“Our boys have upheld the honor of their town in the Hockey rink…” The Culture of Amateur Hockey in the Maritime Provinces, c. 1900-1925.

by

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Abstract:

From 1900 to 1925, amateur hockey in Maritime communities filled local newspapers and drew thousands of fans to the stadiums. *The Acadian*, *The Union Advocate*, *The Advertiser*, *The Weekly Report and Western Annapolis Sentinel*, and *The Weekly Report*, among other papers, provided reports of games and team rosters which enabled the tracing and identification of a small number of players and their families in the Canadian Censuses for the period 1871 to 1921. Identification revealed that young men from a wide variety of occupations and socio-economic backgrounds interacted through hockey. Analysis also identified the ethno-racial heterogeneity on teams and in leagues, as well as the stark exclusion of groups based on ethnicity and race. Women are identified as participating in hockey to a much lesser extent than men, and primarily as students in secondary and post-secondary schools. As hockey bolstered civic pride and prompted citizens to spend large sums on state-of-the-art hockey facilities, it also fostered inter-community rivalries. Geographic focus is on the small towns and rural communities of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, like small towns and rural communities across Canada underrepresented in sport history. The Newcastle-Chatham area in New Brunswick and the Wolfville and Windsor areas in Nova Scotia receive the most attention; however, study is not restricted to these centres. As players and teams move throughout the Atlantic region, and beyond, they built hockey networks which pulled them together into larger hockey narratives. Those networks and narratives are not intended to be representative of the hockey experience in the Maritime provinces. Rather they speak to those values, beliefs, and practices attached to hockey which appear to have grown from a trans-Atlantic world view and from experiences and events, such as the First World War, which were shared across the North Atlantic World. This period saw significant pushback against violence in hockey, part of an effort to sanitize the game for greater middle-class public consumption and part of a larger struggle between reformers and hockey enthusiasts. It also coincides with a period of intensifying anxiety over the physical, mental, and moral soundness of youth, in particular worries about the emasculation of young men. Hockey became important to addressing these concerns both in institutions of formal education and in youth groups such as the Boy Scouts and CSET. The time frame also overlaps with the rise of militarism and the devastation of the First World War that left an indelible mark on thousands of Maritime young men. Moving out from individual, community, and regional identities, the thesis begins to suggest how hockey influenced a Maritime embrace of aspects of a shared Canadian national identity.

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Chapter One: Introduction

In January of 1912, *The Union Advocate* of Newcastle, New Brunswick, reported on a meeting involving a group of Newcastle-Chatham young men who "felt the want of proper manly sport during the winter months" and wished to form an amateur hockey league in the area.[1] The *Advocate*'s enthusiastic endorsement of the venture set out why such a league should be supported by the communities of Northern New Brunswick:

> "A town or city can not have any better asset than a number of their young men and boys who are physically fit and full of pep and who have the spirit of team work ingrained in them though participation in outdoor sports. It would be a considerable improvement to the town if the boys and young men were out playing some game instead of standing round the corners doing absolutely no good to themselves or anyone else."[2]

The league which resulted included three inaugural teams, the Victorias, Chatham Fire Department, and I.R.C.[3] It would thrive into the 1920s, weathering the usual ups and downs of such local and regional ventures and fostering teams and players whose skills and commitment would take some of them to regional and national championships. Thirteen years after the league's formation, *The Union Advocate* reported on another important development in the hockey world in Northern New Brunswick. On February 3rd, 1925, the paper recorded the local reaction to one of the earliest radio broadcasts of a National Hockey League game, aired by

[1] The *Union Advocate,* January 24, 1912, 6.
[2] The *Union Advocate,* January 24, 1912, 6.
[3] At the time of writing this thesis, I have not found what the I.R.C. initials stood for.

WBZ station. According to the paper many of the locals listened to and enjoyed the game and were delighted when the Montreal Canadiens beat the Boston Bruins 4-0.[4]

As NHL radio broadcasting expanded across the country, local amateur leagues would continue to attract players and fans, perhaps with an added enthusiasm on the part of those young men and their families who envisioned themselves becoming part of a larger national endeavour and playing not just on local ice but over the radio. By the second half of the 1920s, however, the technology of radio, the growth of the NHL, and the transition to professionalism were eroding the position of local amateur leagues.

This thesis centres on the brief heyday of amateur hockey in the Maritime provinces, from the end of the nineteenth century to the mid-1920s when professionalism made serious inroads into the fan base and the resources available for amateur teams and leagues. The geographic focus is on the small towns and rural communities of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, like small towns and rural communities across Canada underrepresented in sport history. The Newcastle-Chatham area in New Brunswick and the Wolfville and Windsor areas in Nova Scotia receive the most attention, in part because of the extensive coverage of amateur games in the local press and the digitized and close to complete runs of the local newspapers for these areas: *The Acadian* published in Wolfville, *The Weekly Monitor and Western Annapolis Sentinel* published in Bridgetown, and *The Union Advocate* published in Newcastle. The coverage revealed these areas to be not only hotbeds of amateur hockey but also centres of the intense community rivalries that characterised amateur hockey. However, study is not

[4] *The Union Advocate*, February 3, 1925, 8.

restricted to these centres. As players and teams move throughout the Atlantic region, and beyond, they build hockey networks which pull them together into a larger hockey narrative. Those networks are not intended to be representative of the hockey experience in the Maritime provinces; and the players and teams encountered do not speak to a peculiar type of hockey or hockey player fostered by the region. They speak to what happened at a particular time and place. When this thesis reaches for broad comparisons and conclusions it is in the area of those values, beliefs, and practices attached to hockey which appear to have grown from a trans Atlantic world view and from experiences and events, such as the First World War, which were shared across the North Atlantic World.

This study follows in the footsteps of Andrew Holman's quest for history that can produce the "contextual richness" of the many dimensions of hockey,[5] and seeks to create the type of cultural history of hockey called for by Stacey Lorenz.[6] In doing so it takes as its guide the work of John Reid and Colin Howell, prominent among those historians who have moved the discussion of sports beyond the large urban centres and beyond Central Canada and into much less studied rural communities and small towns. Reid's rigorous analysis of the identity

[5] Andrew Holman, ed., *Canada's Game: Hockey and Identity* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009).

[6] Stacey Lorenz, "Constructing a Cultural History of Canadian Hockey" *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 32, 17 (2015): 2107-2113. Holman and Lorenz are among those who answered the call of Alan Metcalfe's *Canada Learns to Play: The Emergence of Organized Sport, 1807-1914*, released in 1987. His study called for serious study of how Canadian sports impacted the culture and society of Canada, as did Richard Gruneau and David Whitson's 1993, *Hockey Night in Canada: Sport, Identities, and Cultural Politics* (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1993), 3, 4. Other important works followed, to cite only a few: John Chi Kit Wong's, Lords of the Rink: The Emergence of the National Hockey League, 1875-1936; Howell's *Blood, Sweat, and Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada*; and Jamie Dopp and Richard Harrison's, *Now is the Winter: Thinking About Hockey*. They emphasized the national aspect of hockey, and its role in creating and reflecting Canadian society. (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1993), 3, 4.

and diversity of men who played cricket in Nova Scotia[7] and Howell's study of baseball players and their communities in the Maritime provinces provide a template for this study, not just in their meticulous attempts to identify who played cricket and baseball but also in their examination of the social and cultural meaning of sport in the communities and regions on which they focus.[8] This thesis does not argue for a unique Maritime experience of sport. On the contrary, it explores overlapping themes in the development of sport culture in the Maritime provinces, the nation, and as appropriate the British Empire, and the North Atlantic. It looks at important debates in sport and hockey history as they emerge from the primary research and have been discussed in scholarly studies. Hopefully, it does not attempt to superimpose those debates on the sources.

The time frame of this study coincides with a period of intensifying anxiety over the physical, mental, and moral soundness of youth, in particular worries about the emasculation of young men. It also coincides with the creation of educational programs, both within and without the institutions of formal education, which focused on building healthy bodies, minds, and souls in future citizens. The time frame also overlaps with the rise of militarism and the devastation of the First World War that left an indelible mark on thousands of Maritime young men. In that way this thesis is focused on a single generation of Canadians, those who were born at the turn of the century, raised in the early decades of the twentieth century, and were

[7] John G. Reid, "The Cricketers of Digby and Yarmouth Counties, Nova Scotia, 1871-1914: Social Roots of a Village and Small-Town Sport," *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 51, 103 (2018): 47-73 and John G. Reid, "The Home of Cricket": The Sport of Cricket in Pictou County, to 1914," *Journal of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society* 22, (2019): 32-55.

[8] Colin D. Howell, "Baseball, Class and Community in the Maritime Provinces, 1870-1910," *Histoire-Sociale/Social History* 22, 44 (1989): 265-286; Colin D. Howell, *Northern Sandlots: A Social History of Maritime Baseball* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995).

called on to fight in the trenches of Europe. The struggle between amateurs and professionalism also intensified in this period. By ending the study in 1925, the thesis does not focus on the decline in amateurism as a spectator driven past time. It focusses on the values embedded in hockey during the height of the amateur era and on why and in what way institutions, groups, and individuals promoted hockey as part of their efforts to prepare young men to participate as responsible citizens in Canadian society and, if necessary, fight as citizen soldiers for Country and Empire.

This thesis focuses on basic questions concerning what, besides fun, hockey offered to whom and who saw value in it and supported and promoted it at the amateur level. It begins, in the following chapter, by identifying a small number of those who played hockey as amateurs and goes on to explore the growth of local, regional, and broader ties through challenge matches and leagues. Combining newspaper reports with census data, it identifies a small number of the many who engaged in amateur games. Here it follows the lead of Howell and Reid. Tracking is most successful for players in pockets of Nova Scotia, much less successful in finding individuals who played on teams in New Brunswick. In both provinces, team formation brought together individuals from across class lines, including those from among traditionally middle class, skilled, and labouring occupations. Analysis also identifies the extent of ethno-racial heterogeneity on teams and in leagues, as well as the stark exclusion of groups based on ethnicity and race. Women are identified as participating in hockey to a much lesser extent than men, and primarily as students in secondary and post-secondary schools. While the majority of amateur hockey players in the Maritimes were white settlers of European extraction, women and ethno-racial minorities not of European extraction created a place for

themselves on the ice. This thesis attempts to address them within the context of the larger majority with which they had limited interaction. Their story is important in filling out the contradictions and complexities of the hockey playing and spectating world of the Maritimes.

Emphasis is on the type of sociability hockey fostered. Local and regional loyalties and rivalries were an important part of that sociability in the small towns and rural areas examined. These became crucial to maintaining the amateur leagues that waxed and waned during this period.[9] Hockey teams promoted community pride and identity as citizens supported their local teams by turning out for games and helping raise funds for the arenas that became centres for a variety of community activities. Media portrayals of local hockey stars and teams and rivalries between communities played a significant part in the growth of local identity. The examples of the rivalries between Wolfville and Windsor and between Chatham and Campbellton are used to demonstrate how hockey fostered community and regional identity.[10] Moving out from civic identity the thesis begins to suggest how hockey influenced a Maritime embrace of aspects of a shared Canadian national identity. In this period, amateur hockey helped to reinforce ties with New England. It also created the opportunity for passionate competition with Central Canada and for the identification of a distinctly Canadian type of

[9] Trevor Adams provided important details and context for analyzing community teams and leagues at a time when the Atlantic Provinces were not perceived as major players in hockey by other parts of Canada. Trevor J. Adams, *Long Shots: The Curious Story of the Four Maritime Teams That Played for the Stanley Cup* (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing Limited, 2012). Adding to the context of Maritime hockey and culture was B. Cuthbertson's "The Starr Manufacturing Company: Skate Exporter to the World," *Journal of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society* 8, (2005): 49-VIII, which illustrates the impact of hockey on the economy and culture of the Maritime provinces, linking them to markets locally and also globally.

[10] The following theses have been helpful in suggesting how to approach community-level sport. G.M. Ross, "Beyond the Abysmal Brute: A Social History of Boxing in Interwar Nova Scotia," MA thesis, Saint Mary's University, 2008; D.A. MacDonald, "Gridiron and Coal: The Making of Rugby Football in Industrial Cape Breton: 1900-1960," MA thesis, Saint Mary's University, 2001; P. Walker, "Shin Guards and Scrums: British Sport in Nova Scotia," MA thesis, Saint Mary's University, 2006.

hockey, superior to that of other countries, a staple in the narratives newspapers created around local hockey teams and players. Of particular importance to the discussion here are Holman's "Playing in the Neutral Zone,"[11] Howell and Leeworthy's "Playing on the Border,"[12] and Maarten van Bottenburg, "Beyond Diffusion".[13] These scholars' highlight the ways in which the Maritime provinces' geographic location in the North Atlantic World shaped their sporting development and identities; and they demonstrate how important sport can be in defining differences even among close neighbours.

Similar, comparative studies expand the analysis of diffusion and adaptation of sport across socio-economic, cultural and national borders. John and Robert Reid 's study of cricket and ice hockey in the Maritime Provinces and Sean Brown and Boria Majumdar's study of baseball and cricket in the United States and India demonstrate the ability of sport to shape and shake off national and international power grids. In their scope and depth they could be intimidating. They deal with continents, emerging super powers, and the death of empires.[14] They could make the study of small-town amateur hockey seem unimportant and amateurship.[15] But the model they adopt does the opposite. By paying attention to the subtleties in cultural differences and diffusion at the ground level, they encourage basic

[11] Andrew C. Holman, "Playing in the Neutral Zone: Meaning and Uses of Ice Hockey in the Canada-US Borderlands, 1895-1915," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 34, 1 (2004): 1354-1370.
[12] Colin D. Howell & Daryl Leeworthy. "Playing on the Border: Sport, Borderlands and the North Atlantic, 1850-1950," *Sport in Society* 20, 10 (2018): 1354-1370.
[13] Maarten van Bottenburg, "Beyond Diffusion: Sport and its Remaking in Cross-Cultural Contexts." *Journal of Sport History* 37, 1 (April 2010): 41-53.
[14] John G. Reid and Robert Reid, "Diffusion and Discursive Stabilization: Sports Historiography and the Contrasting Fortunes of Cricket and Ice Hockey in Canada's Maritime Provinces, 1869-1914." *Journal of Sport History* 42, 1 (2015): 87-113; Sean Brown & Boria Majumdar, "Why Baseball, Why Cricket? Differing Nationalisms, Differing Challenges," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 24, 2 (2007): 139-156.
[15] Initially I had intended to make adoption and adaptation in sport the focus of my thesis. As research progressed the sources led me in a different, though not unrelated, direction.

questioning about simple aspects of everyday decision-making, like why did the residents of small-towns pour resources into hockey, whose idea was it to eliminate smoking from hockey arenas, how long did it take to travel from Windsor to Wolfville in a blizzard in 1913, and why did mothers want their sons to play hockey? The following two chapters ask these questions. In the process they suggest that we still have much to write about why Canadians are such good hockey players.

Chapter Three focuses on the relationship between hockey and gendered identities, primarily masculinities. Hockey offered a place where individuals of different socio-economic backgrounds came together and connected as players, spectators, and sponsors of teams and leagues. In the process, it became a battleground for competing views and expressions of appropriate gendered behaviour and activities. General studies such as that of A. Nelson and B.W. Robinson offered key insights into the evolution of masculinity in Canada and the wider British Empire. While the book seemed dismissive of the role of sports in gendering identities, it provided a wealth of information on gender norms, traits, and the development from child to man in Canada for this era.[16] Greg Gillespie's "Sports and Masculinities in Early Nineteenth Century Ontario" provided a succinct analysis of the evolution of the connection between sport and masculinity in the nineteenth century.[17] This evolution became important to understanding the place of hockey in teaching masculinity to boys. P. Kikkert and P.W. Lackenbauer's study of frontier masculinity in the First World War, "'Men of Frontier

[16] A. Nelson, & B.W. Robinson, Gender in Canada, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Prentice Hall, 2002).
[17] Greg Gillespie, "Sport and Masculinities in Early Nineteenth Century Ontario: The British Travellers' Image," Ontario History XCII, 2 (2000): 113-126.

Experience'",[18] provided an example of alternative masculinities which shaped not just the broader experience of gender but experience at the local level in the Maritime provinces. In a similar way Kevin B. Wamlsey and David Whitson's research on the violent masculinity found in boxing [19] offered information on the perceived link between masculinity and race and the violence which drew people to a wide variety of spectator sports. The chapter also builds on the work of scholars such as John Wong who have studied what was an important ingredient of proper masculine sport – amateurism. Wong's analysis of the growth of professionalism in hockey in Central Canada and also in British Columbia provide context for the conflict between amateurism and professionalism in the Maritime provinces.[20]

Though focused primarily on the major centres of Central Canada, Stacey Lorenz's work on the link between masculinity and violence in hockey has guided the analysis of newspaper accounts of violence in the amateur games of smaller Maritime communities. His "Hockey, Violence, and Masculinity: Newspaper Coverage of the Ottawa 'Butchers', 1903-1906,"[21] provided a detailed look at how media portrayed hockey teams. His comparison of Ottawa media coverage of the local team versus how Toronto media portrayed them emphasized the regional rivalries that existed in Central Canada and influenced how this thesis analyzed the rivalries between Wolfville and Windsor, and Chatham and Campbellton. This emphasis on rivalry and masculinity was further established in Lorenz' "Manhood, Rivalry, and the Creation

[18] P. Kikkert, & P.W. Lackenbauer, ""Men of Frontier Experience": Yukoners, Frontier Masculinity, and the First World War," *The Northern Review* 44 (2017): 209-242.
[19] Kevin B. Wamsley, and David Whitson, "Celebrating Violent Masculinities: The Boxing Death of Luther McCarty," *Journal of Sport History* 25, 3 (1998): 419-431.
[20] John Wong, "The Patricks's Hockey Empire: Cultural Entrepreneurship and the Pacific Coast Hockey Association, 1911-1924," *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 35, no. 7-8 (2018): 676. & John Chi-Kit Wong, *Lords of the Rink: The Emergence of the National Hockey League, 1875-1936* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005),
[21] Lorenz, "Hockey, Violence, and Masculinity," 2044-2077.

of a Canadian 'Hockey World'."[22] His article with Geraint B. Osborne on the manslaughter trials of Allan Loney (1905) and Charles Masson (1907)[23] provided insights into the line between acceptable and unacceptable violence. This became important to analysis of the conflict between reformers and hockey enthusiasts in the early twentieth century, weighing a perceived spectator fascination with violence against what happens when violence inevitably goes too far. This extended to discussion of efforts to sanitize the physical environment and viewing experience of spectators, making it more palatable for middle class sensibilities. T. McKee's thesis, "Not Savagery", revealed comparable debate and friction in British Columbia media in the period 1875-1911 around efforts to make hockey more that just the "brutal" sport.[24]

Following up on the discussion of appropriate gendered behaviour and values, the fourth chapter analyzes the place and role of hockey in important educational institutions and programs for children and youth, primarily boys and young men. These included the institutions for formal education at every level, and clubs, service groups, and religious organizations which all found purpose in incorporating hockey into their outreach. Boys and young men, and to a much lesser extent girls and young women, engaged in hockey as players and as spectators. Ideas coming out of nineteenth-century Britain concerning the role of sports in training for life were taken from studies such as J.A. Mangan and C. McKenzie's "Privileged

[22] Lorenz, "National Media Coverage," 2012-2043.
[23] Stacy L. Lorenz, & Geraint B. Osborne, ""Nothing More Than the Usual Injury": Debating Hockey Violence During the Manslaughter Trials of Allan Loney (1905) and Charles Masson (1907)," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 30, 4 (2007): 698-723.
[24] T. McKee, "Sport, Not Savagery: Resistance to Hockey Violence in BC Media, 1875-1911," MA Thesis for the University of Calgary, 2012.

Education, Hunting and the Making of Martial Masculinity,"[25] and James Williams' "Sport and the Elite in Early Modern England."[26] Both discussed the use of sport in teaching first the youth of the elite, and then also middle- and working- class students. B.M. Moody's "Acadia and the Great War,"[27] helped to localize the trends discussed by Mangan, McKenzie, and Williams. Paul Axelrod's discussion of student life at Dalhousie University during the 1930s[28] further provided a localized example of the use of sports in education.

For an understanding of sport in education beyond the traditional established schools, studies of the Boy Scouts provided important perspective. S. Johnston's study of one of the most popular youth organizations of the era demonstrated the internationalization of values which became attached to hockey and were spread through hockey.[29] Anna Westberg Brostrom, David MacLeod, and Robert MacDonald all provided context for how and why the Boy Scouts in the Maritimes used regular hockey programs to instill the movement's values in Maritime youth.[30] Much less studied but important to understanding the perceived value of hockey in training youth is the CSET. M. Lucille Marr's "Church Teen Clubs, Feminized Organizations? Tuxis Boys, Trail Rangers, and Canadian Girls in Training, 1919-1939" provides an

[25] J.A. Mangan, & Callum McKenzie, "Privileged Education, Hunting and the Making of Martial Masculinity," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 25, 9 (2007):1106-1131.
[26] James Williams, "Sport and the Elite in Early Modern England," *Sport in History* 28, 3 (2008): 389-413.
[27] B.M. Moody, "Acadia and the Great War," in Youth, University, and Canadian Society: Essays in the Social History of Higher Education, Paul Axelrod & John G. Reid eds., 143-159, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, (1989).
[28] Paul Axelrod, "Moulding the Middle Class: Student Life at Dalhousie University in the 1930s," *Acadiensis* 15, no. 1 (1985): 84-122.
[29] Scott Johnston, "Courting, Public Favour: The Boy Scout Movement and the Accident of Internationalism, 1907-1929," *Institute of Historical Research* 88, 241 (2015): 508-529.
[30] Anna Westberg Brostrom, "Young or Youthful: The Scout Movement and Youth Discourses"; David Macleod, Building Character in the American Boy: The Boy Scouts, YMCA, and Their Forerunners, 1870-1920 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983); Robert H. MacDonald, Sons of the Empire: The Frontier and the Boy Scout Movement (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993).

overview of both the CSET and its female counterpart at the end of the period studied here.[31] As the title suggests, her discussion focusses on training in gender roles. Fortunately, the CSET training manual was able to provide the material not otherwise accessible.[32] Additional studies add depth to the discussion of young women's involvement in a strenuous sport such as hockey, limited though it was in comparison with young men's engagement. Changing attitudes towards the appropriate use of women's leisure and women's bodies are revealed in studies based on the experience of women in the Maritime provinces[33] combined with studies of women's recreation in the wider British Empire and the United States.[34] Studies of the changing experiences of women at colleges are of particular value.[35]

A final part of the discussion of hockey as training for citizenship focusses on the connection between hockey and the military. The rhetoric of the time presented hockey as an ideal means of preparing young men for service in uniform. Hockey also created an esprit de corps that influenced the large enlistment numbers at the beginning of World War One when men from the same hockey team or league signed up en masse, in a manner similar to the men from the same neighbourhoods and workplaces who formed "pals" units. As N. Clarke and

[31] Lucille M. Marr, "Church Teen Clubs, Feminized Organizations? Tuxis Boys, Trail Rangers, and Canadian Girls in Training, 1919-1939," *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'education* 3, no. 2 (1991): 249-267.
[32] The C.S.E.T. Manual for Tuxis Boys (Boys 15 Years and Over), Including the Canadian Standard Efficiency Training Program, C.S.E.T. of t he Nation Council of Young Men's Christian Associations of Canada, Toronto, 1918.
[33] L.H., Brock, "Beyond Domesticity: The Use and Value of Women's Leisure Time in Halifax, 1880-1930," MA thesis for Saint Mary's University, 1998; B.A. Williams, "Leisure as Contested Terrain In Late Nineteenth Century Halifax," MA thesis for Saint Mary's University, 1991;
[34] Kathleen E. McCrone, "Class, Gender, and English Women's Sport, c. 1890-1914," *Journal of Sport History* 18, no. 1, (1991): 159-182.
[35] Capt. D.A. Shattuck, "Bats, Balls and Books: Baseball and Higher Education for Women at Three Eastern Women's Colleges, 1866-1891," *Journal of Sport History* 19, no. 2, (1992): 91-109; Z.E. Tustin, ""Thus Far Thou Shalt Come and No Farther": Domestic Science and the Limits of Women's Education at the Acadia Ladies' Seminary, 1878-1926," Thesis for Acadia University, 2015; T.L. Pettigrew, "Womanly in Their Strength: The Women Graduates of Acadia University in 1916," Thesis for Acadia University, 1994.

others have argued, hockey, like military service, prepared men both physically and mentally. Grueling drills pushed men beyond what they believed possible; and both hockey teams and military units needed to function as a team, almost instinctively cohering under pressure for a common goal. N. Clarke's "'The Greater and Grimmer Game': Sport as an Arbiter of Military Fitness in the British Empire –The Case of 'One-Eyed' Frank Mcgee," makes the case compellingly.[36] So does J.J. Wilson's "Skating to Armageddon: Canada, Hockey and the First World War,"[37] which looks specifically at hockey's influence on promoting militarism in Canadian men. Wilson argues that military values were grafted onto hockey, resulting in a generation of Canadian men eager to volunteer for World War One.

The thesis conclusion is unorthodox. It takes the opportunity to flesh out briefly the lives of three young men prominent in amateur hockey circles during the period studied: Robert Spicer Jr. and the Eagles brothers, Brenton and Fred. They cannot be assumed to be representative of amateur hockey in the Maritimes; however, combined their lives represent the major themes explored in this thesis. More importantly, they highlight the major gap in the material presented. These men's personal views on hockey and what it meant to them were seldom recorded, and if they were recorded, seldom preserved. The researcher and reader are also left with little sense of how they conducted themselves on and off the ice.

