ought to be able to pacify the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association."⁴³ In the *Toronto Daily Star*, Lou Marsh quipped:

'Uniting the World in Friendship' is the title of the leading article in the latest issue of the Olympic Games News Service sheet... They must have issued that sheet before the Olympic Games opened.⁴⁴

The Olympics were not turning out the way anyone had wanted. Canada was losing, and the squabbles were undignified and unsporting. The whole affair clearly reflected a sports regime in disarray. While acknowledging that the tournament format was 'weird', *The Globe's* Tommy Munns wondered

if Canadian officials were really conversant with the full details of the rules of the tournament. If they weren't they should have been. And if they weren't it will go down into sports chronicles as a parallel case to that immortalized by Tennyson in the line, "Someone had blundered."⁴⁵

⁴¹ *The Globe*, Feb 14, 1936, 1, 'Drop Olympics, Empire Games Urged By Church'.

⁴² Church was keenly interested in sport: in 1920, as mayor of Toronto, he presented engraved gold watches to each member of the Winnipeg Falcons of their return from the Antwerp Olympics.

⁴³ This is a reference to the previous week's news that Prime Minister Mackenzie King had brokered a peace deal with regard to sanctions punishing Italy's actions in Ethiopia.

⁴⁴ *Toronto Daily Star*, Feb 14, 1936, 10.

⁴⁵ *The Globe*, Feb 14, 1936, 6. 'Say Goodbye to Olympic Hockey Title' The quotation is from 'The Charge of the Light Brigade.'

In Garmisch, both meetings and hockey matches continued. At an emergency meeting, the tournament format was re-affirmed by a vote of 6-2, with only Germany supporting Canada's stand for a medal round rematch.⁴⁶ Also that day and in front of a partisan crowd of 10,000 in the Olympic arena, Canada defeated Germany 6-2 in a very physical game.⁴⁷ The result officially did put Canada into the final round, along with Britain, the United States and Czechoslovakia.

Canada's first match of the final round was Saturday the 15th against the Czechs. There was one glimmer of hope. In a game largely "devoid of anything resembling hockey brilliance" Britain had defeated the Czechs 5-0 on Friday night. However, it became known that if the United States beat Britain, and then Canada beat the U.S., the tournament would be decided on goal difference, a measure that favored the relatively high-scoring Canadian team.⁴⁸

It was not to be. While Canada thumped the Czech team 7-0, Britain and the U.S. played to a long scoreless overtime tie, ending Canada's last chance at the gold medal.⁴⁹ On Sunday, Canada ground out a 1-0 win over the Americans, clinching the gold for Britain, and winning for themselves the silver medal. The silver was to be Canada's only medal of the Winter Games, and Canada wound up a disappointing tenth in the unofficial

⁴⁶ *The Globe*, Feb 14, 1936, 6 'Canada's Chances Receive Rude Jolt As Protest Fails'

⁴⁷ *The Globe*, Feb 14, 1936, 6 'Canadian Players Use Bodies Freely on German Rivals'

⁴⁸ *The Globe*, Feb 15, 1936, 6, 'Czechs Trounced By English Team'

⁴⁹ *The Globe*, Feb 17, 1936 'Canadians Acted Like Sportsmen- but regret "letting Canada down"' See Bob Bowman, *Down the Ice* for an account of the BBC broadcast of the Britain-U.S. game. The radio broadcast was thought at the time to have been one of the BBC's most-listened-to broadcasts ever.

points table.⁵⁰ Canadian Olympic Committee head P.J. Mulqueen, in an uncharacteristic outburst, declared the playoff format decision to be “one of the worst manipulations in sporting history, and I don’t care if you use my name.”⁵¹

The Canadian hockey team did not immediately return to Canada, and instead went on a tour of Europe, playing further games in Munich, Nurnberg, Berlin, Hamburg, Vienna and Paris. Tommy Munns of *The Globe* had noted that the team had triggered acrimony before it left, controversy while overseas, and he predicted trouble after the team returned to Canada. His prediction was perfectly correct.

