

PUTTING IT ON ICE:
A SOCIAL HISTORY OF HOCKEY IN THE MARITIMES, 1880-1914

Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment
of Master of Arts

by
Sheldon Gillis
Department of History
Saint Mary's University
Halifax, Nova Scotia
1994

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ISBN 0-612-15523-4

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Sheldon Gillis

Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment
of the Master of Arts (History)
at Saint Mary's

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ABSTRACT:

PUTTING IT ON ICE:

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BY SHELDON GILLIS

MARCH 20, 1996

The history of sport in the Maritime Provinces of Canada has yet to be given the attention it deserves. The vast majority of scholarship on Maritime history has been economic and political in nature and has ignored leisure and sporting activities. Yet, it was sporting figures, such as W.A. Henry and the oarsman George Brow, who were the most renowned Maritimers in the late nineteenth century. Boxers, such as world champion George Dixon, who captivated the imagination of Maritimers and fostered regional identity.

This thesis is an examination of hockey in the Maritimes during the pre-World War One era. The emphasis of this thesis is on the class, gender, and racial relationships which influenced the nature of hockey and Maritime history in general. Indeed, Maritimers brought their own life experiences to the sport and fashioned hockey according to existing relationships: 1) Black hockey was segregated and players had limited opportunities to hone their skill in rinks. 2) Women's hockey was often encouraged by men, so long as it served as an affirmation of Victorian gender roles. 3) Middle-class athletic clubs organized the sport according to bourgeois sporting ideals and customs.

Having said this, lower and middle-class players, black teams, female spectators and "ladies" hockey clubs, were shaped and helped shape existing social relationships. This thesis argues that sports did not merely mirror or passively reflect prevalent relationships, but actively shifted them. Moreover, it is argued that the manner in which hockey evolved in the Maritimes was unique to the region. Common themes and

experiences certainly existed with the of the rest of North America and Europe, but the sport heritage of each region developed in unique ways.

Other topics addressed in this thesis are: the "creationist-evolutionary" sporting ideals, modernization-popular culture models, professionalism and amateurism, violence in sport, gambling, spectator participation, the social construction of women's physiology, regionalism, and, finally, rural and urban competition.

Acknowledgments

* * * * *

In researching the history of Maritime hockey I was fortunate to have encountered several people who helped make a difficult enterprise a pleasant experience. I would like to thank Patti Hutchison, of the Nova Scotia Sport Heritage Center, for giving me "free reign" of her photo-copying machine. Anyone interested in "doing" sport history would benefit greatly from Patti's wealth of information and her contacts in the field. Sheridan Hay helped me conceptualize Chapter Three and the Graduate Seminar at Saint Mary's made several useful suggestions for revising Chapter One. Jean Preston, who claims to know nothing about history or about hockey for that matter, offered encouragement from the beginning and "forced" me to rethink Chapter Two. Jean, my fiancée, proved to be much more disciplined than I went it came time to balancing work, thesis research, and personal time.

Three scholars who were influential in my academic "growth" also deserve mention: Colin Howell, Dick Twomey, and Mike Vance. These scholars have made my time at Saint Mary's memorable and challenging. I would like to thank Colin for encouraging me to examine Maritime hockey and for taking the time from his book on baseball to direct me toward secondary material. Colin was also more than generous in sharing primary sources and his own research material. Dick was an inspiration in more ways than he knows and I probably would not have entered the M.A. program without his encouragement. Through his teaching and example, a mediocre student came to appreciate the enterprise of history. Mike forced me to look at material I would have overlooked and, through various discussions, compelled me to reexamine my ideological convictions. Although my "bias" remains, Mike's commitment to "the history" and his students is commendable. All three scholars are a credit to Saint Mary's and I have been fortunate to encounter them; yet, more fortunate to obtain their friendship.

Finally, this thesis is dedicated to Jamie, Melissa, and Sarah. Perhaps, by the time they are old enough to read it, a great deal of scholarly work will have enriched our understanding of sport in the Maritimes--moving us well beyond this thesis' limited boundaries.

Introduction

* * * * *

In recent years, sport history has provided scholars with novel approaches to working class, social, and economic history. This new scholarship examines the integral relationship between sport and society and in turn repudiates a more traditional approach in which sport was isolated from its social context.¹ In the early 1970s, scholarship on sport often lacked clear objectives and Canadian scholarship was particularly shoddy. Several Ph.D. theses from the University of Alberta addressed sport but this work lacked analysis and was primarily concerned with the extraction of empirical data. Moreover, graduate programs in sport history were predominately the terrain of physical educators who lacked a "detailed knowledge of the political, economic, and social history of the society whose sports they wanted to describe."²

In the early 1970s, Alan Metcalfe, among others, called for a reevaluation of Canadian sport history. Indeed, work on sports often lacked "research and writing on societal variables

¹ A good example of a sport history approach to working class and social history is Elliott Gorn's, The Manly Art: Bare-Knuckled Prize Fighting in America, (Ithaca., 1986). Also see Allen Guttman, Sports Spectators, (N.Y., 1986). For an economic analysis of sport, see J.C.H. Jones, "The Economics of the National Hockey League," Richard Gruneau and John Albinson (eds.), Canadian Sport: Sociological Perspectives, (Don Mills, Ontario, 1976).

² Morris Mott, "Introduction," Sports in Canada: Historical Readings, (Mississauga, Ontario, 1989), 4.

which influence both the form and function of physical activity..."³ Metcalfe was influential in the writing sport history in Canada but his role in forming the Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education, in the early 1970s, ranks among his most significant achievements. This Journal provided scholars with the most important "avenue" for publishing sport history in Canada. Although the majority of essays remained empirical studies during the 1970s, the Canadian Journal of History of Sport gradually emerged as a solid academic journal in the 1980s.⁴

During the 1980s Canadian historians of sport were increasingly influenced by scholarship in America and England. Historians of these countries had replaced the bland empirical surveys of the early 1970s with imaginative and interpretive works. When writing about the modern period (roughly 1850 to the present day) the work of historians who employ a modernization model and sport sociologists have been particularly influential and have broadened our understanding of the regulatory nature of modern society.⁵ This is not to say that analytical problems have been overcome. Sociologists,

³ Alan Metcalfe, "Some Background Influences on Nineteenth Century Canadian Sport and Physical Education," Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education, (May, 1974), 62.

⁴ Mott, "Introduction," Sports in Canada, 4-5.

⁵ "Modernization" is only one among various approaches to sport. A good overview of other major trends in sport scholarship can be found in Benjamin Rader's, "Modern Sports: In Search of Interpretations," Journal of Social History, (Winter, 1979).

for example, are often preoccupied with developing theoretical models and, as a result, they fail to adequately address the empirical evidence.⁶ Indeed, historians of modernization-- who often label themselves modernization historians-- have been more active in engaging theory with empirical evidence.

Many historians of sport have employed various forms of the modernization model in general histories of western sport. Although the conclusions these scholars reach are often controversial, there is no doubt that modernization has provided a useful synthesis of western history-- an accomplishment that other methodologies have been less willing to undertake.⁷ Among modernization historians, a common focal point which is suggestive of the modernity of a country is the period in which it rejects unruly "blood sports" in favor of

⁶ There is less than a consensus among sociologists and historians over the nature of sport. Sociological research often adheres to the "figurational" approach. Like neo-Marxist historians, figurational sociologists claim that empirical evidence must be allowed to exert its primacy over any theoretical model; the model needs to encompass the reality. Unlike many Marxist historians, however, figurational sociologists claim to be objective observers of history. These sociologists attempt to develop "a terminology of concrete references...to pursue the pattern of social processes as it develops..." However, the success of this reconstruction of language is debated among figurational sociologists themselves. Semantic issues aside, the figurational-marxist debate is essentially a "traditional" debate between those who claim to be "objective" scientists and those who acknowledge subjective nature of "reality." See Chris Rojek, "The Field of Play in Sport and Leisure Studies," Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process.

⁷ Among the best and most ambitious examples of this is Allen Guttman's, From Ritual to Record: The Nature of Modern Sports, (New York, 1978).

organized and more humane endeavors. The organization of sports relates to similar processes found in the larger society, such as the organized nature of the modern work force.

British historians of "popular culture" have also proven to be imaginative and interpretive in scope. These scholars are particularly interested in how the "boundaries of class, of gender, of age and of geography were... likely to be reproduced in leisure..." Yet, this scholarship does not necessarily imply that leisure pursuits, such as sport, are bound by existing relationships. Leisure activities may have "reinforced or shifted those boundaries, and not passively reflected them."⁸ Indeed, in Britain during the mid-nineteenth century, soccer was "codified" by amateur middle class clubs; however, by 1888 there were no amateur "middle-class clubs of good enough quality" to compete against professional players from a working class background. Within a generation the boundaries of the sport had shifted from "essentially a gentlemen's game" to a working class sport.⁹

Having said this, sport history can thus provide a useful means of examining the history of the Maritimes. As of yet, sport has had an untold impact on Maritime experience; although there are indications that the influence was significant. In

⁸ H. Cunningham, "Leisure and Culture," in F.M.L. Thompson, (ed.), The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750-1950, (Cambridge, 1990), 290.

⁹ F.M.L. Thompson, The Rise of Respectable Society: A Social History of Victorian Britain, 1830- 1900, (London, 1988), 296-297.

1904, for example, the Provincial Hockey League of Nova Scotia "created an immense interest in hockey" and the league final was more often discussed "by thousands of people than the Russian- Japanese war."¹⁰ Indeed, it was sporting figures, such as cricketer W.A. Henry and the oarsman George Brow, who were the most renowned Maritimers in the late nineteenth century. This fascination with sporting figures did not extend only to more affluent Maritimers. George Dixon, a world champion boxer from Nova Scotia, was also held in high esteem among Maritimers, despite the fact that he was black.¹¹

This thesis is a social history of hockey in the Maritimes with particular emphasis on the class, racial, and gender relationships which surfaced in the sport. The dates which this study emphasis are quite arbitrary but can be narrowed down to roughly 1880 to 1914; a period in which organized hockey was played among various groups but for very different reasons. Indeed, this is not surprising, Maritimers brought their life experiences to the sport and thus social tensions were transported to the rink as well. Although this thesis is a modest examination of pre-World War One hockey, it hopes to

¹⁰ Acadian Recorder, Feb. 22, 1904.

¹¹ For a different understanding of white Maritimers perceptions of Dixon see Brian D. Lennox's, "Nova Scotian black boxers: a history of champions," (unpublished M.A. thesis, Dalhousie, 1990). For Lennox, the experience of black boxers, such as Dixon, was totally submerged by racism. Yet, Lennox fails to allow for the subtleties of racism and how it is sometimes overshadowed by other allegiances, such as community and class. Nonetheless, my own impressions of Dixon were arrived at from various articles of the Acadian Recorder in the 1890s.

demonstrate that Maritimers, regardless of class, race or gender, were active in the constructing various forms of the game.

Chapter One attempts to place the game in its social context and demonstrate how hockey evolved into the recognizable form we know today. In this chapter I discuss the origins of hockey, the first organized leagues, and argue that Maritime hockey was a controversial sport; both in its earliest form and in the refined version which emerged in the late 1880s-90s. It examines the contribution of modernization historians to the history of sport as well as that of amateur historians. The sport was played according to class relationships which were only solidified as hockey became institutionalized or organized in the 1880s-90s. Thus this Chapter addresses who organized hockey and the sporting conduct arising from such organization.

Chapter Two examines the failure of middle class hockey to conform to Victorian sporting ideals. Despite prevalent indications that their matches were brutal and were not in keeping with "true" amateur sport, the middle classes ignored their own mandates which stressed that sport was a respectable and gentlemanly enterprise. In fact, by 1914 bourgeois hockey had crumbled and various issues cast doubt upon the "intentions" of players, the motives of executives of the Maritime Provinces Amateur Athletic Association, and the "participation" of lower classes spectators. This Chapter also

examines the "rougher" elements of society who were excluded from participating in early organized matches. Hockey among the laboring classes was often confined to the frozen lakes, but gradually working people gained access to indoor rinks. From the beginning of organized hockey in the Maritimes, working people were spectators and, in the early 1900s, factory workers created teams and advertised in the local papers for opponents; similar in manner to players from middle class or professional backgrounds some ten years prior.

Chapter Three is an examination of black Maritimers and their participation in early hockey. The mere fact that black hockey was segregated speaks to the racial nature of Maritime society. However, racial subordination, although a prevalent and restricting facet of Maritime society, was never the sole characteristic of black history. Nor was it so in hockey. Many contradictory themes emerge in the game, which questions the degree black players allowed racism to rule their lives. Indeed, the excellent play of some forced many white "hockeyists" to question their assumptions about black inferiority. This Chapter also examines contemporary class and cultural relationships which emerged from the involvement of white spectators.

Chapter Four is a brief discussion of Victorian notions of womanhood and how the reproduction of "appropriate" gender roles often failed to correspond to the experience of Maritime women. Despite the ironic assumption of many that the history

of women is merely the history of exploitation, women have rarely proven to be so passive. To be sure, the agency of women occurred within limits, but women clearly tested the limitations of subordination through educational and political means. "Ladies" hockey--and the term itself demands close analysis-- is no exception. For example, middle class women who played the game travelled extensively and put on some questionable displays, despite the attempts of males to regulate or pacify the game. This Chapter thus centers upon the social construction of gender, in the late nineteenth/early twentieth centuries, and its role in hockey.

In attempting to construct a social history of hockey in the Maritimes, the historian faces many problems, not the least being the lack of primary sources. The fact that lower classes, women, and blacks, were considered largely insignificant, is evident in the fragmentary sources. The media considered them inconsequential and often ignored them altogether. Moreover, newspapers were often more interested in discussing events in Britain, the U.S., and central Canada, than they were in examining Maritime experience. As for hockey, many newspapers did not carry stories on the game, and, if they did, they often only published the score. There are valuable exceptions, however. For example, the Acadian Recorder regularly published descriptive reports on hockey and other amateur sports.

Due to the fragmentary sources I have relied heavily on

the Recorder in my analysis. Indeed, there is some truth in the statement that the paper "...[was] recognized to be the best sporting paper in Eastern Canada..."¹² Nonetheless, I have attempted to "balance" the newspaper accounts, of which the Recorder is used most often, with short biographies, scrapbooks, and, of course, secondary readings. Where sources permit, I have also included references to Acadian and MicMac people, whose role in hockey may have been more important than their rare appearances in my sources might suggest.

¹² Acadian Recorder, Dec. 13, 1910.

Chapter One

* * * * *

In the past, sports enthusiasts and historians have often ignored the social context in which games such as hockey were played. Preoccupied with celebrating great matches, innovative players, and final scores, sporting buffs confuse historical inquiry with what Steven Gould describes as "creation myths," that is the search for a game's invention.¹³ Two basic questions dominate popular analysis: 1) What community should be considered the "birthplace" of the sport, and 2) who was the game's "founding father"? Indeed, various communities across Canada have proclaimed themselves as the birth place of hockey. Although each claim has proven less than convincing, hockey enthusiasts and community boosters meander through newspapers and diary accounts of the early nineteenth century believing that absolute proof of the first game will reveal itself, and bring acclaim to the "birthplace" of the sport. Thus early semblances of the game are often portrayed as conclusive evidence that the "home" of hockey has been found. The "upper provinces," Montreal, Ottawa, and Kingston, were indeed centers in which a crude version of the modern game was played. In the Maritimes, Halifax and Windsor also played quite early. Of these, Kingston and Montreal have received the most recognition

¹³ Stephen J. Gould, "The Creation Myths of Cooperstown," Bully For Brontosaurus: Reflections in Natural History, (N.Y., 1991), 42-58.

as the "birthplace" of the game and both have a Hockey Hall of Fame.

Hockey was a popular sport among all classes during the mid-nineteenth century; however, the origins of the sport are difficult to ascertain. In his essay, "The history of Hockey," Frank Menke disputes the Kingston and Montreal claims and suggests the game was founded in Halifax. Montreal's claim can easily be dismissed, Menke believes, because Halifax influenced and shaped Montreal's first game. After all, Montreal teams played by rules developed by a Haligonian. Kingston's claim can also be dismissed because the game they played was nothing more than "shinty on ice." Menke believes that as early as the 1790s British troops played a crude version of the game in Halifax. In the final analysis, however, this is no more conclusive than the Kingston claim of the 1830s.¹⁴

Charles Bruce Fergusson, a long-time provincial archivist, has also claimed that Halifax is the true home of hockey. References to ice hurley pre-date those of Kingston and thus suggest a Halifax origin, he argues, but the first "pure" or formally organized game was played in Montreal at the Victoria Skating Rink in March, 1875. A McGill student, J.G.A. Creighton, developed the rules and introduced them to the student body. These Montreal rules were "imported" from Halifax in that Creighton was a native of the Maritime city who

¹⁴ Frank Menke, The Atlantic Sportsman: The history of Hockey, P.A.N.S., V/F vol. 121 #16, Date: unknown.

suggested to his McGill classmates that "they obtain hockey sticks from Halifax and take up the game." Thus, for Fergusson, hockey originated in Halifax and was later refined in Montreal.¹⁵

The most recent claim that hockey was founded in Nova Scotia has been put forward by Sandy Young, Garth Vaughan and Howard Dill. This claim involves the town of Windsor, Nova Scotia. Young suggests there "are many examples of newspapers and diary accounts which pre-date the Kingston claim." Young and Vaughan are well aware, however, that forms of early hockey are "not as much hockey" as they are shinty or hurley.¹⁶ Indeed, those interested in the origins of hockey might begin by asking when this crude game come to embody enough characteristics to be distinguishable as hockey. In other words, when does hockey become hockey? Furthermore, should we differentiate recreational from organized hockey?

In an article which appeared in the Dartmouth Patriot, Garth Vaughan notes that while Montreal played the first organized hockey game in 1875, "recreational hockey began on

¹⁵ Charles Bruce Fergusson, "Early Hockey at Halifax," Journal of Education, (June, 1965), P.A.N.S., Lb N85j 1965, 37-38.

¹⁶ Sandy Young, "Nova Scotian Hockey Traced Back to the Time of Napoleon," Nova Scotia Sports Heritage Center (All subsequent references to the Sports Heritage Center will be cited: N.S.S.H.C.). Young, Vaughan, and Dill have been collaborating and have apparently reached a similar conclusion: that is, that hockey originated in Windsor, Nova Scotia.

Long Pond Windsor, Nova Scotia c.1800."¹⁷ Like Fergusson and Menke, Vaughan believes Montreal's first game was made possible by Creighton, a Nova Scotian-born graduate of Dalhousie, who "learned to skate and play hockey on the frozen arms of Halifax Harbor and Dartmouth Lakes." Henry Joseph adds weight to Vaughan's argument. Joseph, who befriended Creighton in Montreal, maintained that hockey arrived in Montreal with Creighton: "I had never seen a hockey stick around Montreal prior to Creighton."¹⁸

Having said this, the Halifax, Windsor, Montreal, and Kingston claims are less than convincing. In Windsor's case Vaughan's evidence is based upon diary accounts of "ice games" and not hockey as it later evolves. Furthermore, he relies upon newspapers of the mid-nineteenth century--a period in which "hockey" was played throughout Quebec, Ontario, and Nova Scotia. Indeed, the claim that Creighton was the father of modern hockey is also questionable. Creighton was influenced by over a half century of play in Halifax. In addition, Montreal's "first" game of 1875 not only ended in a brawl but has been considered just as crude and disorganized as older

¹⁷ The Patriot, Oct. 15-21, 1992.

¹⁸ "Captain Creighton and the First Rules," N.S.S.H.C., 33. This article can be found in a file on Creighton. The author is not stated but is probably Vaughan or Young, who are attempting to have Creighton's career included in the N.S.S.H.C.'s Hall of Fame.