The abrupt shut down of in-person access to archives and libraries in March 2020, as a result of COVID-19, sharply restricted the primary source base for this thesis during what would

[36] N. Clarke, "'The Greater and Grimmer Game': Sport as an Arbiter of Military Fitness in the British Empire –The Case of 'One-Eyed' Frank Mcgee," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 28, 3-4 (2011): 604-622.
[37] J.J. Wilson, "Skating to Armageddon: Canada, Hockey and the First World War," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 22, 3 (2005): 315-343.

otherwise have been the period for following up on research leads. Access to secondary sources was also restricted though many online journals remained available. On the down side, whole avenues of research were cut off. Primary sources for research into Indigenous Peoples' engagement with hockey for this period in the Maritime provinces could not be accessed. Material on hockey in cadet and militia units became inaccessible. On a positive note, those primary sources that were available online benefitted from thorough analysis.

The newspapers of the time expended significant energy to inform readers about who was playing when and where and about the outcome of matches in which they believed their readership did or should have an interest. This makes them a reliable source for sketching out local community involvement and the networks of hockey play expanding across the region as amateur leagues, church groups, and organizations such as the Boy Scouts built a base for their endeavours. More important for the purposes of this thesis are the narratives the press created and promoted about the role of hockey in shaping young men, the importance of hockey to Canadian identity, and the supremacy of Canadian hockey. This thesis began by studying a range of community newspapers from New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. When COVID-19 cut off access to archives and libraries, research in newspapers was sharply restricted to those that were digitally archived and available through publicly accessible online archives. The research focus then became three papers with the most complete publication run for the period 1900 to 1925: *The Acadian* published in Wolfville, *The Weekly Monitor and Western Annapolis Sentinel* published in Bridgetown, both in Nova Scotia, and *The Union Advocate* published in Newcastle, New Brunswick. Community newspapers with relatively incomplete digital preservation were of much less value.

The problems with using newspapers are many, primarily the trouble with understanding the bias of the reporters and editors, and sorting through what was reported, why it was reported, and why what appear in retrospect to have been more significant events went largely unaddressed. Within these newspapers amateur league hockey and college hockey were both reported on with regularity. Secondary school games, however, were reported on very infrequently, and Boy Scout games, while reported, rarely included the names of athletes or accounts of the games. In addition, the op-ed articles published can often reflect the views of the editors more so than the communities they represented. This was particularly problematic in analyzing reports on an issue such as violence in sport, which at the time generated debate among those seeking to shore up middle class sensibilities and the many spectators who, according to newspaper reports, enjoyed the spectacle of violence. When editors and the reporters who worked for them covered violence in hockey did they exaggerate its extent, either to alert the public to a social problem which could degrade youth and drive fans away, or to boost newspaper sales? On a more mundane level for the researcher, newspapers regularly misspelled the names of hockey players, a problem compounded by the misspelling of names by census takers. Systematic comparison of published names was required to authenticate the accuracy of the names published.

Tracing names in the 1891, 1901, 1911, and 1921 censuses presented numerous problems. Since newspapers frequently included only the last names of players in a particular game or on the team roster for a particular season, tracing of necessity combined names with other indicators such as age, known occupation or place of work, place of residence, or known family members. Geographic proximity to the home base of the team was also used to identify

individual players. The fact that research for this project focused on amateur players offset some of the concern over whether a player was a ringer brought in from a distance, though this could not be discounted. “Amateur” players notoriously traveled from town to town to play hockey, often changing towns in the middle of the season. Tracing had other obvious and serious limitations. The closest census year might have been nine years off the reported game in which a player laced up. Also, Maritime young men often traveled for seasonal work, making it difficult to find them if they were living with their parents in the winter when they played hockey, but working elsewhere in the summer months, when the census was taken, and perhaps not included in the household count. Other concerns such as the accuracy with which information was interpreted and recorder further urge caution in interpreting results. That being said, the information concerning likely players has been gathered with careful attention to the potential for errors in mind. The tables presenting occupation, father’s occupation, ethnicity, and religion can only be treated as suggestive.

With little direct input from the boys and young men who played the game, this becomes a study of what others thought hockey was and should be. Fortunately, there were many who had opinions on the matter, and fortunately many of them were in a position to see their opinions published and ultimately preserved. The fact that many of them appear to have been more focused on what hockey could contribute to their agenda off the ice than on the game itself does not make their contributions to the history of hockey any less valuable. They played a crucial role in the development and expansion of hockey in their communities and they help explain why boys and young men played the game.

Chapter Two: Developing Identities Through Hockey

Amateur hockey players in the Maritimes were young men who represented a wide variety of occupations and familial situations. They created a forum in which the sons of labourers and those of bankers played alongside or competed against each other. In the process they fostered a collective pride in local community teams and a broader civic pride manifest in the building of local arenas, impressive attendance at home and away games, and regional and provincial rivalries in which community teams defended their town's honour. To a much lesser extent, young women also took to the ice and generated enormous crowds at their games. As amateur hockey expanded in the Maritimes it maintained ties with the United States, players and teams moving back and forth across the border as part of long-standing familial, social, economic, and cultural ties. At the same time newspaper reports encouraged ties with the hockey world of Central Canada. Embracing foreign and home-grown stereotypes of Canadian hockey superiority, the local Maritime press encouraged Maritime hockeyists to identify with the idea of Canadian hockey supremacy. Missing from this story of community and identity building were the African Canadians and the Indigenous Peoples. The amateur hockey celebrated in the press and on the ice was the preserve of young men of European extraction.

Hockey players in the Maritimes who participated in the provincial amateur leagues were overwhelmingly young men at the beginning of their working lives or continuing their studies. This is the only definitive statement which demographic information collected from the censuses can support. Attempts to find in the censuses young men identified in newspapers as playing for a particular team in a particular season run into numerous problems.

Even when the full name of a player is given, that name might be common in the geographic area searched; and identification can only be tentative without additional information, such as the names of family members, the player's or father's occupation, or home address. In addition, geographic proximity to the home base of a particular team can be misleading, since amateur teams and leagues did not restrict themselves to amateur players and at times brought in men from a distance to play for a season or a shorter period of a few games. This involved different forms of hidden professionalism in order to make local teams more competitive. These included financial compensation through alternative means, such as jobs, housing, and other non-wage and non-salary benefits. The timing of the censuses also raises problems in attempts to identify individual players. A young man who suited up in February might be away pursuing seasonal work or travelling for any number of reasons when the census was taken and consequently not be noted by his family or the census taker. Also, the fact that the censuses were only taken every ten years became a particular problem when dealing with an age cohort which could be highly mobile. A player who put in five years with one might have left the area one year before the census was recorded or arrived one year after. Then there are the usual problems with interpretation on the part of individuals offering and recording census information.

All of this said, attempting to identify players was attractive and became even more attractive as Covid-19 shutdowns sealed off other avenues of research. In addition, as the search progressed and players were identified with confidence, those players encouraged more searching. They also raised and addressed important questions scholars have asked about the evolution of sport history. The tables and discussion here can only suggest tentative answers to

those questions, and they do so with considerable care. The tables, in particular, are presented for visual effect and not to suggest an attempt at statistical manipulation of the information collected.

The one hundred and fifty-four players identified for these tables were taken from team lists, game reports, and other articles in local newspapers (*The Acadian*, *The Union Advocate*, *Weekly Monitor and Western Annapolis Sentinel*, among others) during the years 1900-1925. Names were tracked in the Canadian Censuses from 1901, 1911 and 1921. The process of matching players named in newspapers with census entries necessarily involved checking for indicators which could support the match, such as age, known occupation or place of work, place of residence, known family members, and geographic proximity to the community in which the player's team was located. Given the age of these amateur players it is not surprising that many were continuing their studies or were employed at entry level jobs as clerks. As clerks they were part of an expanding and loose occupational category which included, on the one hand, young men preparing for more senior positions in business and management, and perhaps as lawyers, and, on the other hand, young men who would continue much of their lives in lower-level clerical jobs in business and retail sales.[1] The broad diversity in this category represents the degree of mixing of players from across the socio-economic spectrum. Placing students in a socio-economic hierarchy is a little easier. While the nature of their studies cannot be broken down, youths of 15 or older who were still in school were unlikely to come from the families of labourers or families living in poverty.[2] Of the other occupations attributed

[1] G.S. Lowe, "Class, Job and Gender in the Canadian Office," *Labour/Le Travail*, 10 (1982), 11-37.
[2] Jean Barman, "Knowledge is Essential for Universal Progress but Fatal to Class Privilege," Working People and the Schools in Vancouver During the 1920s, *Labour/Le Travail*, 22 (1988), 9-66.

to hockey players, their sheer number highlights how widespread the appeal of hockey was. Of the one hundred and fifty-four hockey players traced from New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, fifty-nine different occupations were listed for the players. Among these, farmers, clerks, skilled workers, students, and labourers predominated. Other occupations ranged from messenger boy and helper to teacher and cheese manufacturer. (See Tables 1 and 2). Some types of work appear to have inhibited regular participation on teams and in leagues. For example, the occupation of lumberman only appears twice among the hockey players. Lumbering was a major economic activity in parts of the Maritimes, such as the Miramichi, yet it was a job that required men to live in the lumber camps during the winter months, thus taking them away from their communities during the hockey season.

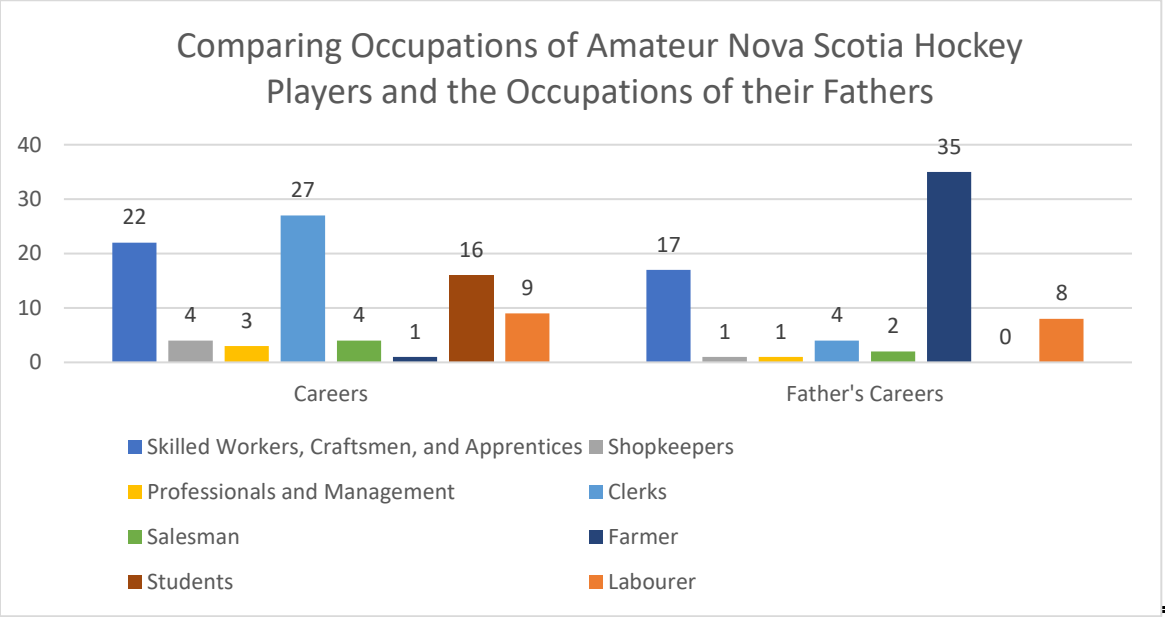


Table 1: Occupations of 86 Nova Scotia Amateur Hockey Players and 68 fathers broken into nine thematically linked categories. Players were taken from team lists, game reports, and other

articles in local newspapers[3] from 1900 to 1925. Names were tracked in the Canadian Censuses for 1901, 1911 and 1921.

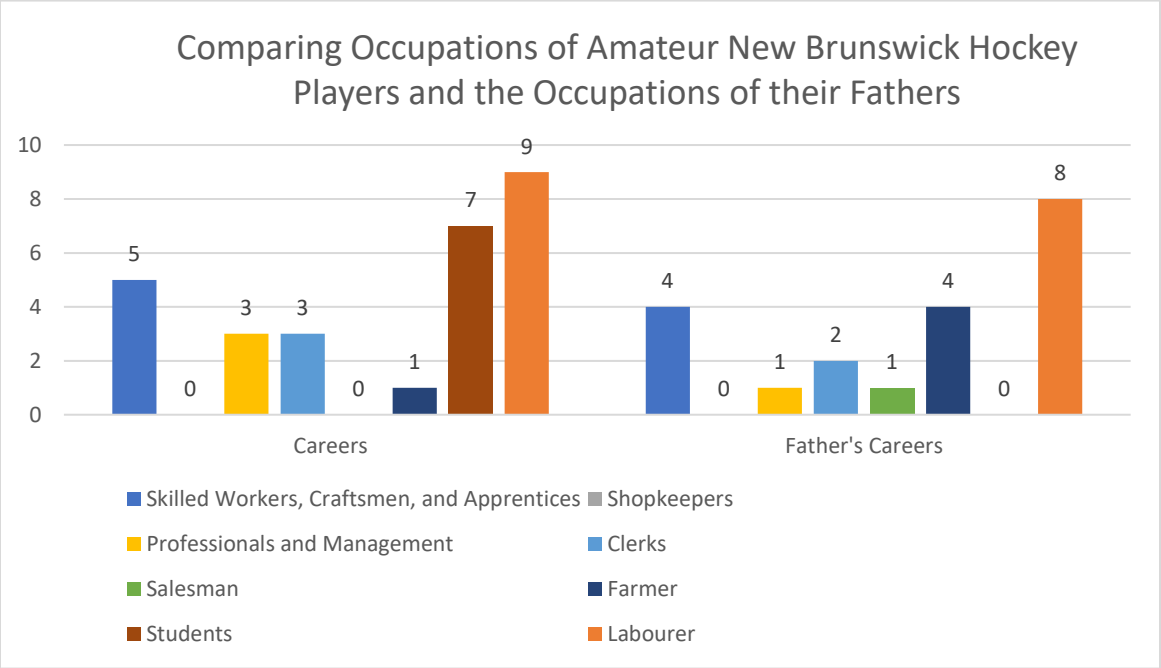


Table 2: Occupations of 28 New Brunswick Amateur Hockey Players and 20 fathers broken into nine thematically linked categories. Players identified for these tables were taken from team lists, game reports, and other articles in local newspapers from 1900-1925. Names were tracked in the Canadian Censuses from 1901, 1911 and 1921.

The occupations of the hockey players' fathers provide a better idea of the socio-economic blending that occurred on hockey teams in the Maritimes. (See Tables 1 and 2). The high number of farmers with children playing hockey is not surprising given the importance of agriculture in the Annapolis Valley, which provided the largest number of hockey players successfully tracked for this thesis. Putting together the occupations of players and players'

[3] The Acadian, The Union Advocate, Weekly Monitor and Western Annapolis Sentinel, among others.

fathers suggests that the differences in household income among hockey playing households must at times have been stark. Hockey teams became a place for cross class interactions. The children of doctors and bankers had the opportunity to interact with blacksmiths, labourers, or their children. Hockey, then, became a venue for mixing and interactions that might not otherwise have been common. Because of this mixing, when the amateur hockey teams were made up of local players, they reflected the complexity and diversity of the communities for which they played.

The data collected on ethnicity lines up with what would be assumed about who was playing hockey in the Maritimes. Many hockey players in Nova Scotia claimed English ethnicity on the censuses. They far outstrip hockey players of other ethnic backgrounds. It is worth noting that Lunenburg, a German town in Eastern Nova Scotia, had predominately German hockey players. (See Table 3). New Brunswick, with a smaller sample size, had a different pattern. (See Table 8). While English descent was common, players of French extraction, notably absent in Kings or Hants counties, were common in the Northern New Brunswick region. Northern New Brunswick also had a significantly higher Irish population playing hockey than English.

Ethnic enclaves did not seem to impact the style of hockey or the rivalries that developed. There was a strong link, however, between ethnicity and the type of job worked. Irish-Canadians in New Brunswick were more likely to be employed as labourers and to be the sons of labourers, whereas English-Canadians in the same region were more likely to be farmers or engaged in middle-class occupations. This created a divide between the players

that was economic as well as ethnic, but it was a soft divide among young men who interacted regularly and passionately, with the notable exception of two ethno-racial groups.

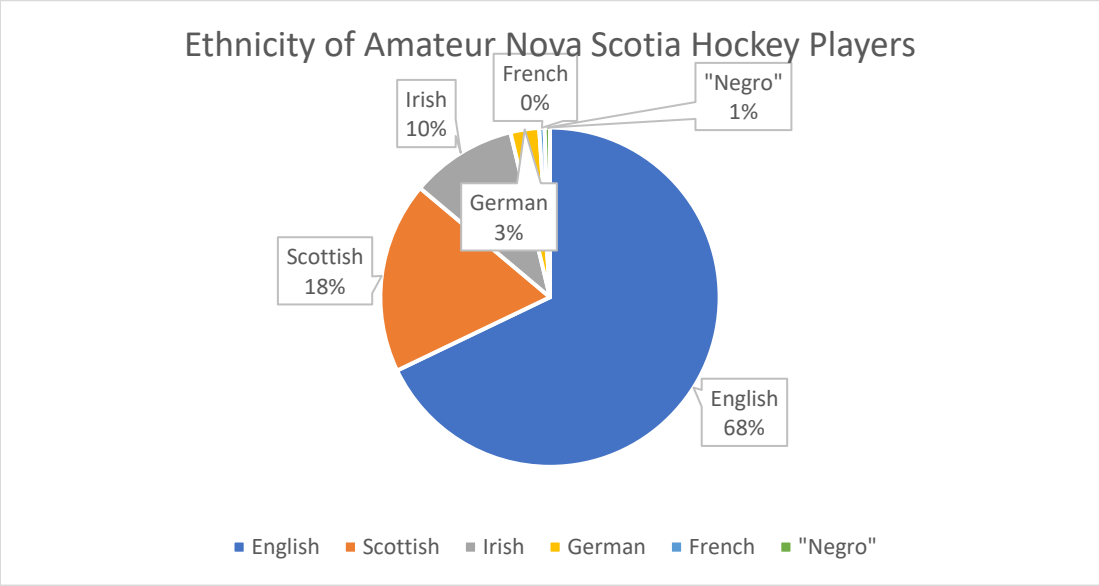


Table 3: Ethnicity of Amateur Nova Scotia Hockey Players. Ethnicity was tracked according to Canadian Census data for 1911 and 1921. The term “negro” is used here, as it appeared in the 1911 Census.

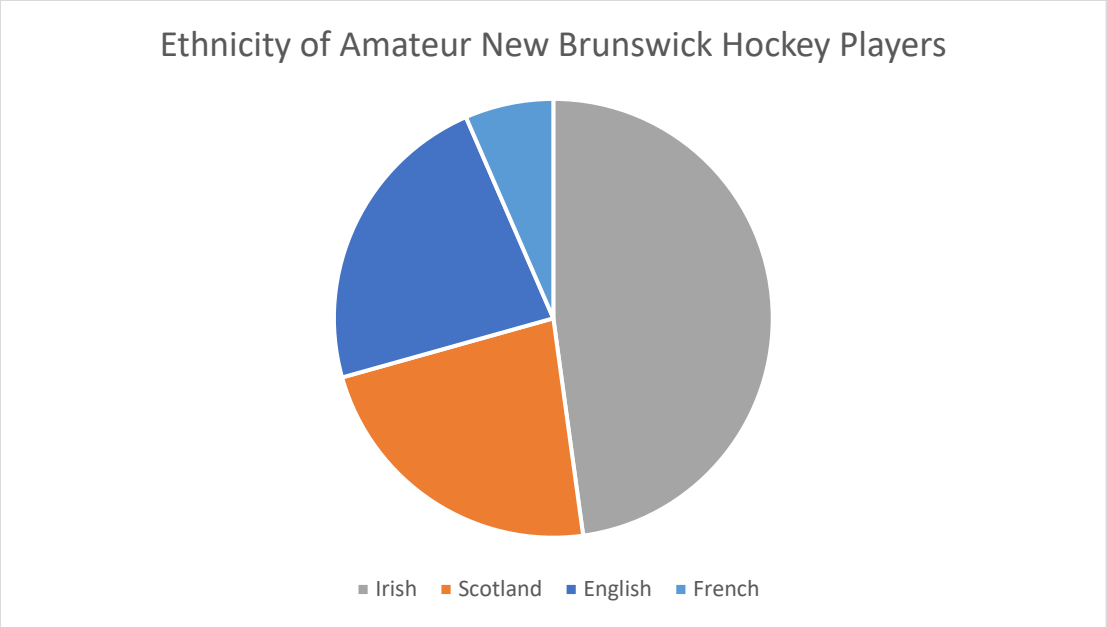


Table 4: Ethnicity of New Brunswick Amateur Hockey Players. This figure suggests one reason for the high number of Roman Catholics in New Brunswick hockey: the majority of amateur hockey players claimed Irish descent, opening up the likelihood of a significant number of Roman Catholics. There is also a large minority of ethnically French hockey players in New Brunswick and a complete lack of German or African-descended amateur players, according to the small number tracked in this study.

Sprinkled among players of European descent were African Canadians and Mi'kmaq, also participating in hockey. To what extent is difficult to assess because most of the white hockey teams refused to play with or against non-white players. One player, part of the Ruggles family in the Annapolis Valley, was listed as "Negro" on the census.[4] While hockey may have reflected the variety of ethnicities that existed in the Maritimes the absence of indigenous peoples is a glaring omission. Mi'kmaq people were playing hockey, or a game similar to it, as

[4] Canada, Manuscript Census (RG31, Statistics Canada,) 1911, Nova Scotia Census Districts within Annapolis, Cumberland, Digby, Yarmouth, Lunenburg, Halifax, Hants, and Kings Counties.

part of their folk culture, but there is little evidence that they became involved in the regulated hockey that was emblematic of Canadian hockey. Non-white hockey players made up a tiny fraction of the players studied here. Also present were female hockey players, though their games are not reported on with any regularity making it almost impossible to accurately gauge to what extent hockey had become popular among women and girls.

Hockey brought together migrants and settlers from a variety of European ethnic backgrounds. To some immigrants, hockey represented a way for them to better integrate into Maritime society.[5] As a result, hockey reflected the growing diversity within the region as people of disparate European backgrounds met on the ice. Farmers, fishermen, bankers, clerks, French, Irish, English, German, Black – all these demographics found themselves represented at the rural community hockey rinks, creating a forum for expanded interactions. The hockey rinks themselves became important reflections of a community's values and hockey culture.

[5] Howell, *Blood, Sweat and Cheers,* 9.

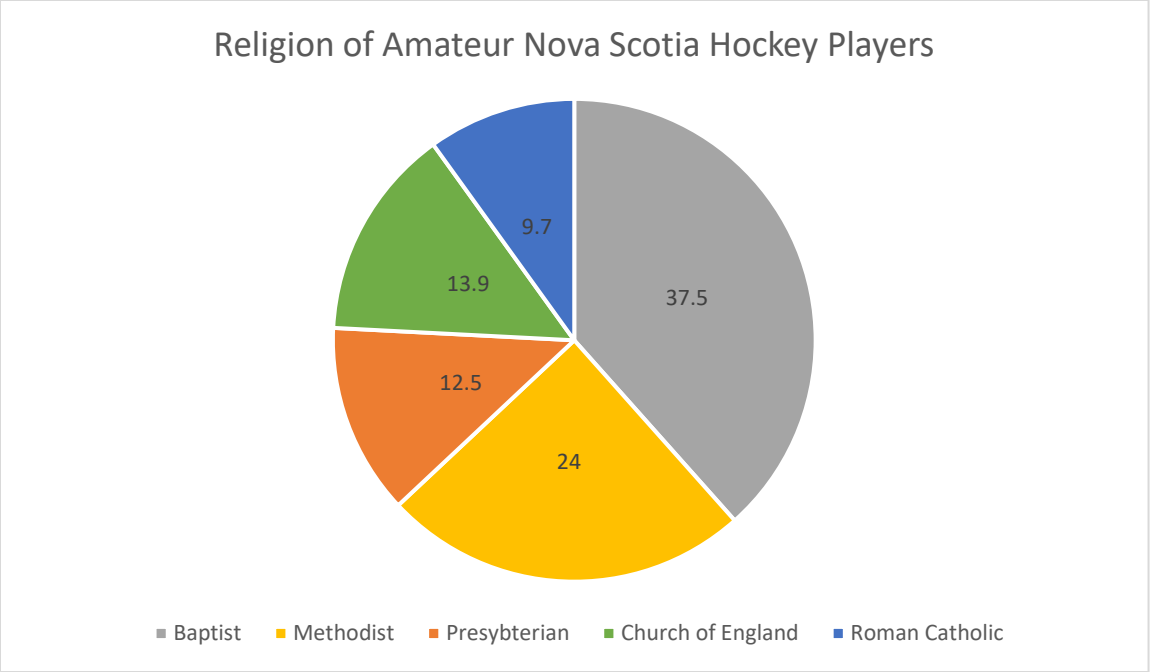


Table 5: The different religions of Nova Scotia amateur hockey players. As can be seen, hockey players came from a wide range of religious groups of European origin.