The players largely escaped public censure, although weak goaltending certainly figured in accounts of the Canadian teams woes. There was barely a peep about abandoning the model of sending intact ‘champion’ teams to the games. The players added to the roster had had little trouble co-operating with the Port Arthur players, and Montreal Royals Hugh Farquharson and Ralph St. Germain led the team in scoring.⁵² The ire of Canadians fell on management, who figured prominently in the long series of blunders. Even the players eventually turned on management, with Ralph St. Germain caustically noting that “through carelessness or dumbness, the officials neglected to find out what system was being used until after we were defeated by England.”⁵³

⁵⁰ *The Globe* Feb 17, 1936, ‘Mythical Title Won by Norway’ The IOC officially forbid the publication of a points or medal table, but they were widely published in newspapers. Norway ‘won’ the Games with 146 ‘points’, Germany was second with 117, and Canada 10th with 7.

⁵¹ *Toronto Daily Star*, Feb 17, 1936, 1 ‘Got Raw Deal at Olympics’, Says Gilroy’

⁵² Indeed, Farquharson scored 11 goals in the tournament, one more than the entire roster of the bronze medal winning American team.

⁵³ Podnieks, *Canada’s Olympic Hockey Teams*, 45.

The reaction in Canadian newspapers was thoughtful, but largely free of the existential hand-wringing that has tended to follow Canadian hockey losses in the late Twentieth Century. In a long editorial February 17, Tommy Munns critically discussed Canada's Olympic effort. He reflected on Thomas Church's suggestion that Canada should stay out of future Olympic Games. Munns felt that Canadian results "cannot be regarded as commensurate with the heavy expense involved in these troublesome monetary times."⁵⁴ However, even if the missions were cheaper and the results better, he figured that there was a fundamental problem with the Olympics.

The Games were frequently "marred by repeated records of international dissension, and for the past decade Canada has figured too prominently in the wrangling".⁵⁵ Munns also cited the many disqualifications and complaints in past games, including the famous disqualifications of American aboriginal decathlete Jim Thorpe and Finnish runner Paavo Nurmi, arguing that the "Olympics have done more to shatter international good will than to foster it."⁵⁶ As a result, he suggested "the Dominion's withdrawal from Olympic competition for at least an eight year period following 1936."⁵⁷

Hockey remained the sport that people cared about on a 'national' basis; mediocre

⁵⁴ *The Globe*, February 18, 1936 'Scanning the Sport Field' In this article, Munns cites a similar article by Elmer Ferguson of the *Montreal Herald*

⁵⁵ Munns cites as well the threatened pull out from Lake Placid in 1932, internal management squabbles in 1928 (that had cost Bobbie Rosenfeld the 100m gold medal) and another hockey squabble about eligibility in 1924.

⁵⁶ Munns makes no mention of the use of the Games by Hitler to promote Nazi racial ideology, a phenomenon that would become more apparent at that summer's Games in Berlin.

⁵⁷ In 1938 the CAHA warned the Allan Cup contenders that Canada would likely not be entering a hockey team in the 1940 Winter Olympics, scheduled for Sapporo, Japan. *CAHA Minutes*, 1938, 66-67.

results from figure and speed skating were barely remarked upon. While the *Toronto Daily Star* published a letter from hockey player Frank Finlay on the 19th that argued that Canada “has suffered a tremendous loss of prestige and Canadian hockey players are no longer heroes in Europe”, the editorial commentators did not themselves echo this sentiment.⁵⁸ Lou Marsh, like many sports commentators of the time, usually sided with the idea that sportsmanlike behaviour was more important than winning. Both the *Star* and the *Globe* calmed the waters by reporting that the *Manchester Guardian* had said that Canada had easily the best team and that because of the Canadian imports “it is unfair to speak of the triumph of British ice hockey. Canada lost the title under its own name but won it under Britain’s.”⁵⁹

Nevertheless, at the April 1936 meeting of the CAHA, President E.A. Gilroy felt that he had some explaining to do.⁶⁰ In the aftermath of the Garmisch debacle, Gilroy had come under steady criticism for his management of the team. Maritime newspapers continued to pitch the theme of central Canadian bias and its now-sorry outcome.⁶¹ Gilroy defended his actions with respect to the issue of the Wolverines players and broken-time payments by releasing his January correspondence with MAHA president James Wry and the Wolverines’ Jack Conn. As described in Chapter 4, these telegrams

⁵⁸ *Star*, Feb 19, 1936, 10. ‘Canadian Prestige Suffers’. The quotation was attributed to hockey player Frank Finlay. Lou Marsh and the main editorial commentators did not themselves echo this sentiment.