"ice games."¹⁹ And, in 1877, the Montreal Gazette published rules for the game which differed in only one word "from the field hockey rules created in England in 1875." There is evidence as well that twenty years before the Montreal match a Halifax and Kingston Garrison team played a "hockey" game.²⁰

To be sure, the origins and "first" game of hockey will continue to be disputed. If past history is any indication, each new claim will eventually be dismissed and superseded by an earlier diary excerpt or newspaper account.²¹ Aware of the futility of discovering the precise origins of hockey, Earl Zuckerman, a member of the Society of International Hockey Research, has suggested the first-game approach is still possible but only on the basis of formally constituted and written regulations. For Zuckerman "it comes down to rules."

¹⁹ Dan Diamond, Hockey Hall of Fame, (Toronto, 1988), 12, 16.

²⁰ "Captain Creighton," 34,44.

²¹ The origins of hockey can be attributed to various European and Native Canadian sports: Irish hurling, Scottish shinty, English bandy, and, in the Maritime Provinces, MicMac ice games; all influenced and helped shape the game. See A.J. Young, Beyond Heroes: A Sport History of Nova Scotia, (Hansport, 1988), 11-14; Also see Henry Roxborough, One Hundred- Not Out: The Story of Nineteenth-Century Canadian Sport, (Toronto, 1966), 137-142. For an interesting discussion on aboriginal "hockey," which traces the game back to initial European settlement in Canada, see "Articles on Hockey," P.A.N.S., (MG 100 vol. 232 #12b), date and author is unknown.

One of the earliest references to hockey in the Maritimes appeared in Thomas Chandler Haliburton's The Attache. Haliburton mentions that "ice hurley" was played during his youth; if true a crude version of the modern game was indeed played in the early 1800s. See Thomas Chandler Haliburton, The Attache, (London, 1844), vol. II, 12.

Windsor historian Leslie Loomer has questioned the validity of such an approach. As Loomer suggests, rules are far from conclusive evidence of the origins of any sport: "Long before the Marquis of Queensbury rules, the Greeks and Romans were boxing." Sandy Young has proven to be closest to the mark: "It depends, really, on what you define as hockey...There's a controversy because of the way the game evolved."²²

Because no one person or community developed hockey as we know it today, the "creationist" approach--that is that hockey was invented by one individual or a single community--does not conform to the historical record. Empirical evidence clearly shows that the game was played in various areas of Canada in roughly the same period; the early 19th century. Hockey evolved through community interaction and assumed "modern" characteristics-- qualities which we would consider modern-- in keeping with larger historical processes in Canada and the western world in general; mainly the transition from pre-industrial to industrial society. In examining hockey, then, we are examining relationships between the game and the historical context in which it emerged.

Modernization historians have demonstrated that the industrial transformation of the nineteenth century had a clear impact on the nature of sport. Stephen Riess, a giant among

²² Zuckerman, Loomer, and Young are cited from an article that appeared in The Chronicle-Herald, Friday, July 24, 1992. I would like to thank Patti Hutchison of the N.S.S.H.C. for bringing this article to my attention.

modernization historians, suggests that sports, beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, had "qualities that separate it from earlier eras: secularity, equality, bureaucratization, specialization, rationalization, quantification, and record keeping."²³ For Riess, the history of sport is "largely the product of the constant and continuous interaction of the elements of urbanization... with each other and with sport."²⁴ Transportation, city design, and social organizations were fundamental aspects of the new industrial city, and sports, developing within this arrangement, acquired similar statistical and regulatory attributes.

To be sure, modernization historians are correct to identify the influence industrialism had on the nature of sports. Industrialism and urbanization had a clear impact on Nova Scotia. The Canadian Census in 1871 suggested that Nova Scotia was 90% rural; but, by turn of the century, the population of urban areas reached 30%. Industrial development was equally significant and intricately related to the increase in the urban population. According to T.W. Acheson the industrial growth of Nova Scotia outstripped any other region in Canada in the late-nineteenth century.²⁵ Demographic changes and the rise of the factory system heightened

²³ Steven Riess, "The New Sport History," Reviews in American History, 18.3 (1990), 311.

²⁴ Ibid, 312.

²⁵ T.W. Acheson, "The National Policy and the Industrialization of the Maritimes," Acadiensis, (Spring, 1972).

sanitation and health problems and "affected the thinking of educators in Nova Scotia, as similar demographic changes had done in other parts of the continent."²⁶ Educators began to promote sport and physical exercise as preventative therapy for the social abuses brought about by industrialism and urbanization. In the 1880s educators in Nova Scotia began to stress physical education, as Egerton Ryerson, the founder of public education in Ontario, had done earlier in Ontario.²⁷ Even before this, in 1864, Dalhousie College principal Ross "expressed regret that the college had no Gymnasium, and warned the students not to neglect open air exercise."²⁸

Modernization historians have also proven to be insightful by stressing the influence of technology. In Nova Scotia technological innovation undoubtedly influenced the game of hockey. Exhibition Rink, located on Tower Road in Halifax, opened on January 5, 1880 and gave players and spectators a modern facility to observe the game of hockey as well as the more "scientific" maneuvers of figure skaters.²⁹ In addition,

²⁶ Steve McNutt, "Shifting Objectives: The Development of Male Physical Education in Nova Scotia From 1867 to 1913," Canadian Journal of History of Sport, (May, 1991), 39.

²⁷ Ibid. Ryerson designated 50 dollars to each Ontario school for physical education.

²⁸ "Football in Dalhousie College," The Dalhousie Gazette, (March 4, 1892). A good article for those interested in early rugby and football in Nova Scotia. This article appeared in the Gazette in two parts; the second appeared March 25, 1892.

²⁹ Phyllis Blakeley, Glimpses of Halifax, (Halifax, 1949), 143.

the ferry from Halifax to Dartmouth encouraged play between local clubs from both sides of the harbor, and the railway fostered community rivalries across Nova Scotia and Canada. The Dartmouth Chebuctos toured in late February/early March, 1894. The Chebuctos "met Acadia College at Wolfville Rink...The Wolfville rink was filled with an enthusiastic crowd of spectators who watched the play with the most intense interest." The following day the Chebuctos played Kentville and then traveled to Windsor, thus playing three games in three days.³⁰ As early as 1888 the Chebuctos were playing various clubs in mainland Nova Scotia:

The hockey match at Windsor on Thursday evening between the Chebuctos, of Dartmouth, and the Windsor team, resulted in a draw...The game was hotly contested throughout and proved highly interesting to the large crowd of spectators.³¹

Indeed, the Chebuctos had a history of touring and, in 1889, went as far as Quebec to compete in a series of games against Montreal clubs.³²

The organized nature of sports, an implicit feature of the modernization model, was undeniably present in Maritime hockey in the 1890s. Although the working classes continued to play hockey on the frozen lakes in a "disorderly" manner, people from a professional background organized the sport. The "much

³⁰ Acadian Recorder, March 1, 2, 1894.

³¹ Ibid, March 19, 1888.

³² This reference is from a "history" of the Chebuctos which appeared in the Acadian Recorder, March 4, 1893.

talked" about Halifax County League of 1894 was clearly organized and regulated:³³

The Halifax Hockey League have prepared [a] constitution and Bye-laws, and rules to govern the games between the clubs. A schedule has not yet been prepared, as the rules require clubs must be members of M.P.A.A.A. [Maritime Provinces Amateur Athletic Association]. The Bankers have decided to make application for admission to the latter, and Dalhousie will have a meeting of students to decide if they will become members of that body.³⁴

Hockey matches which pre-date industrialism were not well organized and there is little doubt that these matches were "disorderly." Even the name "hockey" was used interchangeably with European sports; as late as 1884 the Acadian Recorder suggested that "the game of hockey [was] commonly, known as 'hurley'..." The same issue of the Recorder made a reference to a hockey display by "The Wanderers Athletic Club." The Wanderers split into a Red side and a Blue side to put on a

³³ The Halifax Herald, on February 9, 1894: "The opening game of the much talked about Halifax County Hockey League will take place to-morrow night at 8 p.m. in the Exhibition rink..."

³⁴ Acadian Recorder, Jan. 4, 1894. The Halifax County League consisted of six teams: "The Dartmouth Chebuctos, Halifax Crescents, Halifax Wanderers, Halifax North West Arm, [Dartmouth] Mutuels, and Dalhousie University." See Andrew Kimball's The Silent Ending: The Death of the Community Hockey Tradition in Nova Scotia, (Unstated Thesis, Dalhousie University, 1986), P.A.N.S., 7. A note of caution for those interested in Kimball's thesis: Kimball is not only selective in his use of secondary sources but many of his primary sources are inaccurate. Furthermore, Kimball now and then misleads the casual reader. For example, in his eagerness to demonstrate that Maritime communities were content and prosperous, Kimball quotes Fred "Cyclone" Taylor: "There's just no truth in the picture of our towns as dreary places with everybody working long, long hours." Although this may have been so, Taylor was born in Ontario and played hockey in his home province, Quebec, and in British Columbia, not the Maritimes.

hockey match, an indication that inter-club matches were not occurring very often by 1884.³⁵ Twenty years before this, in the 1860s, there was less organization and it was not uncommon to see "fifty or a hundred persons all [converging] upon the same point:"

The game...is by no means what it ought to be, inasmuch as it is impossible to enforce the rules in such a miscellaneous assembly. No one keeps to any particular side, or aims at any particular goal; and any one who happens to have a stick, hits the ball in any direction that seems easiest.³⁶

Nonetheless, despite the fact that the game was not well organized in the first half of the nineteenth century and even into the early 1880s, during the late 1880s the game underwent a transformation to a form that clearly resembles modern hockey. In February, 1886 the Recorder not only published a set of rules to govern hockey matches but also revealed that clubs from the Maritimes, Quebec, and Ontario were in close contact quite early: "At the request of a correspondent," the Recorder published the "rules governing the game of hockey, as revised by representatives of the clubs of the Upper Provinces and by which all games are now played." Indeed, stipulations that a rubber puck be used (1 inch thick 3, inches in diameter), goal nets be 6 feet above the ice and 6 feet apart, matches consist of 2 half hours with 10 minutes between them,

³⁵ Acadian Recorder, Feb. 21, 1884.

³⁶ Halifax Morning Sun, Jan. 25, 1864.

and referees' decisions be final, appear modern.³⁷

Upper Canadian rules were not imposed upon Maritime hockey clubs and local variations existed. The Halifax County League apparently used both local and "inter-provincial" rules. For example, in February, 1894 the Recorder commented on two County League games; the first between the Dartmouth Chebuctos and the Halifax Crescents, and a second match with the "Arm" competing against the Wanderers. The first "game was played under the rules usually played in Halifax, while the second game--Arm vs Wanderers--was under the rules in vogue in the Upper Provinces."³⁸ A game between the Arm A.H.C. and Chebucto A.A.C. was "to be played under the rules of the Bankers Hockey League--or in other words Upper Canadian rules."³⁹ Nonetheless, despite the variety of rules governing the game, the late 1880s and early 1890s was a period in which rules influenced and were adopted by organized clubs. Hockey had undoubtedly acquired the regulatory features embodied in all modern sports.

Despite the fact that hockey in the Maritimes had elements of regulation and bureaucracy, the modernization model fails to account for human agency. Modernization historians have been accused of what Elliott Gorn has described as "one-dimensional" theory, that is, they ignore the autonomy of players and spectators. The overwhelming process of modernization leaves

³⁷ Acadian Recorder, Feb. 15, 1886.

³⁸ Ibid, Feb. 10, 1894.

³⁹ Ibid, Feb. 15, 1894.

"few meaningful choices, for impersonal institutions and social forces have already made the important decisions."⁴⁰ The relationship between human agency and "modernizing" factors such as middle-class reform reveals the nuances, contradictions, and conflicts of nineteenth-century sport history. For Gorn, the bourgeois fixation on industriousness and sobriety was the antithesis to the sporting traditions of the working class and as a result reveals the dynamics of society in general. For example, taverns were centers of working class sport and provided men with the opportunity to "make it"--primarily by gambling on cock fighting, billiards, horse races, etc.--outside the mechanical world of work. The athletic prowess of a few also furnished the working-class with a sense of class identity and loyalty.

Working class cultural traditions had serious implications for capitalism, as Christopher Lasch suggests:

...fairs and football, bull-baiting, cockfighting and boxing offended middle-class reformers because of their cruelty and because they blocked up public thoroughfares, disrupted the daily routine of business, distracted the people from their work, encouraged habits of idleness, extravagance, and insubordination, and gave rise to licentiousness and debauchery.⁴¹

New York City, in the 1850s, was embroiled in conflict as the reformist impulses of the middle class challenged the appropriateness of working class "idleness." However, in the

⁴⁰ Elliott Gorn, "Doing Sports History," Reviews in American History, (March, 1990), 31-32.

⁴¹ Christopher Lasch, The Culture of Narcissism, (New York, 1979), 197.

late nineteenth century, "the blood sports and gambling of the English and American countrysides" gradually gave way and were transformed in "a new social structure that enforced strict divisions between employers and employees, work and play, moral and immoral behavior."⁴²

What, then, can be said of hockey? Was pre-industrial hockey viewed by the middle class as inappropriate? Moreover, if the game embodied the characteristics of modernization, did it also uphold reformist convictions; in other words, did hockey become the sole property of the Canadian bourgeoisie? Certainly, players in the Halifax County League were often from the middle class and claimed to uphold Victorian ideals of gentlemanly sport. In well organized Maritime matches during the 1890s, clubs frequently maintained that the game was fitting for respectable gentleman. As with other leagues in the 1890s, The City Amateur Hockey League of St. John, founded in 1895, declared that their objective was to "improve, foster and perpetuate the Game of Hockey in St. John; protect it from professionalism; and to promote the cultivation of kindly feeling among the members of Hockey Clubs."⁴³

Stated objectives aside, the fact that hockey became organized in the late-nineteenth century did not prevent

⁴² Elliott Gorn, "'Good-Bye Boys, I Die a True American': Homicide, Nativism, And Working- Class Culture in Antebellum New York City," The Journal of American History (September, 1987), 409.

⁴³ "City Amateur Hockey League of St. John: Constitution, By-laws," Dalhousie University Micro Fiche: F1001 C1155 58527.

controversy from surrounding the game. Evidence suggests that the game was controversial throughout the nineteenth century, not only in its "pre-modern" form but also in the more refined version later in the century. In February, 1829 a complaint about Sunday "pastimes" appeared in Pictou's The Colonial Patriot and suggested that it was immoral that "a man may legally skate and amuse himself on the day which the Lord 'blessed and hallowed.'" The author believed that this recreational activity was symbolic of a larger social problem:

...every idler who feels disposed to profane the Lord's day, may now secure from any consequences turn out with skates on feet, hurley in hand, and play the delectable [seductive] game of break-shine without any regard to laws which prevailed in the days of Charles 1st.⁴⁴

The Acadian Recorder in January, 1853 registered a similar complaint which not only discusses the immorality and popularity of "ice games" but also hints at appropriate Victorian standards of conduct. "The Lake above Mr. Hosterman's," the author complains, "was literally covered with skaters, with their hurlies, and the small spots of ice available on the N.W. Arm were similarly occupied, to the great peril of those upon it." Apparently the ice "was filled with persons of all ages, going towards the place of sport; and we regret to add, that well dressed females were to be seen in considerable numbers on the shores, enjoying the scene."⁴⁵

Hockey was not always criticized by the Halifax media in

⁴⁴ The Colonial Patriot, February 4, 1829.

⁴⁵ Acadian Recorder, January 22, 1853.

the mid-nineteenth century. In fact skating and hockey were popular activities among Nova Scotians and were actively pursued among various classes. "The skating mania is in full force," suggested a correspondent for the Halifax Reporter in 1864:

Turn which way we will, we encounter people carrying skates, young men and maidens, old men and children, people of all ranks, of every employment, seem bent upon skating...⁴⁶

Although clearly an exaggeration of the popularity of skating, the Reporter correspondent was "struck by the almost total absence of stone throwing boys," on the streets of Halifax. The youth were "playing hockey on the ice, and occasionally mimicking the mishaps of such among their betters as are not quite at home upon skates."⁴⁷

More often than not, the local media attempted to separate hockey from respectable skating--idlers and vagrants participated in the "primitive" game of hockey while their social superiors adhered to more refined skating: The "various games that are played on the ice are mostly unworthy of a true skater's attention," claimed a correspondent of the Halifax Morning Sun in 1864. Hockey "ought to be sternly forbidden, as it is not only annoying but dangerous." Indeed, the Morning Sun correspondent believed respectable skaters should carry a stick "for the purpose of castigating the tiresome boys with

⁴⁶ Halifax Reporter, Jan. 2, 1864.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

whom the ice is mostly infested..." What irritated the correspondent was the young who were damaging the ice surface "by throwing stones, or deliberately break[ing] holes in it with the butt ends of their hockey sticks." Apparently when "really good skaters" were "performing the many graceful evolutions of which this charming art [skating] is capable," the process was interrupted by a "disorderly mob armed with sticks...charging the circle of skaters and spectators..."⁴⁸

"Modernized" hockey of the 1890s was as socially controversial as the hockey that preceded it. The participation of spectators and problems with finding acceptable officials plagued the Halifax County League during its first year of existence. The 400 spectators who witnessed the second game of the Halifax County League Championship, between the Chebuctos and the Mutuels, were chastised by the Acadian Recorder: "The crowd yelled, hooted, and cheered, and some of them...amused themselves by making a terrible din by striking the side of the boards with sticks..."⁴⁹ The County League Championship series of "games between the Chebuctos and Mutuels...ended in a complete fizzle..." Apparently "the

⁴⁸ Halifax Morning Sun, Jan. 25, 1864. Despite the fact that the middle classes played hockey throughout the nineteenth century, it is important to note that the sport was only deemed appropriate by the majority of the middle class when it came to embody "civilized" or regulatory attributes. Organizations such as the M.P.A.A.A. were to supplant the disorderly games (from roughly 1830 to 1880) with orderly matches; hockey matches more in keeping with middle class values. However, the success of the M.P.A.A.A. in doing so is another matter.

⁴⁹ Acadian Recorder, March 21, 1894.

Mutuals objected to Frank Grierson, one of the umpires appointed by the M.P.A.A.A., and refused to go on with the game:"

There were a couple of hundred people present, and they were simply disgusted; many...had come to see their first hockey match, and some...had given up important engagements to be present...this fiasco will do more to injure hockey...than anything that could be done...The crowd demanded the return of their entrance fee; a proposition was made that the money be given to charity, but there was a chorus of 'noes' and the gate receipts had to be returned...⁵⁰

On the way back to Halifax "many of them [Halifax spectators] used terms not complimentary to the Mutuals, and vowed it would be a long time before they would go to a hockey match in Dartmouth again."⁵¹

Rowdy spectators and unacceptable officials were not the only problem encountered by the County League during its first season. In February, 1894 the County League scheduled two games: the North West Arm against the Halifax Crescents and Dalhousie against the Wanderers. What distinguished these matches, however, was its middle-class representation. "All charitable people," suggested the Recorder, "should be present at the charity hockey matches in aid of the S.P.C..." The Ladies Auxiliary promoted the matches to raise funds for the Charity and "his Hon. the Lieut. Governor [had] kindly consented to patronize the matches."⁵² Although both games

⁵⁰ Ibid, March 24, 1894.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid, Feb. 28, 1894.

were to be "governed by the Upper Canadian rules," the actions of the players clearly did not meet the approval of Victorian Halifax:

There were some lively scenes and much excitement at one of the hockey matches...last night; two players, through a misunderstanding, struck at each other, and Lieut.-Gov. Daly, under whose patronage the games were taking place, went on the ice and ordered them out of the game, and unless they left the ice he would withdraw his patronage. The matches attracted the largest crowd ever at games of this description in Halifax, there being about 600 persons present, including a large number of ladies, and a great gathering of fashionable people.⁵³

The reaction of the Halifax media to this event is interesting--the Recorder conceded that "such incidents... are likely to happen in an exciting game of hockey." The fight occurred, according to the Paper, because "the old rivalry between them [Dalhousie and the Wanderers] was made manifest by the shouts and cheers from the onlookers." Indeed, the Wanderers and Dalhousie had a tradition of fierce competition in various sports. For example, the Wanderers published a football chant to be sung by pro-Wanderer spectators: "What's left for Dalhousie, Nothing-at-all- We've beat them right smartly, With-good- foot ball."⁵⁴ However, the nature of competition during the hockey match witnessed by Lieut.-

⁵³ Ibid, March 3, 1894.