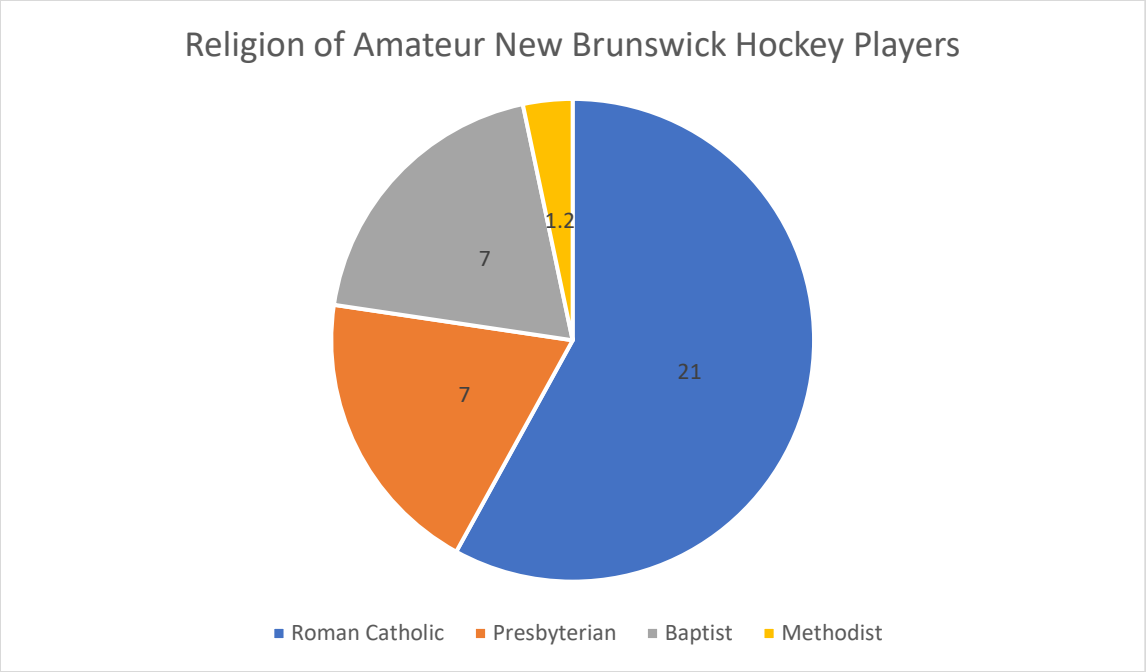


Table 6: The different religions of New Brunswick amateur hockey players. This table highlights one of the major differences between amateur hockey players in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, the dominance of Catholicism among players in New Brunswick versus Protestantism in Nova Scotia.

The Kentville Arena reflected the importance that many Maritime communities placed on hockey. Hockey in Kentville was important enough to the community to inspire calls for a rink as early as 1901.[6] In November of 1901 rumours circulated that a rink was potentially being planned.[7] Calls had begun circulating in October of that year for "capitalists" to invest in a rink for Kentville, something the town "needed".[8] By 1916 Kentville had built not one but two arenas, the second to replace the first lost to fire in 1915. It boasted the second largest indoor

[6] *The Advertiser*, October 11, 1901, 4.
[7] *The Advertiser*, November 1, 1901, 5.
[8] *The Advertiser*, October 11, 1901, 4.

ice surface in the province.[9] In addition it was full of all the modern conveniences such as gendered ground floor waiting rooms, hockey dressing rooms, toilets in every room, lockers, steam heating, electrical lighting, a balcony upstairs, a band room, broad viewing promenades, walls around the ice, wire netting, and compact goal judge boxes. This arena was prominently described on the second page of *The Weekly Monitor and Western Annapolis Sentinel*, obviously proud of the community's ability to raise the necessary ten-thousand-dollars and of what those dollars had produced.[10] But why would this great arena have been built in the middle of World War One, in a small agricultural town in the Annapolis Valley? Kentville was not necessarily a large center of commerce, nor was it the dominant hockey community of its county, though it was the county town of Kings County. Yet the arena was important enough to the community to warrant a large investment of time, money, and property. This suggests the important place of hockey in the community's zeitgeist, an essential form of winter recreation for all members of the community, men and women, adult and child. In addition, the arena and a successful hockey team boosted the prestige of the community.

The arena was a fine balance between a private enterprise and a public facility. Because of the arena Kentville was able to sustain a town hockey league.[11] To legitimize the league the Directors of the Kentville Arena Company donated a trophy to be awarded to the town champions.[12] It was the kind of move that solidified the arena's place in the community. This was a trend that could be seen across the country as arenas became not

[9] *The Weekly Monitor,* January 19, 1916, 2.
[10] *The Weekly Monitor,* January 19, 1916, 2.
[11] *The Advertiser*, February 1, 1916, 1.
[12] *The Advertiser*, February 1, 1916, 1.

only commercial enterprises, but also important hubs of communal activity and status symbols for towns and cities.[13] In addition, the donation of a trophy and the creation of a league increased the number of people who would pay to play hockey in the arena and pay to watch hockey, thus increasing the profit for the arena owners. While increased hockey led to increased profits, hockey was also so central to community culture that it was almost viewed as a necessary public service.

Newspapers influenced residents of Maritime communities to push their civic leaders to build these expensive, glorified playgrounds. In 1920 Bridgetown, Nova Scotia, was also calling for an outdoor rink for the Bridgetown Amateur Athletic Company.[14] Newspapers regularly praised communities and individuals who kept well maintained rinks. In *The Union Advocate* of 1912 both the Blackpoint and Nash's Creek community sections noted the effort the Blackpoint boys had put into preparing their local skating rink after several years of disuse. Such newspaper mentions highlight the importance of the rink in the communities. Hockey rinks had the potential to become the community's center for recreation and social gatherings. The recreation available was believed to be accessible for all ages and provided much needed winter entertainment for which the local populous would spend their money.[15] *The Union Advocate* praised the rink managers' skillful operation of the rink: "[The] Rink has been well patronized during this winter, provides clean, healthful and very

[13] John Wong, "The Patricks's Hockey Empire: Cultural Entrepreneurship and the Pacific Coast Hockey Association, 1911-1924," *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 35, no. 7-8 (2018): 676. & John Chi-Kit Wong, *Lords of the Rink: The Emergence of the National Hockey League, 1875-1936* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 16. On a national scale, the donation of the Stanley Cup further legitimized the place of hockey as a Canada-wide sport

[14] *The Weekly Monitor*, December 22, 1920, 4.

[15] *The Union Advocate*, January 24, 1912, 6.

agreeable entertainment to young and old at a very moderate cost, they are to be congratulated upon their enterprise in building the rink and managing it so wisely."[16] The emphasis on providing entertainment for old and young was not uncommon in Maritime communities. Praising the activities in the rink as, ". . . clean, healthful and very agreeable . . ."[17] reveals what Maritime communities viewed as appropriate forms of recreation, a point expanded further in subsequent chapters. The quality of the rinks was also important because good facilities provided the practice environment necessary to produce good teams; and when hockey teams hosted teams from away their amenities were on display as a source of pride. Canning, a community close to Wolfville in Kings County, did not have a rink available to them. When they lost league games in 1907 against Wolfville and Yarmouth, *The Acadian* blamed their poor play on the lack of a community rink available for practice purposes.[18]

Not only was the arena a symbol of a community's prosperity but a hockey team's success also reflected on the community. If there was not an arena it could lead to on ice losses which impacted the prestige of the community and prompted investment in practice facilities which could bolster a team's success, as Canning's losses appeared to demonstrate. When Wolfville started the 1914 hockey season going 4-2, *The Acadian* sent out a plea to rally men to join the hockey team: "new players, more training, coaching, need men of Wolfville to come forward and help, remember all men were boys just like those on the team, support financially. . ."[19] This plea reflected the idea that success in hockey promoted greater civic pride, but also

[16] *The Union Advocate*, March 29, 1911, 1.
[17] *The Union Advocate*, March 29, 1911, 1.
[18] *The Acadian*, March 8, 1907, 3.
[19] *The Acadian*, March 8, 1907, 3.

that greater civic involvement was foundational to hockey success. Civic engagement was also an investment in developing young men into better citizens. Looking forward to the formation of an area league which would include Newcastle, *The Union Advocate* published the following article about how important active young men were to the community of Newcastle:

> "A town or city can not have any better asset than a number of their young men and boys who are physically fit and full of pep and who have the spirit of team work ingrained in them though participation in outdoor sports. It would be a considerable improvement to the town if the boys and young men were out playing some game instead of standing round the corners doing absolutely no good to themselves or anyone else."[20]

The importance of the arena to a community can also be seen in how towns reacted to the loss of their arena. As communities grew through urban and rural industrialization, fires became a common and destructive threat to communities. The Moncton Victorias had challenged for the Stanley Cup in 1912 after becoming the dominant team in the Maritime Professional Hockey League.[21] The team's early successes led to it becoming wildly popular in Moncton.[22] Two years after their Stanley Cup challenge the Moncton arena tragically burned down in a fire that some believed to be the result of arson. Regardless of its cause, the destruction of the arena forced the Moncton Victorias to fold, ending professional hockey in New Brunswick.[23] Within three years the professional hockey league of the Maritimes,

[20] *The Union Advocate*, January 24, 1912, 6.
[21] Adams, *Long Shots,* 82.
[22] Adams, *Long Shots,* 69.
[23] Adams, *Long Shots,* 99.

having lost one of its few stable franchises, completely collapsed.[24] The loss of the Moncton arena significantly altered the opportunities for recreation and socialization within the city. Moncton was not the only community to suffer the loss of their arena to fire or natural occurrences. In 1920 strong winds blew down the Bathurst arena, forcing a game with Moncton to be cancelled and the newspapers to note, "Patrons of outdoor sports in Bathurst will keenly feel the loss of their rink."[25] In 1915 Kentville's arena burned down, prompting the community to build the expensive, new arena described above.[26] The speed with which communities rebuilt their arenas, and the negative impact of losing the arenas illustrates the importance they placed upon these centers for social activities, not the least of which was hockey.

In the fall of 1910, the *Truro Citizen* published an open question to its readers about hockey: "[T]his weather gives a fellow a touch of the "hockey fever" where does Truro fit this year? Or are we going to have a team? Think it over."[27] This was not an uncommon question for communities to pose in the late autumn and early winter. The question of where "Truro fit" extended beyond whether it would have a team, and included the bigger question of whether it could demonstrate its status and competitiveness by mounting a team worthy of its citizens. In much the same spirit in which communities within a region competed for investments, immigrants, and industry, they competed for bragging rites in the world of sports, though arguably with less on the line. Communities within close geographic proximity, and especially

[24] Adams, *Long Shots,* 134.
[25] *The Union Advocate*, February 10, 1920, 8.
[26] *The Union Advocate,* December 15, 1915, 3; *The Weekly Monitor*, January 19, 1916, 2.
[27] *Truro Citizen,* October 22, 1910, 4.

those of similar size, engaged in particularly fierce rivalries which could extend to the provincial and national level as the reputation and skill of their teams grew. These rivalries increased residents' emotional investment in the game at the same time that they increased investment in material resources which could boost the chances for success. Heated rivalries also increased media attention and led to a swell in attendance, attracting spectators not just from supporters of the competing teams but from the surrounding area. The pursuit of community pride on the ice also led to controversies which in themselves increased media attention.

Chatham and Campbellton were two coastal New Brunswick communities separated by just under two hundred kilometers by land, but easily accessible to each other by sea. They were both regional centers in Northern New Brunswick. They regularly competed against each other in the various provincial amateur leagues, often for the right to play for the provincial championship. Their relatively close proximity, similar size, and competitive equality in hockey resulted in a heated and passionate rivalry for most of the 1920s. The rivalry between these two communities can be exemplified in their divisional championship game in 1922.[28] The championship game the year before had met with some controversy as well. In 1921 Campbellton filed two protests over the game against Chatham. The first protest was in response to Chatham's refusal to play with the referee the league assigned to the game. Their second protest was because Chatham dressed Shorty Veno as a backup player, only weeks after the Amateur Athletic Union ruled Veno ineligible to play in amateur hockey for the 1921 hockey season.[29] Controversy struck again in 1922 as the official referee, Wilkie, missed his train in

[28] *The Union Advocate*, February 14, 1922, 1.
[29] *The Union Advocate*, February 15, 1921, 1.

Halifax and was unable to officiate the final game.[30] Two different referees were appointed to officiate. Campbellton disagreed with this decision and refused to play, threatening instead to sit out. League president, Mr. Sterling, appointed Kirk Murray and Thos. Gilbert as official replacement referees for the game. In response to the fresh controversies, Campbellton decided to play the game under protest.[31]

According to what was likely a biased report from one newspaper, the game was fast and vicious, with Campbellton players hit into the boards with ". . . bone-breaking brutality . . ." The third period ended in controversy when a goal Campbellton had scored to take the lead was called back after many minutes of play. Fights erupted on the ice near the end of regulation time and Chatham supporters threatened to flow onto the ice to join the fray. In the last few minutes before overtime, two Chatham players, Keaoughan and Duncan, attacked a Campbellton player, Thomas. While Keaoughan held his arms down, Duncan, ". . . used his face as a punching bag." Overtime resulted in two controversial penalties against Campbellton, and Chatham scored on the resulting power play to win the championship. The Chatham team believed they won the game 3-2; however, Campbellton believed the score should have been 3-1 for them and launched a protest to the league president. The controversy was particularly vociferous because one of the referees, GIlbert, was from Chatham. Gilbert's hometown and role as referee led to questions of personal bias in how he officiated the

[30] *The Union Advocate*, February 14, 1922, 1.
[31] *The Union Advocate*, February 14, 1922, 1.

game.[32] The fallout from the game led referee Mr. Murray, from Saint John, to resign as a referee in the New Brunswick Prince Edward Island Hockey League.[33]

The Annapolis Valley was home to a similar rivalry between Wolfville and Windsor, regional population centers in the northern portion of the Annapolis Valley. Wolfville was a commercial center of Kings County and Windsor was the commercial center of Hants County. They were agricultural regions separated by less than thirty kilometers and each had a long history of playing hockey. Windsor was even believed by some to be the birthplace of Canadian hockey.[34] Hockey was, and is, a central part of the local identity. In 1910 the Wolfville newspaper published an article that was not flattering to the Windsor hockey team. Following a game between Windsor and Wolfville *The Acadian* quoted *The Windsor Journal* in stating that the Windsor team could ". . . rough it with the roughest teams . . ." but *The Acadian* added that the Windsor team was not as skilled as their local men. The game *The Acadian* article was referencing had been slow, with tobacco smoke obscuring the views of the spectators. Wolfville supporters strongly objected to what they saw as Windsor's attempts to break all the rules on their way to victory.[35] It was a common practice for newspapers to claim the opposing team was rough and dirty while simultaneously stating their team was innocent of wrongdoing.[36] Continuing in this vein *The Acadian* extolled the virtuous play of the Wolfville

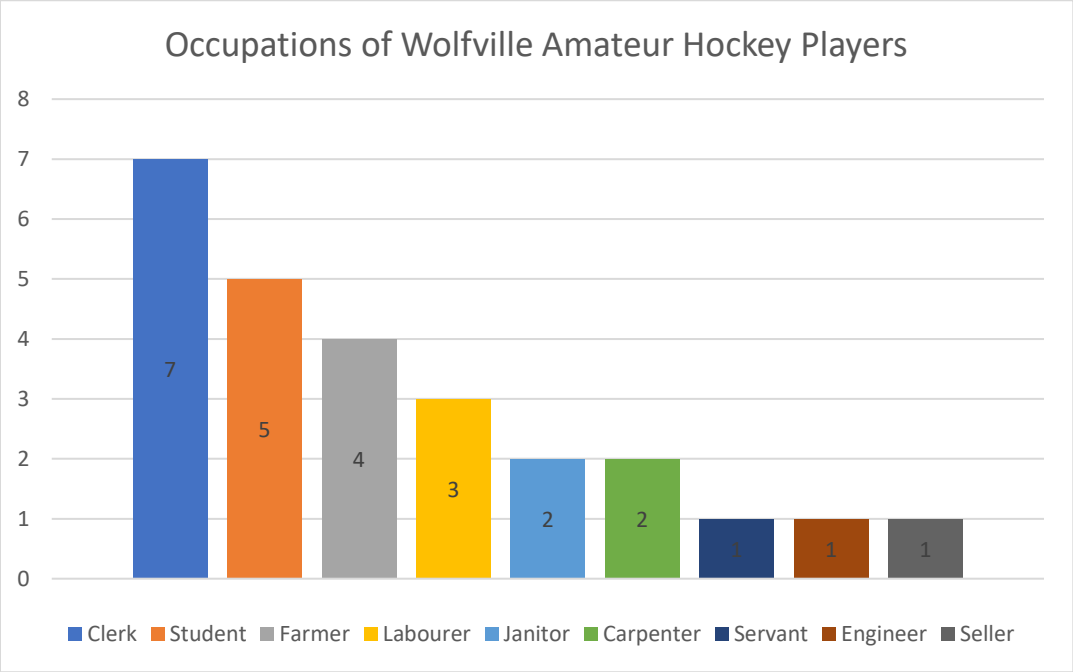
[32] *The Union Advocate*, February 14, 1922, 1.
[33] *The Union Advocate*, February 22, 1922, 2.
[34] Carl Gidèn, Patrick Houda, and Jean-Patrice Martel, *On the Origin of Hockey* (Stockholm and Chambly: Hockey Origin Publishing, 2014), 1, and Garth Vaughan, *The Puck Starts Here: The Origin of Canada's Great Winter Game: Ice Hockey,* (Fredericton, New Brunswick: Goose Lane Editions and Four East Publications, 1996).
[35] *The Acadian,* February 11, 1910, 3.
[36] Lorenz, "Hockey, Violence, and Masculinity," 2056.

team despite the obvious cheating by Windsor. They underscored the virtue of losing with an honest clean effort instead of winning by cheating.[37]

The Windsor Journal likely would have provided a far different account of the game and the rivalry between the two communities, leading to a better understanding of the antagonism that existed between the two teams.[38] However, through studying *The Acadian* it is possible to parse out the community rivalry. According to *The Acadian, The Windsor Journal* published an article that challenged Wolfville's complaints concerning the game and questioned whether a reporter from *The Acadian* had even attended the game.[39] *The Acadian* also recounted a recent game between Windsor and DCBA[40] in which Dartmouth was regularly and violently attacked, resulting in many injuries.[41] Windsor was developing a reputation as the dirty hockey team in the league.[42] It is tempting to suggest that the style of play may have reflected the backgrounds and occupations of the Wolfville and Windsor hockey players. Young men involved in heavy physical labour made up the majority of players who could be identified for the Windsor team. In contrast, clerks and students made up the majority of those who could be identified for the Wolfville team. {See Tables 7 and 8.} However, this is thin evidence indeed from which to draw conclusions concerning style of play. The banter between the two newspapers is adequate to representing the rivalry between the communities and would have

[37] *The Acadian,* February 11, 1910, 3.
[38] Unfortunately, this study was unable to access the *Windsor Journal* from this era, and all the information regarding this event comes from *The Acadian*.
[39] *The Acadian*, February 18, 1910, 2.
[40] DCBA was an amateur hockey team from Dartmouth. I have not been able to discover what the DCBA initials stand for.
[41] *The Acadian*, February 18, 1910, 2.
[42] *The Acadian*, February 18, 1910, 2.

worked to unite members of the communities behind idealized visions of their community values and teams.



Tables 7: This figure highlights the occupations of Wolfville's amateur hockey players. It illustrates the mix of backgrounds of the hockey players. When compared to data in Figure 8 it becomes evident that there are more men from the middle-class playing hockey in Wolfville than in rival community Windsor. This may explain why *The Acadian* tried so hard to hold Wolfville up as an ideal of middle-class virtues, and why Windsor was content to celebrate their rough style of hockey.

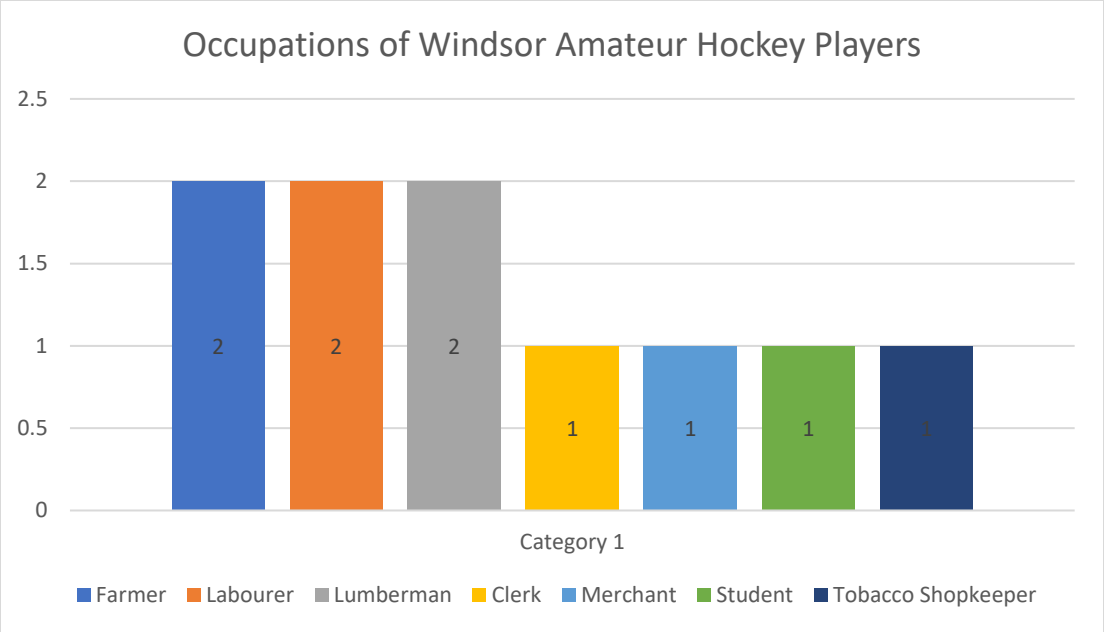


Table 8: This figure tracks the occupations of the Windsor amateur hockey players. This table's primary weakness is the small number of Windsor hockey players identified, in comparison with the larger number of Wolfville players identified.

The rivalry between Wolfville and Windsor extended beyond men's hockey to include women's hockey, though information on women's play is fragmented. In 1924 the front page of *The Acadian* mentioned a women's hockey game between Wolfville and Windsor.[43] The Wolfville team lost to Windsor, who were described as the provincial champions. The newspaper regretted the low turnout for the game, suggesting much less enthusiasm for women's play, something the paper might have helped to remedy by providing more detail on the game and information in general on the league. Regardless, the women on these two teams were seen as representing their communities.

[43] *The Acadian,* February 15, 1924, 1.

Such rivalries provide glimpses of what these communities believed to be proper play. Campbellton and Wolfville each complained bitterly over the perceived infractions committed against them by the opposing teams. Through *The Acadian's* description of the games, people in Wolfville identified themselves as valuing clean, honest hockey over victory. Victory was still important for communal pride, but residents could also claim that how they achieved victory was more important than the victory itself. Superficially this would seem to indicate these communities valued clean competition in which both teams played according to the rules; however, there are very few examples of hockey towns complaining about the dirty play of the opposition after a win.

Rivalries such as those between Campbellton and Chatham and between Wolfville and Windsor dramatically increased the attendance at local hockey games. Controversies that exploded in games between rivals were fed by the local newspapers. These controversies drew more readers to the newspapers, prompting them to spend more time discussing and arguing over hockey. Rival newspapers fed into the rivalries by providing biased perspectives on the controversies, T*he Acadian*, and *The Windsor Journal* actively responding to each other within their pages. In this way they extended the contest beyond the hockey rink and into the homes of residents, solidifying the rivalry between the different communities. This increased media attention and exposed hockey to the entire reading audience, potentially piquing the interest of the wider populace and drawing more people to the next game between these rivals. Controversies between rivals were probably the best impetus for increased attendance at the next game, rapidly increasing the population of active supporters and participants in hockey.

In the 1914 hockey season *The Acadian* fanned flames of rivalry again by describing the virtues of their amateur team and denigrating the practices of other teams.[44] They claimed to be the only team that embodied the values of true sport because they were the only team playing strictly local amateurs. Each man worked a full-time job or attended school full time and therefore was playing for the thrill of competition. *The Acadian* endorsed the team as a paragon of amateur sport and deserving of the full support of the community.[45] A month later *The Acadian* continued to praise the spirit of their local team by stating Wolfville demonstrated the superiority of home grown over imports in a 3-2 victory over Kentville.[46] They implied that Kentville's hockey team had imported hockey players to increase their competitiveness.[47] *The Acadian* played on the locals' competitive feelings and their rivalries with the other amateur league teams. The games were not just about Wolfville verse Kentville or Windsor, but rather about the true sportsmen of Wolfville who represented the ideals of the community because they were integral members of the community.

Most hockey games in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in the Maritimes were organized according to the challenge system, as embodied by the early Stanley Cup matches, which allowed any hockey team to issue a challenge to another hockey team. That team would then accept or reject the challenge depending on their disposition. The system had serious drawbacks, one of which was demonstrated in the December 1901 challenge issued by

[44] *The Acadian*, January 30, 1914, 3.
[45] *The Acadian*, January 30, 1914, 3.
[46] *The Acadian*, February 27, 1914, 3.
[47] *The Acadian*, February 27, 1914, 3.