⁵⁹ *Toronto Daily Star*, Feb 17, 1936, 1, ‘ ‘Got Raw Deal at Olympics’, Says Gilroy’

⁶⁰ *CAHA minutes*, 1936, 58-62.

⁶¹ Gillespie, Gillespie, “Port Arthur Proud; The Halifax Wolverines, Port Arthur Bearcats and the Selection of Canada’s 1936 Olympic Hockey Team” 119. *Proceedings of the 7th International Symposium for Olympic Research*, Oct. 2004, 115–124.

put the blame on Nova Scotia Premier Angus MacDonald for refusing to fund the players.

In those telegrams, Gilroy had pressured the Maritimers into co-operating by claiming that the “hockey reputation of the Dominion of Canada is affected.”⁶² But his April explanation had little to do with the effect on national imagination of losing at hockey, to *England*. Instead, Gilroy felt the need to answer charges that he had exhibited ‘poor sportsmanship’.

Gilroy’s April speech to the CAHA is a remarkable text in that it reveals what he felt he had to defend, and what he could safely ignore. Gilroy acted in defence of the community values fostered by hockey within Canada. The CAHA liked winning gold medals, but felt little need to assert superiority over other nations. Gilroy in fact said

As far as the game in which England defeated Canada is concerned, it was to me, just another hockey match. We did not care anything at all about that . We lost because England put the puck into our net more often than we put it into theirs, that is all⁶³

What was most important for Gilroy was to refute the charge that he had “protested the British team at Garmisch”⁶⁴ He claimed that at Garmisch he had made it “very plain” to Loicq that, having left the matter to the eve of the Games, Loicq “could not in fairness” rule Foster and Archer ineligible. When Loicq brought up the matter at the general meeting on the 6th, Gilroy claimed he “strongly objected”, on account that

⁶² Gillespie, “Port Arthur Proud”, 119.

⁶³ *CAHA Minutes*, 1936, 18.

⁶⁴ However, after the Games the COC did protest that Dailley was Canadian born and not eligible to represent Britain at the Olympics. The protest was denied on the basis of Dailley’s five years residence in Briatin, combined 1915-1919 with the years 1934-1936. Afterwards the IOC clarified that in future, five consecutive years residence would be required. See Wong, ‘Sport Networks’ 206-207, and note 56.

debating the matter would make it look as if “Canada had protested.”⁶⁵ Loicq assured Gilroy that “such an impression could not be taken from their actions.” Gilroy emphasized that after the meeting, BIHA president Philip Vassar Hunter had congratulated him on his ‘sportsmanlike stand.’

Gilroy went on to suggest that it was he who had begun the process of allowing Foster and Archer to play, but that Loicq had told him point blank that “they are not eligible to play in the Olympics, and I could not, even with your consent, permit them to play against Canada.”⁶⁶ However, with Gilroy’s encouragement, Loicq put the matter to a vote at the emergency meeting on the 7th, and the suspensions were lifted. Gilroy also took care to refute the rumours that he had waived the suspensions as a result of pressure in the form of many cablegrams from Canada. He concluded by asking

who displayed the better sportsmanship, - the officers of an international hockey association, who permitted a team affiliated with that association, and under its jurisdiction, to use in Olympic competition players imported from Canada five months before the Olympics, a team which registered with the [IOC], and played in Olympic competition, two Canadian-born players who had not resided in the country of that team for the number of years required to qualify them for such competition; or myself, who, as President of the [CAHA], refused to protest such action,...although in possession of these facts?⁶⁷

Gilroy’s stance may have been ‘sporting’, but this defence seems outrightly bizarre. Gilroy had distinguished his presidency on the home front by regularly expelling players from teams, prohibiting teams from competing, disallowing transfer requests, and

⁶⁵ *CAHA Minutes*, 1936, 13-14.

⁶⁶ In this Loicq was certainly legally correct.

⁶⁷ *CAHA Minutes*, 1936, 15.

suspending players out of communion with amateurism for a variety of causes. But on the eve of the Olympics he had 'refused to protest', and instead insisted that Foster and Archer, who were ineligible for the British team on the grounds of nationality, on the grounds of their CAHA and LIHG suspensions, and properly also not amateurs as a result of their being paid to play for their English teams, be allowed to play. Gilroy argued that this was the sportsmanlike thing to do, but his desire to appear 'sportsmanlike' in fact led him to insist that a number of rules be broken.