⁵⁴ This citation is from a pamphlet in the Wanderers' Amateur Athletic Club, P.A.N.S., MG 20 vol.336 #1. The fierce rivalry among college football teams sometimes led to some concern, however. In a match against Acadia, Dalhousie's football team was disturbed "as to whether the game should be a 'friendly one or not.'" Nonetheless, the match was "the most friendly, as friendly as played here this fall." See The Dalhousie Gazette, (Dal. Achieves, Nov. 28, 1889) DA1 LE 3 D14.

Governor Daly went beyond jesting: "Pickering and Mackintosh were seen to make blows at each other with their hockey sticks... amid hisses and cries of 'put them off...'"⁵⁵

The Pickering and Mackintosh incident was not atypical. A "momentary tilt between [William] Henry and J. Murray...brought forth more hisses and cries of 'put them off'..." Again the Recorder suggested that the reason for the "tilt" was in the nature of hockey-- crowd "liveliness" accounted for the disagreement: "The Wanderers' sympathizers went wild when Townsend tied the score," and amidst such excitement Henry and J. Murray almost came to blows. Later, the Recorder retracted its depiction of the Henry and J. Murray incident--possibly because Henry was a prominent lawyer whose reputation was built upon "appropriate" standards of conduct:

We understand that some persons...not present at the hockey match...have inferred from the report...that there was something more than allowed by the rules between Henry and J. Murray...the fact that they had some close quarters was merely mentioned...to show the liveliness of the game...⁵⁶

William Henry was a well known cricket player who represented Canada in many international matches. As a young man, returning to Halifax from Harvard, Henry organized a cricket team called the Wanderers. The Wanderers became popular and toured across Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in the summer of 1882. In that same year, on August 23, a meeting was

⁵⁵ Acadian Recorder, March 3, 1894.

⁵⁶ Ibid, March 5, 1894.

held in a school on Birmingham Street in which Henry and other cricket players formed the Wanderers' Amateur Athletic Club.⁵⁷ The Wanderers, like other Amateur organizations in Halifax and Dartmouth, were involved in various sports and committed to gentlemanly athletics. Although membership "was open to any Haligonian of sixteen years and older," the club clearly could count many prominent citizens as members.⁵⁸

William Pickering--a combatant in the first fight--was not lacking in criticism when it came to various sports he played in the Maritimes. Pickering was also the center of controversy in baseball. In July, 1888 the Saint John press criticized Pickering for "loud and uncontrollable language." That same year, as an umpire in another baseball game in Saint John, Pickering was charged with "bare-faced cheating." It appears that the umpire was bought off by a gambler: "All Pickering needs," the Saint John Progress claimed, "is a dark lantern and a jimmy to make a first-class burglar." In 1889 Pickering was again the subject of criticism, this time in a baseball game against a Portland, Maine team. The umpire, Pickering, was

⁵⁷ Nancy MacDonald, "The Wanderers' Amateur Athletic Club of Halifax, 1882-1925: Its Contribution to Amateur Sport," (Unpublished Master of Science thesis, Dalhousie University, 1974), P.A.N.S., M135 W245, 1-4. See also P.A.N.S. Scrapbook of W.A. Henry, MG9 vol. 102.

⁵⁸ Ibid, 4, 13-16. There is little doubt of the privileged status of the Wanderers hockey team. In 1899 the club was managed by a well known lawyer, R.T. MacIlreith. Players included: E.F. Keefe, son of the former mayor; Frank Stephen, son of the mayor; Norman Murry, son of Rev. Robert Murry; W.H. Clarke, an accountant at the Merchants Bank; and W.A. Henry, a prominent lawyer. See the Acadian Recorder, Feb. 21, 1899.

"calling strikes against Portland batters that were nowhere near the plate."⁵⁹

Pickering and Henry were well educated--Pickering received his education at Dalhousie and Henry at Harvard--and renowned for their athletic prowess. As well known white men from the middle-class, their behavior on the rink hardly posed a serious threat to their respectability. Indeed, in an age when bourgeois respectability itself was crumbling, masculine displays may have even enhanced it. However, males of the middle-class were not the only players in the game, and as organized hockey moved downward and outward toward women, blacks, and workers; in an age of racial segregation, strict class divisions, and female subordination, new controversies were bound to arise.

From roughly 1830 to 1880 Maritime hockey was ad-hoc and various classes played on the frozen lakes in the Region. Although the lower classes were sometimes singled out for being crude and unruly, class tensions increased in the 1880s when the sport became "modernized." Indeed, by the 1890s the nature of the game had clearly changed in that hockey had become regulated by the middle classes and incorporated into a world view which stressed "civilized" behavior in sport. The lower

⁵⁹ Colin Howell, Northern Sandlots: A Social History of Baseball and Community Life in Atlantic Canada and New England, 1860-1960, Publication forthcoming, 121, 124. At this point I would like to thank Colin for sharing his manuscript with me, it has proven to be most useful. A short biography and a eulogy on Pickering can be found at the N.S.S.H.C., no author.

classes would continue to play a "disorderly" form of the game up to the turn of the century and beyond, but working people also patronized the middle class game as spectators. These spectators were often singled out for degrading the middle class game and chastised for being loud and unrefined, much as they were earlier in the century. Nonetheless, by the turn of the century, middle class hockey continued to draw large audiences, and the presence of lower class spectators initiated new tensions--tensions which exposed contradictions in the middle class sporting ideal.

Chapter Two

* * * * *

During the 1890s hockey became the most popular winter sport in the Maritimes and replaced snowshoe races, figure skating, and ice-racing, in terms of participation and spectator interest. In the metro Halifax area alone, organized hockey was played among various leagues: the County, Bankers, College, Intermediate, Junior, 2nd Junior, and the "Colored" league. In New Brunswick, a similar situation existed and senior clubs formed a provincial league in 1900. In winning the New Brunswick championship, the Moncton Orioles entered a heated rivalry with the St. John Mohawks and St. John A.A. In Prince Edward Island as well, teams from Summerside and Charlottetown regularly crossed sticks and entertained their inter-provincial rivals. Charlottetown's Abegweits were particularly popular and performed quite favorably with their Maritime rivals.⁶⁰

By the turn of the century, organized hockey was not confined to larger urban centers and many smaller Maritime communities had competitive senior teams. Amherst regularly played and often defeated the best teams from New Brunswick and Halifax. Towns such as St. Stephen, New Brunswick entered

⁶⁰ An overview of New Brunswick hockey can be found in Brian Flood's, Saint John: A Sporting Tradition, 1785-1985, (Altona, Manitoba, 1985), 83-93. For P.E.I. see Charles Ballem's, Abegweit Dynasty, 1899-1954: The Story of the Abegweit Amateur Athletic Association, (Charlottetown, 1986), 21-31.

provincial leagues and travelled extensively. Although senior teams toured most often, intermediate clubs, such as the intermediate Crescents, would regularly play clubs from Windsor, Canning, Annapolis, and Yarmouth. Indeed, the proliferation of organized hockey in this period was not confined to the Maritime Provinces. Alan Metcalfe has found that a similar situation existed in Ottawa, Winnipeg, Toronto, and Montreal.⁶¹

Internationally, hockey was played in the United States and was very popular amongst various amateur clubs in New York State and Pennsylvania. Overseas, the British elite played the game as a novelty sport: "A game of hockey," a correspondent of the Acadian Recorder suggested, "was played on a lake at Buckingham Palace, England... between [the] Sandringham team and House of Commons team." It is unlikely that the sport was played amongst the British working peoples and, in the case of the Buckingham Palace game, the Sandringham team "was captained by the Prince of Wales..."⁶² However, working peoples were not excluded from organized sport in Britain. In Scotland, for example, football captured "the imagination of the industrial working class" during the 1860s- 1870s. The industrialized "Vale of Leven area," in particular was immersed in football

⁶¹ Alan Metcalfe, "The Emergence of Organized Team Sport, 1867-1914," Canada Learns to Play, (Toronto, 1987), 64-65.

⁶² Acadian Recorder, Feb. 15, 1895. Although the moderate English climate did not favor sports such as ice hockey, field hockey was regularly played amongst the middle classes.

and "one in four of all males aged between 15-29 in Central Scotland belonged to a soccer club."⁶³

In the Maritimes, most hockey organizations in the pre-War period were local clubs who played according to religious, occupational, educational, and business, affiliations. Indeed, senior clubs were the most popular among spectators but teams from various schools, such as Frazee and Whiston's Business College and the Halifax Academy, were active as well. The clerks of Wm. Stairs, Son & Morrow regularly sought challenges with other business teams, and Christ Church in Dartmouth founded a children's team in hopes of playing other juvenile clubs. As the Acadian Recorder put it, hockey "infected all classes; the military, bankers, business men, etc., play the game."⁶⁴

The motivation of such hockey organizations was derived from the reform movement--a movement which stressed physical exercise in public schools, facilities of higher education, and among businessmen. However, despite the fact that hockey was organized by the bourgeoisie, Maritimers of the lower classes also played the game. In her study on leisure activities in late-nineteenth century Halifax, Beverly Williams has shown

⁶³ W. Hamish Fraser, "Developments in Leisure," People and Society in Scotland: Volume II, 1830-1914, W. Hamish Fraser and R.J. Morris (eds.), (Edinburgh, 1990), 253. For a good quantitative study on Scottish participation in organized sport during the nineteenth century, see N.L. Tranter, "Rates of Participation in Club Sport in the Central Lowlands of Scotland, 1820-1900," Canadian Journal of History of Sport, (Dec., 1990).

⁶⁴ Acadian Recorder, Jan. 30, 1899.

that Halifax's first rink at the Horticultural Gardens (now Public Gardens) often reproduced class divisions prevalent in society in general. Intended for the wealthy, the Gardens gradually opened up to the lower classes--a process which demonstrates the agency of the lower classes more than any altruistic intentions of the middle class.⁶⁵ As for hockey, the nature of the working class game, at least in part, discouraged working people from participating in organized hockey.

Hockey was played by working people "...with their own equipment, style, and rules in an outdoor setting, while the more prosperous middle class devised more formalized competition on indoor rinks."⁶⁶ Indeed, hockey among the lower classes was quite ad-hoc at the turn of the century but "...evidence of the interest in the game could be noted in one of the principal streets [in Halifax]... where a number of truckmen waiting for jobs, filled in their spare moments by having a game..."⁶⁷ Aside from the "unruly" nature of working class hockey, the price of equipment which senior club players used was out of the reach of most Maritimers. A cheap pair of hockey boots cost \$1.77 at the turn of the century and good quality skates cost roughly \$3.50; A pair of shoes went for

⁶⁵ Beverly Williams, "Leisure as Contested Terrain In Late Nineteenth Century Halifax," (unpublished M.A. Thesis, Saint Mary's University, 1991), 41-44.

⁶⁶ Ibid, 37.

⁶⁷ Acadian Recorder Jan. 30, 1899.

about \$2.00. By 1909, skates, pants, body protectors, shin guards, knee pads, and shoulder pads, were used by more affluent players and assuredly cost too much for lower class players.⁶⁸ Indeed, the lower class could not afford to travel to, let alone play in senior matches, even if the more affluent members of senior clubs wanted them to play. In 1896, it cost players 5 to 6 dollars to travel from Halifax to St. John, a sum most Maritimers could ill afford.

Although the lower classes continued to play hockey in an outdoor setting, by the 1900s working class players gradually organized clubs and entered the rink. For example, workers of the Cordage Company challenged a team from any other factory. Journeymen plumbers regularly played apprentices at Dartmouth, and inside workers at the Telephone Co. played the linesmen.⁶⁹ One of the earliest organized leagues which consisted of players from the working class was founded at Cape Breton in 1907:

Representatives of five collieries met at Glace Bay Friday and formed the Colliery Hockey League...The chief conditions of the league are that no senior man is eligible. Any man working or living at the collieries will be eligible to play on the colliery team. The winners of the league will have to defend the title against any colliery team in Nova Scotia...⁷⁰

⁶⁸ This citation is from a Spalding advertisement with all of the latest equipment which appeared in the Acadian Recorder, Feb. 1909. Such equipment was used earlier and can be "seen" in pictures of players in the late 1890s.

⁶⁹ The Evening Mail, March 14, 1900; Acadian Recorder, Feb. 7, 1896; Feb. 15, 1909.

⁷⁰ Acadian Recorder, Dec. 23, 1907.

This does not mean that the lower classes ignored senior matches. Many patronized senior hockey and could afford the 25 cents general admission. General admission rarely guaranteed them a seat at well attended matches but their presence was well noted.

The proliferation of hockey teams in the Maritimes did not necessarily ensure a great deal of interest among spectators of any social class. True, St. John senior teams rarely had a problem gaining local interest in the mid-1890s, but most Halifax senior clubs could hardly boast such popular support. The Acadian Recorder suggested that "[h]ockey is more popular in every city of Canada than in Halifax, and in St. John it has become a perfect craze." Halifax spectators objected to scheduled matches not occurring when stated as well as the infrequent attendance of some of the better players.⁷¹ Unlike senior leagues, most leagues were not interested or "geared" toward obtaining widespread spectator support. College games were witnessed among students, Bankers matches among friends and relatives, and "Colored" games, at least in the mid- 1890s, were primarily viewed by the local black community. As for senior league matches, the main reason attendance was poor in Halifax was the lack of rivalry among local clubs.

⁷¹ The Acadian Recorder regularly complained of the lack of interest by spectators. See the Acadian Recorder, March 4, 1895; Feb. 7, 1895. As late as 1898 attendance was a problem: "One of the greatest drawbacks to hockey last season was the delay in commencing the games. Many spectators anxious to see the sport, find it sufficiently trying to stand about the ice...to wait for play to commence." Acadian Recorder, Jan. 4, 1898.

There were exceptions to the poor attendance at senior matches: the Halifax Wanderers, Halifax Crescents, and the Dartmouth Chebuctos gained popular support.⁷² A championship series between the Chebuctos and Wanderers in March, 1897 drew 2500 spectators:

Many of both sexes wore the respective colors of the club in which they were in favor... Some of the gathering were not at all very particular in their remarks, and just in rear of the press seats there were a few whose expressions against the Wanderers would not be heard at Sunday school.⁷³

Aside from the Chebucto-Wanderers rivalry, inter-provincial matches were a sure bet to draw crowds: "When St. John and Halifax meet at any kind of sport there is always much interest displayed..." Indeed, in February, 1896, 700 spectators attended a match in Halifax between the Wanderers and St. John A.A. The St. James Billiard Hall and the Windsor Hotel received bulletins of a Wanderers game in St. John the following year: "There were large crowds around the telegraph

⁷² A match between the Chebuctos and Wanderers in March, 1896 was attended by 250 spectators and "there was quite a few dollars on the affair..." The following month 400 spectators witnessed another match between the two clubs. Rivalry was more than apparent during this match and "the slashing...was almost terrific...it was not hockey, it was more like the old game of 'shinny'..." Of the 1250 people who attended a Chebucto-Wanderers match in Dartmouth in February, 1897, 500 were from Halifax: "Halifax invaded Dartmouth last night, or at least 500 of our citizens," claimed the Acadian Recorder. Indeed, "the crush to get in the rink was very great," the reserved seats were filled, "and down stairs the people were three and four deep." The spectators yelled continuously for their favorite team "and when goals were scored the din was tremendous." See the Acadian Recorder Feb. 1, Feb. 15, 1896; Feb. 3, 1897.

⁷³ Acadian Recorder, March 6, 1897.

offices here [in Halifax] last night, and excitement ran high when the first word came that the Wanderers had scored the first goals."⁷⁴ By the turn of the century attendance would usually reach between 1500-2500 when a champion New Brunswick team visited a skilled Halifax club.

The New Brunswick--Nova Scotia rivalry was sometimes friendly. Of the 500 spectators who watched a Wanderers match in St. John, all agreed that no one "indulged in [anything] that could be characterized as not in the rules."⁷⁵ Indeed, hockey matches would occasionally embody the "appropriate" characteristics envisioned by the bourgeoisie. However, a few scholars have used such evidence to make sweeping generalizations about the nature of hockey in the pre-World War One period. For example, Metcalfe has suggested that "amateur ice hockey...was created in the image of the middle class."⁷⁶ Metcalfe is superficially correct in that the middle classes formed the first leagues; however, upon closer examination, the bourgeois image hardly lived up to the ideal.

Matches between New Brunswick and Nova Scotian clubs were

⁷⁴ Ibid, March 10, 1897. By the turn of the century, hockey was firmly grounded in Halifax and the Acadian Recorder, would regularly devote separate columns to hockey matches outside of the regular "Sporting Notes" section of the paper. As early as 1897, when the Wanderers defeated the visiting Montreals in front of 1200 spectators at Exhibition Rink, the Recorder devoted large amounts of space to the sport. See the Acadian Recorder, March 6, 1897; also see the follow up editions of this newspaper.

⁷⁵ Acadian Recorder, Feb. 20, 1895.

⁷⁶ Metcalfe, "Organized Hockey," Canada Learns to Play, 65.

usually rough and contradicted the middle class mandate of respectable sport. Amateur associations throughout North America participated in inter-club matches in order to promote "friendly feelings" among amateur clubs--quite inconsistent with their ice hockey displays. Indeed, St. John spectators were upset by the physical play of the Wanderers in February, 1896 and in a fairly rough game the following month, Swaffer, a Wanderers player, "struck the ice with such force that he not only saw stars, but declared that Perlin's comet was plainly visible." A Crescent team in St. John in February, 1898 did little to halt the animosity: "...Bennett and Sturde clashed...and Bennett made the meanest piece of play ever seen in this city...[b]y attempting to hit Sturde on the head with his stick..."⁷⁷

By the turn of the century, the incidents of violence among senior clubs steadily increased. Violence, however, was not merely the result of inter-provincial rivalries nor was it confined to the ice. After a particularly rough match at Truro in 1904, a Windsor team was assaulted by the "rougher elements

⁷⁷ Acadian Recorder, March 16, 1896; March 2, 1898. There are many examples of the roughness of play between St. John and Halifax clubs. A February 1898 match between the Crescents and a picked St. John team in Halifax was particularly rough, on and off the ice: "One of the forwards [of St. John] told a reporter that the crowd was so wild at the Crescent match that he was frequently assailed with abusive epithets, and one spectator threatened to go on the ice and punch him." Acadian Recorder, Feb. 10, 1898. The St. John Globe bitterly complained of the "rudeness" of the Halifax spectators and arrogant attitude of the Acadian Recorder who, the Globe suggested, encouraged the spectators.

amongst the spectators." Apparently, while the Windsor players awaited for the train to depart, they were assaulted "with pieces of coal and lumps of snow and ice:"

Some of the windows of the car were smashed and some people were hurt. Three or four passengers were dragged from the cars and had their faces punched by the 'toughs,' and Policeman McLean, from Windsor, who had accompanied the players, was dumped on the ground, kicked and bruised about the head.⁷⁸

The roughness of organized matches would occasionally have fatal results. In 1903, "[a] boy named McNeil died in North Sydney...from the effects of a blow on the head from a hockey stick received during a game..."⁷⁹ No criminal charges were filed in the incident and the death of McNeil did not result in any serious attempt to "clean up" the sport. Ontario, however, did attempt to discipline Alan Loney in February, 1905. Loney was charged with murdering Alcide Laurin during a fight in Maxville, Ontario; Loney was eventually acquitted of the charge.⁸⁰

What, then, can be made of the bourgeois participation in organized hockey? The actions of many players ran counter to Victorian ideals as well as those of the reform movement in general. Patricia Vertinsky, among others, has noted that 19th- century educators viewed sports as "a means of

⁷⁸ Acadian Recorder, Feb. 19, 1904.

⁷⁹ Ibid, March 20, 1903.