Wolfville to the town of Hantsport.[48] Hantsport had three hockey teams, the *Strathconas*, *Tuscaroras*, and *Columbias*, all eager to play Wolfville but confused as to which team Wolfville wanted to play and which team would have the honour of representing the town.[49] This created anxiety and tension among the Hantsport teams. The challenge system was also limited in its ability to create stable schedules and with those schedules regular spectators and a reliable fan base. The introduction of a Nova Scotia Provincial League as early as 1904, and potentially earlier, resulted in a championship game between Windsor and Truro[50] and in the same year what may have been a championship game between Acadia and Dalhousie, though it is not clear when the Intercollegiate Hockey League was formed. There is mention of one in subsequent years.[51] By 1907, *The Acadian* was regularly reporting on games for the Nova Scotia Hockey League, Kings County Jr. Hockey League, and the Kings County Hockey League. The development of such local leagues and of provincial leagues allowed for amateur hockey players to expand their connections on a systematic basis beyond the community level. These hockey leagues created a vast network that connected each community to the larger Maritime identity. This network existed not only amongst the athletes, but amongst the residents as well. Aside from the network, the leagues provided an environment that encouraged the growth of local fanbases strongly linked to civic pride.

Leagues connected communities with one another in a web of hockey that traversed the region. New Brunswick, for example, broke their province up into three amateur leagues to

[48] *The Advertiser*, December 20, 1901, 3 - December 27, 1901, 3.
[49] *The Advertiser*, December 20, 1901, 3.
[50] *The Acadian*, January 22, 1904, 3.
[51] *The Acadian*, January 15, 1909, 3.

better align with the geographic travel limitations. Teams were organized into a Northern league, Eastern league, and a Southern league.[52] The development of these leagues prompted communities to create or expand existing town leagues in order to prepare players who could compete in the provincial leagues.[53] As a result hockey expanded into communities that were not traditionally hockey communities. The winners of each league played each other in a playoff for championship of the province.[54] Newspapers regularly reported the results and standings of league play, further cementing the network of hockey communities.

This network was solidified by the regular travel of hockey teams to different communities. Not only were hockey fans exposed to local rivalries, league teams from far away were reported on and there was a chance they would visit as well. For New Brunswick, if Chatham won for their division it provided their fans the chance to see championship teams from the other regional leagues play their local team. Teams from Sussex, which previously would not have travelled to Chatham to play, would now have an impetus to travel to Chatham. Additionally, the creation of small regional leagues gave more towns the opportunity to support a team in the league. This allowed more towns to develop hockey programs, thus extending the hockey network beyond larger centers. The winner of the New Brunswick provincial championships would then play the winners from Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia for the right to become the Maritime champions.[55] Similar leagues would have been established in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, producing similar effects. This, again, increased the

[52] *The Union Advocate*, December 6, 1921, 8.
[53] *The Union Advocate,* December 14, 1920, 1.
[54] *The Union Advocate*, December 6, 1921, 8.
[55] *The Union Advocate*, December 4, 1923, 1.

stakes of these games, drawing in more fans, and exposed local fans to hockey teams from communities that previously would not have been travelling to their region.

In a similar way, Black Maritime residents who played hockey were able to travel to many different communities. Teams from Nova Scotia, specifically Halifax, Africville, Truro, and Dartmouth, vied with New Brunswick teams from Fredericton and Saint John. They also competed against the Charlottetown West End Rangers.[56] While they did not play each other regularly, they did compete against each other, and other local Black teams, to claim Maritime hockey supremacy.[57] Provincial hockey rivalries and challenges between different Black Maritime teams drew Black individuals into a wider Black Maritime world. By promoting communication between communities such as Africville, Dartmouth, Charlottetown's West End, and others, perhaps they helped in the creation of a Black Maritime identity, though the role of hockey in that process of identity formation has yet to be studied.

These hockey networks were also strengthened by the movement of individual players across the Maritimes. Stanley Veno, originally from Chatham, had the opportunity to try out for the Montreal Canadiens, and also played for Moncton, before returning to play for Chatham.[58] His movement around New Brunswick, and to Central Canada, reflected the mobility of the hockey player that was common in the early twentieth century. It was not uncommon for hockey players, even those touted as amateurs, to relocate to new communities that could offer them the best perks alongside playing hockey. A common strategy to entice hockey players to move was the offer of steady employment outside of hockey. This may be

[56] Fosty & Fosty, *Black Ice,* 101-2.
[57] Fosty & Fosty, *Black Ice, 109.*
[58] *The Union Advocate,* February 1, 1921, 1, and February 8, 1921, 2 and 4.

why Wolfville hired Robert Spicer Jr. as a janitor prior to his shipment off to war.[59] Fred Eagles' likely movement to Chatham to play goal for their team further evidences the mobility of hockey players,[60] though given Eagles' social class, the allure of a job to play hockey in Chatham may have been less enticing.

Clear and stable schedules allowed local newspapers to advertise games to the community, which in turn increased local turnout and support for the home team. The Nova Scotia Hockey League, which became the Western Nova Scotia Hockey League, and then the Nova Scotia Hockey League again, developed clear schedules that were regularly printed in *The Acadian* newspaper.[61] *The Acadian* also reported on game results and league standings showing how many wins and losses each team in the league had.[62] Even in small towns without a league team, the league games, scores, and standings were advertised in the local newspapers.[63] League promoters built on this free advertising in their attempts to expand their fanbase to incorporate a larger portion of the Maritime population. The consistent reporting of league results increased interest in the game and added to the rivalries between communities.

Leagues also provided a stronger commitment to play games that were advertised. A problem in early Maritime hockey was advertising for challenge games that were then cancelled for a variety of reasons. Leagues offered some increased guarantee that the games would occur as advertised. Obviously, some allowances had to be made for weather, which could change dramatically causing a loss of ice at the rinks or obstructing travel. However,

[59] *The Acadian,* March 6, 1914, 3.
[60] *The Union Advocate,* January 17, 1922, 1.
[61] *The Acadian*, January 4, 1907, 3.
[62] *The Acadian*, February 4, 1910, 2.
[63] *Monitor and Annapolis*, February 3, 1909, 5.

leagues proved much better at maintaining strict schedules, or quickly scheduling make up games. Leagues did not get rid of the challenge system. In areas that did not have leagues or league teams, challenge systems still served the important function of providing opportunities for hockey teams to play.

The limited data available shows that games for league championships saw a significant increase in fan attendance over both regular league games and non-league games. One of the rare outliers for this was the 1924 game the Charlottetown Abbies, a common nickname for the Abegweits, played against the Canadian Olympic Team, which had more than double the number of fans that attended even league championship games.[64] Most games in the rural Maritime towns, for which we have records, had an attendance of between four hundred to seven hundred fans.[65] League championship games, especially between rivals, usually saw an increase in demonstrated fan support to between one thousand to fifteen hundred fans.[66] This usually included several hundred fans traveling on special trains from surrounding communities, in addition to fans from the visiting team's community.[67] Even when the Windsor Swastikas traveled to St. John's to play their city team, a game which garnered two thousand four hundred and fifty fans, there was a significant group that had traveled from Nova Scotia to support the team,[68] over fifteen hundred kilometers. Many of those traveling were likely family of the players or close friends.

[64] *The Union Advocate*, January 15, 1924, 1.
[65] This number has been arrived at by analyzing attendance at hockey games as reported in *The Acadian, The Union Advocate, The Weekly Monitor,* and *The Weekly Monitor and Western Annapolis Sentinel* from 1900-1925.
[66] *The Union Advocate,* February 1, 1921, 6 and *The Acadia,* February 24, 1911, 3.
[67] *The Evening Telegram*, February 26, 1912, 7.
[68] *The Evening Telegram*, February 26, 1912, 7.

With all of these leagues competing, the number of avenues available for Maritime residents to pursue competitive organized hockey, dramatically increased. High School and College leagues allowed hockey to be intertwined with education, both public and private. Hockey leagues for school-age boys created childhood traditions that further entrenched the sport among the population. As early as 1907 Kings County organized a hockey league specifically for adolescent boys separate from young men.[69] This early league provided adolescents with the opportunity to learn the game and develop a passion for it that would grow over the years. This emphasis on developing leagues for adolescents can be seen in the popularity of Boy Scouts leagues, Tuxis leagues, and school leagues discussed under Education.

This is not to say that leagues were always successful and did not have major problems. The Nova Scotia Hockey League was regularly, almost annually, reformed and reorganized because teams would drop out.[70] The only teams that were consistent between 1907 and 1915 were Wolfville and Windsor. During that time, League organizers tried to include teams from Yarmouth, Lunenburg, Canning, Kentville, Dartmouth, and Halifax. They did not try to include teams from Northern mainland Nova Scotia or Cape Breton Island, most likely due to travel times and distance. These teams were traveling long distances, by train, after work, and then traveling back home that night or early the next day. Trips were time consuming and expensive. It is understandable that teams from Yarmouth and Lunenburg would not be able to remain long term in a league centered in the Wolfville-Windsor

[69] *The Acadian*, February 22, 1907, 3.
[70] *The Acadian,* 1907-1925.

area. Most of the players were younger men, in their twenties, some married with children, but most single. The majority were studying full time or working full time for wages which meant putting in a full day of study or work, or perhaps losing a day's salary, then traveling for many hours to play a demanding sport without any substitute players. Then frequently they would attend a dance and supper put on by the host team, following which they would finally travel back home.[71] These were significant hurdles for the long-term success of rural regional hockey leagues.

Uncertainty regarding what teams would play in the league each year must have contributed to periods of apathy within and towards the amateur leagues. This apathy was particularly evident in 1913 when the Nova Scotia Hockey League was reduced to two teams, Wolfville and Windsor.[72] Games during this season saw a reduction in fan attendance, which threatened to collapse the league entirely.[73] The league stabilized the following year with the addition of new teams.[74] Yet even with these weaknesses in the leagues, amateur leagues still survived in the Maritimes longer than professional leagues. This could be in part because of the civic pride individuals took from watching players from their community play in competition against rival communities. Watching your neighbors play may have been a better motivator to attend a game than watching men from away represent the community that offered the biggest pay cheque.

[71] *The Union Advocate,* March 10, 1915, 1.
[72] *The Acadian*, January 10, 1913 – No. 24, March 7, 1913.
[73] *The Acadian*, January 31, 1913, 3 and February 7, 1913, 3.
[74] *The Acadian*, December 12, 1913, 7.

What can be said about the broader connections hockey may have fostered or reflected? For the period studied here, the connections with New England stand out. For some areas of the Canadian Maritimes, historically strong familial, economic and cultural connections with New England dated back to before the American Revolution. Many residents of the Maritimes traced their family history to New England as part of the migrations out following the American Revolution or as part of the pre-Revolution migrations when thousands came to displace the Indigenous peoples and the Acadian inhabitants.[75] Subsequent migration waves, though flowing primarily in the opposite direction, continued to strengthen ties between the two regions as men and women moved back and forth across the border with the United States looking for work, engaging in mariner economic activities, establishing trade networks, maintaining family ties, and building a cultural nexus with Boston in particular. Recent scholarship has emphasized the permeability of borderlands which allowed for the exchange of not just goods and peoples but ideas and culture. This was certainly true of the borderlands between the Canadian Maritimes and New England.

Hockey and hockey players were part of the exchange that bound New England and the Maritimes to each other. As Maritime hockey players, both amateur and professional, regularly traveled to Boston, whether primarily for work or primarily to play hockey, they maintained their identity as Maritime and Canadian hockey players in Boston. There was Joe Currie and Frank Synnott, both from Chatham, playing in New Haven until Synnott moved to play for Boston.[76] Eventually he would play for the Boston Victorias; apparently, they had offered him a

[75] John G. Reid, "Immigration to Atlantic Canada: Historical Reflections," *Journal of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society*, 19, 2016, 41-42.
[76] *The Union Advocate*, December 30, 1914, 3

better job outside of hockey.[77] Stan (Shorty) Veno, also from Chatham, was playing in the Boston City League.[78] In 1924 Shorty Veno was still in Boston playing alongside Capt. Ag Smith for the Boston Athletic Association (BAA).[79] "Chick" Williams, who previously had played for the Maple Team, and Normie Shay, previously of New Haven's team, were working out with the Boston Bruins. The motivation for practicing with the NHL team was to get in better shape for the amateur leagues.[80] Ajax Campbell, weighing well over 200 lbs., was a hockey player from Cape Breton who played in Boston while studying at medical school, whether amateur or professional is not clear.[81] Jack Ruggles of the Kings hockey team spent at least the 1921 season playing in Boston.[82] Canadian hockey teams, especially from the Maritimes, played exhibition games in Boston, and occasionally New York. In 1913 the Tecumsehs of Toronto and a team from New Glasgow played a game in Boston for a $25 000 purse.[83] The year 1912 saw what was reported to be the first all-female hockey game played in Boston, played between a team from the Royal Conservatory of Music in Halifax and a team from Edgehill College in Windsor. These two teams played a series of games in Boston in late January to early February.[84]

Newspapers on both sides of the Canadian-America border stressed that players and teams from the Maritimes represented a high level of play which would increasingly come to be

[77] *The Union Advocate*, December 19, 1922, 5.
[78] *The Union Advocate*, December 27, 1921. 3-4.
[79] *The Union Advocate*, December 2, 1924, 1.
[80] *The Union Advocate*, December 2, 1924, 1.
[81] Daniel MacDonald, "Class, Community, and Commercialism': Hockey in Industrial Cape Breton, 1917-1937" in Coast to Coast: Hockey in Canada to the Second World War, ed. by John Chi-Kit Wong (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 13.
[82] *The Weekly Monitor,* January 12, 1921, 5.
[83] *Monitor and Annapolis,* March 19, 1913, 5.
[84] *Monitor and Annapolis,* January 31, 1912, 6.

defined as a Canadian style of hockey, a style superior to that exhibited by American players. This style was worthy of evoking pride in Canada and the male and female players Canada produced. *The Union Advocate* included a quotation from an unnamed, but presumably American newspaper, describing a game between New Haven and New York in December 1914. The report stated that the "skating of Fynan, Roe and Currie was a revelation to New Haven." *The Union Advocate* took special care to highlight that the Currie referred to was Joe Currie who was originally from Chatham, New Brunswick.[85] Frank Synott, another Chatham local, also played in the game, prompting *the Union Advocate* to quote a paper, again unnamed but presumably from Boston, that outlined his superior play and the efforts of local teams to bring him over. The paper is quoted as saying, "Synott is a wing man of exceptional ability and is well placed in New Haven, where the big rink, new last season, is being prepared for a great winter in hockey."[86] Unfortunately, shortly after this quotation, in 1924, a fire burned down the New Haven arena and ended their ability to ice a hockey team.[87] The paper remarked that Synott would be a desirable player in Boston but would not be willing to move, "unless he feels certain that he will be able to secure a position, aside from a hockey berth, equally as remunerative."[88]

Synott did end up going to Boston and became a star player for the Boston Victorias in 1922. He joined what had become "[t]he usual spectacle of imported Canadian players figuring on the ice with Boston and other American hockey clubs . . ., "[89] according to the *Union*

[85] *The Union Advocate*, December 30, 1914, 3.
[86] *The Union Advocate,* December 30, 1914, 3.
[87] *The Union Advocate,* December 30, 1924, 7.
[88] *The Union Advocate*, December 30, 1914, 3.
[89] *The Union Advocate,* December 19, 1922, 5.

Advocate. By 1922, it had become common place for Canadian hockey players to spend the winters playing for American hockey clubs. In the 1920s Shorty Veno became a local hero on both sides of the border when the Boston team for which he was playing won the right to represent Boston in the United States Hockey Association in 1921. They won the deciding game by a score of two to one, with both goals scored by Veno.[90] In 1924 Veno was still in high demand and was being urged to join the Boston AA Association of the United States Amateur Hockey Association. He had also played for the New Haven Bears.[91]

In both New England and the Maritimes commentators described a distinctive Canadian style of hockey which combined speed and skill with violence and roughness. As the excitement of the game attracted international attention and popularity, the stages on which Canadians could demonstrate their mastery of the game expanded. It was included in the first winter Olympics allowing Canadians to assert dominance in hockey over other countries. This dominance resulted in an increased Canadian national pride which Maritime people could embrace as part of their Canadian identity. Maritime newspapers went to great lengths to celebrate the superiority of Canadian players over those from other nations, and as they represented hockey as an increasing source of pride in Canada and a major ingredient in Canadians' self-identification, hockey worked to strengthen the ties of people from the Maritimes to Central Canada. Radio combined with newspapers to promote a shared sense of collective achievement through hockey. On February 3rd, 1925 *The Union Advocate* recorded the reaction to one of the first National Hockey League's earliest games broadcast on the

[90] *The Union Advocate*, December 27, 1921, 3-4.
[91] *The Union Advocate*, December 30, 1924, 7.

radio. It was a game between the Montreal Canadiens and the Boston Bruins broadcast in the Newcastle-Chatham area by station WBZ. The paper records that the many locals who listened and enjoyed the game identified with the Montreal Canadiens, not the Boston Bruins. When the Canadians won 4-0, the Newcastle-Chatham area fans identified with the victory of a Canadian over an American team.[92] A second game broadcast over station WBZ further reveals the extent to which newspapers and radio promoted hockey as a force connecting Maritime inhabitants with Central Canada and Central Canadians. When the Ottawa Senators defeated the Boston Bruins three to one a reporter exclaimed, "When it comes to playing hockey our Yankee cousins have to take a back seat to the boys from this side of the line."[93] "This side of the line" positioned Maritime fans with Ottawa and against Boston. Some of the Boston players were likely from the Maritimes, but when an American was pitted against a Canadian team, the listening audience in New Brunswick was assumed to favour the Canadian team. A 1925 game in New York between the New York City branch of the Royal Bank of Canada and the Seventh Regiment team featured a Wolfville man playing for the bank team. The other players for the bank were also all Canadian. When the bank team won 9-3, *The Acadian* reporter remarked: "Like their compatriots, Les Canadiens, the Bank team demonstrated that the hockey player born and bred in New York City is not yet in a class with the player from the North."[94] Linking the bank team with the Canadiens drew the connection between the Maritime hockey fanbase and the Montreal Canadiens rather than an American team. Such media coverage encouraged bonds between the Maritimes and Central Canada.

[92] *The Union Advocate*, February 3, 1925.
[93] *The Union Advocate*, February 10, 1925, 8.
[94] *The Acadian*, December 31, 1925, 1.

The success of Canadian teams in international tournaments encouraged Maritime inhabitants in the belief that excellence in hockey was a cultural trait linking them to the rest of Canada. In the first Winter Olympics, 1924,[95] a Canadian team won the tournament with one hundred and twenty two goals for and only three against, steam rolling their way to Olympic Gold.[96] In 1925 a Canadian team won a tournament over teams from Switzerland, Belgium, France, and England.[97] *The Acadian* noted that the English team were mostly English men who had gone to school in Canada, making the point that even the second place team in the tournament was made up of players that had learned hockey in Canada. The success of Canadian hockey teams in international competitions had a similar effect to that of rower Ned Hanlan two generations prior.[98] His successes made him a national icon. In the twentieth century Canada's dominance in hockey placed it on an equal footing with the great nations of the world in at least one respect. In identifying with the success of Canadian sporting teams, residents of the Maritimes identified with the Canada that had fostered success.

International competitions confirmed what many Maritime inhabitants believed about hockey: that something about Canada produced better hockey players than other nations. The following quotation is taken from the *Sydney Post* in 1921 prior to the first Winter Olympics:

> "Hockey, the king of speed games, is Canada's national sport. The pace of it, the speed and thrill of it appeals to the youth of Canada. No other boys in the world could ever play hockey quite as Canadian youngsters do, hockey has developed to suit the

[95] This was actually the second Olympic gold medal team Canada won for ice hockey. The first occurred in the prior Olympics, before Summer and Winter sports were separated.
[96] "Canada at the 1924 Olympic Winter Games," *The Canadian Encyclopedia,* February 8, 2018, https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/canada-at-the-1924-olympic-winter-games
[97] *The Acadian*, February 26, 1925, 5.
[98] Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play.*

> temperament which expresses itself most completely in this game. It is the spirit of Vimy Ridge and Festubert which crops out strongest in a fast rush down the ice with the puck. The vigor, stamina, fearlessness, and self-restraint [and] manliness demanded by the game are natural, because the Canadian came first and hockey developed as his characteristic sport."[99]

This quotation speaks to beliefs the newspaper considered to be shared by Maritimers. First, Maritime inhabitants believed that Canadians were superior at hockey due to some inherent Canadian quality. This inherent quality was linked to major recent events that created the foundation for Canadian identity. It also shows the belief that hockey was a natural development of the struggles of life in Canada. Because it grew out of Canada, it was understandable that Canadians were the best at it, and this formed a major aspect of their relationship to hockey. Hockey was believed to unite the peoples of Canada and provide them a stage on which to assert their equality or superiority to the rest of the Western powers. As Gillian Poulter has argued concerning the adoption and adaptation of sports in the creation of an identity, "the linked themes of distinctive sports, wintery climate, and northern geography became distinguishing characteristics of Canadian-ness."[100] Hockey made Maritime inhabitants uniquely Canadian in spite of their closeness to New England and despite tensions with Central Canada on the political and economic front The emergence of Canada as the international hockey powerhouse was viewed as an outgrowth of Canadian cultural

[99] *Sydney Post*, February 26, 1921, 10, as found in Wong, *Coast to Coast*, 8.
[100] Gillian Poulter, "Snowshoeing and Lacrosse: Canada's Nineteenth-century 'National Games,"' *Culture, Sport, Society 6 (2-3) 2003, 293.*

traits.[101] According to Daniel MacDonald, this resulted in the rejection of foreign sports.[102] It created a lasting bond that united them to the hockey culture that existed in Central Canada.

Hockey was a medium through which people in the Maritime provinces could express their local and even national identity. Even though they came from a variety of backgrounds, those who considered themselves hockeyists could express both their commonality and individuality. This included young women. There were stark exceptions, though. At a time when hockey appeared to be reaching across socio-economic divides, borders, and the miles that separated the Maritime provinces from Central Canada, the exclusion of African Canadians and Indigenous Peoples told a different story of community formation.

[101] Howell & Leeworthy. "Playing on the Border," 1358.
[102] MacDonald, "Class, Community, and Commercialism," 20.

Chapter Three: Shaping and Expressing Masculinities through Hockey

In January of 1912, *The Union Advocate* reported on a meeting involving a group of the Newcastle-Chatham region's young men. The purpose of the meeting was to form a community hockey league.[1] A league was formed with three inaugural teams, the Victorias, Chatham Fire Department, and I.R.C. Throughout the 1912 hockey season, the three teams regularly met at the Newcastle skating rink in healthy competition. It is evident that the Firemen and I.R.C. lagged behind the Victorias in terms of hockey skill and experience, both of these teams regularly lost to the Victorias. In spite of this, all of the teams continued to play out the season. The final standings for the season saw the Victorias boast an undefeated season of six wins and zero losses. I.R.C. had won one game, tied once, and lost three times, while the Chatham Fire Department went winless in the season. What prompted the men on the Chatham Fire Department team and of the I.R.C. to continue to play hockey when it was evident that they were sorely out-skilled by the Victorias team? The answer to this question, at least in part, is linked to the use of hockey in the early twentieth century to express masculine virtues.

Hockey was an avenue for men from different backgrounds to express their masculinity. It also became a battlefield where conflicting notions of masculinity challenged each other. Men from all over Canada in the early twentieth century utilized hockey as a way to assert their masculinity. This was particularly important at the time due to a fear amongst reformers that Canadian society, and Western society as a whole, was becoming too effeminate.[2] Hockey

[1] *The Union Advocate*, January 24, 1912, 6.
[2] Wilson "Skating to Armageddon," 315 -316.

worked as a bulwark against emasculation because men from different classes and backgrounds could graft onto it their own masculine values. While many middle-class men saw hockey also as a place to learn the virtuous character traits of their class, such as honest effort, amateurism, and true competition, to a significant extent hockey blurred the line between middle-class and working-class expressions of masculinity. Men from both classes were able to bond while expressing ideals of honour, competition, ruggedness, and the warrior spirit. Hockey's growth in popularity and cultural importance prompted middle-class progressivists to attempt to sanitize the game by eliminating or sharply restricting rougher traits. In order to better align hockey with middle-class ideals, many reformers endeavored to limit the violence of the game. Additionally, attempts were made to better align the arena atmosphere with middle-class norms. These efforts to sanitize the game had only limited success; however, they worked to make hockey an acceptable form of recreation for women. Women's hockey grew popular enough in the Maritimes during the 1910's to warrant challenge games, an international series, and even a Canadian series where women played representing different cities from across Canada.[3] At the same time concerns about the less reputable aspects of hockey helped to erase Black hockey players from the game. At the turn of the twentieth century Black residents of the Maritimes used hockey to teach socially acceptable masculine behaviors. Black Halifax church leaders established the Colored Hockey League to this end. Only intense racial

[3] This was advertised as a Ladies Tournament of Hockey, with teams from Vancouver, Edmonton, Calgary, Vulcan, and potentially Winnipeg and Ottawa all vying for the chance to be crowned the champions of Canada. The tournament was set to take place at the Banff Winter Carnival and seems to have been a semi-regular occasion that teams had to qualify for. This potentially means that women's hockey was quite a bit more organized and regular than previously anticipated. The Weekly Monitor, January 26, 1921, 6.

discrimination led to the collapse of the league and the end of hockey as a major part of the culture.[4]

The late nineteenth and early twentieth century saw a growing fear related to the perceived loss of masculinity in the Western nations of the North Atlantic World. This fear prompted a re-entrenchment of masculine values among both the middle-class and the working-class. Hockey became a key aspect of appropriate masculine expression in Canada. Men, and women, of all classes expressed their gender identity by participating in the sport as either a spectator or a player. Evolving perceptions of appropriate demonstrations of masculinity appear in both the explicit contemporary analyses of the virtues and problems in hockey, as well as in the passing comments of the era's burgeoning sports journalists. The concern over Western masculinity was partially linked to the removal of the father from the house for large parts of the day for work, which caused fear among reformers that the rising generation would not be able to develop proper traits of masculinities with only their mothers at home.[5] Without the presence of a masculine mentor, progressivists were concerned the next generation of men would develop the feminine qualities characteristic of their mothers and not the essential masculine virtues of their fathers.[6]

In addition to fears over the next generation's masculinity there were also fears over each man's individual masculinity.[7] Nineteenth century masculinity emphasized business success and economic independence as central aspects of what it meant to be a man; this was

[4] Fosty & Fosty, *Black Ice, 137-145.*
[5] Nelson & Robinson, *Gender in Canada,* 76.
[6] Wilson, "Skating to Armageddon," 316.
[7] Lorenz, "Constructing a Cultural History of Canadian Hockey," 2051.

encapsulated by the theory of the self-made man.[8] The late nineteenth century and early twentieth century brought the realization that many men were not truly free to seek their wealth, as the previous generation had thought. Therefore economic success lost its place as a central tenant of a broader masculinity that could encompass more than the middle class.[9] Additionally the perceived crisis in masculinity was fuelled by the removal of the British Garrison from Canada.[10] Developing proper masculine virtues became essential for maintaining Canadian independence.[11] The "frontier" also played a role in developing the masculinity of Canadians. While the Canadian West was presented as less chaotic than the American counterpart, it still required strong masculine men who embodied the very best of Canadian masculinity.[12] All of these fears and influences caused many reformers to place greater emphasis on nurturing masculine virtues to better reflect current possibilities and realities presented by shifting socio-economic relations. This does not mean that masculinity in Canada and the Maritime provinces was a monolithic group of ideas and values. It was not.