Gilroy felt that his personal reputation as a 'sportsman' outweighed any jeopardy to the Canadian identification with the national sport, and consequently discounted the idea that international sporting success reflected national prestige. That the rival in this situation was the "Mother Country" may have damped down the affront to national identity, but considering that player movement to Britain had been an issue of great importance in the fall of 1935, how was it that, in the spring of 1936, after a team of emigrant Canadians had taken away the Olympic title from Canada, that he 'did not care at all about that'?

The answer perhaps lies in the CAHA's claim that its existence was justified by being 'one of the largest governing bodies of amateur sport in Canada.' Its mandate was not to organize a national hockey team, but was rather to govern and regulate sport in accordance with nineteenth-century class values. Their legitimacy in this project hinged on the ideology of polite 'sporting' behaviour, and it was the goal of amateur rules to regulate the use of sport in constructing identity. Thus, the CAHA used the national hockey team to legitimate its production of *class* values, rather than a symbol of *national*

identity. The irony of the situation is that those 'sporting' values were identified in the class 'target market' as being British values, even through the British, at least at the level of national sport organizations such as the BIHA, had largely abandoned them in favour of teams of mercenary ex-patriates who helped in the pursuit of the national prestige through international sport.

This realization was not entirely alien in Canada. There had been a movement in Canada and in the United States to boycott the Nazi Olympics.⁶⁸ The pro-boycott forces felt that sport was a means of national representation and a matter of national prestige, and that Hitler and Nazi Germany should not have recourse to this means. On the other hand, those who felt that Canada should attend felt that sport was a means of national representation and a matter of national prestige, and that Canada should not be left out.

The president of the CAHA, however, identified the root of this national representation in the 'sporting' behavior of the administrators, and not in the performance of the athletes. Despite Gilroy's cavalier dismissal of the significance of the loss to England, the controversy over player movement made the CAHA re-think its regulation of amateurism. At the 1936 annual meeting, executive member W.G. Hardy argued that player movement was simply "part of the realities of the present day situation in hockey across the Dominion."⁶⁹ The CAHA then moved to authorize what amounted to broken-time payments to amateur players, and otherwise loosened restrictions.⁷⁰ As Tommy

⁶⁸ Bruce Kidd, 'Canadian Opposition to the 1936 Olympics in Germany' *Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education* 1978 9(2): 20-40.

⁶⁹ *CAHA Minutes*, 1936, 20.

⁷⁰ Wong, 'Sport Networks', 205.

Munns opined in *The Globe*

There wouldn't be anything new in paying players for broken time or in giving them positions because of their ability to chase pucks. The only difference is that the new legislation, if adopted, would permit this to be done in the open.⁷¹

The AAU of C eventually rejected the CAHA's new stance, and by the end of the year the CAHA (joined by national basketball and lacrosse organizations) had severed ties with the AAU of C. The CAHA patched up its relationship with Bunny Ahearne and the BIHA and came to a new agreement on player movement.

The combination of the organizational ineptitude of management and the shock of losing the Olympic gold precipitated the action of the CAHA to effectively abandon official amateurism, as embodied by the AAU of C. Of course, the crisis was of the CAHA's own making, through an adherence to stricter regulations than formally required by the IOC or the LIHG. This adherence contributed to the sense that using 'hard' amateur regulations to promote elite class values no longer suited Canadian hockey. But the Garmisch debacle did not lead to any CAHA move to establish the operational capacity to properly organize a national team.⁷² Despite the playing success of Farquharson, St. Germain, Neville and Farmer, the four Montreal players added on to the Bearcats roster, and who had been the top four scorers for Canada in the tournament, there was no re-thinking of the model of sending Allan Cup champions as Canadian representatives to international competitions, a practice that continued until the 1960's.

⁷¹ *The Globe*, April 11, 1936, 7.

⁷² During the Games, Toronto Mayor Stanley Lewis had proposed that a government agency be established to govern sports and organize national teams. Nothing came of the suggestion at the time. See *Ottawa Citizen*, Feb 14, 1936, 11, and Wong, 'Sport Networks', 204.