⁸⁰ R.C. Watson and J.C. MacLellan, "Smiting to Spitting: 80 Years of Ice-Hockey in Canadian Sports," Canadian Journal of History of Sport, (Dec., 1986), 10-11.

refrigerating the passions and creating Spartan habits of endurance and self-control among boys..."⁸¹ J.V. Ellis certainly had this in mind when he spoke to Dalhousie students about the brutality of sports if allowed to emerge unregulated.⁸² However, reformers made no serious attempt to clean up hockey, nor did bourgeois players and spectators.

This is not to say that reprimands were non-existent. In 1900 the Halifax County League committee met and suspended two players for fighting. An indignant correspondent of the Recorder suggested that "...if hockey is allowed to descend to the level of prizefighting, the sooner it is brought to a halt the better." In January, 1908 the Chief of Police of St. John cautioned Moncton and St. John players to avoid fighting.⁸³ That same month, during a Moncton-Fredericton match, "Crockett struck Murphy on the head with his stick...[and] he turned and ran at Crockett... the police ran out on the ice...[and] arrests were threatened..."⁸⁴

Many sports throughout North America were considered

⁸¹ Patricia Vertinsky, "The Effect of Changing Attitudes Toward Sexual Morality Upon the Promotion of Physical Education For Women in Nineteenth Century America," Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education, (Dec., 1976), 34.

⁸² J.V. Ellis, "The Physical and the Mental," The Dalhousie Gazette, (Dec. 20, 1893).

⁸³ Acadian Recorder, Jan. 24; 26, 1900; Jan. 16, 1908.

⁸⁴ This quote appeared in the St. John Sun's report on the Moncton-Fredericton game and was reprinted in the Acadian Recorder, Feb. 1, 1908.

brutal and inconsistent with reformist ideology. American football, for example, was almost banned in the early twentieth century. Unlike the case of Maritime hockey, many American politicians and educators were united in opposition to football; an "ugly" game. Football, critics suggested, promoted brutality and was not fit for genuine sportsmen.⁸⁵ Such concerted attacks on Maritime hockey were rare.

In the Maritimes, the middle classes often overlooked rough behavior at the rink; however, this is not indicative of an evacuation of reformist sentiment amongst the bourgeoisie. More often than not the middle classes blamed the spectators for the roughness of the game; more particularly, lower class spectators. During a particularly rough Crescents-Chebucto game, the Acadian Recorder suggested that:

...the ill-bred persons to be always found in any gathering ...although this only numbered a couple of hundred people... howled with delight whenever a Chebucto player knocked down one of the opposing team, and made similar demonstrations when the occasion arose...⁸⁶

The crowd, it was reasoned, inflamed the sensibilities of "gentlemen" and resulted in unsportsman-like conduct. When a fight broke out at a Wanderers-Crescents match in January, 1900 a correspondent of the Acadian Recorder denounced the crowd more than the actions of the players: "...there was among the gathering a crowd of hoodlums... who would do their best to be

⁸⁵ John Hammond, "Football's Ugly Decades, 1893-1913," The American Sporting Experience: A Historical Anthology of Sport in America, Stephen Riess (ed.), (West Point, N.Y., 1984).

⁸⁶ Acadian Recorder, Feb. 23, 1898.

present if this [the fight] was guaranteed at every match, but the better class will not countenance [sic] such action..."⁸⁷

Although it appears surprising that the bourgeoisie refused to acknowledge their behavior on the ice, historians have shown that classes in positions of power often project values-- values they find inconsistent with their ideals-- to "inferior" classes. For example, Eugene Genovese has found that slaveholders were repulsed by and yet fascinated with slave culture. Sexual promiscuity and laziness were characterized as qualities unique to slaves, despite the fact that slaveholders themselves indulged in such behavior.⁸⁸ Similarly, the "respectable" classes who played Maritime hockey projected the values unbecoming of gentleman to "inferiors" whose station in life was made manifest by immoral behavior.

Upholders of middle class ideals, who were more conscious of their social "responsibilities," did indeed make limited attempts to clean up hockey. Hockey violence, they suggested, would be eliminated with the removal of "unruly" spectators: Hockey required the expulsion of "...the hoodlums who attend the various games [and] who jeer and hoot and make all sorts of derogatory and insulting remarks about the players [with whom] they do not happen to sympathize."⁸⁹ Aside from the hesitant

⁸⁷ Ibid, Jan. 24, 1900.

⁸⁸ See Eugene Genovese's Roll Jordan Roll: The World the Slaves Made, (N.Y., 1974).

⁸⁹ Acadian Recorder, Jan. 30, 1899.

attempts of some to exclude "rowdies" from hockey, aspects of bourgeois hockey were more difficult to blame on others.

By 1909 professionalism was widespread amongst Maritime clubs and gambling was apparent in organized hockey from the beginning. Not only was gambling acknowledged publicly but various newspapers would occasionally publish disagreements over who won a bet. In Halifax, for a precedent, gamblers used the American "National Trotting Association Betting Rules."⁹⁰ Of the 2500 who witnessed a Wanderers-Crescents game in January, 1898, many bet heavily on the outcome:

There were a number of wagers made on the contest, more than ever before on a hockey match in the city...wagers from \$5 to \$50 were made, and some hundreds of dollars changed hands on the result. The fact, however, of there being so much betting, with some other circumstances gave rise to some ugly rumors about the contest...⁹¹

Despite the problems associated with gambling, the St. John press was envious of vast increase of attendance at senior matches in Halifax-- a reversal in that St. John had a strong hockey following three years prior: "[w]hile hockey is on the decline here it is booming in Halifax... [in Halifax] they back their favorites with hundred dollar bills while here they...[do not] even attend the games."⁹²

This is not to say that betting went uncriticized. For example, wagers on an upcoming St. John- Halifax match in

⁹⁰ Ibid, Jan. 12, 1898.

⁹¹ Ibid, Jan. 29, 1898.

⁹² The quote of the St. John Record was reprinted in the Acadian Recorder, on Feb. 1, 1898.

March, 1898 disquieted a correspondent of the Acadian Recorder:

There has been a talk of three games... with a side bet by admirers of from \$200 to \$1000 a side, but this is absurd, as both are amateur teams, and it would certainly not be carrying out amateur principles to play with a large bet pre-arranged....⁹³

Although amateur associations were designed to prevent money from ruining true sportsmanship, bourgeois amateur clubs were active in getting a piece of the action. The Cape Breton Hockey League "decided to hold their matches in the open air, until the rink management agree to the demands of 40 per cent of the gross receipts of each game."⁹⁴ The Cape Breton League eventually won out and there is every indication that the increased revenue was used to "import" professional players.

Without a doubt the biggest concern for the upholders of "true" amateurism throughout North America was the professional question. Walter Camp, a well-known sportsman from New York, told college students to be gentlemen and avoid the evils of paid athletics. The paid sportsman "is not the man you would choose as a friend. He wouldn't stand by you in a pinch...it is only the man who believes in such a thing as honor that is worth anything." For Camp, the gentleman plays to win but does not expect to "earn anything by his victories except glory and satisfaction."⁹⁵ Camp's view on money and sportsmanship was

⁹³ Acadian Recorder, March 5, 1898.

⁹⁴ Ibid, Dec. 28, 1903.

⁹⁵ Walter Camp, "Walter Camp on Sportsmanship," Riess (ED.), The American Sporting Experience, 164-165.

characteristic of amateur associations throughout North America and was based on the popular perception that a sportsman's preoccupation with money revealed misplaced and improper social values.

The vast majority of amateur clubs publicly loathed the intrusion of money into athletics. Amateur athletic clubs in North America were modeled after the New York Athletic Club, which in turn was patterned after English Clubs. The amateur definition of most of these clubs was similar to Camp's and the New York Club:

An amateur is any person who has never competed in an open competition, or for a stake, or for public money or for gate money, or under a false name, or with a professional for a prize, or whence gate money is charged, nor has ever, at any period of his life, taught or pursued athletic exercises as a means of livelihood.⁹⁶

Again, as was the case with violence, amateur clubs in the Maritimes failed to live up to their own mandates. During a Halifax County League game in January, 1897 "[t]he professional question came up during the evening and protests were made in case there should be any players who did not come under the amateur definition..." The executive of the Nova Scotia Provincial League was constantly addressing the professional issue during the first year of the League's existence:

"...there were men who have participated in hockey league

⁹⁶ See Richard Wetton and Joe Willis, "Social Stratification in the New York Athletic Club: A preliminary Analysis of the Impact of the Club on Amateur Sport in Late Nineteenth Century America," Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education, (May, 1976), 41-52.

contests this season who had taken part in games at other seasons in which they did not represent a regularly organized amateur association, and in which there were pecuniary interests involved..."⁹⁷

The professional question was interwoven with other prominent themes, such as betting and fixed games, in Maritime hockey. Although contemporaries viewed professionalism as responsible for these "evils," the outcome of what was then known as the "Bennett- Kane Affair" goes far in demonstrating that prominent members of the Halifax County League were involved in such "contemptible" action. During a Crescents-Wanderers match in late January, 1900 the animosity between the two clubs was apparent:

...when Kane charged him...Bennett immediately flared up, and went at Kane with his stick; the latter player also brought his stick up quickly, and struck back; both dropped their sticks and went at it with their fists... the players surrounded them, and more blows were struck by some of the other players...

The Halifax County League Committee--representatives of Maritime Provinces Amateur Athletic Association [M.P.A.A.A]--suspended both players for their actions. At face value, it would appear that the M.P.A.A.A. had fulfilled its purpose and addressed the inappropriate behavior of players. However, other motives were involved in the suspension which became unraveled during a Chebucto-Crescent match the following week. Apparently the motives of at least one representative of the

⁹⁷ Acadian Recorder, Jan. 10, 1897; March 14, 1904.

M.P.A.A.A. were less than honorable. A Chebucto committee member, influential in the suspension of Bennett and Kane, "made a bet that his club would win one game from the Crescents this year..." As an irate "hockeyist" explained, this ulterior motive "is very significant" and shows that the Chebucto representative was "unfit to sit in judgement in a matter of the kind."⁹⁸

The controversy between the Crescents and Wanderers was not confined to the ice and administrators of both amateur associations attempted to control the M.P.A.A.A. Indeed, as hockey and other sports continued to increase in popularity and gate receipts swelled, various amateur associations became embroiled in a bitter dispute over the role of the governing body, the M.P.A.A.A. The administrative career of J.C. Lithgow offers insight into the infighting among various clubs and the hegemony of the M.P.A.A.A. Lithgow was President of the M.P.A.A.A. but was also President of the Halifax Wanderers. Born and raised in Halifax, Lithgow was involved in various

⁹⁸ Acadian Recorder, Jan. 24; 26; 27; 31, 1900. During the Chebucto-Crescent match the professional affiliation of some players was exposed: "...the Chebuctos protested the Crescents on the ground that they were professionals in having played [in the past] with Kane...and the Crescents protested the Chebuctos that they had at least two players on their team who violated the amateur laws..."

The Wanderers representative in the Kane-Bennett affair was also implicated by the irate "hockeyist" and accused of "contemptible action [which] is not in keeping with their [the Wanderers] past record for fair-play and manly sport."

sports as a youth and became a prominent banker.⁹⁹ Indeed, the administrative tasks involved in operating a Maritime amateur association were in keeping with his profession. However, Lithgow's dual role as Wanderers' president and President of the M.P.A.A.A. was not lost on other clubs who accused him of using the Association as an instrument of the Wanderers. Lithgow's attempt to discipline Maritime amateur clubs who defied the regulations of the M.P.A.A.A. rarely extended to the Wanderers. Moreover, when Lithgow disciplined players and clubs for using professional players, the punishment was rarely severe. Charlottetown's Abegweits noted the "high handed" tactics of Lithgow after he demanded that the club replay an earlier, and short lived match, with the Victorias, despite Abegweit protests that the "Vics" had professional players:

[Lithgow]...ignores the Constitution and Bye-Laws and tries to take upon himself the powers of other officials. In fact, he tries to be President, Investigating Committee and the whole Executive... Mr. Lithgow may rule in a high handed manner, matters in Nova Scotia, and he may in conjunction with the Association [M.P.A.A.A.] try to act the Czar in... athletics in this Province, but...neither his nor their [M.P.A.A.A.] actions will be tolerated by us unless he... sticks strictly to the Constitution.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ Lithgow's obituary appeared in The Halifax Chronicle, Jan. 16, 1939.

¹⁰⁰ The Daily Examiner, Feb. 6; March 5, 1909. Aside from the various clubs who distrusted Lithgow, spectators also occasionally objected to his decisions. After the Amherst Ramblers played the Crescents in Halifax, a disgruntled Amherst spectator threatened Lithgow: "Take this advice and tell Mr. Lithgow for you [Frank Stevens, who refereed the match] and him to stay away from any hockey game played here [in Amherst], as there is a crowd laying for you, and they swear that if any

The infighting among various clubs was not unique to the Maritimes. For example, the New York Amateur Club controlled the National Association of Amateur Athletics of America in the 1860s. Representatives of the New York Club were not only influential in the National Organization but resisted the attempts by other amateur clubs to break their "monopoly."¹⁰¹ However, in the Maritimes, the professional question was a bigger threat to the power of the M.P.A.A.A. than "power politics" amongst executives of various clubs. In an age when professionalism was rampant among clubs in Cape Breton, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and mainland Nova Scotia, Lithgow was forced to spend most of his time and energy addressing the "problem" of professionalism.

In the early 1900s, G. Laidlaw, from Dartmouth, "migrated" to Sydney each winter and was suspended several times because he was deemed a professional. In New Brunswick, Dick Tibbitts, a well known Fredericton baseball player, was denied access to the Provincial League because of his past affiliation with professional baseball. In 1905, Lithgow cracked down on amateur clubs--probably due to mounting pressure from several amateur clubs that he do so-- and threatened to expel the

Halifax man referees the game here on Thursday night they will mob him after the way you stole the game from the Ramblers in Halifax." See the Acadian Recorder, Feb. 1, 1907. Lithgow, in his usual bold manner, would later attend the Amherst match without incident.

¹⁰¹ Wettan and Willis, "Social Stratification in the New York Athletic Club," 41-52.

Sackville, New Brunswick Club from their Provincial League:

"It is the intention of the M.P.A.A.A. to take every step in their power during the coming winter to ascertain...any violators of the amateur definition..." For a brief period (roughly 1906-1908), Lithgow was as good as his word and suspended players as well as several teams. Moreover, the M.P.A.A.A. temporarily withdrew jurisdiction from the Nova Scotia Hockey League for failing to comply with its decision on a controversial game in 1906.¹⁰²

Although Lithgow was active in disciplining professional players, from 1908 to 1910 he often turned a blind eye towards the issue. Lithgow's reluctance to discipline professionals was in keeping with his urban upbringing and his affiliation with the Halifax Wanderers. Indeed, smaller communities, such as Charlottetown, could not compete with larger urban centers who were certain of large crowds at matches and thus could afford to pay professional players. By pushing the M.P.A.A.A. to ensure "pure" amateurism, smaller communities were in essence fighting for the opportunity to put forth competitive teams. Charlottetown's Abegweits, for example, were one of the crack Maritime clubs in the early 1900s, a success that eluded them ten years later when professionalism was rampant. Professionalism was so widespread and entrenched that several amateur clubs threatened to break from the M.P.A.A.A. or, at least, ignore its mandates unless the regulations became more

¹⁰² Acadian Recorder, Dec. 30, 1905; April 2, 1906.

severe.

Cities such as Moncton advocated the use of professional players and thus had a different view of Maritime hockey than did smaller communities. Teams from Moncton and St. John attempted to persuade Amherst to join a professional league during the 1908 season. Similarly, New Glasgow, temporarily suspended for playing a professional Quebec club, entertained forming, and later joining, a professional league.

Nonetheless, the rural-urban debate culminated with the introduction of the Professional League in 1910. Not only did the M.P.A.A.A. lose control of popular Maritime hockey but the game was split between rural communities who ascribed to "true amateurism" and urban centers who employed professional players.

Unlike the Maritime scenario, Morris Mott has found that the Manitoba Amateur Athletic Association [M.A.A.A.] was successful in its attempt to restrict professional hockey. The M.A.A.A. became closely associated with the Canadian Amateur Athletic Union [C.A.A.U.]--quite different than the loose affiliation of the C.A.A.U. and the M.P.A.A.A.--and strictly enforced C.A.A.U. regulations in Manitoba. One reason why amateur hockey prevailed was that many "hockeyists" deemed that professionalism was responsible for violence. Moreover, rural clubs convinced many spectators that professional hockey gave urban centers an unfair advantage in obtaining players with superior skills. The proponents of amateur sport were also

successful in convincing Manitoba "hockeyists" that professional "athletes and the owners were only motivated by money." By criticizing professional athletics and a professional mentality as a crude and disrespectful form of sport, the M.A.A.A. was successful in directing spectator interest from the Manitoba Professional League.¹⁰³

To be sure, the issue of amateur versus professional was hardly unique to Canada. In Britain as well the issue arose in heated debates over rugby and football which nearly culminated with the banning of football in 1907-08. Unlike the Canadian scenario, however, British sport was not regulated by a central organization, such as the C.A.A.U., and each sport established its own mandates. Yet, in Canada, the pressures toward commercial sport forced the C.A.A.U. to deal "almost exclusively with allegations, suspensions and questions... of amateur athletes playing with or against professionals and not losing their amateur status."¹⁰⁴

Don Morrow has shown that "trends and pressures towards commercial sport created an athletic bubble waiting to be burst." When Morrow's "bubble" finally burst it culminated in the Amateur Athletic Federation of Canada. Founded in 1907,

¹⁰³ Morris Mott, "The Problems of Professionalism: The Manitoba Amateur Athletic Association and the Fight Against Pro Hockey, 1904-1911," in E.A. Corbet and A.W. Rasporich, (eds.), Winter Sports in the West, (Calgary, 1990).

¹⁰⁴ Don Morrow, "A Case Study in Amateur Conflict: The Athletic War in Canada, 1906-08," in Mott (ed.), Sports in Canada, 201-202.

the A.A.F.C. was a direct threat to the C.A.A.U. and the future of amateur sports in Canada. Although the A.A.F.C. was short lived and still claimed to promote amateurism, it recognized several professional clubs and allowed professionals and amateurs to compete. The Organization eventually collapsed in 1909 due to the exclusive control of Montreal interests, but during its short duration the M.P.A.A.A., with Lithgow at the helm, was one of the few associations that "...pledged allegiance to the new sport governing body..."¹⁰⁵

As early as 1907, Lithgow and the M.P.A.A.A. began to advance professionalism in Maritime hockey:

Word has been received here [in Halifax] that the M.P.A.A.A. has granted the right for Nova Scotia teams competing in the N.S.A.H.L. to play with professional teams in exhibition games only.¹⁰⁶

In 1909, three New Glasgow players were known to be professionals during the regular season but they were reinstated by the M.P.A.A.A. after a short suspension. As one correspondent of the Acadian Recorder sarcastically put it after the New Glasgow players were reinstated: "It was a striking commentary on the M.P.A.A.A.'s latest way of 'advancing amateur sport,' that Murphy, one of the whitewashed, was arrested for assault and placed in gaol."¹⁰⁷

The majority of "hockeyists" were becoming irritated by

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, 205-216.

¹⁰⁶ Acadian Recorder, Jan. 1, 1907.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, Jan. 5, 1909.

the infighting among clubs of the M.P.A.A.A. and believed that open professionalism would ensure true amateurism in amateur leagues. Indeed, in central Canada the victory of the C.A.A.U. over the A.A.F.C. resulted in a strict amateur definition in keeping with the nineteenth century mandate. A notable and much stricter exception was that any amateur found guilty of receiving payment for competition would be barred from competition for life. Yet, the professional question refused to go away and the "victory" of amateurism did not result in the end of professional hockey in Canada. In Quebec and Ontario, "hockey entrepreneurs seized the moment to create the National Hockey Association, a declared professional hockey body and forerunner of the National Hockey League."¹⁰⁸ The first professional league in the Maritimes also resulted from business interests, but the catalysts for such a league were the events surrounding Moncton's senior club.