The early twentieth century Maritimes was a time and place of competing masculinities. Two of the more prominent forms were the masculinity of the middle-class and the masculinity of the working-class. Middle-class masculinities were shifting from an emphasis on business acumen and self-discipline to and emphasis on passionate and manly recreational pursuits.[13] The "passionate man" values that were embraced by many middle-class men in the early twentieth century looked increasingly more like those expressed by working-class

[8] Nelson & Robinson, *Gender in Canada*, 75.
[9]Nelson & Robinson, *Gender in Canada*, 78.
[10] Wilson, "Skating to Armageddon," 316.
[11] Lacombe, "Imperial Loyalism," 188.
[12] Kikkert, & Lackenbauer, "Men of Frontier Experience," 210-211.
[13] Nelson and Robinson, *Gender in Canada*, 78.

man.[14] In relation to sports one of the chief differences between middle-class and working-class masculinity was the view of amateurism and professionalism in sport. Middle-class amateurism placed a greater emphasis on the ideal of sport for sport's sake and feared that professionals, primarily from the working-class, would push a win-at-all-costs mentality that would sacrifice the good of sport.[15] Scholars have suggested that questions concerning masculinity and its expression in sport may have been more evident in smaller urban and rural communities than in the major population and sport centres of Canada because the middle-class were overrepresented and consequently had significantly more influence.[16] In addition, in rural and small town Maritime communities teams also featured a hockey players drawn from farm families in the surrounding area, a group difficult to place in classification systems developed for urban communities. Thus, the masculinities expressed on small town hockey teams were a blend – or a clash – of competing, but increasingly dovetailing, values in which men from a variety of backgrounds interacted.

Ideally, middle-class sensibilities called for hockey and sport in general to be a space for men to express the "qualities of a gentleman." These qualities included courage, perseverance, fair play, honesty, and abiding by the letter of the law.[17] Sports such as hockey were also viewed as a means to train men in appropriately masculine morals and character traits.[18] The value of honourable play was chief among them. Newspapers went to great lengths to praise

[14] Lorenz, "Hockey, Violence, and Masculinity," *2051*
[15] Lorenz, "Constructing a Cultural History of Canadian Hockey," *2110.*
[16] Macleod, *Building Character,"* 10.
[17] Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play,* 120.
[18] Lorenz, "Hockey, Violence, and Masculinity," 2051.

the honest and honourable efforts of teams, even in defeat. Healthy competition was a key component of the amateur sporting movement.

If honesty and a clean effort were key to amateur athletics, as reported in the press, good hockey games became synonymous with clean hockey games. The ideal clean game was one free of unnecessary tripping and slashing, allowing more space for a fast and skillful style of play. Newspaper men went to great lengths to praise the speed and grace of good hockey, and in contrast denigrate rough hockey as slow. In *The Acadian* for *January 28, 1910*, a reporter outlined the results of the Wolfville team's game in Dartmouth against the Harriers. As part of the breakdown a quotation from the Halifax press was used to the effect that the teams were very fast and the Wolfville players were great stick handlers.[19] The emphasis on skill and speed was repeated in many regional newspapers across the Maritimes. *The Weekly Monitor and Western Annapolis Sentinel* out of Bridgetown advertised for an upcoming game of hockey with the following words: "look for a good fast game."[20] Further on in the paper a separate article called a previous game, "sharp and clean."[21]

The connection between good hockey and clean, fast and skilled hockey represented the emphasis on a specific brand of hockey that aligned with middle-class values. Whether the games were actually clean and fast, or reporters were utilizing hyperbole to better express how they believed hockey should be played, is unclear. What is clear is that clean hockey was viewed, at least by newspaper editors and reporters, as the ideal version of hard-working hockey, hockey in which players gave their maximum effort

[19] *The Acadian*, January 28, 1910, 3.
[20] *Monitor and Annapolis*, February 4, 1914, 5.
[21] *Monitor and Annapolis*, February 18, 1914, 4.

every time they went on the ice. The ideal hard-working hockey player was a man who won on the merits of his skill, not on his rough play. In 1911 the *Halifax Herald* was quoted by *the Acadian* as saying of the Wolfville hockey team, "Played game like gentlemen, won victory on merits, better exhibition of teamwork. . ."[22] This was also exemplified in the way community newspapers regularly complained of the dirty play of rivals, while framing their own team as heroic protectors of true sport.[23] The effort to present the local team as honest and clean in contrast to their opponents illustrates the great emphasis placed on winning through clean and skillful hockey. Hockey was a place where victory should be won on merit. Hockey became a proving ground for middle-class players and spectators to demonstrate that they were honest and honourable individuals.

Middle-class sports idealized amateurism and competition. Great pride was taken in those community teams that closely aligned with these ideals of amateurism. Press coverage looked down on those communities that sponsored teams that blatantly broke the rules. Wolfville in 1914 congratulated themselves on their ability to field a competitive team with only men that were born and raised in Wolfville. *The Acadian* decried the other communities in their league that moved to tempt non-local hockey players to play for their community teams.[24] It also cheered the typical Wolfville hockey player for playing exclusively in their spare time while working full time jobs, emphasizing the amateur nature of these athletes. *The Acadian* further espoused the excellence of amateur locals on February 27, 1914 when they recounted that the Wolfville team "demonstrated superiority of home grown over import" in

[22] *The Acadian*, January 27, 1911, 3.
[23] Lorenz, "Hockey, Violence, and Masculinity," 2056.
[24] *The Acadian*, January 30, 1914, 3.

their 3 -2 victory over Kentville.[25] *The Acadian* believed that the Wolfville team encapsulated the love of sport and competition and should be celebrated because of it. Middle-class views on competition were deeply tied to masculinity and notions of true sport, and class-driven amateurism was central to the conflict in the Canadian sporting movement in the early twentieth century. The push to delineate more rigidly who was a professional and who was an amateur created a schism restricting working-class athletes who could not afford to play unless they received some sort of compensation for their time. This reality challenged the middle-class belief that strictly adhering to amateurism would break down class barriers through true sport. In this respect, promoters of middle-class athletes and athletics seemed to believe that breaking down class barriers in sport would only work if working-class athletes participated in sport according to middle-class ideals. In reality, the amateur movement further entrenched class division in sport centred around the affordability of playing.[26]

The conflict over amateurism was evident in the Stanley "Shorty Veno" Vineault saga in Chatham. The Venos were a Franco-Scotch family.[27] Reuben Veno, (Shorty's father) worked as a fireman for the town of Chatham, New Brunswick.[28] In the 1920-21 season Shorty Veno attended a training camp for the Montreal Canadiens but ended up playing a few games for Moncton in the Eastern League of New Brunswick's provincial hockey program. Fredericton and Charlottetown both protested Veno's eligibility because he had attended the Canadiens

[25] *The Acadian*, February 27, 1914, 3.
[26] MacDonald, "Class, Community, and Commercialism," 14-15.
[27] Canada, Manuscript Census (RG31, Statistics Canada,) 1921, New Brunswick Census Districts within Charlotte, Gloucester, Kings, Northumberland, Restigouche, St. John, Westmorland, and York Counties.
[28] Canada, Manuscript Census (RG31, Statistics Canada,) 1921, New Brunswick Census Districts within Charlotte, Gloucester, Kings, Northumberland, Restigouche, St. John, Westmorland, and York Counties.

tryouts and because he was not a resident of Moncton.[29] The Amateur Athletic Union of Canada investigated the matter and ruled that Shorty was ineligible to play in any amateur league for one full year. They decided that an amateur player was required to reside in the community they were playing in for sixty days prior to competing. Both Shorty and his brother Wilfred were ruled ineligible to play in amateur leagues as a result of their infractions.[30] Despite this ruling Veno continued to cause controversy by dressing as a substitute player for that year's league finals between Chatham and Campbellton. This prompted Bathurst's Mr. Schryer to state that "they would stay true to the amateur spirit and that Chatham could join the independents if they would not abide by the rules." Campbellton also remarked that they wanted to remain true to the spirit of sport.[31] These examples, Shorty Veno and the Wolfville team, both highlight this middle-class value of amateurism within sport. This notion of maintaining the true spirit of the sport was firmly linked to their views of masculinity. When a team broke these ideals of amateurism it was viewed as an affront to the various leagues and had to be dealt with appropriately. Pure amateurism, whether real or not, was something to be celebrated and venerated whereas anything linking a player to professionalism had to be investigated and the player punished. Advocates for middle-class values, and by extension middle-class players, emphasized amateurism as an essential aspect of their masculinity.

[29] *The Union Advocate,* February 1, 1921, 1.
[30] *The Union Advocate*, February 8, 1921, 2.
[31] *The Union Advocate,* February 15, 1921, 1.

Because middle-class values highlighted the importance of healthy competition over the importance of winning, ideally losing did not lead to emasculation for middle-class men.[32] A good loss could be just as honourable in sport as a victory, as long as the athletes played hard and clean. In 1916 the *Sydney Post,* discussing boxing, stated, "gameness is the thing that wins, and where even gameness cannot win over overwhelming odds, there is as much credit in making a courageous fight as there is in winning."[33] Being able to participate in the match and compete, even if thoroughly out-skilled, could be honourable. If a boxer, or a hockey team, was thoroughly beaten but consistently came out to play they were proving their manliness.[34] Reporting on a game between Fredericton and Newcastle in 1919, T*he Union Advocate* noted that even though the Fredericton team looked out of practice they were good losers.[35] In 1915 the Newcastle team was defeated soundly by the Campbellton team 9-3. The article mentioned that the local boys "took defeat manly," further highlighting a type of glory and masculinity even in loss, if the game was played the right way.[36] In 1914 *The Acadian* exalted the idea of losing in noble defeat while playing an honest game, over winning through crooked methods.[37]

This idea of honourable loss was limited in scope to loss to other white players. Black Maritime inhabitants and Mi'kmaq were excluded from the white leagues, and never allowed

[32] Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play, 120.*
[33] *Sydney Post*, December 14, 1916, as cited in G.M. Ross, "Beyond the Abysmal Brute: A Social History of Boxing in Interwar Nova Scotia," (MA thesis, Saint Mary's University, 2008), 24.

[34] Ross, "Beyond the Abysmal Brute," 24-25.
[35] *The Union Advocate*, February 18, 1919, 7.
[36] *The Union Advocate*, March 10, 1915, 1.
[37] *The Acadian*, January 30, 1914, 3.

to issue a challenge for the Stanley Cup.[38] Of course, there are exceptions to these exclusions, such as games in Bridgetown between the Bankers Block and the Ruggles Block.[39] The Ruggles were a large family from the community of Lequille, Nova Scotia that included individuals who census takers identified as Black.[40] They were descendants of enslaved Black Loyalists Timothy Ruggles had brought with him to work on his plantation on North Mountain at the end of the Revolutionary War.[41] This accounts for why the census lists Ruggles as either Black or English. The Ruggles were a mainstay of the Bridgetown hockey community for the first two decades of the twentieth century with the result that the community of Bridgetown had at least one game in 1913 that pitted white community members against a team with some Black community members.[42] An additional exception was a game in Charlottetown between the all-white Abegweits and the all-Black West End Rangers.[43] While there is evidence that the Mi'kmaw played a game like hockey, called Duwarken,[44] there are very few accounts of Mi'kmaw and white settlers of the Maritimes competing against each other in hockey in the early twentieth century. With few exceptions, white Maritime men played against white men. Overall middle-class hockeyists viewed losing to be no less honourable than winning, provided the loss was the result of hard work and a clean effort, and provided the winners were white.

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[38] Fosty & Fosty, *Black Ice,* 106-107.
[39] *Monitor and Annapolis*, February 4, 1914, 3.
[40] Canada, Manuscript Census (RG31, Statistics Canada,) 1911, Nova Scotia Census Districts within Annapolis, Cumberland, Digby, Yarmouth, Lunenburg, Halifax, Hants, and Kings Counties.
[41] Catherine M.A. Cottreau-Robins, "Searching for the Enslaved in Nova Scotia's Loyalist Landscape," *Acadiensis,* XIII, no. 1 (Winter/Spring 2014): 127-128.
[42] *Monitor and Annapolis*, February 4, 1914, 3, and Canada, Manuscript Census (RG31, Statistics Canada,) 1911, Nova Scotia Census Districts within Annapolis, Cumberland, Digby, Yarmouth, Lunenburg, Halifax, Hants, and Kings Counties.
[43] Fosty & Fosty, *Black Ice,* 103-104.
[44] Paul W. Bennett, "Re-Imagining the Creation: Popular Mythology, the Mi'kmaq, and the Origins of Canadian Hockey," in *Hockey: Challenging Canada's Game,* Jenny Ellison and Jennifer Anderson eds., (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of History and the University of Ottawa Press, 2018) 50.

For many Maritime men, regardless of socio-economic background, their masculinity was tied to leisure pursuits which combined drinking, gambling and blood sports.[45] Despite growing attacks against alcohol consumption, gambling of any type, and the blood sports usually identified with the working-class and with the degradation of moral character, middle-class men also frequently participated in these activities.[46] In the process, participants and spectators walked a tight rope between reputable and disreputable leisure activity, and hockey evolved to become an avenue where people could enjoy some of the spectacle and roughness of the less respectable sports while maintaining their ideals of masculine honour and clean play. This was largely because men who played hockey became synonymous with not just toughness and ruggedness but with the spirit in which they faced the harsher aspects of the sport. Their ability to endure hard physical play with stoicism was a key reflection of the manly toughness idealized by working-class masculinity and embraced by middle-class players and spectators.[47] Hockey, with its constant threat of injury, became a prime arena to display masculine toughness and stoicism.

Spectators idealized the men and women who were able to play hockey through significant injuries. Their toughness and endurance were praised even by the middle-class reporters and editors championing honourable play. In a 1909 game between Wolfville and Windsor, Mr. Spicer earned praise when he sliced his head mid game but continued to play to the end of the match.[48] In 1915 a game between Newcastle and Campbellton featured a rover

[45]Stacy L. Lorenz, and Geraint B. Osborne, ""Talk About Strenuous Hockey:" Violence, Manhood, and the 1907 Ottawa." *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 40, no. 1 (2006). 129.
[46] Lorenz and Osborne, "Strenuous Hockey," 129.
[47] Lorenz and Osborne, "Strenuous Hockey," 129.
[48] *The Acadian*, March 19, 1909, 3.

named Miss Laura Williston. Miss Williston stood out as the game's star player because she was able to lead her team to victory in spite of playing half the game with a significant injury.[49] Miss Williston's example shows that the trait of toughness could be applauded in women, despite its more common application to male athletes. The ability to play through injury reflected the stoicism and toughness that became major aspects of working-class and middle-class gender identity. Hockey allowed men to display stoicism, courage, and physical dominance, in much the same way that indigenous lacrosse players demonstrated their physical courage and stoic spirit.[50] Thus hockey provided a stage on which men of different classes and at every level of play could showcase common ideals and increase their prestige in the eyes of their peers and community.[51] For example, in March 1910 Acadia won the Intercollegiate trophy after a hard fought and difficult game. The game was described as fast and rough with frequent tripping.[52] This was one of the few times that a rough hockey game was also described as fast. During the game one of Acadia's players, listed as Paterson, injured his knee but returned and "pluckily resumed play."[53] The specific use of the word pluckily frames Paterson as an athlete who showed courage and resilience in returning to play, venerated aspects of masculinity encapsulated in the values of stoicism and endurance.

Injuries were not only seen as examples of masculinity, and to a lesser extent stoic femininity; they were used as cautionary tales, too. Such was the case with Charlie McCallum who, after injuring his back in a collision with McLean, was transported unconscious to the

[49] *The Union Advocate,* March 17, 1915, 3.
[50] Michael A. Robidoux, "Imagining a Canadian Identity through Sport: A Historical Interpretation of Lacrosse and Hockey," *The Journal of American Folklore,* 115, 456, 2002, 220.
[51] Lorenz, "Hockey, Violence, and Masculinity," 2046.
[52] *The Acadian*, March 4, 1910, 2.
[53] *The Acadian*, March 4, 1910, 2.

hospital over fears of spinal injuries. In this case his employer took care of him until his parents were able to arrive.[54] People loved the idea of the injured warrior returning to play. They idealized them in part because of the real risk that these athletes could be injured and either die or be unable to continue their jobs. Any injury could potentially lead to them being unable to provide for their families. Understanding that injury and death were real possibilities when playing hockey most likely heightened the feelings of masculinity that commentators attached to the game. On the ice both middle-class and working-class men faced the same dangers and risks, resulting in a forum that, to some extent, drew men from disparate backgrounds closer together.

By the early twentieth century competence at compulsory team games had become the supreme expression of masculine moral excellence.[55] Hockey was a unique sport when compared to the other organized team sports because of the violence that was widely accepted as essential to the spirit of the game. In this way hockey bore similarities to the violence and risks inherent in American Football and in rugby, which was more visible in other parts of the British Empire. The issues surrounding violence in recreation connected men in the Maritimes to men across the Western world who engaged in sports in which levels of violence were viewed as acceptable while competing, and men were expected to react to the violence in a manly but not excessive way.[56] This stoicism in the face of violence was in some ways similar to that of their Indigenous counterparts and might have been a basis for shared sporting experiences. Canadian and European outsider eyewitnesses, however, believed that most

[54] *The Union Advocate*, March 22, 1921, 8.
[55] Mangan & McKenzie, "Privileged Education," 1111.
[56] Lorenz, "Hockey, Violence, and Masculinity," 2057.

Western sporting violence did not reach the same level as that demonstrated in Indigenous sports.

Toughness could be a badge of honour. Being known as rough, however, could have negative connotations. An excerpt from *The Windsor Journal* quoted in T*he Acadian's* February 11th, 1910 issue notes, "Windsor can rough it with the roughest." Here *The Windsor Journal* expressed a level of community pride in their teams' ability to play rough hockey.[57] Rough hockey, however, exposed the class divisions that existed in the hockey world. Other community newspapers showed their middle-class bias by using this same trait to deride the players as less skillful. In spite of such newspaper protestations it appears that rougher hockey is what hockey enthusiasts preferred, based on the increased ticket sales rougher games were said to draw.[58] Despite the sometimes apparent divide between middle-class newspapers and working-class athletes, hockey was deemed an acceptable place for "responsible" men and "rough" men to interact.[59] Indeed, it became difficult to separate out the rough from the responsible, and the line between tough and rough, and between middle-class and working-class masculinities, became hard to draw. It was very much in the eye of the beholder.

The violence and dangers of hockey were regularly commented on in local and foreign newspapers. Canadian hockey was viewed as significantly more violent than its American counterpart, more focused on physical dominance of opponents than on skillful dominance.[60]

[57] *The Acadian*, February 11, 1910, 3.
[58] Lorenz, "Hockey, Violence, and Masculinity," 2052.
[59] Lorenz, "Hockey, Violence, and Masculinity," 2046.
[60] Holman, "Playing in the Neutral Zone," 38.

Maritime newspapers published two humorous American accounts of hockey games. The emphasis in each was on the incredible violence inherent in the game. In 1904 *The Acadian* published "Mr. Dooley's views on hockey." Mr. Dooley was a popular fictional newspaper character created in America. In the article Mr. Dooley is explaining the game of hockey to his companion, Mr. Hennessy. He describes hockey as, ". . . a mixture of hurley, crokay and assault and battery . . . too rough for an Irishman when he has his timper up." When asked by Mr. Hennessy if he had seen a game, Mr. Dooley responded that he had: "Several times they tried to knock boards off the sides of the rink with their heads, and the way they flung themselves down tryin' to crack the ice was a shame."[61] Twenty years later prominent New York journalist Bugs Baer addressed the growing popularity of hockey in the United States. *The Acadian* included an article from Bugs Baer in their February 15th issue titled "Baer Thinks Hockey Very Rough." Big colleges in the USA began adopting hockey as part of their winter athletics, but Baer, through humorous description, highlighted the violence that people viewed as acceptable because it was part of hockey. Baer alluded to the violence of hockey through referencing weapons in the game. He stated, ". . . takes the clubs away from its hockey players…" and ". . . every Canadian player was armed with two clubs and an axe." He clearly associated violence and roughness with a Canadian style of play. Baer further elaborated by remarking on the injuries sustained during the game, insinuating regular deaths and broken limbs.[62] These articles are obviously meant to parody hockey, but they do offer insight into how Americans felt about hockey in light of its growth in the USA. For some, "[t]he Canadian-

[61] *The Acadian*, March 18, 1904, 4.
[62] *The Acadian*, February 15, 1924, 2.

American boundary helped to protect the American, collegiate-based game (often characterized as gentlemanly and elite), from the plebeian thuggery of the Canadian brand."[63] Such descriptions provided Maritime residents with an idea of how their Canadian sport culture differed from that of their southern neighbours.

The accounts shared two themes: hockey was violent and hockey was Canadian. This was how Canadians believed foreigners viewed hockey, as an over-the-top sport that was played by rough unrefined men from Canada. Bugs Baer remarked: "They also prefer it to boxing and football. It's cheaper. When a player is knocked deader than an autumn leaf in hockey he is right on ice and the other funeral expenses are small."[64] The link between hockey's violence and death, even for comical purposes, further entrenched the rough nature of Canadian hockey and Canadians themselves in the eyes of foreigners. Hockey was becoming an integral aspect of Canadian culture that was recognized internationally. Because hockey became symbolic of Canada, the international community began to associate characteristics of hockey with Canadian masculinity. For their part, Canadians perpetuated the association of hockey characteristics with their own expressions of Canadian masculinity to contrast it with American, or British masculinity. As newspapers printed these types of articles depicting the views of foreigners, they became important to how Canadians viewed themselves on the international stage.

Violence was a dominant part of the international view of hockey, but there was also an emphasis on the excitement of the game. During World War One Australian soldiers who were

[63] Holman, "Hockey in the Borderlands," 37.
[64] *The Acadian*, February 15, 1924, 2.

injured in battle were shipped to military hospitals in Ontario. While at the Cobourg Ontario Military Convalescent these Australian soldiers grew to love watching the Canadians play hockey on the hospital rinks.[65] Even in the articles by Bugs Baer and Mr. Dooley, it is evident that there is a growing sense of excitement around the game of hockey shown by segments of the American public. The excitement of hockey is inextricably linked to the violence or threat of violence many viewed as inherent in the sport.

Hockey's culture of masculinity developed an increased emphasis on the warrior virtues that many tacked onto the game. During World War One a book was published in Prince Edward Island (PEI) called, *Prince Edward Island Athletes in War*. After extolling the virtues of different PEI athletes and their successes on the Western Front, the book provided a snippet that more fully reveals an idealized view of the warrior culture that was attached to hockey and sport. It claimed that,

"Several of the warlike nations of the past were especially famed for their prowess in athletic sports, notably the gladiators of ancient Rome and the matchless runners of beautiful Greece. And in modern times, as demonstrated at the Olympic games, the British Empire, the USA, France, and Italy, and some other European nations . . ."[66] The book goes on to denigrate the German people due to their lack of athletic prowess. The overt link of the athletes of the British Empire to the Greco-Roman ideals of manhood positioned sports as a fundamental link between the two imperial powers. This lent credence to the warrior values that became part of hockey.

[65] *The Advertiser*, January 19, 1918, 3.
[66] James Coyle, *P.E. Island Athletes in the Great War*, Charlottetown: Archibald Irwin, King's Printer, 1918, 17.