Since the CAHA cared about governance and legitimation more than about the performance of national (or regional) identity, they changed their behaviour with respect to regulation and governance, but not with regard to the promotion of competitive hockey. It was clear that in the Maritimes, performance of regional identity through sport trumped the reproduction of 'sporting' class values. In Port Arthur, and in Montreal, cheerleading for the team likewise drowned out those principally concerned with polite sporting etiquette. Philip Vassar Hunter and Bunny Ahearne, who flat out bought a hockey team for England in the autumn recruiting season of 1935, clearly thought this way as well. But Gilroy and the other administrators were trapped with a strong attachment to an older model of sport, one with many virtues in its time, yet a model that was out of place in the 'crucible of symbolic force' that the Olympics were becoming in 1936. The tension between these values, and Gilroy's attempt to negotiate them, explains many of this controversial actions of the winter of 1935-1936. His insistence that ineligible players play at the Olympics fits right alongside the earlier hypocrisy of his official opposition to 'broken-time' payments, yet working behind the scenes to make sure they were paid, and ultimately expelling players from the team when they could not be secured.

The Globe's sport cartoon for February 18, 1936. While the administrative acrimony had been disturbing, the fact that Canada had lost to England at hockey just seemed surprising.

Conclusion: *Making the Canadian Team*

The dissatisfying events of the Garmisch hockey tournament discredited the strict adherence to the amateur ethos in Canadian sport. By the end of 1936, the national associations for hockey, lacrosse, and basketball would sever their affiliations with the Amateur Athletic Union of Canada. The departure of the big team sports from the AAUC spelled the demise of 'hard' amateurism, and Canadian sport moved away from the rigid governance of class values through sport.

In a backhanded manner, Tommy Church got his wish for an eight-year moratorium on Canadian Olympic participation. The hiatus of the war years did, as Church had hoped, lead to a cooling of the overheated sports nationalism of the interwar period, and to a new era that featured somewhat calmer and healthier competition. By the 1948 Olympics, held as the world was still unwinding from wartime dislocations, Canada was able to send a hockey team overseas with few squabbles and without much planning.

The migration of Canadian athletes to England in the Thirties had called into question whether hockey was an 'only in Canada' sport, and it had created a disturbing ambiguity in the idea that hockey was part of the 'Canadian specific'. In time, the issue simply went away. After the war, British hockey began to decline, sustained for a while by the sporting infrastructure built up in the Thirties, but undermined by declining interest. The sport, enticingly modern in the interwar period, rather suddenly lost its appeal. Two of the players who had won gold in Garmisch, Archie Stinchcombe and Gerry Davey, played again for Britain in 1948, leading the team to a fourth place finish. Britain would never again participate in Olympic ice hockey.

Many of the Canadians who participated in the British hockey boom in the Thirties returned to Canada after the Second World War ended. His hockey adventures finally over, Jimmy Foster returned to Winnipeg. Gordon Dailley joined the Canadian military during the war, and remained in the Canadian military, eventually becoming the commander at CFB Gagetown in 1960. Others, such as Alex Archer, remained in Britain.

Bunny Ahearne survived the decline of British hockey, and eventually became president of the International Ice Hockey Federation. He remained in a position of power at the IIHF until 1975. In the latter decades of his rule, Ahearne was involved in many disputes over Canadian participation in international hockey, and was much maligned in Canadian newspapers.

Problems in postwar Canadian international hockey could not all be blamed on Ahearne. The steady progress made from 1920 to 1936 in using international hockey to 'think the nation' ebbed away in the postwar 'return-to-normal', and the lessons of 1936 remained unlearned. In 1948, the Canadian hockey entry for the Winter Games at St. Moritz echoed the *ad hoc* and dis-organized planning of 1920.¹ The decision to attend the 1948 Winter Games was only made three months before the opening ceremonies. The CAHA and COC scrambled to find a team, and eventually nominated the Ottawa-based RCAF Flyers (Allan Cup champions of 1942), mostly due to their availability to travel. As a military team, the Flyers had players from all over the country, and were eventually bolstered by a number of civilian players after some early exhibition games went poorly.

¹ The 1947 Allan Cup had been won by the Montreal Royals. As in 1936, they were unable to attend the Olympics. In 1952, the Edmonton Mercurys were nominated as Canadian representative, despite not having competed for the Allan Cup in 1951 due to a schism in western Canadian hockey.

The custom of using national champions to represent the nation did have a useful function. Inter-community and inter-regional competition helped Canadians to 'think the nation'. This was an important project; the negotiation of national identity and regional difference have long been central issues in Canadian politics. The cachet of the Olympics heightened interest in Allan Cup competitions, and helped make them a site where regional identities were performed within the aegis of a national tradition. But the custom had emerged on an *ad hoc* basis in 1920 and other models were indeed possible.