In January, 1910 it became public knowledge that Moncton players "...were under regular weekly salaries...[and] the players also got a bonus--ranging from \$20 to \$45 each--for winning the Starr Trophy..." The only salary stated, that of Jimmy Musick, was "\$15 per week, which with his bonus made \$235 for the season." This was quite a tidy sum in 1910 but other players received more than Musick: "...it is understood that the salaries ran as high as \$25 and \$30 per week..."¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ Morrow, "A Case Study in Amateur Conflict," 215.

¹⁰⁹ Acadian Recorder, Jan. 12, 1910

Although Moncton was suspended because of the disclosure that its players were paid, several Nova Scotia hockey clubs ignored the suspension, by playing against Moncton, and openly proclaimed their professionalism. In mid-February, 1910 the first professional game in the Maritimes was played at Halifax and was greeted with the "biggest crowd of the season." A week later, North Sydney played the professional Crescents for the gate receipts, 60% to winner and 40% to loser.¹¹⁰

Professional hockey was clearly more popular than that of the amateur clubs. For instance, only 400 spectators witnessed the amateur Crescents and the Amherst Ramblers play for the Starr Cup in February, 1910--a match which would have easily drew 1500 spectators in previous years. A week later, 1200 spectators observed the North Sydney professionals play the Crescents. Although the Maritime Professional Hockey Association [M.P.H.A.] was an ad-hoc organization in 1910, it was well organized the following year. Teams operated with a pre-arranged schedule in 1911 and, in 1912, A.B. Crosby, a prominent businessman, donated a cup [the Crosby Cup].

Again, as with amateur hockey in the Maritimes, Lithgow was a central figure in the Professional League. He was President of the M.P.H.A. and the newly revamped Nova Scotia Amateur League. It would be easy to pass off Lithgow's

¹¹⁰ Acadian Recorder, Jan 12; Feb. 15; Feb. 24, 1910. In Halifax there was both the amateur Crescents and the professional Crescents. Players of the pro team all resigned from the Amateur Club and were usually referred to as "Halifax" to avoid confusion with the amateurs.

participation in the M.P.H.A. as greedy opportunism and certainly a degree of self-interest was involved. However, Lithgow was the ideal choice for a new League. He had the administrative background, enforced strict codes of conduct among players and clubs, and had the energy to travel to various games to ensure that the regulations were being followed. As for the M.P.A.A.A, that organization had installed a new President in 1910 and was now presided over by H.D. Johnston, past President of the Abegweits of Charlottetown.

Despite the efforts of Lithgow, violence continued to be prevalent in professional hockey. As with amateur hockey, rough play within the M.P.H.A. did not threaten the future of the sport. Three original teams of the M.P.H.A.-- New Glasgow, Halifax, and Moncton-- were joined by another Halifax team, the Halifax Socials, and a Sydney club also joined for a short period. However, the League was plagued with financial problems and its demise occurred before World War One. With teams squabbling over choice players from central Canada as well as the best Maritime players, salaries inflated. In 1912, Moncton withdrew from the M.P.H.A. due to financial problems and, in Halifax, the increased wages of hockey players was passed on to spectators:

The increased figures demanded by professional hockey players this season and the amount to be paid to some of the the visiting teams to Halifax has increased Arena [Halifax's premier rink] expenses fully 35 per cent over last season... and the prices for games will have to be raised... [T]his year prices of seats in boxes [will] be

raised from 50 to 75 cents, while general admission... would remain...25 cents...¹¹¹

Indeed, the price of admission to amateur games which pre-date the Professional League would sometimes be quite high. Prices for a Moncton- Fredericton in 1908 reached 75 cents "...but sales...were reported at \$2.50 per chair, and... one sale was made of two choice seats at \$5 each." Of the 4500 people who witnessed a Ramblers and Crescents match in Halifax, premium seats were sold at \$2-\$4.¹¹² However, such prices were rare and only occurred at games in which the rivalry was heated.

In 1913, League administrators failed to persuade teams and rink managers to reach an agreement over the distribution of League revenue. As a result of this the M.P.H.A. disbanded. The following year (1914) Sydney, Glace Bay, and New Glasgow played professional hockey, and teams such as the Amherst Ramblers were considered semi-pro. For this distinction the Ramblers played both professional and amateur clubs. However, the outbreak of the First World War ended professional hockey in the Maritimes on a large scale and the game was localized once again during the War years.

From roughly 1894 to 1914 senior hockey in the Maritimes was embroiled in conflict as Maritimers attempted to articulate and reach an understanding on the appropriate nature and function of sport. At first, during the 1895-1905 period,

¹¹¹ Acadian Recorder, Dec. 30, 1912.

¹¹² Ibid, Jan. 30; Feb. 5, 1908.

prevalent concerns amongst the bourgeoisie were fighting and gambling because these issues cast doubt upon the middle class ideal of appropriate sport. However, the middle classes absolved themselves of guilt, at least in regards to fighting, by blaming lower class spectators for inflaming the passions of gentleman players. Professionalism was more difficult to blame upon others and from 1905 to 1910 the issue of professional sport cast members of amateur clubs from smaller communities against the interests of larger urban centers.

Finally, it should be noted that the Maritime Professional League did not result in a sudden influx of players from the lower classes. Although working class hockey became organized in the early 1900s, working people continued to be confined to the role of spectator at popular matches. One partial exception to this occurred with black hockey. From roughly 1899 to 1904 black hockey emerged to rival senior hockey in the Maritimes and forced Maritimers into a reevaluation of their racist heritage.

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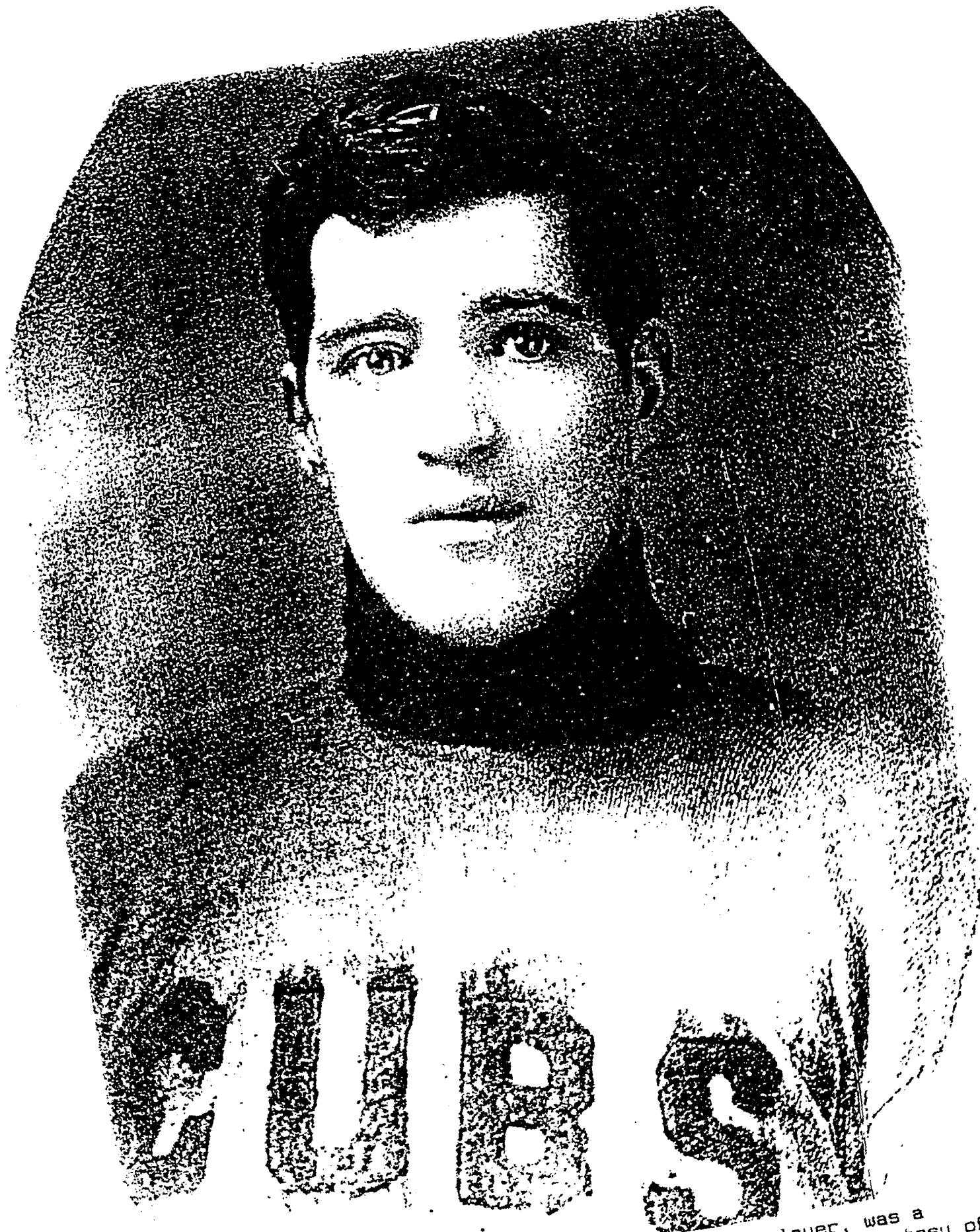
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A typical a for Starr Skates- Courtesy of the Dalhousie Archives.



J.C. Lithgow was constantly criticized by hockey clubs throughout the Maritimes. Lithgow was charged with using the Presidency of the M.P.A.A.A. as a tool of the Wanderers. Here Lithgow is observed (in the second row, second from the right) with the Wanderers in 1905.- Courtesy of the Nova Scotia Sports Heritage Center.



Mike Murphy, a controversial professional player, was a favorite "whipping boy" of the Maritime media. - Courtesy of the Nova Scotia Sports Heritage Center.



These two pictures were taken on October 26, 1901. Dalhousie and the Wanderers are viewed playing a rugby match at the Wanderers Grounds in Halifax. The top picture shows the men in action just after the "Throw in" and the bottom picture demonstrates "The Scrim." - Courtesy of Dalhousie Archives.



The "Colored" Diamonds Baseball Team in the 1920s. Several of these players would also play on the Halifax Diamonds Hockey Club-- a team popular amongst the local black community.
-Courtesy of P.A.N.S. and Colin Howell.



Picture of a black hockey club and was probably taken in the 1899-1904 period. The club pictured is probably the Africville Seaside. Notice the fact that they all wore distinct uniforms, a definite indication that this picture is post-1898. -Courtesy of P.A.N.S. and Colin Howell.

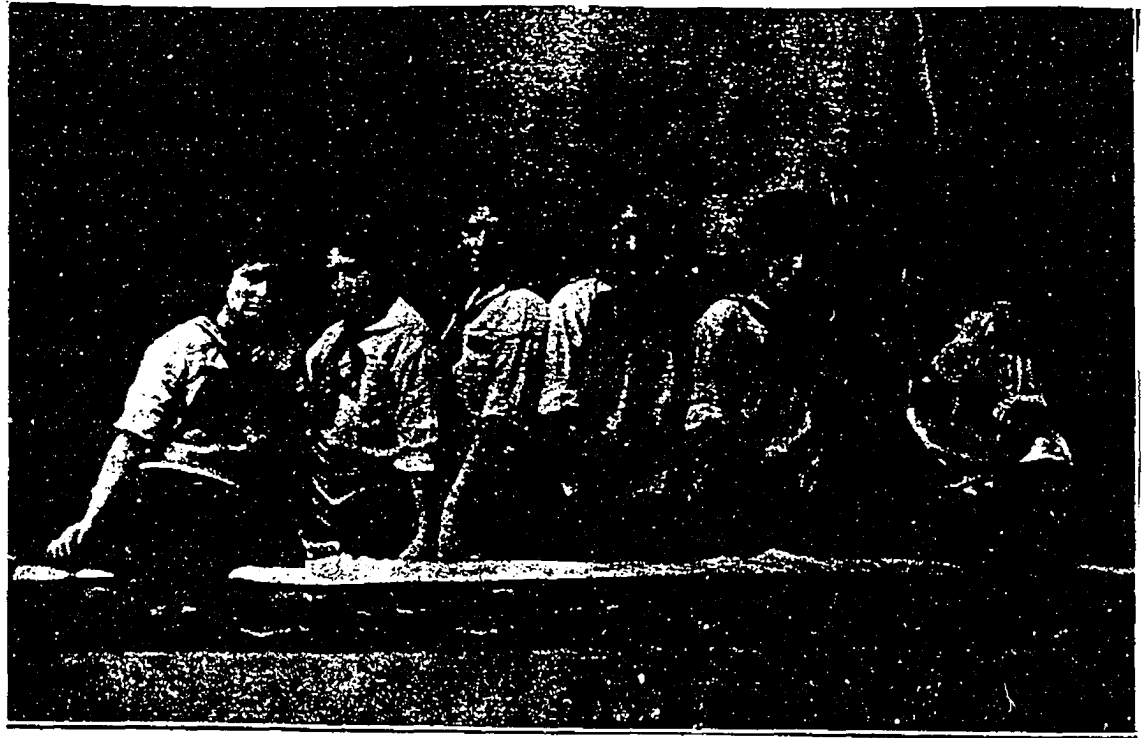


Photo by Gaurin & Gentzel

OFFICERS OF DELTA GAMMA SOCIETY.

	Jean McLean	Gladys Sibley.	Kathleen Allen.
Margaret MacLellan.		Helen Armitage, (President).	Edith Chisholm.
	Fillis Boak.	Edith Henderson.	

Officers of the Delta Gamma Society were active in debating women's issues. This picture of the Delta Gamma's was taken in 1913.- Courtesy of Dalhousie Archives.



F. Whillans. P. Boak. E. MacKenzie, M. Bell. E. Gillies. A. Hall.

LADIES' BASKETBALL TEAM, 1913

This is a wonderful picture of the Dalhousie Ladies Basketball Team of 1913. Basketball allowed these women to tour quite frequently in this period.- Courtesy of Dalhousie Archives.



DALHOUSIE GIRLS' BASKETBALL TEAM, 1914.

E. Gilliat

J. Grant

J. MacGregor

J. MacLeod

L. Creighton

A. Hall

Another picture of Dalhousie's "Girls'" Basketball Team taken in 1914. -Courtesy of Dalhousie Archives.

Chapter Three

* * * * *

In March of 1895, Exhibition Rink in Dartmouth hosted a return match between the Halifax Stanleys and the home town Jubilees. Billed as one of "the most exciting and amusing matches of the season," the game embodied many of the characteristics typical of the age--rough play, community rivalry, and spectator participation. For instance, when the "last goal awarded by the judge to Halifax ended the game; the Dartmouth men" protested and "the referee and the judge were surrounded" by the spectators and players. Yet, despite the similarities with other matches in this era, a distinctive feature of the Stanleys-Jubilees match was that both the Stanleys and Jubilees were "colored" teams.¹¹³ This appears surprising in light of the modern absence of blacks from the game, a reality which one popular myth suggests originates from blacks having weak ankles. History suggests otherwise.

It is now generally forgotten that black hockey was played

¹¹³ Acadian Recorder, March 20, 1895. The word "colored" appears frequently in this Chapter because it was commonly used by Maritimers in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth century. At the infrequent times when the primary sources (written by whites) allowed black players to speak for themselves, I leave out the [sic]. The reader is capable of determining how accurately whites captured the dialect of Maritime blacks. Finally, some of the language in this chapter is offensive and is included-- not without some reservations-- because it bares directly on racist attitudes in the 1895-1914 period. To smooth it over would obscure the harshness of racism and thus the obstacles facing black Maritimers.

on any sort of scale in the Maritimes, let alone that their matches were popular amongst various black communities and, for a brief period, among lower and middle class whites. Alan Metcalfe briefly mentioned that "colored" hockey was an "interesting" display and Sandy Young's discussion of the game is equally meager.¹¹⁴ However, at its height prior to World War One, "colored" teams included: the Halifax Eureka's, Africville Seaside's, Dartmouth Jubilees, Truro Victorias, and the Charlottetown Rangers.¹¹⁵

Written accounts of black hockey in the Maritimes begin in the mid- 1890s and suggest that the game was ad-hoc up to the turn of the century. In all likelihood, however, black Maritimers played much earlier and would have played on the

¹¹⁴ Alan Metcalfe, Canada Learns to Play, (Toronto, 1987), 64; Sandy Young, Beyond Heroes: A Sport History of Nova Scotia, Vol. 2., (Hantsport, 1988), 30. Young's discussion is particularly inadequate because the emphasis of his book is the sport history of Nova Scotia. Beyond Heroes is a celebration of Nova Scotian sporting figures and, as such, offers few clues on the relationship between society and sport. Unintentionally, Young is misleading in regards to "colored" hockey. For example, Young states that "a special league for black players was added in 1900." The implication here is that, although black hockey was segregated at the turn of the century, whites encouraged blacks to play hockey. The opposite appears to be more accurate. The "Colored League" was created by Maritime blacks, not by any altruistic intentions of the white population. Several years before whites "added" the "colored" version of the game to their agenda, blacks played hockey amongst themselves for their own reasons.

¹¹⁵ The Stanleys disappear from the historical record in 1896 but probably changed their name to the Eureka's or the Seaside's. In addition, there are no indications of any black club from New Brunswick playing against teams from P.E.I. or Nova Scotia. This is surprising in light of the fairly large population of black people in and around Saint John.

frozen lakes as others undoubtedly did. Nonetheless, it is the 1890s when accounts of the game begin and black hockey clubs were formed. As with middle class amateur clubs of the 1880s, black teams in the 1890s would often challenge other teams via local newspapers.¹¹⁶ There was no pre-arranged regular season, no governing body which enforced regulations, and communication between clubs was scarce at best. Usually the Eureka's and the Jubilees would meet once or twice during the winter and the winner would proclaim themselves champions of Nova Scotia and the Maritimes--a fact that did not go unnoticed by black communities in Truro and Charlottetown.

As with rivalry among white clubs, "colored" matches were often intense displays and community rivalry was more than apparent. For example, in the aftermath of the Stanley-Jubilees match in 1895, the Stanley's were surprised by their reception in Dartmouth: "We got sum show in Dartmouth las time, but we can't get none here to-night." Apparently when the puck was kicked over the Dartmouth Club's goal line "every player on the Jubilees team protested against the counting of that point." Captain Braces Franklyn of the Jubilees, "who stands about 3ft. 6in. in his stocking feet, wanted to wipe the ice up with the Judge who gave the decision." Later "...their was another dispute, in midst of which half time was called:"

¹¹⁶ For a typical example of this see the Acadian Recorder, Jan. 24, 1899: "We the Eureka's of Halifax, do hereby challenge the Jubilees, of Dartmouth, or the Seaside's of Africville, to a friendly game of hockey..."-A.E. Martin. Captain."

In the second half the play was even more exciting--body-checking, tripping and other devices for doing up the other fellows were resorted to. The players were bunched most of the time and did not seem to worry much as to whether it was the ball or an opponent's shins that was struck. Some of the scrimmages were too ludicrous for description. Players were knocked down and left to get out of the melee as best they could.¹¹⁷

Despite the condescending tone of the above quote, there was no denying that the match was rough and full of animosity: "Dey knowed we du dem," suggested a Jubilees player, "we had de bes' of dem and dey stopped."¹¹⁸

Black hockey was similar to the more affluent middle class game in that play was aggressive and would remain so up to the outbreak of the First World War. For example, "Skinner, of the Eureka's, and O. Paris, of the Victorias, collided," during a match in Truro and "...the crowd jumped onto the ice, thinking to see a scrap..." Indeed, "excitement ran high on both sides and... before the half ended, Martin and Mills cross checked each other just in front of the Eureka's goal, and heated words and acts resulted..."¹¹⁹

Black hockey was primarily witnessed among local black communities, but by the late 1890s newspaper correspondents were among the first whites to witness these matches. They described the "colored" sport in blatantly racist terms. In describing a Victorias--Eureka's match in February, 1910 The

¹¹⁷ Acadian Recorder, March 20, 1895.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ The Truro Daily News March 11, 1904.