Sport enthusiasts of both classes saw great honour in comparing themselves to warriors, and for many of them going to play hockey was the closest they would experience to being warriors themselves. Newspapers described hockey games as meeting in combat, hard fought, or a struggle. These terms captured the mentality of the hockey warrior and most likely influenced the propensity for hockey teams to enlist in the First World War *en masse*. In 1912 Newcastle hosted a lady's night at the rink, and by all accounts it was very well attended. This article drew attention to the warrior cult with the language used to describe the players: "the fair sex gathered to see our local gladiators meet in friendly combat."[67] Calling the hockey players gladiators reflected the obsession with warrior strength and skill that *Prince Edward Island Athletes in War* displayed. Writers also utilized the link to the Roman Empire's own cult of the warrior to underline a Canadian myth of the warrior hockey player.

There did exist a line between what was acceptable violence in hockey and what was not. This line was crossed on occasion, but based on how seldom rural Maritime newspapers reported violence in hockey, this violence was not as big a concern for Maritime spectators as it was for those in the larger centers of Montreal, Ottawa, or Toronto. Nonetheless, like the rest of Canada, the Maritimes experienced significant efforts to sanitize the game of hockey. These efforts targeted both violent play and the in-game experience, as well as the environment in which spectators watched the games. A fine line developed between egregious, condemnable violence, and violence that was an acceptable expression of toughness. The latter was believed to be essential to the nature of the game and had to be tolerated, if not enjoyed, as the *Union Advocate* explained:

[67] *The Union Advocate*, February 14, 1912, 7.

> A good deal of rough work naturally goes with the game, and the local boys can take and give just as much as any other team their size in weight, but when a player deliberately slashers another across the face he is running a little too handy to the criminal zone. If a player loses his temper and must have revenge, let him use his fist, it is plenty hard enough.[68]

Unacceptable violence required a serious response from the police and the local courts, as in the case of Chatham player Duncan's assault on Chorty McInerney with a vicious slash of his stick which cut his right eyebrow. This violated the integrity of the sport.[69] When egregiously violent actions spilled into the courts their captured the public's attention in the same way murder trials drew crowds. *The Weekly Monitor and Western Annapolis Sentinel* reported in 1909 on the trial of Mike Murphy from New Glasgow who was charged with assaults on Frank Brown that occurred during a hockey game. Public interest in the case was so high that the trial had to be moved to a larger venue to allow people to watch. Mr. Murphy ended up being fined five dollars, resulting in him having to pay fourteen dollars total to also cover the expenses for the proceedings. The same paper recounted Mr. Justice Russell sentencing a hockey player to serve three months in a Sydney jail.[70] Why is not clear, though the newspaper does mention it was a similar offense to that involving Mr. Murphy. While these types of events were not reported often, when they were, they were covered widely across the Maritimes, as demonstrated by the attention paid in the Southern Annapolis Valley to events that occurred on a Cape Breton Island rink. The widespread reporting on these types of cases,

[68] *The Union Advocate*, February 24, 1915, 1.
[69] *The Union Advocate*, February 24, 1915, 1.
[70] *Monitor and Annapolis*, January 13, 1909, 6.

and the need to move Frank Brown's trial to a larger venue, show a large public appetite for following the legal outcomes of hockey violence.

In the event that hockey violence did cross the line, newspapers were quick to condemn the offending party. The *Weekly Monitor and Western Annapolis Sentinel* for Feb. 17th, 1909 included a quotation from the *North Sydney Herald* describing an incident in the Starr Trophy playoff between the Amherst Ramblers and Moncton, the team that would later represent the Maritimes in an ill-fated challenge for the Stanley Cup in 1912.[71] They had developed a reputation as a team that played a "rough brand of hockey", setting themselves up as an easy target for newspapers which supported their rivals. According to the report, a hockey player named McLean for the Ramblers had his nose broken, the broken nose created an abscess on his brain, and he was not expected to live. Both newspapers used this as an opportunity to challenge Moncton's roughness and called on them to think twice about their style.[72] *The Union Advocate* also attempted to rein in hockey's seeming inherent violence. In its report on a 1921 game between Newcastle and Dalhousie in which Newcastle won 12 – 6, the paper stated that the game was the roughest witnessed in the city, and that such hockey would soon disgust the public and dampen enthusiasm.[73]

In the Maritimes and elsewhere in Canada reformers had been pushing for years to criminalize the blood sports that had been mainstays of working-class leisure activities but had also become less openly popular among members of the middle-class, particularly the young

[71] *Monitor and Annapolis*, February 17, 1909, 2, and Adams, *Long Shots,* 82.
[72] *Monitor and Annapolis*, February 17, 1909, 2.
[73] *The Union Advocate,* February 22, 1921, 3.

men.[74] Hockey's broad popularity among both the middle and working-class protected it to some degree from the anti-blood sport movements that targeted other leisure activities.[75] This protection made it one of the few options for people who enjoyed watching or participating in violent sports, thus increasing its popularity further. Hockey's popularity also worked to create contrasting movements within hockey, one side lobbying for "truer hockey violence" and the other side pushing for less violence in the game. Hacking, tripping, roughness, and fighting were denounced by many newspaper reporters and some vocal hockeyists who played and watched the game, though the general attitude of spectators is difficult to gauge.[76]

The early twentieth century also saw a concerted effort across Canada to sanitize the viewing experience for the spectators. This effort at sanitization was evident in the Maritimes. Based on the descriptions of the early covered arenas, many hockey games in the Maritime communities were played in an environment familiar to those who frequented working-class taverns and gaming establishments. One of the most notable aspects of the viewing experience was the constant presence of smoke. The smoke was so problematic in a game between Wolfville and Windsor that the referees complained about being unable to see the players on the ice.[77] The problem was exacerbated by fog rising from the ice during the later weeks of the hockey season and the relatively mild climates along the Nova Scotian coast. Four years later, in a 1914 game between Wolfville and Windsor, it was the players who complained that during the third period the tobacco smoke reduced visibility

[74] Howell, *Blood, Sweat, and Cheers*, 11 and Lorenz and Osborne, "Strenuous Hockey," 129.
[75] Blood Sports traditionally referenced violent sports involving animals. Where the definition came closer to hockey was when it was extended to prize-fighting.
[76] Lorenz, "Hockey, Violence, and Masculinity," 2052.
[77] *The Acadian*, February 11, 1910, 3.

dramatically.[78] The tobacco smoke problem seems to have been particularly bad in 1914, provoking Yarmouth, as noted in *The Acadian,* to publicly discuss passing legislation that would have prohibited smoking in the hockey arena. Part of the reasoning behind prohibiting smoking in the arena in Yarmouth was to improve the spectator experience and make it more open to ladies in the community.[79]

Smoke and in game violence were not the only aspects of the hockey arena experience that provoked criticism. The behavior of the attendees was also attacked as more in keeping with the rough values and practices attributed to the rougher elements of the working-class. *The Union Advocate* rebuked the spectators for their inappropriate behavior during a game in which Campbellton defeated the local Newcastle team. The reporter wrote: "It may be here said that had some local hooters put their energy into supporting the acme team instead of shouting out mean insinuations, through some petty jealousy, it would have shown a better spirit to outsiders, even had it proved of no assistance to the home team."[80] In a 1923 game between the Abbies of Charlottetown and Chatham that attracted twelve hundred spectators, the local fans attacked the referee, Mr. Twaddle, after the local team lost the game. In this instance the violence did not extend to the players on the ice. The report stated that ". . . the best of feelings existed between the players."[81] Another game between Campbellton and Chatham almost erupted into a riot after the referees called some poorly received penalties on the home team.[82] The threat that such actions could occur within the

[78] *The Acadian*, January 16, 1914, 3.
[79] *The Acadian*, January 16, 1914, 3.
[80] *The Union Advocate*, January 27, 1915, 7.
[81] *The Union Advocate,* March 27, 1923, 2.
[82] *The Union Advocate,* February 21, 1922, 2.

hockey arena kept hockey and attendance at hockey games in a murky middle ground between acceptable and unacceptable. There is no evidence of attempts to separate rowdy elements from more respectable spectators. In fact, most arenas in the Maritimes were egalitarian in nature with no zones for different classes, and no price-differentiated seats. All tickets were the same price and created an environment in which people of all backgrounds could watch together. Ultimately the efforts to sanitize hockey were only partially successful because more and more middle-class and working-class men came to see the violence and ruggedness of hockey as both necessary to the game and essential expressions of their masculinity.[83] Violence was also viewed as important in the development of the ideal men that were necessary for the success of Canada on a world stage.[84]

Hockey was able to represent the values of competing masculinities in Maritime society across socio-economic backgrounds but it did not bridge ethno-racial divides. Hockey was extremely popular among the Black population in the Maritimes, and teams could be found scattered around the region. The most successful Black hockey team was found in Charlottetown, PEI.[85] The Charlottetown team, the *West End Rangers*, saw great success on the ice and appears to have experienced greater support from the local population than other Black teams experienced in their communities.[86] In contrast the Colored Hockey League in Halifax experienced significant pushback from members of the white population.[87] Black hockey games began to be shut out of arenas, despite their propensity to draw large crowds of

[83] Lorenz, "Constructing a Cultural History of Canadian Hockey," 2109.
[84] Lorenz, "Hockey, Violence, and Masculinity," 2052.
[85] Fosty & Fosty, *Black Ice,* 200-201.
[86] *The Prince Edward Island Magazine*, III, January, 1902, No. II, 404-406.
[87] Fosty & Fosty, *Black Ice,* 144.

spectators.[88] This was part of a larger pattern of exclusion which saw Black Maritime families pushed out of economic opportunities. For example, Haligonians shut down the Green Market that many Black Maritime families depended on for sustaining their independence. With the forced collapse of the Green Market and as a result the Black economy, the Colored Hockey League suffered.[89] When the Colored Hockey League collapsed, there were very limited opportunities for Black hockey players to play, as most white hockey teams did not allow them to play with white players.[90]

Maritime communities with sizable populations of either Black or white men were more likely to have a Blacks only or whites only hockey team. Communities with fewer young hockey playing men were more likely to have mixed games. The 1914 game in the community of Bridgetown between the Bankers Block and the Ruggles Block, which had at least one Black player, is one example of mixed play.[91] The Ruggles left an ongoing imprint on Bridgetown hockey deep into the 1920s. This is one of the only examples that explicitly shows Black men and white men playing hockey together in the Maritimes. Likely there were more that went unreported. This should not detract from the fact that the Black experience of hockey was overwhelmingly one of exclusion. They found unity among themselves in Black teams. They were seldom welcomed into a broader unity with white players. Hockey did not break down barriers that Maritime society created around the colour of skin.

[88] Fosty & Fosty, *Black Ice,* 112 & 142.
[89] Fosty & Fosty, *Black Ice,* 144.
[90] Fosty & Fosty, *Black Ice,* 11-12.
[91] *Monitor and Annapolis,* February 4, 1914, 3. According the Canadian Census of 1911 at least one of the Ruggles who played that game listed their ethnicity as Negro, whereas the other Ruggles were listed as English in Ethnicity.

Heavy emphasis on masculinity in hockey did not prevent the welcoming of a large number of women to the game. In the first decades of the twentieth century hockey enjoyed sustained popularity among women in the Maritime communities. The number of women hockey players could not sustain a full league, but that did not prevent them from playing regularly. According to newspapers from the Annapolis Valley and Northern New Brunswick, women, like men, traveled between towns to challenge rival communities.[92] In 1915 the Campbellton Princess Pats and the Newcastle Queen's Own played a pair of hockey games in the afternoon, followed by men's games in the evening.[93] The games were described as fast, clean, and friendly.[94] It is interesting to note that the description of these games was included in the *Straight Talks to Women* section of *The Union Advocate* not the sports section. This suggests that either the newspaper editor did not believe men would be interested in the results of a women's game, or that placing the game in the women's section would increase women's interest in hockey, or both. *The Union Advocate* reported that the first game between Campbellton and Newcastle was attended by nine hundred fans who cheered so loudly, "that they shook rafters."[95] Nine hundred fans attending a game for women's hockey shows a potentially large market for women's hockey. These two games took place March 10 and March 17.[96] On March 31, 1915 *The Union Advocate* reported on a third game for the Newcastle team against the Tipperarys from Fredericton. Though the ice was soft, and the

[92] *Union Advocate*, March 10, 1915, 1. & *Monitor and Annapolis*, January 31, 1912, 6.
[93] *The Union Advocate,* March 24, 1915, 3. The article, "Campbellton Princess Pats lose to Queen's Own: Local Ladies' Hockey Team Shut North Shore Team Out in Exciting Game," only describes the local ladies hockey game.
[94] *The Union Advocate,* March 24, 1915, 3.
[95] *The Union Advocate*, March 10, 1915, 1.
[96] *The Union Advocate*, March 24, 1915, 3.

women lost 1-0, a large crowd attended.[97] Reports and advertisements for these games were included in the woman-focused section of the newspaper, unlike the men's games that were featured in the sports pages. These three games hint at the possible existence of a New Brunswick women's hockey league, perhaps at an informal level. Unfortunately, no further evidence regarding these match ups was accessible.

The existence and support for women's hockey coincided with the emphasis on the healthy woman movement. During the early twentieth century, Canadians paid increased public attention to the health and strength of women as future mothers. Organizations went to great lengths to better prepare women for their important role as mothers of the next generation. While basketball was more popular for women, due to its lower levels of physical interactions between opposing players when compared to hockey, hockey was also a viable option for the betterment of women.

Women's hockey games were challenge based and provided women with the opportunity to engage in rigorous exercise. The popularity of women's hockey fluctuated wildly, creating years with many reported games to watch, and years with no reported games. In 1906 the Wolfville hockey team played a number of games against other communities. In 1907 it was much more difficult to find opponents. It took until March 22nd of 1907 to find an opponent for their first game. That opponent was in Windsor and the game was hotly anticipated in the community.[98] The following year two Wolfville players joined the Windsor team in a lopsided game against Halifax, which they won 18 – 0.[99] In 1916 Wolfville hosted a

[97] *The Union Advocate*, March 31, 1915, 1.
[98] *The Acadian*, March 22, 1907, 3.
[99] *The Acadian,* March 13, 1908, 3.

game of hockey between the town women and a team of college women. A month later the town women defeated the seminary team.[100] In 1912 the unique series of hockey games in Boston between the Royal Conservatory of Music from Halifax and Edgehill College from Windsor appears to have marked the first game of hockey played in Boston by two completely female teams. It was a testament to the special relationship between the Maritimes and New England.[101] The series would have required a significant investment to cover travel, accommodations, foods, and arena rentals. These games suggest enough of an appetite for women's hockey to warrant the investment. This appetite was evident at Maritime universities in particular.

Due to its rugged nature, hockey was distinctly different from most sports that women in the British Empire were encouraged to play. It was far more typical for women to play games like basketball, which was considered rigorous but did not contain the same level of physical contact between players. Field hockey was also very popular for females, making it a little more difficult to research hockey in the Maritimes. Most references to hockey in the historical record could be interpreted as either field hockey or ice hockey. The games listed above took place in the winter months, which makes it probable that they were ice hockey games. Most other references to girls' or women's hockey do not provide that added indicator.

For the most part, women did not play against men. However, Charlottetown's celebration of the Relief of Ladysmith in the Boer War included an ice hockey game between local ladies and members of the Abegweits hockey team.[102] The Abegweits were renowned in

[100] *The Acadian,* February 11, 1916, 3.
[101] *The Monitor and Annapolis*, January 31, 1912, 6.
[102] *Relief of Ladysmith*, (Charlottetown: PEI), 1900, 13.

Prince Edward Island as the oldest team on the island.[103] In the same year they also played the Black hockey team in Charlottetown, the West-End Rangers.[104] It seems that the Abegweits were not as choosy about who they played, in contrast to hockey teams from the mainland. In this game between the Abegweits and the local women, the women were victorious 4-2.[105]

The fact that girls and women played hockey did not detract from its essential function as a stage on which Canadian men could express their masculine values. Newspaper coverage underlined this aspect of play. It was a leisure activity that drew men from various socio-economic backgrounds together in close, almost intimate, proximity for sustained period of time. The hockey arena became a school where men could learn and express the virtues of honest effort, amateurism, and true competition. Its rough nature created an environment where the lines between middle-class and working-class cultures blurred for the sake of sport. Young men bonded over their pursuit of honour, competition, ruggedness, and the sacred warrior spirit. Hockey, a game centered on conflict, became a battleground between progressives who attempted to sanitize the experience, and hockey enthusiasts who believed that violence and roughness were essential to the spirit of the game and the development of manhood. Ultimately efforts to sanitize hockey were of limited success.

The virtues of masculinity that attached to hockey were part of the reason men sacrificed time and money to play the game. They go some way in explaining why men and boys from the Chatham Fire Department hockey team endured so many lopsided losses in the inaugural 1912 season of the Newcastle community hockey league. To these men, whether

[103] *Relief of Ladysmith,* 13.
[104] Fosty & Fosty, *Black Ice,* 103-104.
[105] *Relief of Ladysmith,* 13.

they won or lost, the act of playing hockey itself demonstrated their masculinity to the community and to themselves. It was also an important tool to teach masculine virtues, a tool that many reformers in Maritime society utilized in educating the youth.

Chapter Four: Educating the Youth of the Maritimes through Hockey

As a tool for developing masculine virtues, hockey became linked to educational and training practices for boys in the Canadian Maritimes. Fears over masculinity led to the rise of many programs designed to train boys to be ideal men. Organizations such as Canadian Standard Efficiency Training (CSET) and the Boy Scouts were particularly popular among Maritime families in the early decades of the twentieth century. Because hockey had come to encapsulate masculinity, these programs used hockey to develop the characteristics they sought in young men. CSET organizations regularly developed community hockey teams that would compete with other communities. In a similar way the Boy Scouts in Wolfville became so large that they were able to create two patrol leagues. The senior Boy Scouts and junior Boy Scouts each competed in Boy Scout hockey leagues for the troop championship. In a similar vein, Black church leaders of Halifax adopted hockey to instill values that they deemed proper into the younger Black male population. CSET, Boy Scouts, and Black church leaders all used hockey to help develop ideal men in the community.

Hockey also became a major aspect of the formal education experience. Reformers believed that hockey, and sports in general, could not only be used to develop proper masculine characteristics, but could also improve on the education experience and make it more attractive. Hockey became a popular form of recreation at universities for both young men and young women. Intramural leagues were common in Maritime colleges, and the Maritime Inter-Collegiate Hockey League was widely reported on in the region and their games drew large crowds. Few athletic endeavors in the Maritimes could bring athletes as much prestige as being a dominant college hockey athlete, and communities regarded local college

athletes with great pride. With the developing military and imperial fervor in the early twentieth century, hockey also became linked to the creation of the ideal citizen – the future soldier. This was evident in most of Canada though the martial spirit was not uniformly embraced. This meant that the education and training of boys emphasized creating physically fit men who would excel in battle. Hockey was among those sports believed to build the best soldiers, and the Atlantic provinces expressed great pride in their athlete soldiers. The culture of hockey led to high numbers of hockey players enlisting for war, often as an entire team. Hockey helped to produce thousands of eager volunteers for service in World War One.

By the twentieth century hockey had become a foundational aspect of the Canadian childhood experience and as such it was reflected in the educational practices of the time. From the early 1920s hockey as a term was listed in school work books used in primary grade classrooms.[1] Advertisements regularly targeted young boys and girls with ads about hockey skates for use at the arena or on the lake.[2] Starr Manufacturing of Dartmouth gained worldwide prominence as the primary manufacturer of skates in the nineteenth century, and many of their skates would have been used by Maritime boys and girls for decades.[3] All this to say that hockey was a key aspect of Maritime culture well before the start of the twentieth century and only grew in popularity as the twentieth century progressed. As a result, by the early twentieth century, hockey had become a major aspect of the educational landscape in the

[1] Journal of Education, Being the Semi-Annual Supplement to the Report of the Superintendent of Education for Nova Scotia, October 1920, Wm. Macnas & Son, 3rd series, X, 2, Halifax, 1920, 13.
[2] *The Advertiser,* December 31, 1897, 1 and February 25, 1916, 1.
[3] Cuthbertson, "The Starr Manufacturing Company," 58-60.

Maritimes, not limited to formal public schooling but extending into informal educational groups as well.

The expanding consumer society of the early twentieth century allowed many families to spend a larger portion of their income on raising their children.[4] They looked outwards for options to help instill their children with the central values of their communities. Hockey was one of the options chosen by Maritime families to teach children, predominately boys but also girls, the proper values and ideals of future citizens. Hockey was also the commonality organizations used to attract young people and to teach young people the ideals they espoused. Not surprisingly, the Boy Scouts, CSET, religious organizations, and school, both public secondary and post-secondary, incorporated hockey into their programs.

Religious leaders in the early twentieth century faced two primary fears for young men. The first was the movement of Canadian youth away from church and the second was the emasculation of adolescent boys.[5] Absent working fathers placed greater emphasis on the mothers' role in raising boys. This was seen as resulting in a large number of Canadian boys with strong desires to prove themselves as men through feats of strength.[6] In response to these fears, Canadian clergymen formed *The Committee on Canadian Standard Efficiency Training of The National Council of Young Men's Christian Associations of Canada* and created the Canadian Standard Efficiency Training (CSET) program for boys, with the approval and endorsement of *The Canadian National Advisory Committee for Co-operation in Boys'*

[4] Macleod, *Building Character,"* 9.
[5] Marr, "Church Teen Clubs," 249.
[6] Marr, "Church Teen Clubs," 251.

Work.[7] The YWCA's Canadian Girls in Training (CGIT) was created at the same time with a similar focus. These organizations were developed to keep young people involved in church.[8] This coincided with a religious shift among members of the prominent Protestant denominations from viewing children as sinful towards the belief that God loved children from the moment of birth.[9] In 1914 Methodists and Presbyterians teamed up with the YMCA to attempt to create a program to better train young boys, after a brief flirtation with the Boy Scouts floundered because of differing goals and a different age group emphasis.[10] The YMCA's work with CSET was also short lived due to their desire to train boys of all Christian denominations. They were soon replaced as an overseer of the program by the Religious Education Council of Canada's (RECC) youth arm, The National Advisory Committee for Cooperation in Boys Work (NACCBW). The NACCBW "focused on the intellectual, physical, social, and religions aspects of boy life."[11] For its part, the CSET focused on what had become known as the muscular aspect of Christianity – "physical prowess and intellectual maturity, over the spiritual and the social."[12]

The CSET program was designed as a set of programs to better train young men. Different divisions worked with different age groups, the Trail Rangers with 12-14 year olds and Tuxis Boys with 15-17 year olds. The older teenaged boys were separated from the younger

[7] The C.S.E.T. Manual for Tuxis Boys (Boys 15 Years and Over), Including the Canadian Standard Efficiency Training Program, C.S.E.T. of the Nation Council of Young Men's Christian Associations of Canada, Toronto, 1918, v.
[8] Marr, "Church Teen Clubs," 249.
[9] Marr, "Church Teen Clubs," 251.
[10] Marr, "Church Teen Clubs," 252.
[11] Marr, "Church Teen Clubs," 252-253.
[12] As part of this, boys who led morally exemplary lives were able to be elected to provincial CSET parliaments, and a national parliament as well. In these parliaments they debated the moral rights and wrongs of their society. *Ibid,* 252-253.

boys to better allow an age-appropriate emphasis in the programs.[13] CSET was developed in part for boys to develop the skills necessary for manhood, and also to provide appropriate social interactions with other boys of similar backgrounds.[14] The purpose of the manual that was published with it was to..."furnish older boys and their leaders with practical methods of work, as well as inspiration."[15] Tuxis groups were scattered across the Maritimes, deeply impacting boys across the region both off the ice and on. The program as it ran was primarily the brainchild of Taylor Statten, who had been the work secretary for the YMCA in 1912.[16]

CSET was predicated on access to trained volunteer local leaders who could provide appropriate religious instruction. Because of a lack of qualified male volunteers it was much more common for CSET groups to adopt sports as a primary educational tool.[17] Thus many CSET groups, specifically those for the Tuxis age group, formed organizational boy's hockey teams as a means of instilling in them the values found in hockey. These teams regularly travelled far from their respective homes to play Tuxis groups, Boy Scouts Patrols, or school teams of other communities.[18] Hockey games provided CSET leaders with the opportunity to teach the young men about the values they considered central to Canadian society. In 1921, *The Union Advocate* published an article from the *Gloucester Northern Light* of Bathurst which illustrated some of the values that the Tuxis leaders emphasized. According to the article a group of Tuxis hockey players from Newcastle had travelled to Bathurst for a friendly game of hockey, a seemingly innocuous event. The Newcastle team soundly defeated the

[13] *C.S.E.T. Manual,* vii.
[14] *Ibid,* v-vi.
[15] *Ibid,* vii.
[16] Marr, "Church Teen Clubs," 252.
[17] Marr, "Church Teen Clubs," 258.
[18] *The Union Advocate,* March 21, 1918, 4 and February 3, 1920, 8.

relatively inexperienced Bathurst team and then headed home. The report stated that the Newcastle boys were not actually from Newcastle, but rather from Chatham.[19] Further investigation found that the boys were not even part of a recognized Tuxis organization. This led many citizens from Bathurst to question the honesty of Newcastle's boys and mourn the impact such a defeat would inevitably have on the developing Bathurst Tuxis boys' love of hockey. Bathurst's Tuxis program was focused on developing younger hockey players in the community and its proponents worried that losing would lead to the boys becoming, "inured to defeat and sanguine of future success."[20]

This account provides a glimpse into the value Bathurst citizens saw in hockey and the efforts by Tuxis leaders to use hockey in training the youth. Questioning the honesty of Newcastle's boys illustrated the importance generally placed on honesty in hockey, and especially on how young men conducted themselves in their pursuit of hockey and in their communities. The Bathurst leaders evidently took the opportunity to show their boys that honesty, and by extension honour, were more important in hockey than the outcome. *The Gloucester Northern Light* also stated that training younger players to compete hard was a primary motivation for playing hockey; competition for competition's sake was an important aspect of the CSET program.[21] At the same time, in order to develop a hockey program the leaders believed that games needed to be competitive. If both teams did not have a realistic chance of winning, then it significantly reduced the motivation for either team to play. Bathurst Tuxis leaders feared that the more often young men played games against teams

[19] *The Union Advocate,* March 22, 1921, 4.
[20] *The Union Advocate,* March 22, 1921, 4.
[21] *The Union Advocate,* March 22, 1921, 4.

that clearly outmatched them, the more likely they would be to give up playing hockey and by extension give up in the struggle of life. The article also illustrates that hockey programs were worth building in a community for the health of the boys in the community. Communities were willing to invest relatively large amounts of time, energy, and money into developing hockey programs for the "proper" development of their young men.