One of these alternatives was the sometimes-derided idea of an 'all star' team, made up of the best players from around the country. This now-prevalent model can also be highly effective in 'representing the nation', and only the highly insular focus of the CAHA prevented the 1936 team from being a model for future teams. The Port Arthur Bearcats team was bolstered by Montreal players and, controversially, not-bolstered by Halifax players. And assembling a team of 'all-stars' was effective for Canada: the four Montreal players added to the Bearcats roster were Canada's leading scorers at Garmisch. Likewise, the 1948 RCAF team included players from all over the nation. These two teams could have set a precedent for selecting a national team on a fully nationwide basis, but it was not to be.

In 1950, hockey broadcaster Foster Hewitt's children's novel *Hello Canada* addressed the issue of Canada's place in international hockey, and of whether Canada would ever be able to win again at the Olympics. His protagonist exclaimed that it would be a "national calamity if Canada doesn't win any more Olympic hockey titles."² Hewitt

² Hewitt, *Hello Canada* [1950], 2-3.

went on to articulate the old idea of the linkage between international sport and national prestige, having his protagonist explain that:

Canada just can't afford to let the world think our young men are losing their vigor and courage. Our national esteem is certain to suffer, and somebody in this country should do something about it.³

Hewitt's book argues throughout that inter-national hockey ought to be meaningful for Canada, and to hold a major place in *national* imaginings. But the old insular ideas lingered on, and Hewitt could not imagine a structure other than a community based amateur team, with a one time goal of Olympic participation.⁴ It took Canadians decades more to resolve the issue, and to be comfortable with seeing the nation represented by 'professionals'.

The idea of a centrally organized 'all-star' national team comprised of the best players from different clubs remained un-thought in the first post-war decades. Despite the example of the RCAF Flyers and the 1936 team, this structure, also used by the feared 1920 American "picked team which represented the Republic," did not become a custom after 1948. The possibility that a national sport organization or government would play some role was also slow to develop. Despite the sentiment that winning at international hockey was important, and that the 'hockey reputation of the Dominion was at stake', the insular focus on 'community' representation inevitably prevailed. For Canada and international hockey competition, at this time, winning was *not* everything.

³ *Ibid.*, 7-8.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 16-17 Hewitt even makes a stab at imagining a multi-cultural team, and adds to his fictional Gloster Greys a "Buff Jones the colored boy, [and] Tom Whitecap the Indian." ,34.

The manner in which the controversies of 1936 played out in Canada wound up reinforcing insular and 'isolationist' politics. The politicization of sport, and the overheated pursuit of national prestige through sport, epitomized by Nazi Olympic propaganda, appeared to be the problem. Some imagined that the insular focus of domestic hockey could keep it free of such dangerous influences. But, by rejecting the notion of nationally selected 'all-star' teams for international competitions, Canadian hockey administrators sabotaged a useful social technology for fostering both national identity and national unity. And so there was no move to a more regionally representative national team, even though there was mounting evidence that an 'all-star' team would work well, and that strong teams were needed for major international competitions.

In his 1976 book, *War on Ice*, Scott Young begins by asking how it was that the 1954 East York Lyndhursts, a senior B team, became the first Canadian team to lose to the Soviet Union at the World Championships. His answer is that "they were absolutely the best Canadian team- that would go".⁵ The CAHA had little ability or interest in funding the World Championship entries and it was often hard to find teams that were willing to pay their own way there. Throughout the 1950's Canada continued to send club teams to international championships and there was no move towards establishing the organizational capacity to select and manage a stand-alone national team. The teams of 1936 and 1948 were not seen as progressive steps to a new conception of national, but rather as expeditious compromises that could be dispensed with when Canadian hockey reverted to the old pattern of sending Allan Cup winners to the Olympics. Even an the

⁵ Scott Young, *War on Ice*, 1

era of disappointing results (a bronze medal in 1956, silver in 1960, and for the first time, no medal at all in 1964), teams were often critiqued in the Canadian press for failing to support civic values and the amateur code, rather than for failing to represent Canada's national prestige.⁶

The domestic focus of Canadian hockey continued until the rise of the symbolically compelling challenge of Soviet hockey, widely seen as a metaphor for the challenge of Soviet ideology. At the height of the Cold War, sport contests symbolically mapped the tension between Soviet and Western political systems and ways of life. That Canadian hockey players might claim truer affinity with 'amateur' values than the technically amateur communist teams was as important as actual success on the ice.