Truro Daily News suggested that Anson Clyde of the Victorias "did some nice stick-handling" in the first half but then "faded away like a watermelon before a southern darkey."¹²⁰ Nor were blacks the only minority who were stereotyped by the Maritime media. MicMac peoples also bore the brunt of white criticism. For example, the Truro Daily promoted a forthcoming "Reserve" match between the Truro and Halifax County teams as a war: "Thayendensga is playing point for Halifax and it is said that he has a tomahawk in his moccasin for any Truro- 'brave' who slides past him."¹²¹ Yet, despite their willingness to criticize all minorities, newspaper correspondents took particular delight in attacking all aspects of black hockey.

Racial stereotyping was evident in the reporting of the appearance of "colored" clubs. When the Eureka's played the Jubilees for the "colored" championship of Nova Scotia in March, 1898, it was reported that:

The hockey match was productive of great laughter...there were three Johnson's on the Dartmouth team, and one with Halifax... all the players seemed to look alike; some had their coats on, some had them off, and one or two wore white sweaters, and it was almost impossible to distinguish one from the other.¹²²

Not all coverage was necessarily racist, however, a typical complaint about black hockey was that "the play was very ludicrous. Body checking, cross counters, etc., were freely

¹²⁰ Ibid, Feb. 14, 1910.

¹²¹ Ibid, Feb. 9, 1905.

¹²² Acadian Recorder, March 5, 1898.

indulged in."¹²³

Nevertheless, "disorderly" games reinforced white perceptions that black hockey was more a carnival display than an exhibition of hockey skill. During the Jubilees- Stanleys match in 1895, Charlie Flint celebrated a fine play by skating "around the rink at his highest rate of speed, frantically waving his stick."¹²⁴ However, blacks entered the sport with their own objectives and black spectators certainly understood that the "carnival" displays of players were often jests which poked fun at the aggressiveness of the game, be it of black clubs or the more affluent middle class senior clubs. For example, during the Victorias--Eurekas match in February, 1910, "some of the stunts" of Marty Martin "were thrilling...[and] he electrified the audience by a sensational double somersault winding up with a vicious swing at an opponent, who wasn't there."¹²⁵

"Colored" hockey was certainly "geared" toward the audience and encouraged spectator participation:

The ladies... at times could not control their feelings. They shouted and danced and expressed their joy in many... ways when their favorites scored or made a good play.¹²⁶

During the match at Truro between the Victorias and Eurekas in 1910 the ladies were more than evident. Despite its racist

¹²³ Ibid, Feb. 28, 1895.

¹²⁴ Ibid, March 20, 1895.

¹²⁵ The Truro Daily News, Feb. 15, 1910.

¹²⁶ Acadian Recorder, March 20, 1895.

tone, The Truro Daily News was impressed by the black women: "Talk about rooting, these colored ladies can give the fans cards and spades when it comes to yelling for a team." Indeed, continued the Truro Daily, "if the Vics had worked as hard as the ladies, they might have won."¹²⁷

White perceptions of black women were intertwined with prevalent perceptions of race, labour, and gender. Newspaper accounts of female spectators rarely considered black women to be "ladies" in the middle class sense of the word. As Suzanne Morton has argued in a different context:

Black women were expected to be engaged in hard physical labour such as scrubbing, thereby confirming their unladylike reputation; yet, at the same time, those who restricted their labour to the private domestic sphere and expected their husbands to act as breadwinners could be perceived as lazy. In creating the image of the unladylike woman, race reinforced and worked together with class so that the bonds of womanhood were narrow.¹²⁸

For black women the "bonds of womanhood" were certainly confining, but the degree that such narrow roles influenced their leisure activities remains unknown. Gwendolyn Captain has shown that black women in the United States were active in controlling their leisure activities and formed distinct organizations such as all-black branches of the Y.W.C.A. In addition, black women athletes achieved a degree of success in competition against whites. However, Captain is also acutely

¹²⁷ The Truro Daily News, Feb. 15, 1910.

¹²⁸ Suzanne Morton, "Separate Spheres in a Separate World: African-Nova Scotian Women in Late- 19th-Century Halifax County," Acadiensis, (Spring 1993), 74.

aware of the problems faced by black women:

During a period when ...the mental capacities of both Blacks and women were questioned and disparaged, how was one to view Black women? Placed at the bottom of the hierarchy-- and indicated on the basis of both gender and color-- Black women were placed in a particularly disadvantaged position.¹²⁹

As for hockey in the Maritimes, newspapers do not record any reference to black women's hockey and, although many probably skated on the frozen lakes, sources are lacking to confirm even this.

Media descriptions of black hockey spectators (despite their unrelenting racist tone) suggest that men behaved in an "excitable" manner similar to that of women. 'Tommy' Tynes, a black spectator from Dartmouth, was renowned for his antics at both white and black games. Tynes was a favorite of the Acadian Recorder: "'Tommy' Tynes, the renowned Dartmouth 'rooter' was very much in evidence," during a Crescents match in March, 1896, "and two youths, Taylor and Morrow, got alongside him and shouted for the Crescents... and they strove to outdo the others in giving expressions to their feelings."¹³⁰ Tynes "clownish" type of behaviour roused the usual "playful" and, yet, condescending response from the Recorder, and among white spectators such as Taylor and Morrow. For the media, black spectators, regardless of gender, were subject to a

¹²⁹Gwendolyn Captain, "Enter Ladies and Gentlemen of Color: Gender, Sport, and the Ideal of African American Manhood and Womanhood During the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," Journal of Sport History, (Spring, 1991), 81-102.

¹³⁰ Acadian Recorder, March 7, 1896.

uniform racism.

During the 1890s the reform movement was active in reforming many aspects of personal and public life, but not racial segregation. Institutions of "social control," such as prisons and missionary schools, claimed a disproportionate amount of blacks among their casualties and sometimes separated lower class white and black "criminals."¹³¹ Sheridan Hay, among others, has noted that the various education Acts of the nineteenth century either directly or indirectly excluded blacks from public education in Nova Scotia.¹³² Not only were public schools legally segregated in 1884 but, "colored" schools were consistently under-funded. Thus it is hardly surprising that another bourgeois innovation, organized hockey, followed a similar pattern. Indeed, other than boxing, which occasionally broke the "color-line" and was often considered a lower class sport anyway, most sports at the turn of the century were segregated.

Black Maritimers were not legally prohibited from

¹³¹ Judith Fingard, The Dark Side of Life in Victorian Halifax, (Porters Lake, N.S., 1989), 195. "The segregation of the city's [Halifax] black population," Fingard writes, "was reinforced rather than undermined by middle-class interventionism." Indeed, the racist attitudes of judges, for example, hardly inspired them to mount a critique of social injustice nor question why a disproportionate amount of blacks appeared before the courts. Instead, many judges were unduly harsh towards black defendants.

¹³² Sheridan Hay, "The Black Community Challenge: The Struggle for Education," (forthcoming M.A. Thesis, Saint Mary's University). I would like to thank Sheridan for sharing an early draft of his thesis with me as well as patiently clarifying points I had trouble with.

participating with and against whites but they were hardly encouraged to do so. The "color-line," a contemporary term which encouraged racial boundaries in society, was customary in Maritime sports. Legal precedent in America's Southern States, which cast segregation in sports into law, very likely solidified such attitudes in the Maritimes. Regardless of the manner of segregation in sport, the results were the same; blacks rarely competed against whites. As for hockey, the equipment of blacks was inferior and access to public facilities, such as an indoor rink, was minimal. Only when the quality of the ice surface at indoor rinks deteriorated, usually in late-February or early March, did blacks play indoors and whites consider their own hockey season over.

Blacks approached the game on their own terms and in doing so a unique version of the game resulted. To a limited extent, the segregation of sport may have even served the interests of the black community because blacks were well aware that competition against whites would heighten racist attitudes in the Maritimes. This is not to say that black people had accepted the underlying assumptions of the "color-line;" boxers, such as George Dixon and Sam Langford, were successful and financially benefitted through competition with whites. Yet while boxing may have offered blacks a degree of satisfaction, a hardening of racist attitudes among whites was hardly in the interest of the black community. Moreover, from the 1870s to the 1890s, boxing itself was under attack by

political and social reformers who maintained that the sport was brutal.

Black hockey remained popular among black communities up to World War One and beyond, but, from roughly 1899 to 1904, it gained respect among whites who began to view "colored" matches as something more than a circus side show. Newspaper descriptions of black hockey increasingly spoke of the fine hockey skills of blacks and encouraged white "hockeyists" to patronize the "colored" game. Indeed, by the turn of the century, whites increasingly became involved in the "Colored" League, as spectators, officials, and, there are indications, as financiers. The fine hockey displays of black clubs was a major theme for the media: "At one time people went to see those games as a burlesque," claimed a correspondent of the Acadian Recorder, "but the members of the teams have made such improvements that the games are now good exhibitions of hockey."¹³³ In 1900, The Truro Daily News also began to mention an "improvement" in black hockey: "The Victorias had a practice... and put on the finishing touches to their superb combination work..."¹³⁴ In addition, as early as 1899 the

¹³³ Acadian Recorder, Feb. 27, 1904. Gradually white spectators and the media acknowledged black hockey as a quality sport. In a match in 1899 the Eureka's defeated the Jubilees and the Acadian Recorder printed the "Colored" League regular season finals. Participating teams included: the Eureka's, Jubilees, and Seaside's. The paper also praised players: "Tolliver...by a brilliant dash scored another goal..." See the Acadian Recorder, April 3, 1899.

¹³⁴ The Truro Daily News, Feb., 28, 1900.

Acadian Recorder came to consider "colored" clubs as respectable and worthy of white patronage and would subsequently "champion" the sport over the next five years:

The first game in the series for the colored championship of the province will take place at Truro on Saturday evening between the Victorias; of Truro, and the Eureka's, of Halifax. Both teams have gained considerable prestige in hockey circles, and a good game is expected.¹³⁵

On commenting on the match The Truro Daily News suggested that "the attendance was large, and the excitement of the spectators knew no bounds..." The Truro "amateur players...did wonderfully well in being defeated only 4 to 3."¹³⁶

Influential in promoting black clubs, newspapers also compared them quite favorably to white clubs. This was clearly evident in the aftermath of the Eureka's and Seaside's match for the "colored" championship in 1900:

It was nip and tuck from start to finish, and kept the spectators in an ecstasy of excitement. Such rushes, such dashing and passing has not been seen within the confines of the rink for some time; and it was a pity the hockey enthusiasts were not out in large numbers..."¹³⁷

The play of Freddie Borden in particular was praised: "Freddie Borden at goal gave an exhibition of goal keeping that has seldom been seen here and without a doubt could not be excelled by any goal keeper of years of experience."¹³⁸ The obvious implication here is that Borden had proved himself better than

¹³⁵ Acadian Recorder, March 2, 1899.

¹³⁶ The Truro Daily News, March 6, 1899.

¹³⁷ Acadian Recorder, Feb. 22, 1900.

¹³⁸ Ibid, Feb. 22, 1900.

white goal keepers.

With the increase in awareness among Maritime "hockeyists" about the quality of black hockey, "colored" games were increasingly patronized by white spectators. In 1899, "about 300 spectators witnessed the Seasides defeat the Jubilees of Dartmouth..." The Rangers tour of mainland Nova Scotia in 1902 was particularly successful and when they played against the Seasides 1200 spectators witnessed the match:

It was a great game... and there was not a person who was not pleased that they were present to witness such a fine contest and such good sport... People came from all parts of the city-- North, East, South and West-- and enjoyed the game to the utmost.¹³⁹

In 1904, The Truro Daily News was impressed by the black players and community: "Many of our colored citizens showed intense enthusiasm throughout the game and the players went into the contest in the most energetic manner possible."¹⁴⁰ The Sydney Record commented on the "esteem in which the colored hockey teams are held in Halifax." Not only did "colored" clubs "undoubtedly furnish excellent sport, [but] hockey cranks always gather in large numbers when a game between them is advertised."¹⁴¹ Indeed, forthcoming "Colored" League matches were promoted via front page advertisements, in both the Acadian Recorder and The Truro Daily News, and the admission to

¹³⁹ James William Power Collection, P.A.N.S., MG 9 Vol. 111, 6-7.

¹⁴⁰ The Truro Daily News March 11, 1904.

¹⁴¹ The Sydney Record, March 5, 1904.

such games was in line with that of white clubs--the 25 cent general and 35 cent balcony admission fee remained constant among the most popular senior clubs at the turn of the century. Black hockey had made the transition to a point which contemporaries considered organized and in keeping with the league play of businessmen, college students, and bourgeois amateur clubs.

Although segregation would continue to separate black players from competing against whites, "colored" teams were closely associated with senior clubs and in fact helped support the Crescent trip to Montreal for Lord Stanley's Cup. Upon returning to Halifax, the defeated Crescents had incurred a considerable debt due to the expenses involved with traveling to Quebec. To alleviate this debt a benefit night was organized with all proceeds going to the Crescents. Attended by 700 people, spectators witness two games: An All-Halifax club play the Crescents and the Seaside's play the Eureka's. The night was not without incident, however, and the callous behavior of several white spectators influenced the outcome of the "colored" match: "...Freddie Borden who stopped some very difficult shots... would have prevented some from going in that did if he had not been interfered with by some of the rougher elements of the spectators..." Apparently several spectators stood behind Borden and tripped him at crucial moments during the match. Surprisingly the Acadian Recorder later defended Borden: "The [rink] management should in future see that the

best of order should prevail, especially when teams offer their services and are deriving no financial benefit from the game."¹⁴²

The fact that whites were chastised for interfering with black players encouraged a decline in this type of incident. Indeed, as professionalism increased among bourgeois clubs, the amateur status of "colored" players helped enhance their reputation. In an ironic twist, whites "paid" for their involvement in black matches. For example, during a match in Halifax between the Eureka's and the Victorias of Truro, "A. Nelson, of the Crescents, refereed, and...a couple of times he was surrounded by the players..." However, Nelson was able to avoid personal harm and "he explained everything to ...their [the Victorias and Eureka's] satisfaction."¹⁴³ It is worth noting that the players were not concerned with the possible repercussions of the white community, nor did the newspaper consider the aggressive attitude of players "insulting."

Judith Fingard has recently shown that the black community in Halifax "had direct influence only over their own segregated, voluntary institutions..." However, interest in politics and temperance gained leading black citizens "influential friends among whites" and the respect of their dominant counterpart.¹⁴⁴ Blacks also began to associate

¹⁴² Acadian Recorder, March 21, 1900.

¹⁴³ Acadian Recorder, Feb. 20, 1904.

sporting organizations with Victorian respectability and by pursuing common interests with white reformers, black "hockeyists" were able, to a limited degree, to transcend the harshest features of racism. For instance, the team roster of the Stanleys in 1895 included A. McKerrow and B. McKerrow, who were probably encouraged by a well-known and respected relative, Peter, to take up the sport.¹⁴⁵ In the United States as well, black people used sport to enhance their reputation among whites. Marshall Taylor, an outstanding male bicyclist, was confronted by racism but he used middle class values to further both the interests of black people and his own career.¹⁴⁶

There is little doubt that by the early 1900s most newspapers had removed racist language from their descriptions of black hockey and replaced it with a language of class. In keeping with its class bias, the Acadian Recorder was partial to black players who behaved according to the bourgeois sporting ideal. Even the racist Sydney Daily Post conceded that "Captain Taylor, of the Jubilees, is a very dignified gentleman and when checked fell and rose again very

¹⁴⁴ Judith Fingard, "Race and Respectability in Victorian Halifax," The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History, (May, 1992), 171.

¹⁴⁵ The names appeared in the team rosters of the Stanleys. Acadian Recorder, March, 20, 1895.

¹⁴⁶ Gwendolyn Captain, "Enter Ladies and Gentlemen of Color," 91-92.

gracefully."¹⁴⁷ Although divisions within the black community "...were not perceived by the dominant Euro-American culture,"¹⁴⁸ it is apparent that the Euro-American" culture used a new language which was more humane and complimentary towards black people.

The Halifax Eureka's were a personal favorite of the Recorder and, similar to that of white clubs, operated a club house, and were active in summer sports, such as baseball.¹⁴⁹ Although little is known of the Eureka's Club House, Jim Hornby has found references to the Charlottetown West End Rangers. In P.E.I., most black Islanders were born in Charlottetown's "Bog" district which consisted of lower class whites and blacks.

¹⁴⁷ Sydney Daily Post, March 8, 1904. The Post's description of the touring Eureka's and Jubilees was mainly racist and not in keeping with newspapers on the mainland: "As far as we could judge, for 'all coons look alike to us,' victory rested on the banner of the Eureka's..." However, the Post hints at the popularity of hockey among Cape Breton blacks: "A good number of 'cullud' ladies and gents from suburban Cokoyia were present to cheer on their dusky brethren along the slippery path to victory." The extent that the Cape Breton black community played the game remains unknown, however.

¹⁴⁸ Suzanne Morton, "Separate Spheres," 66. Morton discusses how inadequate the primary sources are in regards to Maritime blacks and demonstrates that the community was "by no means homogeneous" because of factors such as religion, class, ethnicity, and other differences. Yet, in regards to hockey, white newspaper correspondents may not have picked up on black differences, but they certainly had "changed their tune" in regards to black players and the community.

¹⁴⁹ I have attempted to find references to the Eureka's club house but have failed to find anything outside of one brief reference which suggests it was located on Creighton Street in Halifax. Following a Eureka's- Rangers match, the defeated P.E.I. club was invited to the Eureka's Club for dinner. See the Power Collection, MG 9 vol. 111, 9.

Members of the community founded a "Jubilee-Victoria" club in "the Bog" and the Rangers were the chief winter team of that organization. "Just before the turn of the century," Hornby claims, "Tommy Mills organized... the Rangers Hockey Club...[and] the Mills family formed the core of the team." The Club "made use of one of its few assets, Government Pond" and "...played with sticks from tree- limbs called 'hurleys.'"¹⁵⁰ In a short time the Rangers improved enough to play highly skilled black clubs at Truro and Dartmouth. Moreover, the Club also became popular with white Islanders, as one "Poet" wrote:

It's all very well- to talk about the Abbies;
And it's all very well- to talk about the Vics.
But for tough old hockey fightin'-
The kind we take delight in,
Yer orter see the Rangers use their sticks.¹⁵¹

It is worth noting that the name of Charlottetown's club (Jubilee-Victoria) was also the name of clubs in Truro and Dartmouth. Indeed, Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee in 1897 would have had an impact on why black clubs chose to associate themselves with a British heritage. Maritimers celebrated the anniversary of the Monarch in various festive and sporting activities and blacks fully expected to be represented in these

¹⁵⁰ Jim Hornby, Black Islanders: Prince Edward Island's historical Black Community, (Charlottetown, 1991), 66-68.

¹⁵¹ Quoted from the Power Collection, MG 9 vol. 111, 6-7. It would be wrong to assume from this "poetic" description of the Rangers that the P.E.I. club played more aggressively than white clubs. Throughout the period "poets" would come up with rhymes about various clubs, both white and black. Usually the main theme of these rhymes centered on the aggressiveness of a team.

activities. But the reason black clubs chose to name themselves after the British Monarch probably has a significance peripheral to sport. For example, in 1887 during Queen Victoria's golden jubilee, one black voter complained that the sports committee, which was to organize public amusements, failed to include the black community: "...we pay our taxes just as well as the white folks, [and] we think a great injustice has been done to us. We hereby appeal to the city council to see that justice is done."¹⁵² As Fingard has shown in a different context, leading black citizens in Halifax claimed rights in the name of their "Britishness" and appealed to the British "Constitution" to grant or maintain these rights.¹⁵³ It is hardly surprising, therefore, that black hockey players chose to name their respective clubs in alliance with British political institutions.