The reaction to the *Gloucester Northern Light* article by Newcastle residents highlights the values of that community, showing the frustration citizens felt about members of their community bringing dishonour to themselves and to the game of hockey. The victory over the Bathurst Tuxis boys was dishonourable because it was based on falsehoods and contrary to the true spirit of competition. A man from Newcastle wrote into the *Union Advocate* stating that he and others had been looking for the offending boys to solve this issue.[22] The idea that this experience tarnished the town of Newcastle's reputation enough that local residents actively sought out a solution to the problem shows how tied community honour was to the notion of fair play.

Fears over emasculation in the early twentieth century also prompted Sir Robert Baden Powell to create the Boy Scouts organization in 1907. The ideals encapsulated by the Boy Scout movement quickly led to its spread across the British Empire and into every major Western society in the world, appealing to both boys and girls. The movement was based on Powell's experiences in the military and a romanticized view of childhood and

[22] *The Union Advocate,* March 29, 1921, 8.

duty.[23] Romanticization was a major part of the appeal for the young Scouts. It provided them with the opportunity to envision themselves as imperial heroes in far flung locales.[24]

Mr. Percy Brown started Wolfville's first troop of Boy Scouts with eight boys in April 1911. The eight boys took their scouting obligations seriously and worked diligently to fulfill the movement's requirements, adopting the oaths and values that the movement espoused. Because of their efforts these boys were able to earn all the money they needed to support their troop, which was a major condition of the Scouting movement.[25] Within the first year of the Boy Scout movement in Wolfville, the troop had grown too large for Mr. Brown to adequately supervise alone. This led to a meeting with the Wolfville Mayor and other leading citizens at which the town guaranteed full support to the scouting movement for the future.[26] Gaining the mayor and Wolfville community's full support illustrated the importance the community placed on developing proper values in their young men. That first group of boys was organized into the Wolf Patrol. The extra support from the town coincided with the rapid growth of the movement resulting in three more patrols being created in Wolfville, the Cuckoos, the Otters, and the Beavers.[27]

Wolfville's support of the Boy Scout movement can be seen in their attendance at the Wolfville Troop Entertainment night, an event designed to increase their funds and to advertise the skills they had been learning.[28] *The Acadian* published a brief description of the benefits of

[23] Johnston, "Courting Public Favour," 509.
[24] *The Acadian,* October 20, 1911, 2.
[25] *The Acadian,* March 1, 1912, 3.
[26] *The Acadian,* March 1, 1912, 3.
[27] *The Acadian*, May 10, 1912, 2.
[28] *The Acadian*, May 10, 1912, 2.

the scouting movement for the local boys,[29] following up with a detailed account of the night's entertainment.[30]

> Boy Scouts Entertainment: Wolfville patronized the Boy Scouts entertainment, Opera House was comfortably full. First Wolfville Troop, up until a month ago had only the wolf patrol, now has four. Cuckoos, Otters, and Beavers. Showed boys building wigwams set to music from Wolfville Band. Scoutmaster Rev. GR Martell of Windsor inspected. Mr. Martells gave address on "Scouting for Boys" His own troop mustered 56 out of a possible 80 for opening of the season. Urged rev to take boys out into the wilderness. Urged parents to get their boys involved. Played music, showed flag signalling, hoisted the flag. Mimicked a water rescue, showed morse code, signalled, Canada expects every Scout to do his duty. signalled response, every wolf will do his part. Showed resuscitation. Showed night camp, boys sang Canada, dear Canada, men of the North are we. Marched on stage inspected by District Commissioner.[31]

Newcastle also attempted to adopt Scouting as early as 1911, but it struggled to become popular in the region.[32] A shortage of community support and a lack of available Scout Masters resulted in the collapse of the original Newcastle Boy Scout troops.[33] Another reason for the failure could be the perceived link between Scouting and the military.[34] The Boy Scout movement was begun by a British military officer, and the uniforms, drilling, marching, and

[29] *The Acadian,* May 3, 1912, 3.
[30] *The Acadian,* May 10, 1912, 2.
[31] *The Acadian,* May 10, 1912, 2.
[32] *The Union Advocate,* May 10, 1911, 5, and June 16, 1915, 1.
[33] *The Union Advocate,* June 16, 1915, 1.
[34] *The Union Advocate,* October 13, 1915, 1.

philosophies were eerily similar to what many perceived the military to emphasize. This led to the popular perception that the Boy Scouts movement was a hidden feeder to the military. As a result, the Boy Scout movement stumbled in communities where military preparedness was either not a central concern or not popular. In 1915 the Newcastle Boy Scout organizer, Rev. Mr. MacGuire, reported that he himself had been under the impression that Boy Scouts was a feeder for the military; however, after hearing Sir Robert Baden Powell speak in Vancouver, he believed that the organization was more focused on developing boys physically, mentally, and morally.[35] In spite of this attempt to clear up misconceptions, there are very few mentions of the Boy Scout movement in Newcastle until 1921. This is an interesting omission. If Boy Scouts were considered too imperial and martial it stands to reason that they would have been even less popular after the realities of war and conflict had left a generation of young people forever scarred.

Newcastle's experience contrasts with that of Wolfville, a community that more fully embraced the Scouting movement early on. It is not clear why the two communities had different experiences with Scouting, though the most likely answer is a lack of interested men to act as the local leadership group in Newcastle. Wolfville's full embrace of the movement is evidenced by the number of patrols in the community and the weekly column *The Acadian* dedicated to describing the activities of the Boy Scouts. It could be that the editors of *The Acadian* and not the community itself were fully invested in the Boy Scouts movement, but that seems unlikely when coupled with the number of boys that participated in the organization. The great popularity the Boy Scout movement enjoyed in Wolfville enabled them

[35] *The Union Advocate,* October 13, 1915, 1.

to incorporate hockey leagues and hockey games into the program. Hockey became a defining feature of the Boy Scouts training of the youth of Wolfville.

The Boy Scouts movement emphasized building character and physical fitness for the boys, all within a system that attempted to build on the imagination and romantic notions of those who joined.[36] Many Maritime communities identified these as shared values that they wanted to imbue in their boys. In January of 1914, on the eve of the Great War, *the Acadian* published an op-ed from Geo T. Bryant about the role of Boy Scouts and the crisis of moral deterioration.[37] Bryant quoted Professor Eucken[38] of Jena University, one of the ten oldest universities in Germany, to succinctly summarize what he viewed as the crisis:

> "Old pillars of morality have been largely undermined, and the new ones we are striving to erect have not yet acquired solidity. At the same time our highly developed civilization becomes more and more complex and offers increasing opportunities for pleasure and self-indulgence, thereby increasing the opportunities for pleasure and self-indulgence, thereby increasing temptations."[39]

He followed it up with Professor Eucken's view of the solution, which became one of the guiding principles for training young men: "In such circumstances it is necessary to wage an energetic warfare against the slackness of the moral attitude and the effeminacy . . . which threatens us."[40] Boy Scouts and Tuxis were a part of the "energetic warfare" against

[36] *The Acadian*, October 20, 1911, 2.
[37] *The Acadian,* January 9, 1914, 3.
[38] Professor Eucken was a prominent German philosopher of the era.
[39] *The Acadian,* January 9, 1914, 3.
[40] *The Acadian,* January 9, 1914, 3.

effeminacy; and they were solutions favoured by many to promote masculinity and to foster the rigorous masculinity espoused by American politician Theodore Roosevelt.

The Acadian used the experiences of Boy Scouts in Europe during World War One to promote the skills and responsibilities that boys could learn in the Scouting movement. Sir Robert Baden-Powell mobilized the Scouts in England and along the Western Front to fulfill various jobs, some of which were life threatening and integral to the defensive efforts. While they were officially a non-military body and forbidden to carry weapons, they fulfilled many important roles,[41] as *The Acadian* recorded,

> "a) handing out notices to inhabitants and other duties connected with billeting, commandeering, warning, etc. b) carrying out communication by means of dispatch riders, signallers, wireless, etc. c) guarding and patrolling bridges, culverts, telegraph lines, against damage by individual spies, d) collecting information as to supplies, transports, etc. Available, e) Carrying out organized relief measures among inhabitants, f) helping families of men employed in defence, duties, or sick or wounded, g) establishing first aid, dressing or nursing stations, refuges, dispensaries, soup kitchens, etc. In their club rooms, h) Acting as guides, orderlies, I) forwarding dispatches dropped by air-craft, j) sea scouts, watching est . . . buoyed channels, or showing lights to friendly vessels, etc."[42]

With the war ongoing, inhabitants of the Maritimes read articles such as this and immediately saw the benefit of sending their boys to Boy Scouts as a way to prepare them to fulfill these

[41] *The Acadian,* January 15, 1915, 2.
[42] *The Acadian,* January 15, 1915, 2.

various roles in their own communities. The Boy Scouts were able to advertise that they would instill in young boys the values that Maritime residents viewed as important for the fulfillment of proper civic responsibilities. Hockey would be integral to that process.

Sources are limited as to what the games looked like; however, *The Acadian* did regularly report on the outcomes of the Wolfville Boy Scouts league. By 1913 there is evidence of a Boy Scouts League in Wolfville,[43] and by 1915 the paper mentions a Boy Scouts Sr. Patrol League specifically.[44] Due, in part, to the increased enrollment in Boy Scouts, the Wolfville leagues were divided into a Senior Patrol League and a Junior Patrol League.[45] The need to create a Senior League and a Junior League was a testament to the incredible popularity and community support for both the Boy Scout movement and the game of hockey. Each group practiced Saturday morning and played regular inter-squad games.[46] The teams competed against each other over the three-month hockey season, from late January to the middle of March, before crowning a patrol champion.[47] Cuckoos, Foxes, Eagles, Otters, Wolves, Curlews, Walruses, Bears, and Tigers were all listed as teams in *The Acadian*, giving a sense of the scope of these Patrol Leagues and the number of players that would have been involved.[48] Not all of these teams were from Wolfville. The Eagles, for example, were a troop from Port Williams. But the majority of teams were.[49] The inclusion of Port Williams in the Wolfville Patrol Leagues shows how intertwined the different communities around Wolfville were. The Boy

[43] *The Acadian,* January 17, 1913, 3.
[44] *The Acadian,* January 22, 1915, 3.
[45] *The Acadian,* January 14, 1916, 3.
[46] *The Acadian,* January 1, 1915, 3.
[47] *The Acadian,* January 22, 1915, 3.
[48] *The Acadian,* February 11, 1916, 3 and February 9, 1917, 3.
[49] *The Acadian,* March 13, 1914, 3.

Scout troops in Wolfville also regularly played against rival scouting patrols in Windsor and Hants Port.[50] The movement of these boys between communities illustrates that this was not just a communal adoption of Boy Scouts, but a regional one as well. Hockey provided these young men an opportunity to travel around the two counties that others may not have had. This movement exposed the hockey players to many more communities outside of Wolfville.

The primary Boy Scout values of manliness, self-reliance, obedience, and observation overlapped with the values its advocates attached to hockey. Obedience to the team's goals and the coach were tantamount for team success. The greater obedience and discipline shown by the hockey teams was believed to lead to greater hockey success. Individual play, while no doubt entertaining, was viewed by newspaper editors as the cause of many league losses and called out as such.[51] The hockey hungry young men reading the newspapers absorbed the accounts and outcomes of hockey games and may have attempted to emulate the successful teams in their Boy Scout leagues.

One of the primary goals of organizations and programs such as the Boy Scouts and the Tuxis was the development of proper "gang" associations.[52] They provided their target demographics with a responsible and respectable "gang"[53] on which adolescents could depend. Loyalty to that gang was an important aspect of developing manly qualities. It used peer pressure to develop positive attitudes and values. On a broader level, society viewed the

[50] *The Acadian,* January 12, 1917, 3 & January 26, 1917, 2.
[51] *The Acadian,* January 17, 1913, 3.
[52] Macleod, *Building Character*, 104.
[53] The term "gang" did not yet have the automatic negative connotations that it would develop among parents and educators.

gang or group as key to social and economic prospects, leading to an emphasis on developing group centered recreation, education and leisure.[54] Hockey exposed the young men to a group of peers, not only within their own community but in the surrounding communities. And with an emphasis on extending hospitality and brotherly kindness to their opponents instead of on winning,[55] bonds had the potential to be forged that could strongly benefit the future economic prospects of the individuals. Second, it engaged them in vigorous exercise that forced them to learn discipline and improved their physical health. Third, it taught them that hard work was the only way to improvement, which was a central value of masculinity for both middle-class and working-class men. With games regularly reported in the newspapers, and the ability for the public to observe the players, there was an emphasis on working hard to represent themselves, and their community, as best they could. Feedback on any failure to represent the community appropriately could be immediate and public. For example, when canvassing the community for funds for a new building, the Boy Scouts were told by community members in *The Acadian* that they had not shown enough hockey improvement to warrant receiving funds.[56] This type of public scrutiny by the community increased the level of accountability the players felt to the town in which they lived. Fourth, they were taught to embrace disciplined aggression and competitiveness. Hockey was a key component to instilling these values in boys and young men.

The Scouting movement pushed boys to adopt the ten laws of scouts, encouraging them to act with honor, to be helpful, cheerful, pure, and abstain from smoking and swearing. They

[54] Macleod, *Building Character*, 104.
[55] *The Acadian*, January 12, 1917, 3.
[56] *The Acadian,* November 28, 1913, 2.

also promised that every boy who joined the scouts would have free access to a gym, books, a hockey league, and various summer camps.[57] The boys were also required to raise funds for their activities through shows and canvassing.[58] Hockey allowed the scouts to practice these values in a competitive venue where they could be held accountable for their actions by the team. It also forced them to develop tight bonds in pursuit of team victory. The hockey leagues also provided the scouts an avenue to embrace appropriate levels of aggression and got them comfortable with certain levels of violence. For those Scouts that played hockey throughout their time in Boy Scouts the options to play in amateur leagues or college provided further opportunities to develop appropriate traits and bonds in adulthood.

In addition to CSET and the Boy Scouts, Black Haligonian Church leaders adopted hockey to train their Black parishioners and potential parishioners in proper Christian values. The original Black hockey teams in Halifax were formed in response to a demographic trend noticed by local pastors.[59] While local churches saw strong numbers of Black women attending church, Black men were less likely to be present.[60] Excluded from play with their white counterparts, Black church leaders were still able to see the values of Muscular Christianity in the sport, as evidenced by the Colored Hockey League's Declaration of Faith. As a result, hockey was used by Black church leaders to instill the Black men with proper Christian values and encourage better church attendance.[61] This was central to the creation of the Colored Hockey League. Their organizational charter placed a greater emphasis on Christian morals than on hockey rules

[57] *The Acadian,* December 5, 1913, 7.
[58] *The Acadian,* February 7, 1913, 3, November 28, 1913, 2 & May 10, 1912, 2-3.
[59] Fosty & Fosty, *Black Ice,* 14.
[60] Fosty & Fosty, *Black Ice,* 67.
[61] Fosty & Fosty, *Black Ice,* 248-249.

and regulations. The omission of rules and regulations allowed creativity and innovation to reign supreme in the league, prompting the creation of many innovations.[62] The most prominent innovation developed in the Colored Hockey League was the slap shot, a move that would not become widespread in the National Hockey League until Bernie "Boom Boom" Geoffrion used it for the Montreal Canadiens in the 1950s.[63] The result was a distinctive and exciting style of play popular with spectators. From the perspective of the pastors, however, hockey was a way to establish Christian values within the Black hockey players to create a stronger Black society and more stable congregations.[64] The church support of hockey in Nova Scotia's Black communities allowed hockey to grow incredibly popular amongst the Black community from the 1890s to the 1920s.

Schools have long been centers for amateur sports in Western Society. The philosophy of combining sport with education gained popularity in British society during the mid-nineteenth century. Sports were viewed as essential in educating upper class boys in the British Empire.[65] Thomas Arnold, a prominent British educator in the nineteenth century, attempted to use sport as a means to build the health of his pupils as able-bodied defenders of Christianity from evil. He viewed competence at compulsory team games as the supreme expression of masculine moral excellence which could create an increasingly unified and standardized English educational elite.[66] The qualities of, "fair play, physical hardiness, teamwork, efficiency, self-restraint, innovation, competitiveness, and

[62] Fosty & Fosty, *Black Ice,* 118.
[63] Fosty & Fosty, *Black Ice,* 269.
[64] Fosty & Fosty, *Black Ice,* 67.
[65] Mangan and McKenzie, "Privileged Education," 1109.
[66] Mangan and McKenzie, "Privileged Education," 1111.

respect for others,"[67] which were deemed necessary for success in the industrial world, were seen as best learned while playing team sports.[68] Arnold's views on sports in education and its link to masculinity spread across Western society. Many Victorian reformers held to the idea that sports could also be used to train the masses in proper behaviors and virtues. Training people to spend their leisure time engaged in sports limited their propensity for criminal activity and less savory recreational activities.[69] As different Western societies adopted these views on sports in education, regional differences shaped how these values looked in practice.

Jean Barman has argued that British team sports, such as cricket, rugby, and soccer, were used for training in proper British virtues in the private schools of British Columbia. The use of sports to teach proper values was often more important than the physical training that was associated with sport.[70] While British sports did maintain varying levels of popularity in Canada, and the Maritimes more specifically, hockey dominated many Canadian's childhood experiences, and among many educators came to be viewed as essential for turning boys into strong, Canadian men.[71] In the Maritimes, as across Canada, schools became community centers for training boys and girls for adulthood. As a result, hockey gained an important role in schools. Origin tales of hockey show how hockey has long, perhaps always, been linked to schools. According to the Windsor Hockey creation story, as early as the beginning of the 1800s, hockey became a popular recreation at King's College's Long Pond in Windsor for boys

[67] Howell, *Blood, Sweat and Cheers,* 31 as cited in P. Walker, "Shin Guards and Scrums: British Sport in Nova Scotia," (MA thesis, Saint Mary's University, 2006), 23.
[68] Howell, *Blood, Sweat and Cheers,* 31 as cited in Walker, "Shin Guards and Scrums," 23.
[69] Williams, "Leisure as Contested Terrain," 38.
[70] Jean Barman, Growing up British in British Columbia: Boys in Private School (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1984), 73.
[71] Lorenz "Constructing a Cultural History of Canadian Hockey," 2108.

such as famous author Thomas Chandler Haliburton.[72] Variations on the game of hockey were played throughout the nineteenth century by different universities and military colleges. In 1875 the game widely viewed as the first organized game of hockey occurred in Montreal. This "first" game of hockey was organized and played by students from McGill University.[73] By the beginning of the twentieth century hockey had become highly organized, regulated, and widely reported on in local newspapers; and hockey had become strongly tied to post-secondary and secondary schools in the Maritimes.

Hockey remained a popular option for recreation in colleges throughout the Maritimes. In 1903 Mt. Allison published *The Handbook of Institutions of Mt Allison*. The handbook described the various options available for hockey enthusiasts at Mount Allison. There was intercollegiate hockey with other colleges and interclass tournaments within the university. Even though there were no rinks on the campus, every fall Mount Allison would book the community rink in Sackville for a few days a week so that the students could play hockey.[74] The seasonal pilgrimage to the hockey rink was common at many Maritime community schools. The *Handbook of the Institutions of Mount Allison* commented: "Hockey holds sway, interclass league is formed and great interest taken in outcome . . . everyone is given ample opportunity for hockey recreation."[75]

The inter-collegiate hockey league was particularly popular and usually drew large crowds to matches. The primary teams in the Maritimes Inter-Collegiate hockey

[72] Gidèn, Houda, and Martel, *On the Origin of Hockey, 1.*
[73] Gidèn, Houda, and Martel, *On the Origin of Hockey, 1 & 20.*
[74] *Hand Book of the Institutions of Mount Allison*, (Sackville: Mount Allison University, 1903), 90.
[75] *Hand Book of the Institutions of Mount Allison,* 46.

league were the University of New Brunswick, Mount Allison University, St. Francis Xavier University, Acadia University, Dalhousie University, and occasionally Nova Scotia Tech.[76] These teams created a Maritime network that united New Brunswick and Nova Scotian communities through the regular travel of University age athletes. A hockey player for St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish had the opportunity to regularly travel to Saint John, a roundtrip of almost nine hundred kilometers. Such frequent trips by student athletes and the newspaper reporting of their games helped Maritime residents feel connectivity to a wider community and culture. Hockey became part of the connective tissue binding communities together around shared values and experiences.

Hockey dominated the winter months of the Maritime schedule with inter-collegiate games and college intramural games. Public and private schools played sporadic games against each other in the early twentieth century. By the late 1900s and into the 1910s, sporadic schedules morphed into more concrete leagues and set games. In 1907 Kings County had a Junior Hockey league as an option for boys to play regular hockey.[77] Inter-collegiate games and leagues were common in the Maritimes. Reporting on these leagues in 1915 became more frequent, suggesting an increased desire to read about the hockey games and an increased emphasis on playing. *The Acadian* reported on Acadia's intramural league results. Teams represented sophomores, juniors, and seniors.[78] Mt. Allison also offered intramural leagues to provide students with the opportunity to play hockey regularly. All of these options for hockey in schools suggest that the sport dominated recreation during the winter months.

[76] *The Casket: Fifty-fifth Year,* February 7, 1907, 8.
[77] *The Acadian*, February 22, 1907, 3.
[78] *The Acadian,* March 19, 1915, 3.

In addition to being used in training boys and young men for manhood, sports were used as a way to strengthen girls for their future roles in society. During the nineteenth century Victorian reformers began to use sports to change girls who they viewed as weak or fragile into strong future mothers of the nation.[79] The increase of immigration from non-Anglo-Saxon nations into Canada created a greater emphasis on training the British girls in Canada to expand, in the minds of the reformers, the Anglo-Saxon race.[80] Sports, for girls, were used to improve their maternal qualities and feminine appearance. In the Maritimes these sports and activities were commonly skating, calisthenics, and basketball, among others. In the late nineteenth century girls were discouraged from participating in masculine sports, such as hockey.[81] During the early decades of the twentieth century, especially the World War I years, it became much more socially acceptable for girls and young women to play hockey. Their participation was not widespread, but there was an appreciable amount of women's hockey being played, something which in previous decades would have been discouraged by some and denounced by others.

By the 1910s hockey had grown significantly as an appropriate sport for women. Push back against its ability to provide physical activity for women was waning, though not disappearing. In 1909 *The Acadian* recorded games between the women attending college and the Sens. No information is given about who the Sens were, but they lost 4-0 against the college women.[82] Two years later the same paper noted an upcoming game for the college

[79] Michael Smith, "Female Reformers in Victorian Nova Scotia," 74, as cited in L.H. Brock, "Beyond Domesticity: The Use and Value of Women's Leisure Time in Halifax, 1880-1930," (MA thesis, Saint Mary's University, 1998), 40.
[80] Smith, "Female Reformers", 45.
[81] Michael Smith, "Sport and Society," 152, as cited in Brock, "Beyond Domesticity," 44.
[82] *The Acadian,* March 12, 1909, 3.

women, though no details of the game were published.[83] In 1916 *The Acadian* reported on a match between the college women and the town women.[84] This report gives us the most information about the participation of female students in hockey, including the score and a roster for both teams. A month later the town women defeated the seminary women, demonstrating that hockey reached beyond the college and public school and to the seminary.[85] In spite of the heavy emphasis on masculinity found in hockey, it was becoming accepted as a form of exercise to help prepare girls for the physical demands of motherhood.

Even as hockey became more widely accepted as a positive activity for Canadians young and old, male and female, vocal and influential sceptics remained. A poem widely circulated among Canadians in the early twentieth century captures the debate that continued around the moral efficacy of hockey. In *The Parson at the Hockey Match*, the fictional parson comments that attending the hockey match is ". . . a sinful waste of time. . ."[86] By the end of the poem, after attending a local hockey match, the parson changes his tune and praises hockey for its values and its ability to " . . . train the youth in lusty health and iron strength of frame, to make them noble, vigorous, straightforward, ardent, bold . . .[87] The fact that the parson takes a strong stance against hockey before his conversion demonstrates that hockey was not wholeheartedly accepted by moralists in Canada. In part, concern about hockey's potential negative influence centred on the challenge that it presented to traditional religious practices. A newspaper from Truro included a moralist's tale about a group of young boys who loved

[83] *The Acadian,* December 8, 1911, 3.
[84] *The Acadian,* February 11, 1916, 3.
[85] *The Acadian,* March 10, 1916, 2.
[86] W.M. MacKeracher, "Parson at the Hockey Game," in *Canada, my land. (*Toronto: William Briggs, 1908), 60.