The institutional project of *making* a Canadian 'national' team was belatedly instituted in the 1960's.⁷ In 1968, this national team managed to win a bronze medal at Grenoble Olympics, but Canada pulled out of international hockey in 1970 after another spat with Bunny Ahearne and the IIHF, and did not participate in hockey at the Olympics of 1972 and 1976. The Summit Series of 1972, of course, became a site at which sport was imagined to be a representation of the ideological conflict of the Cold War. Team Canada's 1972 victory affirmed Canadian hockey's vitality, and has been commemorated as a key moment in Canadian cultural history ever since. The example of the Summit Series inspired Canadians to organize more international hockey in the 1970's, including

⁶ Podnieks, *Canada's Olympic Hockey Teams*, 93. See also Dan MacKinnon, 'Myth, Memory and the Kitchener - Waterloo Dutchmen in Canadian International Hockey' *Sport History Review* 31 [2000] 1-27.

⁷ Podnieks, *op. cit.* 102

the institution of the Canada Cup, and a more organized effort to assemble strong teams for the World championships. All these efforts are notable for their consistent characterization as symbolic sites that represent Canadian identity.

In the interwar period Canadians searched for an independent identity, distinct from the influences of the 'two great neighbours', Britain and the United States. At the time, Canada's sporting culture was already remarkably distinct from that of the other ex-colonies of the British Empire. While it continued to value fair play and 'sportsmanship', the sports Canadians played were indeed genuinely their own. Hockey in particular symbolized the distinctiveness of Canadian culture. The fad for explicitly 'Canadian' hockey in Britain in the Thirties indicated that very distinctiveness. But the growing globalization of sport in the 1930's had produced an unexpected fly in the ointment, and the squabbles about how to properly 'represent the nation' called into question many important issues.

Many of the problems that would plague Canadian hockey for the next half-century first reared their heads in 1936, but the Garmisch Olympic hockey tournament and the controversies surrounding it have been little studied by historians. This is a missed opportunity, as this history offers a perfect opportunity to explore the agenda suggested by S.F. Wise in 'Sport and Class Values', and to unpack the cultural history of national identity and class values. The Olympic Games of 1936 marked the transition from the early period of the Games to the era in which sport became global, and the Olympics Games came to be characterized by big budgets, powerful and well-organized national teams, and intense media coverage.

For Canadian hockey, the 1936 team marked an early experiment in moving away from the 'champion team' model, and instead selecting a team of the nation's top players, regardless of club affiliation. The British 'challenge' to Canadian hockey, however, was symbolically ambiguous because of the Canadian-ness of the players. It would not be for decades, well after it had become clear that Allan Cup teams could not compete with Soviet hockey, that the CAHA would develop the operational capacity to select and organize a strong national team from across the country. This team has now become an important symbol of national identity (witness the August 2009 press coverage of the unveiling of a new embroidery pattern for the maple leaf crest on Canadian Olympic hockey jerseys). The histories of early Canadian Olympic entries are today commemorated as 'traditional' sites of Canadian national identity; these commemorations can obscure the complicated history of national athletic traditions, the performance of identity and the construction of social values through sport.

The selection squabbles of 1936, and indeed the acrimony over who would 'represent the nation' illustrates that by 1936, George Beers' dream had been realized: hockey had become a sport both national and nationalizing for Canadians. Hockey was both a symbol of national identity, and had gotten people thinking about what that nation was. Sid Wise wrote in 1975 that "sport was not a divergence from the main lines of our social development, but part and parcel of that development." This development, in both sporting culture and in the conception of national identity, took a transformative turn at the 1936 Winter Olympic Ice Hockey Tournament.

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Journal Abbreviations

BJHS	<i>British Journal of the History of Sport</i>
CHR	<i>Canadian Historical Review</i>
CJHS	<i>Canadian Journal of the History of Sport</i>
CJHSPE	<i>Canadian Journal of the History of Sport and Physical Education</i>
IJHS	<i>International Journal of Sport History</i>
JCHA	<i>Journal of the Canadian Historical Association</i>
SSJ	<i>Sociology of Sport Journal</i>