By the early 1900s the "quality" of play among black players had undoubtedly improved, but so too did the caliber of equipment. In the late 1890s "all sorts of skates were worn - acmes, straps, perforated blades, and even reachers..."¹⁵⁴ By 1904 players had better equipment, wore distinctive team colors and, like their bourgeois counterpart, these teams increasingly toured via the railway:

¹⁵² Bonnie Huskins, "Public Celebrations in Victorian Saint John and Halifax," (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Dalhousie University, 1991.), 286.

¹⁵³ See Fingard, "Race and Respectability," 169.

¹⁵⁴ Acadian Recorder, March 5, 1898.

The Eureka and Jubilees leave on Monday to play at North Sydney Monday night, and at Sydney Tuesday and Wednesday. These will be the first games of hockey played in Cape Breton by colored people, and residents there may expect good sport.¹⁵⁵

It would be interesting to learn if a "colored" player's status as hockey player influenced the seating arrangements on the train. It is well known that blacks were hired on the railway as porters and that they were segregated from white railway workers. Yet, references to accommodations for black hockey clubs on the train are not stated in the sources, although there are indications which suggest that a "colored" player's status was enhanced in other areas. For example, in March, 1900 the Victorias and Seaside were invited to participate in a Winter Carnival: "Previous to the match the competing teams will take part in the procession which will parade through the streets..."¹⁵⁶

Just as quickly as "colored" hockey gained the respect and patronage of whites, the game lost its popular appeal. From 1905 to the outbreak of World War One, newspapers, especially the Acadian Recorder which was important in promoting the game, retreated from describing black hockey in humane terms. Moreover, even the racist descriptions which reemerged in 1905 became sporadic and newspapers chose to ignore, or merely mention in passing, "Colored" League matches.

What, then, accounts for the withdrawal of whites from the

¹⁵⁵ Acadian Recorder, March 2, 1904.

¹⁵⁶ The Truro Daily News, March 1, 1900.

game? One explanation might be that black players had proven themselves in victory against whites, challenging white perceptions of their racial superiority. Another explanation might be that a new generation of newspaper correspondents emerged and simply ignored or, when choosing to address the game, degraded it.

Both of these explanations, however, are inadequate and simply do not conform to the historical record. First, primary sources simply do not indicate that a black team played against a white club in, or around, 1904.¹⁵⁷ Indeed, due to the prevalence of racism, it would hardly be in the interest of blacks to do so. Second, it is highly unlikely that the two major sources for information about black hockey, the Acadian Recorder and The Truro Daily News, simultaneously rejected the game because fewer sympathetic correspondents wrote on sports. Although newspapers did not report on black hockey to the extent they once did, references remain from 1905 onward.

Most likely the declining interest in black hockey amongst whites occurred due to other factors which converged in 1904.

Foremost among these was the formation of the Nova Scotia

¹⁵⁷ Jim Hornby has suggested that the West End Rangers of Charlottetown were defeated by the Abegweits in 1900. However, upon checking his footnotes, of which he uses two to back up his claim, one appears from 1904 and the second from 1940. The 1940 claim is from the Herald and does not give a specific date, whereas I had no access to the 1904 source. See Hornby, Black Islanders, 67-68.

Charlottetown's Daily Examiner does not mention the match. This does not mean, of course, that the match failed to materialize; however, it surely had no bearing on the "evacuation" of whites from black hockey in 1904-05.

Provincial League. In Nova Scotia, the Provincial League would override all other leagues in terms of popularity, black hockey included. It is worth noting, therefore, that the Jubilee-Eurekas tour of North Sydney-Sydney in 1904 was promoted to an audience without a club in the Nova Scotia Provincial League.

Another significant factor which influenced the decline of "colored" hockey among white spectators was the fact that black hockey came to embody the same attributes of the middle class game. In other words, professionalism, a rampant and, for many, undesirable aspect of white hockey, entered the game. That middle class players were reprimanded for being professionals would be magnified for black players. Indeed, there are indications that professionalism had "infiltrated" the "colored" game. For instance, controversy broke out as early as 1902 when Martin, a former Eurekas player, switched allegiance to the Seasides. One irate Eurekas player suggested that he would "lay their blood [Seasides] on Mr. Clarke's ice" if they played Martin. Several hundred disgusted spectators were informed the match would not materialize and despite more objections the Eurekas still refused to play.¹⁵⁸ In 1904, controversy about the status of players again threatened to end a match prematurely:

¹⁵⁸ Power Collection, MG 9 vol. 111, 15. I have the impression that captain A. Martin wanted to maintain the amateur status of Eurekas' players. Martin's commitment to "gentlemanly" athletics made him a favorite of the Acadian Recorder. Indeed, after Martin's departure from the Eurekas in 1902 professionalism is evident.

The Eureka's were not as strong as they anticipated; they had the Mills Bros., formerly of the Rangers of Charlottetown, and now of New Glasgow ready to play, but Truro objected. The Eureka's cited the fact that McDonald was playing for both New Glasgow and North Sydney, but Truro was inexorable, and said they would take the 9 o'clock train for home, and [the] Eureka's consented to play two substitutes.¹⁵⁹

It is interesting to note that Jack D. McDonald, a native of North Sydney, was a white player and well known to be a professional. The Nova Scotia Directories of 1907-08 list McDonald as a clerk at the Belmont Hotel;¹⁶⁰ an ideal position for someone whose winter was devoted to professional hockey. By 1908 "MacDonald... [had] been in the game in Nova Scotia for several years, [and had] been suspended frequently for all sorts of offenses..."¹⁶¹ Like other professionals, such as G. Laidlaw and Mike Kane, McDonald played at various times for both New Glasgow and North Sydney. Indeed, both Clubs were reprimanded by the M.P.A.A.A. for their use of professionals. Yet, that McDonald could attempt to play on a black club raises questions of the monetary status of black teams and the extent of community rivalry amongst black clubs. Moreover, it is also interesting that McDonald's ejection from the Eureka's-Victorias match was based upon his professional affiliation, not upon his race.

¹⁵⁹ Acadian Recorder, Feb. 20, 1904. Various newspapers would spell McDonald differently; i.e., MacDonald. However, the individual mentioned in the quote was Jack D. McDonald, a well-known senior league player.

¹⁶⁰ "McAlpine's Nova Scotia directory, 1907-08."

¹⁶¹ Power Collection, MG 9 vol. 116, 83.

Still another feature which apparently influenced the decline of black hockey among whites was that the game regained its disorderly and "amusing" characteristics. "As regards the playing," in a Truro match in 1904, "it was not exactly scientific, being more forcible than otherwise:"

Combined with the check used in hockey, the football tackle was used quite frequently. Sometimes the players forgot themselves for a time, and imagined they were playing baseball, swinging their sticks like bats. Then to vary the monotony, they entertained the spectators by a few fistic exhibitions which were loudly applauded.¹⁶²

It is unknown why clubs returned to the "carnival" type game which was characteristic of matches prior to 1899. Perhaps in reaction to the popularity of the Provincial League, black teams attempted to offer something different. There are indications that whites (be it rink management or community "boosters") encouraged players to "put on a show" and market themselves according to racial stereotypes.

Having said this, there is no doubt that black hockey declined in popularity among whites. However, the game remained popular in black communities until well into the 1920s and beyond.¹⁶³ As was so often the case prior to 1899, racism returned in newspaper accounts of the game in 1905, but embodied a new language of paternalism as well.

From the beginning of the sport in the Maritimes up to

¹⁶² The Truro Daily News March 11, 1904.

¹⁶³ During the 1920s black teams, such as the Halifax Diamonds and the New Glasgow Rovers, were popular amongst both black and white peoples. This, however, only lasted for a short period.

1899, black hockey was played and witnessed among black communities. Matches were scheduled on an ad-hoc basis, but gradually changed and was transformed into a highly skilled enterprise that whites came to acknowledge as such. In this period hockey offered black people a means of obtaining a degree of dignity which was usually denied to them by the dominant culture. There is little doubt that whites described both black spectators and communities in more humane terms: Blacks were more likely to be described as "citizens" and respectable persons rather than as inhuman "darkeys" or other derogatory characterizations. However, this only occurred for roughly five years. By 1905 racism reemerged and the game retreated to the black community once again. Overshadowed by the commercial success of Nova Scotia Provincial League and later by the Professional League, black hockey clubs made ineffective attempts to regain their lost status up to the First World War. The obstacles, however, were too ingrained in dominant perceptions of race and sport. Beginning in 1905, newspaper descriptions of black hockey were racist and paternalistic. Blacks were considered "darkeys" but better ones, if they won, than an opposing community's. Paternalism, however, was not restricted to black clubs, and as hockey increasingly emerged among white women, in the early 1900s, they encountered similar prejudices as well.

Chapter Four

* * * * *

In February, 1904 The Eastern Chronicle, a newspaper serving the New Glasgow area, reported on "an interesting hockey match [which] was played...at the rink... between two team's of young ladies, the Orioles and the Pioneers." Dr. Elliot, who refereed the game, had an easy evening "and his duties were not of the arduous kind, as the participants adhered closely to the rules..." This match was festive in nature and the spectators, many of which were males, "enjoyed the game and laughed heartily at the dexterous maneuvers of the fair contestants." Indeed, the amused spectators were not expecting a good match so much as they were a demonstration of female beauty and physical grace. Yet, this is not to say that the ladies lacked 'hockey sense.' Members of both teams were "exceptionally fast skaters and fully alive to the finer points of the game..."¹⁶⁴

The Orioles- Pioneers match occurred at a time when women challenged traditional views of female subordination. Women increasingly viewed political and educational constraints, which had virtually denied them influence in government and access to "higher learning," as symptomatic of the subjugation of women. Yet, change had begun to occur in the late-nineteenth century. For example, John Reid has found that

¹⁶⁴ The Eastern Chronicle, Feb. 9; Feb. 12, 1904.

Mount Allison College in New Brunswick was at the forefront in granting admission to female students. Moreover, despite attempts to engender the curriculum with traditional or "ornamental" courses, Mount Allison had made significant strides in offering women a quality education.¹⁶⁵

Despite the success at Mount Allison, other colleges in the Maritimes were less dynamic than their New Brunswick counterpart. Dalhousie College in Halifax, for example, first granted women the opportunity to attend in 1881, but by 1908 "the 'feminine element' [had] not, as yet, encroached far on college affairs:"

The women have not as yet taken part in the Sodales Debating Society, and while the ideals of the Dalhousie girl remain what they are, they never will. From her classes, and from her own debating society she can receive all necessary mental training and practice.¹⁶⁶

Evidence suggests that Dalhousie women were less passive than the author in the above quote contended, were concerned with gaining access to the College's facilities, and were aware of the fact that their curriculum was not up to the standards of other women's colleges.¹⁶⁷ The Delta Gamma Society, Dalhousie's

¹⁶⁵ John Reid, "The Education of Women at Mount Allison, 1854-1914," Acadiensis, (Spring, 1983), 15-17, 20, 28, 32-33.

¹⁶⁶ Dalhousie Gazette, (March 25, 1908), 180. The female debating society at Dalhousie was the Delta Gamma Society.

¹⁶⁷ Dalhousie ladies were certainly concerned with the "meaning" and implications of their education. In January, 1900 the Delta Gamma Society debated the issue of whether women should enter the higher professions. They decided in favor of women professionals. See the Dalhousie Gazette, (Jan. 31, 1900), 161.

In fact, upon graduation, many of the Delta Gamma's would enter the work-force as teachers, travel abroad, or "go on" to do

main fraternity of women students, were at the forefront of the movement for equality and were seeking learning facilities with alternatives to Dalhousie's condescending policies. For example, in March, 1901 Dr. Eliza Ritchie, one of the first female graduates of Dalhousie and a professor of philosophy at Wellesley College, Massachusetts, spoke to the Delta Gamma Society about the curriculum at Wellesley: "...there are a greater variety of courses offered to an undergraduate [at Wellesley]. The work required in their first year corresponds to that of our second year..."¹⁶⁸

Just as women's educational expectations began to increase so too did their expectations of physical education. Indeed, physical exercise was part of, or becoming part of, the curriculum for both boys and girls in the public schools throughout Canada. However, the nature of exercise in public schools was tied to prevalent gender stereotypes: "Sport was viewed as a means of developing feminine beauty and grace, only for boys was the goal to build physical and mental endurance..."¹⁶⁹ In colleges, such as Dalhousie, attempts at gaining equal access to sport was part of the general movement

graduate work. A good statistical source on the history of Dalhousie women appeared in the Dalhousie Gazette, (March 7, 1903), 226-229.

¹⁶⁸ Dr. Ritchie's speech to the Delta Gamma Society was paraphrased in the Dalhousie Gazette (March, 1901), 25-26.

¹⁶⁹ Helen Lenskyj, "Femininity First: Sport and Physical Education for Ontario Girls, 1890-1930," in Morris Mott (ed.), Sports in Canada, 198.

for educational emancipation: "...girls are not admitted to most college societies, to the gymnasium, nor, on account of traditional custom, to the reading room..."¹⁷⁰ In October, 1900, the Delta Gamma Society debated the issue of whether it was "in the best interest of Dalhousie girls to engage in athletics" and the "girls" decided that women should participate in athletics.¹⁷¹ Indeed, Wellesley students were well ahead of their counterpart at Dalhousie in regards to sport: "the girls have tennis and boating in the summer, and during the winter months, skating, while a great deal of spare time is spent in the Gymnasium."¹⁷²

By 1899 female students at Dalhousie began to question the inequality of the institution, including its policy on athletics. Apparently, both men and women paid a gymnasium fee but "the gymnasium privileges of the girls [were]... theoretical." Women had no access to the gym, lacked a gym instructor, and funding for gymnastic equipment was nonexistent. The ladies petitioned the Dalhousie Senate which publicly agreed to hire a female gym instructor; yet, the Senate also failed to grant adequate funding for the endeavor. To illustrate the Senate's lack of commitment to female exercise, the amount granted for the theoretical program was

¹⁷⁰ Dalhousie Gazette, (Feb. 10, 1899), 174-176.

¹⁷¹ Ibid, (Oct., 1900), 23.

¹⁷² Ibid, (March, 1901), 25-26.

less than the girls' paid in gym fees.¹⁷³

The Senate's inaction in granting women students a physical education was generally in keeping with the ambiguity most educators held in regards to female exercise. By the turn of the century, educators, reformers and medical professionals generally agreed that women required exercise, but the form and intensity of female exertion was open to debate. Various medical professionals attempted to prescribe the proper amount of physical exertion for women without doing harm, so they thought, to a woman's physiology. A particularly sensitive area for reformers was competitive sports, such as hockey:

Prevailing notions of feminine beauty propounded pale, thin, and frail ideals, while Victorian biology emphasized a woman's physical weakness and neurasthenia. Competitive sports, it was believed, would lead to an imbalance of physical and mental faculties, and the contradiction of feminine nurturing qualities.¹⁷⁴

It should also be stated, however, that at the turn of the century, hockey was played amongst women and that such matches hardly posed a threat to prevalent gender constructs; instead the sport often reinforced stereotypes of frail womanhood. For example, hockey was well established among women at the University of Toronto by 1902 and this version of the game was compatible with notions of the feminine woman. The Toronto club's "femininity" was certainly assured by 1910 when body

¹⁷³ Ibid, (Nov., 1900), 2-3.

¹⁷⁴ Bonnie Huskins, "Public Celebrations in Victorian Saint John and Halifax," (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Dalhousie University, 1991), 288.

checking was eliminated from the sport.¹⁷⁵ In the Maritimes as well, women were encouraged to play hockey, but a "watered down" version of the game. In the 1890s, it was fairly common for women to play men in exhibition matches and for males to use the opportunity to display their gentlemanly characteristics.

During the 1890s male-female matches were condescending displays in which male players would feign ignorance or inexperience of the finer points of the game, by rushing the puck in the wrong direction or by purposefully falling, allowing the women to score a goal or two. Male spectators were usually delighted with such matches. In March, 1905 the Fredericton lady Greylings played the University of New Brunswick men in a benefit match for the Collegians and "the game proved most laughable and the crowd was much amused." Apparently, the Collegians were attired "with skirts on and their left hands tied behind their backs [yet] managed to score two goals while the Greylings found the net five times..."¹⁷⁶

More often than this, women were "invited" to attend matches as spectators. Again, as with the male versus female matches, dominant perceptions of women were condescending. For example, Dalhousie's male hockey team played Kings in February, 1912 and "the 'grand stand' was filled with pretty attractive

¹⁷⁵ Helen Lenskyj, "Femininity First, Sport and Physical Education for Ontario Girls, 1890-1930," Canadian Journal of History of Sport, (Dec., 1982), 4.

¹⁷⁶ Daily Gleaner March 22, 1905.

females, maidens fair to see and behold. Gaily they came and 'lady like' they rejoiced with the victors..."¹⁷⁷ Most often, however, women chose to play the sport and to play against other women. In the 1890s it was fairly common for married women to play single women in "light- hearted" games. Although it can be argued that such matches empowered women by granting them the opportunity to compete, traditional gender relationships remained. Indeed, the attire of women players was not exactly fitting for the occasion and hardly boosted a players' performance. Helen Lenskyj has suggested the notion of "female modesty" required women to wear "clothing that concealed the limbs, especially the legs, and ensured that the wearer could not move in the free, vigorous manner associated with masculinity."¹⁷⁸ The girls' ice hockey club at McGill University in 1894 were certainly burdened by their bulky clothes:

Upon being granted limited access to a rink, the girls had to be comfortably and warmly dressed... they were covered from 6" above their heads to the top of their skates, with hardly enough room to navigate. This comic opera lasted two afternoons and the girls quit..."¹⁷⁹

The Brandon, Ontario ladies club also faced a similar problem and in one match "were becomingly costumed in scarlet, and wore

¹⁷⁷ Dalhousie Gazette, (Feb., 1912), 188.

¹⁷⁸ Helen Lenskyj, Out of Bounds: Women, Sport, and Sexuality, (Toronto, 1986), 21.

¹⁷⁹ Steward Davidson, "A History of Sport and Games in Eastern Canada Prior to World War I," (unpublished Doctor of Education Thesis, Columbia University, 1951.), 146.

o' shanters to match."¹⁸⁰

By the turn of the century, women gradually gained control of their sporting activities by forming their own clubs. Dalhousie girls founded a basketball club in 1912 without any funds, a coach, or access to gymnasium. The following year witnessed the first meeting of the Girls' Athletic Club: "Altogether 55 girls were present 35 of whom were Dalhousie girls."¹⁸¹ As for hockey, women began playing more frequently against each and by the early 1900s female clubs appeared throughout the Maritimes. Ladies hockey was particularly popular in New Brunswick with clubs from Fredericton, St. John, Woodstock, and Mount Allison among the forefront. Indeed, women's hockey matches drew large audiences in New Brunswick. In 1905, 700 spectators witnessed Fredericton play at Woodstock: "The immense crowd had been attracted to the rink more through curiosity and through the novelty of the affair..."¹⁸² That same year, 1000 spectators attended a Fredericton Greylings match against the St. John ladies: "The spectators who attended, were induced to go to the rink more on account of the novelty of the affair than with the expectation of seeing fast hockey."¹⁸³

These matches were distinguishable from many earlier

¹⁸⁰ Acadian Recorder, Jan. 23, 1900.

¹⁸¹ Dalhousie Gazette, (Nov. 1913), 61.

¹⁸² Daily Gleaner, March 11, 1905.

¹⁸³ Ibid, Feb. 23, 1905.

matches in that play was aggressive. For example, the Pioneers-Orioles match of 1904 was not without an "unusual" incident: "... the spectators were privileged to see beautifully swift work, and were treated to a decidedly interesting conflict... [but] the players kept their wits about them..."¹⁸⁴ The aggressiveness of the New Glasgow women was hardly unique or isolated from the behavior of other women's clubs. For example, in 1910 the Ladies Kanenster of Halifax played the Imperials of Dartmouth and a few of the players "indulged in tripping... [and] there were a couple who were inclined to 'mix it up...'" At one point the referee "...was surrounded by most of the players and it was fortunate that he did not wear football hair, as it would have been difficult to tell what might happen..." In March of 1908, the Windsor ladies, among the best women players in the Maritimes, defeated the Halifax women by a large margin: "The game was interesting and at times 'scrappy,' and Windsor claim that they would have made still more goals but the Halifax ladies saved them by tripping..."¹⁸⁵ Not to be out done, the Greylings match against St. John in 1905 was feisty as well:

Marion Maculey slashed at Myrtle Lottimer's stick and when Myrtle told her some things Marion said that she was a 'saucy little thing' and that she would have her put off the ice. Then Myrtle told her that she would 'put it all over her' before the game was finished.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁴ The Eastern Chronicle, Feb. 12, 1904.