[87] MacKeracher, "Parson," *66.*

hockey so much that they began to skip Sunday School to play hockey. By the end the boys learn that choosing Sunday School over hockey is the right thing to do, and they must learn to do the right thing: "resolve to do right boys, it always pays well. He who conquers will bring others with him."[88] In a similar vein a school decried how impossible it was to make something as important as Latin as interesting to young students as hockey.[89] While many believed hockey bred positive traits in young people, concerns remained about its grip on youth.

In the decade prior to World War One, such reservations had to compete with what has been identified as a growing spirit of militarism among those responsible for educating future citizens and citizen soldiers, in institutions of formal education and organizations like the Boy Scouts and CSET. Officially these institutions and organizations did not espouse militaristic values; however, the romanticization of military life had a significant impact on their perceptions and advocacy of healthy masculinity. Once Canada entered the War, those messages reverberated in recruitment drives which targeted youth and young men, and in editorials and letters from the Front published in the local press. *The Union Advocate* published one such letter from Mr. Magnus Betts at the Front to his sister in 1915:

> "Every Young Man Should Be In Khaki . . ." so __thinks he will enlist does he? Well, I hate to see him coming, in one sense, and it pleases me in another. Here is the proper place for every young man of military age today. . . So, to my mind it is every man's duty who is fit and of military age to cut loose and place himself in the king's service"[90]

[88] *The Truro Weekly News*, February, 6, 1919, 11.
[89] H.S. Bridges, *The Management of Children,* address given to St. John County Teacher's Institute, December 21, 1917, Moncton, 5.
[90] *The Union Advocate,* December 22, 1915, 3.

Prior to the War, such sentiments were open to debate. For example, *The Acadian* for January 31st, 1908, carried an Op-ed penned under the pseudonym *Framer's (Farmer's) Advocate.* In the Op-ed the author refers to a report by the Ottawa correspondent for the *Toronto News* which outlined a potential plan being discussed to introduce military drill in the Maritime schools. The plan was in agreement with the Dominion militia authorities who would provide instructors for teachers to learn how to conduct the drills.[91] It reveals the extent to which Canadian policy makers believed proper education was tied to the creation of a generation of trained militant citizens. The article references the use of Japan to promote implementation of the plan. As quoted in the article, "children from six to ten are given physical and squad drill; from ten to twelve, company drill; from thirteen to eighteen, the care of arms, rifle exercises, and so on..."[92] The writer declared that the quickest way to bring war in North America was, "to prepare for it by raising the military spirit; the surest way to avoid war is to turn . . . towards the arts and triumphs of peace."[93] Such expressions of dissent were muted once War was declared; and rigorous physical training for youth and young men became even more crucial to Canada's success on the world stage.

Hockey, like other rigorous sports, was openly promoted as a tool to improve the military preparedness of young Maritime men. In a memoir for Prince Edward Island World War One veterans, *Prince Edward Athletes in the War*, author James Coyle quotes Wellington in stating, "the battle of Waterloo, in 1815, was won on the cricket fields of Eton."[94] Coyle cites

[91] *The Acadian,* January 31, 1908, 3.
[92] *The Acadian,* January 31, 1908, 3.
[93] *The Acadian,* January 31, 1908, 3.
[94] Coyle, *P. E. Island Athletes*, 7.

the Classical civilizations of Greece and Rome and the link between their success at war and their success as athletes.[95] Coyle believed that the reason PEI soldiers excelled on the battlefield, even surpassing the ancients, was because of their athleticism: "[T]he Spartans of old had nothing on the athletic boys from the Province of Prince Edward Island.[96] This became a common theme in commemorations of Canadian citizen soldiers. For example, in *Our Boys Under Fire or New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island volunteers in South Africa,* a memorial for Maritime soldiers fighting in the Boer War, the author celebrated Frederick W. Coombs as the two-time captain of the Mohawk Hockey Team who had led them to the championship.[97] Other examples include the tributes to Brent Eagles who gained provincial star status for his exploits on the Acadian College hockey team then further acclaim when he took lessons from the rink to the Western front.[98] There was also Private John Frederick Coleman Dolan, who was reported as missing at the Battle of Ypres, memorialized by the University of New Brunswick, in a eulogy in which his exploits as an athlete were the primary focus.[99]

The high rate of enlistment of hockey players in World War I was held up as an example of the impact of hockey culture on preparing boys for military service. It also raised very real fears that as a result of the war the amateur leagues would collapse. For example, in Saskatchewan the Amateur Hockey Association organizers called on the younger men of the province to take the soldiers' places on the community hockey teams: "Our Junior League,

[95] Coyle, *P. E. Island Athletes,* 17.
[96] Coyle, *P. E. Island Athletes*, 7.
[97] A.E Mellish, *Our Boys Under Fire or New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island volunteers in South Africa*, (Charlottetown: Examiner Office, 1900), 79.
[98] *The Advertiser*, June 5, 1917, 5.
[99] *Memorial Magazine:* 1914-1919, (University of New Brunswick, 1919), 22.

inaugurated in March, 1917, must be a success. The great game must go on."[100] The same themes and fears existed in Maritime hockey where the strong link between hockey and military preparedness resulted in the near collapse of amateur hockey due to the mass exodus of hockey players to fight in Europe. In the booklet *Trenching at Gallipoli: The Personal Narrative of a Newfoundlander with the Ill-Fated Dardanelles Expedition*, the author described hockey players from St. John's enlisting as teams.[101] This pattern in enlistment could be traced for other parts of the Maritimes as well. When *The Acadian* reported on a hockey game during the war, their comments were that while the game was good it was not the same quality as games played prior to the war.[102]

Some disagreed. In a pamphlet published during the war, *The Right Point of View*, the author complained that some men loved hockey too much to fulfill their military duty.[103] However, the overall pattern during World War One appears to have been a vast reduction in the amount of hockey being played in the Maritimes and a loss of hockey players and the general decline in the quality of hockey during the war years. This may account for the rise in newspaper reports on women's hockey in the Northern New Brunswick region in 1915. For many communities, the hockey players lost to war were perceived to represent the best young men of their towns. These men included Wolfville's own Robert Spicer Jr, Brent Eagles, fifteen-year-old Fred Eagles, Ves Laing, and Vere K Mason, as well as many, many others from across Maritime communities. Hockey players were embraced by military leaders because

[100] Saskatchewan Amateur Hockey Association, 11.
[101] J. Gallishaw, *Trenching at Gallipoli: The Personal Narrative of a Newfoundlander with the Ill-Fated Dardanelles Expedition*, (Toronto: S.B. Gundy, 1916), 4.
[102] *The Acadian*, February 15, 1918, 3.
[103] Recruiting Message No. 14: The Right Point of View, *Imperial Press Ltd, [n.d.]*, 6.

"athletes recover oftener and quicker from wounds and disease. The same strong, clean, active body that made victory possible on the athletic field, will make victory possible to the wounded on the battlefield."[104] This was one of the motivations for including hockey in high schools and colleges. Presenting young men with the opportunity to play hockey provided them the chance to develop their bodies in a way that prepared them for war. This created greater motivation for communities to get young men involved in hockey because it was a training ground for future soldiers. The discipline, obedience, and teamwork that were keys to successful hockey were also fundamental to good soldiering. In addition, participating in hockey created an echo chamber for these young men, where their opinions about going to war for King and Country were repeated back to them by their peers. Hockey players from all over the Maritimes enlisted to fight in Europe, significantly impacting hockey back home.

The Advertiser published an article from an English periodical documenting a conversation between *New York Sun* war correspondent G.L Underwood, Capt. Tom Flanagan of the 134th Canadian Expeditionary Forces nicknamed the "Sportsman's Battalion", and Bill O'Hara, a former outfielder for the New York Giants. For context, Bill O'Hara had fought "through the battles of the Somme, Vimy Ridge and Ypres with the Twenty-fourth Canadians," and was well experienced in World War One combat. Flanagan was similar to Coyle in his praise of athletic soldiers, claiming, "they take to soldiering like ducks to water."[105] O'Hara agreed that athletes were ready and willing to go to war, though the best soldiers were the lumberjack. O'Hara praised the bravery, endurance, and strength of the lumberjack soldiers,

[104] Coyle, *P. E. Island Athletes*, 7.
[105] *The Advertiser*, January 18, 1918, 3.

claiming they exceeded that of any athlete soldier.[106] The article attributes the strength of the Canadian army in World War One to the men who enlisted from the ”open”, the lumberjacks, farmers, cowboys and such. This may appear to represent two contrasting opinions, yet in the rural Maritime communities the athletes were frequently men from the ”open.” In the first decades of the twentieth century rural Maritime athletes were a mixture of boys and men from varying backgrounds, some of whom had been raised by fathers from “the open” and some themselves working in “the open”.

Hockey became an important means by which Maritime boys developed the virtues and values of Canadian masculinity and identity. The fear of boys developing feminine attributes in part prompted the creation and adoption of organizations designed to help boys become men, such as CSET and Boy Scouts. These groups utilized hockey’s popularity and place in the cultural construct as a tool to better train the boys in proper masculine virtues. Regular competition against other boys, both in the Tuxis groups and in the Boy Scouts Patrol Leagues, were important in training Canadian boys. In a similar way the Black Haligonian Church Leaders adopted hockey to train the local Black men in values they deemed important for Black society. CSET, Boy Scouts, and Black Church leaders all used hockey to properly train their constituents to be ideal members of the community. As well, hockey was used in schools to develop ideal masculine characteristics and to improve education. It was a popular form of recreation in schools and colleges for both young men and young women, where it was common for Maritime colleges students to play in intramural leagues with teams usually formed around

[106] *The Advertiser*, January 18, 1918, 3.

university classes. Those particularly skilled at hockey gained regional fame by playing in the relatively popular Maritime Inter-Collegiate League.

Due to the strong martial spirit that existed in much of the Maritimes, and Canada, the creation of healthy soldiers became one of the primary goals of the training of any boys. Education and sport were geared towards creating ideal soldiers who would be better able to defend the Empire. Hockey in particular was believed to physically train the best soldiers. World War One saw many hockey players enlist, often as a whole team, to defend the Empire. The provinces and colleges often memorialized fallen or injured soldiers by extolling their athletic feats in their younger years, illustrating the important link that was believed to exist between athletics and soldiering. Hockey was deeply embedded within Maritime cultures and an important part of the education and training of ideal citizens.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

Fred and Brenton Eagles were members of a locally prominent, though not wealthy, Wolfville family. Many of their ancestors had migrated to the Annapolis Valley from Massachusetts in the late eighteenth century as part of the Planter migrations. Fred and Brenton represented the sixth generation of Eagles living in Kings County on their fathers' side and the fourth generation on their mothers'. The Eagles family, had five children. Ernest was a well-respected carpenter and small businessman in the community whose work included municipal contracts for improving the local infrastructure.[1] He was selected for numerous town positions throughout his life, for example, serving on the Board of Fire Escapes and as an official town Surveyor of Lumber.[2]

In the working-class household in which Robert Spicer Jr. grew up, income was limited and at times precarious, and all members who could worked to maintain the family. Throughout Robert Jr.'s childhood the household was marked by financial instability, frequent jobs changes for Robert Sr., and regular moves to different communities within Kings county.[3] Robert Spicer Sr.'s jobs history reads like a sampling of the different occupations available to Maritime men at the turn of the twentieth century. He was raised on a farm in the Cumberland region.[4] In his early twenties he was married, and at twenty-eight worked as a sea captain.[5] However, by the time Robert Jr. came along Robert Sr. was a tanner or

[1] *The Acadian*, January 15, 1904, 1
[2] *The Acadian*, February 11, 1921, 1.
[3] This information was taken from the Canadian Censuses from 1871 to 1921.
[4] Canada, Manuscript Census (RG31, Statistics Canada,) 1871, Nova Scotia Census Districts within Cumberland County.
[5] Canada, Manuscript Census (RG31, Statistics Canada,) 1881, Nova Scotia Census Districts within Kings County.

a labourer before ending his career as a post office worker.[6] Robert Jr.'s mother worked as a servant for a time, while his older sister, Amey A., worked as a tailoress. Robert Jr. had three other sisters, Leota, Sadie, Daisy, and one brother named Charlie.[7]

Robert Spicer Jr. himself worked a variety of jobs while playing hockey regularly. He most likely began playing hockey on the frozen lakes and outdoor rinks that were characteristic of the Wolfville area. The most popular outdoor skating surface in Wolfville was "the Tannery pond."[8] It is unknown if it was an actual tannery pond at this point, but given Robert Spicer Sr.'s profession as a tanner during Robert Jr.'s childhood, Robert Jr. would have had an intimate knowledge of the tannery and its adjacent pond. This regular access to the pond allowed him to spend much of his time skating and playing hockey with other boys his age. When Robert Jr. became old enough to play organized hockey, the Aberdeen Rink became the center of his life. The Aberdeen Rink, and later the Evangeline Rink, were the primary rinks for Wolfville's amateur hockey team as well as for the team from Canning, which did not have their own adequate rink for amateur hockey until at least 1907.[9]

The little information available about Robert's education comes from his grade three to four report card as published in the *Acadian and King's County Times*. Robert received a score of thirty in English, forty-five in arithmetic, and an absence for drawing and nature for an average of twenty-five.[10] This was not the type of record which attracted the rare public or

[6] Canada, Manuscript Census (RG31, Statistics Canada,) 1911, Nova Scotia Census Districts within Annapolis, Cumberland, Digby, Yarmouth, Lunenburg, Halifax, Hants, and Kings Counties.
[7] Canada, Manuscript Census (RG31, Statistics Canada,) 1911, Nova Scotia Census Districts within Annapolis, Cumberland, Digby, Yarmouth, Lunenburg, Halifax, Hants, and Kings Counties.
[8] *The Acadian*, December 11, 1908, 3.
[9] *The Acadian*, February 19, 1904, 3.
[10] *The Acadian and King's Co. Times*, July 15, 1898, 2.

private philanthropy to fund a working-class boy's pursuit of education. Before the war intervened, his future lay with labouring jobs, perhaps an apprenticeship, combined with his passion, hockey. In contrast, Brenton Eagles attended both the local academy and the Acadia College for his education. His attendance at both these institutions hints at the comfortable lifestyle that his father was able to provide for the family. It was at these institutions that Brenton gained athletic prominence. He played hockey, football, and baseball at Wolfville Academy; at Acadia College his abilities and fame grew on the football field and at the hockey rink. Brenton was described as "one of the best known all-around athletes in Nova Scotia . . . "[11] He would go on to play as a member of the Wolfville hockey team for many years; he enjoyed success on the baseball diamond as well, in games throughout the province and as the star pitcher for the Wolfville team that defeated the Quincy, Massachusetts team.

There are no records of Fred Eagles attending the Wolfville Academy, and World War One intervened before he had the opportunity to pursue any type of college education. There is ample evidence, though, that he participated in the Boy Scouts program. Ernest and Alice placed their younger son in the Wolfville Boy Scouts, perhaps concerned that Ernest's expanding carpentry business kept him out of the home for too much of the day, and less able to provide a role model for his son. Fred became a member of a generation of Canadians whose childhood and adolescent time was shaped by the values of the Boy Scouts movement. Fred was distinguishing himself playing hockey for the Boy Scouts by 1913, just two years

[11] *The Advertiser*, June 5, 1917, 5.

before he enlisted as part of the Canadian Expeditionary Force at the tender age of fourteen or fifteen.[12]

Despite the differences in the socio-economic status of their families and educational background, hockey provided an opportunity for these three individuals to regularly interact and become part of each other's social spheres. Representing their community together, they competed in the Nova Scotia Amateur League through Wolfville's most dominant period of hockey and at the height of their regional rivalry with the Windsor Swastikas.[13] Robert Jr.'s first recorded game for Wolfville was on February 12th, 1909.[14] Brenton did not join the Wolfville team until at least 1911 due to his attendance at Acadia College and his College hockey career. The *Acadian Recorder* for February 24, 1911, describes a hockey game in which both Robert Spicer Jr. and Brenton Eagles participated. Following the war, the Brenton brothers would play for the Wolfville team, but without Robert Spicer.[15]

Hockey gave them unusual opportunities to travel through the region, to Yarmouth, Lunenburg, Halifax, Dartmouth, Canning, Kentville, and Windsor, among other places. Brenton played a series of games representing Nova Scotia Veterans against Newfoundland;[16] and it is likely that an Eagles who played goal for the 1922 Chatham championship team was Fred, who had played goal for his whole career in Wolfville.[17] Their time spent regularly playing, year after year, reflected their dedication to their community hockey team and to the culture of sport.

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[12] *The Acadian*, January 24, 1913, 3. Canadian Census Military Records, see below.
[13] At this time, the name Swastikas was commonly used for sports teams in Canada. The symbol was an Indian symbol often linked to luck.
[14] *The Acadian*, February 22, 1909, 3.
[15] *The Acadian*, January 23, 1920, 1 and February 24, 1911, 3.
[16] *The Acadian*, March 5, 1920, 5.
[17] *The Union Advocate*, January 17, 1922, 1.

During a game Robert jr. was sliced across the face. In spite of his bloody injury he returned to play the rest of the game. The most serious injuries Fred Eagles sustained came at a train stop after a game.[18] The train had stopped for a much shorter time than was customary causing Fred to be sucked under the platform. No record indicates Fred missed any hockey due to his injuries.

Neither the Eagles brothers nor Robert Spicer had the opportunity to represent Canada in hockey on the international stage, though Brenton did play baseball against a Quincy, Massachusetts community team, where he pitched a winning game. However, all three represented Canada on the bigger and more brutal international stage in World War One. They each enlisted in the Canadian Expeditionary Force within the first year of the war. They were part of a generation of young men taught the virtue of expressing their masculinity by going to war. We do not know the extent to which each was motivated by patriotism to the British Empire, Canada, or the Maritimes, or all three. What is clear is that they were portrayed in the newspapers and in eulogies as young men who exemplified the power of sports such as hockey to prepare men for the rigours of war.

Brenton enlisted as a twenty-two year old engineering student in the 219th Overseas Highland Battalion. Before being shipped off to France, he played on the 35th hockey team in the city league and the 219th baseball team. While in London he met and married his wife Blanche. He served overseas in the military for twenty-nine months, as part of the Nova Scotia Regimental Depot for ten months, and the Canadian Rifle Battalion for nineteen months.[19] In

[18] *The Acadian*, February 18 1921, 1.
[19] Department of Militia and Defence, War Service Gratuity, 880, Library and Archives Canada, https://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.item/?op=pdf&app=CEF&id=B2799-S004.

June of 1917 he entered a hospital in the French community of Camiers where he was diagnosed with "Cont Shell "W" Slt" which was most likely shell caused contusions.[20] He was then transferred to the No. 6 Canadian Depot Etaple and later No. 5 Canadian Depot Cayeux. In November of that year he had his thumb amputated at the Convalescent Hospital at Woodcote Park in Epsom. He was then transferred to another hospital in Epsom where he spent seven months recovering before being discharged from the hospital in May of 1918.[21]

Brenton's younger brother Fred signed up for the Halifax 63rd Regiment (Halifax Rifles) of the Canadian Expeditionary Force at the age of fourteen or fifteen.[22] For the duration of the War, Fred served his country. In January 1918 he transferred from the 63rd regiment to the Canadian Military Police Corps (CMPC). He served in this capacity until demobilization on August sixth, 1919. The 63rd regiment fought in major battles, at Mount Sorrell, Arras, Hill 70, Ypres, and Amiens, and on the Hindenburg Line and the Pursuit to Mons. Whether or not Fred personally served in these battles or was part of the portion of the 63rd regiment that stayed in Halifax for defensive duties in unclear. His time with the CMPC was most likely spent in Halifax. Fred 's enlistment at a young age, his service for the duration of the war, and his transfer to the CMPC at the war's end earned him praise as an example of the many young men who grew from the hockey rinks of the Maritime provinces to participation in World War One.

[20] Medical History Sheet, Eagles, Brenton. Accessed November 6, 2020 at Library and Archives Canada, https://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.item/?op=pdf&app=CEF&id=B2799-S004
[21] Medical History Sheet, Eagles, Brenton. Accessed November 6, 2020 at Library and Archives Canada, https://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.item/?op=pdf&app=CEF&id=B2799-S004
[22] Attestation Paper, Canadian Over-Seas Expeditionary Forces, No. 2699194, Frederick Eagles, & Regimental Documents, Frederick Eagles. Accessed November 6, 2020 at Library and Archives Canada, https://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.item/?op=pdf&app=CEF&id=B2799-S010

Robert Spicer Jr. also became a symbol of the type of soldier hockey could produce. Robert Jr.'s love for the military was evident by his participation in the Wolfville 1907 ice carnival, where he skated in a costume of a regular in the British military, colloquially known as Tommy Atkins.[23] Robert signed up in November of 1914 at the age of seventeen and was shipped out in 1915 on the HMS Saxonia. He had spent seven years prior to World War One serving in a local military unit for boys and young men.[24] His military record was, like his life in Wolfville, not spotless. He lost a few days' pay on separate occasions and yet was promoted twice. He was killed one week before he was due to begin a furlough back to Canada.[25] In a letter to the Spicer family, Chaplain and Captain John Garbutt described the circumstances of Robert's death.[26] On July 7th, a Saturday, Robert had accompanied the Quartermaster, WA Bowser and Garbutt on a trip to the Battalion headquarters on the front lines. Garbutt's choice of Robert to accompany him and the Quartermaster to Battalion headquarters suggests the level of trust and respect that Garbutt had for him. The frontlines were obviously a very dangerous place and if you were going to choose someone to accompany you there, you would choose someone whom you trusted and were sure could maintain composure amidst the constant shelling and enemy fire. It appears that Robert Spicer was just such a man right until his death. While on this trip he was hit by a German shell and died from his wounds. Both the letter from Garbutt and the eulogy printed in Kentville's newspaper, *The Advertiser*, described Robert as a well-liked soldier among his units. Garbutt cites him as, "greatly respected and

[23] *The Acadian*, March 8, 1907, 2. The Imperial War Museum states that Tommy Atkins was a term used to refer to regular British soldiers since at least the eighteenth century and was popularized in the nineteenth century.

[25] *The Advertiser*, July 27, 1917, 8

[26] *The Acadian*, August 17, 1917, 3.

admired. We had no braver man or better soldier."[27] Undoubtedly the letter from Garbutt and the eulogy in *The Advertiser* described Robert in glowing terms because of his sacrifice in the war.

After their service in the war both Brenton and Fred Eagles returned to the Maritimes to play hockey for a time. They played together for a season on the Wolfville team, with Brenton also playing for a Nova Scotian War Veterans team in a friendly series against Newfoundland veterans. Fred likely played amateur hockey in New Brunswick for a time after the war as well. Brenton eventually moved to western Canada with his wife some time in the early 1920s. We know this because *The Acadian for* July 31, 1924 carried a brief record of his wife's return to Wolfville for a visit from the West.[28] He is listed as dying in Victoria, British Columbia on March 2, 1967.[29] As for Fred, the final mention of Fred Eagles found in the historical record is a brief statement in *The Acadian* stating that he had moved to Boston to seek a position.[30] Their migrations were part of a much larger and continuing diaspora of Maritime residents in the 1920s that saw thousands flee the region due to poor economic conditions. Fred joined numerous other Maritime men and women who had migrated to Boston for better economic prospects, including a relative E.F. Eagles who had migrated to Boston over twenty years earlier to start the very successful Eagles and Irwin firm.[31] In this, he continued the close ties between Maritime society and New England. Robert Spicer Jr. lived on through the daughter he never

[27] *The Acadian*, August 17, 1917, 3.
[28] *The Acadian*, 15, 1923, 4.
[29] Department of Veteran Affairs, Eagles, Brenton, D. Accessed November 6, 2020 at Library and Archives Canada, https://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.item/?op=pdf&app=CEF&id=B2799-S004
[30] *The Acadian,* July 31, 1924, 4 describes Fred's move to Boston to seek a better position.
[31] *The Acadian*, January 15, 1904, 1.

met. After a short time living in Jamaica Plains, Massachusetts, his wife and daughter moved back to the Maritimes, settling for a time in Lunenburg. Spicer, and the Eagles brothers, established themselves as examples of the type of men who were built by hockey and who built hockey. They were tough, reliable citizens who volunteered and served in the Great War effort, sacrificing themselves in the process.

These men's personal views concerning hockey and the ideas and values discussed in this thesis are not recorded. There is also no record as to how they conducted themselves on the ice. But we know that all three played amateur hockey throughout most of their youth. In spite of increasing demands on their time they dedicated time and money to playing hockey. Robert Spicer Jr. and Brenton Eagles played for the Wolfville teams that *The Acadian* described as embodying the spirit of pure sport. Did they believe that they embodied the spirit of pure sport? Did they see hockey as an expression of their masculinity? Did Fred attribute his passion for hockey to the Boy Scouts? Did Robert always feel handicapped by his family's reduced circumstances or did he find in hockey a way to bond with young men from more privileged families? Did Robert and Brenton even like each other or was their coming together for hockey practices and games a tense meeting of young men with little in common except hockey? Were they among those who embraced a unique Canadian style of hockey and found in it a link to Canadians and a Canada beyond the Maritime provinces? They could hardly have avoided the idealized representations of hockey in the echo chambers of the hockey world. How much of what they heard rang true for them as individuals is not clear. What is clear is that together with many young players in the Maritime provinces they helped to create the world of amateur hockey in the early decades of the twentieth century.

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