¹⁸⁵ Acadian Recorder, March 16, 1910; March 12, 1908.

¹⁸⁶ Daily Gleaner, Feb. 23, 1905.

Hockey was not the only sport in which women were aggressive. Dalhousie's girls basketball club certainly rivaled their female hockey counterpart when they played the Truro "Normal College Basketball Team" in 1915:

It was a close, hard, exciting game. Before half time, 30% of the combatants had received treatment from the First Aid Society. If the first aid course given to the College girls accomplished nothing else, it certainly has enabled the Basket Ball team to exhibit wonderful ereations in the nature of bandaged hands. In this regard the historian can not fail to remark on the boxing glove appearance of Miss Grant's bandage. This she used effectively on her opponent without any fear of injuring her hand.¹⁸⁷

The aggressiveness of women's hockey was not a product of the Maritimes. Tom Graydon, a retired McGill groundsman, recalled the problems he encountered in helping the girls build their own rink. After having to promise the University "in 7 different languages, including all the dead ones, that [he] would not damage a blade of grass or a bulb," controversy found Graydon anyway. Apparently "a well-known professor's daughter" protested the tactics of an opposing team's player by slashing her on the ankles. The professor's daughter was subsequently suspended and Graydon was blamed for the affair. Nonetheless, "the girl's suspension was raised, the system of appointing referees changed on the understanding [Graydon] would get a competent referee who would make them play the rules, but barring body checking."¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁷ Dalhousie Gazette, (April 5, 1915), 12.

¹⁸⁸ Davidson, "A History of Sport and Games in Eastern Canada Prior to World War I," 146-148.

As women began to emulate the rough displays of male dominated amateur associations, gender stereotypes were challenged. For men, rough play contradicted the notion of a gentlemanly respectability, but it also enhanced a player's reputation of manliness. Masculine perceptions of sport often kept women on the fringes and reinforced dominant attitudes which suggested that women were committing "race suicide" by giving up their true role as "robust and self-sacrificing mothers." Indeed, women were biologically inclined for childbirth and "women were asked to hone their bodies to a machine-like efficiency through modest and sociable sport and exercise in order that they might better secure the biological future of the race." Exercise was "designed for women to improve their functioning in their traditionally appointed tasks of childbearing and childrearing."¹⁸⁹ Competitive or masculine sport, such as hockey, however, contradicted such a mandate because it was believed that athletics promoted "excessive muscular development, depleting 'nerve-essence' and contributing to difficult childbirth and inferior offspring..."¹⁹⁰

In an age when industrialization was disrupting social and economic arrangements, medical reformers thought that the

¹⁸⁹ Patricia Vertinsky, "God, Science and the Market Place: The Bases for Exercise Prescriptions for Females in Nineteenth Century North America," Canadian Journal of History of Sport, (May, 1986), 38-45.

¹⁹⁰ Lenskyj, Out of Bounds, 23.

natural physiology of men and women was under assault. Indeed, popular convictions of the medical community established that a woman's "monthly incapacity" and delicate organs made competitive sport dangerous. Although medical reformers were concerned by the affects of industrialization on women, boys and men were similarly stereotyped. W.H. Hattie, a medical doctor at Mount Hope Asylum in Dartmouth, maintained that industrialization was increasing the proportion of mentally ill. "[T]here can be no doubt," Hattie argued, "that the vicious modes of life rendered necessary by the advance of civilization must over-tax and lead to gradual deterioration of the highest and most easily disturbed faculties:"

The abnormal life which is led by the present generation of business men... amounts simply to abusive exercise of the higher functions... Men scarcely realize that they are injuring themselves, but the increasing prevalence of neurotic temperament testifies only too strongly that the delicately organized nervous tissues cannot wholly withstand the enforced strain of modern business life.¹⁹¹

Although medical reformers were concerned with the impact of industrialization upon men, women, and children, they were hardly antagonistic towards capitalist relationships. Instead they viewed industrial capitalism as progressive and attempted

¹⁹¹ W.H. Hattie, "Epitome of Medical Progress," Maritime Medical News, (June, 1892). Indeed, Hattie's perception of mental illness and industrialization was partly refined from his professional experience at the Dartmouth Asylum. Mount Hope was overcrowded and obtained a chronic population almost from its conception. "During the greater part of the year," Hattie argued in 1908, "our wards were uncomfortably full and for a time we had 425 patients in residence... We have in addition a large number out on probation at all times during the year." See W.H. Hattie, Fifty Second Annual Report of Medical Superintendent of the Nova Scotia Hospital, 1908-1909.

to smooth over its harshest features. For middle class men, the rigorous mental exertion associated with industrial management was to be ideally countered by physical exercise. It was believed that industrialization, at least for the educated middle classes, demanded a disproportionate amount of the mental faculties and sports would thus offer men a balance between his physical needs and mental requirements. Middle class women, on the other hand, were encouraged to avoid work, to do modest exercise, and mainly concentrate on reproducing.

It is important to note that although both men and women were considered at risk of mental and physical degeneracy, women were viewed to be especially susceptible. Yet, reformers distinguished between the "types" of women susceptible to mental and physical degeneracy. Bound to productive relationships, medical wisdom "discovered that [lower class] women were not governed by the same biological rules as middle class women."¹⁹² Indeed, for more affluent women, notions of female frailty served a patriarchal function; however, it also "impeded the employer in his desire for more efficient production." Colin Howell has pointed out that "it was hard to idealize the weak and frail female, when her weakness meant absenteeism and unproductive work."¹⁹³ Lower class men and

¹⁹² Patricia Murphy, "Sport and Gender," in Wilbert Marcellus Leonard's A Sociological Perspective of Sport, (N.Y., 1988), 260.

¹⁹³ Colin Howell, "Gendered Baselines: The Tour of the Chicago Blackstockings," Northern Sandlots: A Social History of Baseball and Community Life in Atlantic Canada and New England, 1860-1960, (publication forthcoming, University of Toronto

woman were apparently immune to Victorian biology and were expected to engage in factory work or rigorous domestic work.

Urban centers offered poor women few suitable alternatives to rural subsistence farming. Although Maritime urban centers were growing rapidly at the turn of the century, most women gained meager day-labour jobs, such as a cook, housekeeper, cleaner, dressmaker, or butler. Such work entailed a great deal of physical exertion, drudgery, and time, and granted few opportunities for leisure pursuits. Nonetheless, it is unlikely that women of a modest background failed to gain a degree of control over their leisure time. Beverly Williams has shown that lower class women and men of Halifax were avid skaters and enthusiastic "connoisseurs" of the theater.¹⁹⁴ As for organized hockey, it is difficult to distinguish the extent of participation among working class women, although younger girls were certainly playing in New Brunswick, on teams such as Fredericton High School and Cambellton's city team.¹⁹⁵

Prior to World War One, working class girls gained greater exposure to hockey in public schools, but the vast majority of female players were from the middle classes. During the 1890s, "ladies" hockey was certainly compatible with dominant perceptions of frail womanhood, just as black hockey solidified

Press), 14.

¹⁹⁴ Beverly Williams, "Leisure as Contested Terrain in Late Nineteenth Century Halifax," (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Saint Mary's University, 1991).

¹⁹⁵ For example, see the Gleaner, (March 12, 1913).

racial stereotypes. However, woman increasingly gained control of the sport and, by the early 1900s, demonstrated their athletic abilities in fine exhibitions of hockey. Dominant notions of female inferiority and passivity refused to go away; yet, women refused to accept such assumptions and continued to play and to play seriously. By the outbreak of the First World War, women's hockey was still viewed as an aberration from the norm (the norm being male), but many women refused to buy into the acquiescent role associated with womanhood.

Conclusion

* * * * *

Perhaps one of the biggest problems, and, due to its complexity, one I consciously chose to avoid in writing a history of Maritime hockey, is the relationship between regionalism, nationalism, and sport. Quite early on, Canadian nationalists, such as Robert Giant Haliburton, believed that "healthy" sport was essential if the new Nation was to succeed. For example, in 1869 Haliburton first published The Men of the North and Their Place in History and his thesis (and variations of it) would have a significant impact on way the middle class Canadians viewed sport in the pre- World War One era. In associating the sports played in Canada with creating a unique Canadian physical, mental, and moral strength,¹⁹⁶ Haliburton's sporting ideal paralleled such nationalist tendencies in Europe: French and German nationalists assumed that their respective cultures were indicative of "racial" superiority.

Nationalists believed that the strength or character of Canadians was due to environmental factors. Therefore, being a northern nation, it is hardly surprising that winter pastimes, such as snowshoe races, were viewed as essential. Later, by the turn of the century, hockey had come to symbolize the unique Canadian "character" as well.¹⁹⁷ For example, the

¹⁹⁶ The influence of Haliburton is discussed in Dave Brown's, "The Northern Character Theme and Sport in Nineteenth-Century Canada," Canadian Journal of History of Sport, (May, 1989).

Acadian Recorder, in the early 1900s, would publish reports on the superiority of Canadian hockey players in competition with European clubs and would hint at the preeminence of Maritime clubs when they defeated touring American teams. The vigor and skill of Canadians, it was assumed, was too much for foreign competition. Moreover, the popular belief that professionalism revealed misplaced social values was often transcended by regional pride. Indeed, many Maritimers "emigrated" to New York and Pennsylvania to play as professionals and received little criticism for doing so. Apparently the ideal that professionalism was deviant was only applicable to Maritimers in a regional context. Maritimers certainly gained a sense of community and national pride when Canadian players (both Maritime and central Canadian) performed favorably in American leagues.

In the international context, Keith Robbins has found that nationalists in Britain attempted to unify Scotland, Wales, and England through sport. Yet, "the emergence of 'sport'... in the 1860s had unexpected consequences for the maintenance and reinforcement of national and regional loyalties..." North-South discord was often escalated by sports, such as rugby, and placed smaller communities at odds with urban centers.

¹⁹⁷ This mentality remains today and is clearly evident in the C.B.C. television program "Hockey Night in Canada." Don Cherry, a well-known hockey analyst and former coach in the N.H.L., is probably the most popular corespondent of this television program and his weekly commentary expounds the virtue of Canadian players at the expense of European players.

Nonetheless, sport eventually linked "the British peoples in common enthusiasms" and reinforced "national identity at the popular level..." For example, the Great War tested the British nation but, among the British peoples "there was a collective 'will to win'... [which] drew sufficiently deeply upon a common stock of symbols, experiences, and institutions..."¹⁹⁸

In a Canadian context, our understanding of the relationship between the "Canadian game," nationalism, and regionalism remains to be explored and could generate several thought provoking theses. There are indications in the pre-War period that hockey was an agent which united Canadians through common experiences and still allowed for the expression of regional tensions. Indeed, the Saint John A.A. were involved in a heated rivalry with the Halifax Crescents during the 1890s, but when the Nova Scotian Club travelled to Montreal to play for Lord Stanley's Cup, New Brunswickers overwhelmingly favored the Maritime team. In addition, Maritimers identified with central Canadian clubs, such as the Montreal Shamrocks, when they toured New York State in the early 1900s. Provincial rivalries quickly dissolved in light of international matches and reemerged when the opportunity presented itself. Apparently, Maritimers were quick to assume regional and community allegiances, but still believed themselves to be part

¹⁹⁸ Keith Robbins, Nineteenth-Century Britain: England, Scotland, and Wales The making of a Nation, (Oxford, 1988), 162-164, 168, 174.

of a nation in which they could share in national "triumphs."

In our own lifetime, hockey has clearly served the interests of Canadian nationalists. "Hockey Night in Canada," one of the most watched television programs in the Country, is described as a national tradition and, despite the "pseudo-historical" strategies of the C.B.C., there is some truth in the statement. Moreover, the Canada-U.S.S.R. hockey series in 1972 was clearly one of the most nationalistic periods in Canadian history; although the F.L.Q. crisis had threatened to tear the Country apart merely two years prior. English and French-Canadian players united against a common "foe" and the Nation stopped to observe the spectacle. I remember how my elementary school teacher would abruptly end the class and turn on C.B.C. radio for the games at Moscow. I also recall a popular saying which went something like: "the damn Russians better not win, this is our sport."

The 1972 hockey Series not only transcended domestic disputes but also embodied the international dynamics of the "Cold War." The style of play between Russian and Canadian clubs was integral to their respective political philosophies. We were told that Russian players were forced to practice eleven months out of the year, in a machine-like manner, whereas Canadian players had natural talent and individual characteristics. Nonetheless, that a game which has no real significance prevailed over domestic questions, such as the rights of aboriginal Canadians and French-Canadian discontent,

raises questions of the role of organizers in promoting the 1972 Series, during the height of Quebec nationalism, and in its aftermath.

Having said this, this thesis is a preliminary examination of Maritime hockey in the pre-World War One era with particular emphasis on the class, gender, and racial relationships which influenced the nature of the sport. Many questions remain about these relationships and Maritime hockey in general. For example, the involvement of Churches, Bankers, technical colleges, and business clerks remains to be explored. How do they fit into the picture and what does their story have to say about Maritime society? Indeed, detailed examinations of the amateur clubs and the players, who first organized the game, need to be undertaken, and the rural-urban debate which arose out of the issue of professionalism requires a focused analysis as well. Moreover, sources overlooked in this thesis could clear up some speculations in regards to black hockey. Although whites were certainly involved in the "colored" game as spectators, how actively were they involved as promoters? Who were they and what were their intentions?

In some regards this thesis, among others, may divert attention from the "creationist" approach, but more likely that form of historical inquiry will, and perhaps should, remain. The work of "creationists," such as Frank Menke and Garth Vaughan, has revealed a rich body of primary sources. Modernization theory as well has proven to be useful,

especially in regards to examining the middle classes. Although modernization often fails to address the agency of people in shaping sport, "modernizing" themes, such as the statistical and regulatory nature of society, were clearly evident in Maritime hockey. Indeed,, many "modern" themes are evident in the sport. Modern technology, as illustrated by improvements in transportation and better rinks, undoubtedly influenced how all Maritimers viewed the game. Improved facilities increased the number of spectators and encouraged the influx of capital, in the form of gambling and increased gate receipts. Yet, the invasion of capital may have played a larger role in Maritime hockey than this thesis entertains. For example, the M.P.A.A.A. with Lithgow at the helm, was one of the few amateur associations in Canada that endorsed the A.A.F.C. It is unclear how influential economic gain was to these Maritimers, although it is clear that friction existed between an "ideology" of capital and the middle class amateur ideal.

Although this thesis is preliminary in scope, several themes are apparent in hockey prior to the First World War. Foremost, an examination of hockey certainly reveals that class tensions were transplanted from the frozen lakes of the Region to the rink. Early in the nineteenth century, youth of all classes were chastised and deemed immoral because they played the game on the Sabbath. Breaking the "Lord's Day," it was reasoned, revealed the general decline of values among the

youth. By mid-century, youth from the lower classes were often singled out by upstanding Maritimers and reprimanded for interrupting the disciplined skating displays of middle class ladies and gentleman. Still later, by the early 1900s, the sport was transformed by the bourgeoisie into an organized recreational pastime in which middle class players could display their skill; a process in keeping with amateur codes of civilized behavior. Class tensions became even more evident in the separation of lower and middle class hockey. In other words, as the sport became institutionalized and organized it did so in class ways. Amateur clubs were elitist and spectators from the lower classes were chastised for their "vocalness." Blamed for encouraging their social superiors to fight, lower class spectators faced the possibility of being denied access to matches. It is unknown if "unruly" spectators recognized the hypocrisy of bourgeois players, although it is hard to imagine that they failed to do so. What is known is that middle class players consistently defied the amateur "code" by fighting and blamed "unruly" spectators for causing such incidents.

Class relationships were a prevalent feature in the Maritime sporting experience, although themes such as gender and race relationships were represented as well. Indeed, Maritimers brought their own life experiences to the sport and fashioned hockey according to existing relationships. For example, racism guaranteed that black players had limited

excess to quality rinks and thus few opportunities to hone their skill; just as racial apartheid ensured that black workers were given few options. In addition, "ladies" hockey was encouraged by "gentleman" so long as it served as a reaffirmation of Victorian gender roles. The "inept" displays of women's clubs in the 1890s certainly convinced many that hockey was masculine and thus that maleness was superior.

A second major theme that this thesis attempted to demonstrate is that Maritime hockey evolved through the human agency of Maritimers. Indeed, the sport did not merely serve as a means of solidifying existing social relationships. Blacks, women, and lower class whites were active in modifying the sport. For example, black women and men used a segregated sport as a way to promote their humanity-- citizens who were equal to whites and who demonstrated it through their behavior at the rink. The white lower classes played the game as well and eventually organized according to occupation allegiances, much like those from an professional background, such as bankers. For the lower classes, the sport would eventually emerge in the 1920s as a verification of working class solidarity and masculinity. Women of the middle classes too, who encountered the brunt of medical and reformist prejudice, had their own reasons for playing hockey. They questioned existing gender boundaries by disregarding "ladylike" roles at the rink and by playing highly skilled matches. These matches demonstrated how incompatible notions of the frail woman were

with reality. Women "hockeyists" were not demanding access to male clubs, but were requesting the freedom to pursue activities usually associated with masculinity.

Finally, in researching this thesis I was overwhelmed by the personalities of Maritimers who were active in hockey. Tommy Tynes, William Pickering, J.C. Lithgow, and countless others, who brought with them their own life experiences, created Maritime hockey more than did any uniform or standard "modernized" sporting ideal. My own sentiment rests more with people like Freddie Borden than it does with individuals such as W.A. Henry. Although some may frown upon such "bias," in essence this thesis is an exploration of human interaction and therefore necessarily includes the historian. Indeed, as the Maritimes and Canada undergo the present draconian period, the past offers us not so much an escape or a way to find answers to our present dilemma, but a manner in which to understand that others encountered obstacles in every way as challenging and complex as our own.

APPENDIX

The following list of black hockey players in the pre- War One period is obviously far from complete. Even the most descriptive newspaper reports rarely gave the names of black players. Moreover, on occasion when names were given, newspapers would then name only a few of the players. Finally, the following names reproduced here appear as they originally did and are subject to the original misspelling.

1895 Dartmouth Jubilees players: Cut. Brown and Hy. Franklyn.

1895 Halifax Eureka's players: F.L. Symonds, G. Adams.

1896 Dartmouth Jubilees players: H. Flint, F. Flint, B. Green, B. Franklyn, R. Rielly, C. Flint, C. Borden.

1896 Halifax Stanley's players: G. Clyke, C. Allison, A. Adams, F. Saunders, W. Saunders, B. McKerrow, A. Carter.

1896 Halifax- Dartmouth "Umpires" included: H. Beck, E. Gentles, and A. McKerrow.

1899 Halifax Eureka's: A.E. Martin, S. Johnson, C. Allison, A. Adams, John Thomas, Geo. Adams, and A. Dixon.

1902 Halifax Seaside's : W. Carvey, W. Dixon, A. Dixon, Jas. Dixon, Jas. Carvey, D. Carvey.

1902 Charlottetown West End Rangers: A. Neill, E. Byers, G. Mills, J. Mills, A. Ryan, A. Mills, and L. Mills

1908 Halifax Eureka's: H. Allen, Wm. Brown, Wm. Ellis, G. Evans, Sid Johnson, C. Talbot, and H. Taylor.

1909 Truro Victorias: Alex Clyke, Ans. Clyke, Jas. Clyke, J. Martin, Geo. Byard, F. Taylor, Cy Byard.

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