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Ken Moore: A National Story of an Indigenous Athlete

James C. McCormick, *The University of Western Ontario*

Supervisor: Forsyth, Janice, *The University of Western Ontario*

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree in Kinesiology

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Abstract

The shortage of Indigenous representation in sport history literature is unmistakable. Interest is growing to acknowledge stories of untold numbers of Indigenous athletes who remain inconspicuous in Canadian sport history. One way to accomplish this is to publicize the national stories of these athletes as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) recommends. This thesis, which focuses on the life of Ken Moore, presents his accomplishments as an athlete, but moreover, offers a version of his national story by shedding light on the challenges he faced as an Indigenous athlete. The paper includes an assessment of the responsibilities of the TRC, regarding its recommendations, and addresses the response to the imperatives by various organizations. Because my research provides adequate evidence to support Ken's membership, I also investigate the induction policies, practices and history of Canada's Sports Hall of Fame.

Keywords

Saskatchewan history, File Hills Farm Colony, Residential Schools, Media Racism in Sport, Assimilation Policies, Early 20th Century Hockey, Indigenous Athletes, Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Canada's Sports Hall of Fame

Dedication

To Ken Moore, his family, his granddaughter Jennifer and her family, and all Indigenous athletes who need to be remembered and honored for their contributions to the world of sport. Although much work remains, it will continue, one story at a time.

Acknowledgements

This project might never have started, had it not been for the support and encouragement of Dr. Janice Forsyth. Her insight and ever-present patience were instrumental in helping me overcome the numerous hurdles throughout this venture. It is impossible to calculate the number of times that I have thanked her to this point. I also appreciate the help of my committee members, Dr. Darwin Semotiuk and Dr. Mac Ross, for their guidance, recommendations, and support during the process.

Jennifer Rattray Moore, Ken Moore's granddaughter, was central to this project. Jennifer was warm, receptive and totally helpful from the time I first introduced myself by e mail and later arrived at her office in Winnipeg. She was instrumental in providing key details, as well as mementos that allowed me to grasp a broad, informed understanding of Ken's life, from her perspective.

A special thanks is necessary for Cheryl Avery, from the University of Saskatchewan. She confirmed that, remarkably, after uncovering evidence of Ken's athletic background, she found no mention of him in any of the Saskatchewan hockey history books that she checked, which supports my claim.

I would also like to acknowledge as well, the effort of Marie Stang, of the Heritage Museum in Kimberley, British Columbia, for the information she contributed that added many details about Ken's athletic activities while he was a resident in the small mountain community.

Additionally, I really appreciate the work by Elizabeth Seitz and her colleague, Catherine, from the University of Regina Archives in the Dr. John Archer Library. The

information that these archivists provided was invaluable in rounding out the Moore family history, and especially, Ken's academic history. A special thank-you as well, to Claude Desnomie, an Indigenous historian, and his daughter, Cheyanne, for their important insight about the Peepeekisis community history.

I cannot forget to acknowledge and say 'thank you' to my daughter, Tawny Rae, for the continuous technical support and help that she provided throughout this project.

Specifically, I want to thank her for the time and effort she dedicated to creating, from the information I provided, the chronology of Ken's life that appears in Appendix 3 and the brief history of his family that appears in Appendix 4.

Table of Contents

Abstract	i
Dedication	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Table of Contents	v
List of Figures	viii
List of Appendices.....	x
Chapter 1	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Thesis Statement	4
1.3 Literature Review	5
1.4 Methods	17
1.5 Justification	22
1.6 Limitations	24
1.7 Delimitations	24
1.8 Chapter Outline	24
1.9 Endnotes	28
Chapter 2	30
2.1 The Moore Family and Saskatchewan; Ken’s Early Years	30
2.2 Endnotes	57
Chapter 3 The Perks and Perils of Contact Sport	59
3.1 The Move from Junior to Senior Challenges	59
3.2 Olympic Gold: A First for First Nations	65
3.3 Benefits of Senior Hockey in the Depression Years	67
3.4 Final Major Triumph as a Player	70
3.5 Still Competitive: Adjusting and Moving On	73
3.6 Endnotes	77

Chapter 4: Hypocrisy in the Media	79
4.1 Introduction	79
4.2 The Footprint of Racism in the West	80
4.3 Shifting Narratives of the Media	81
4.4 The Concept of ‘Good’ and ‘Bad’ Indian	87
4.5 Observations	96
4.6 Endnotes	98
Chapter 5: Jennifer Rattray Interview Analysis; Compilation of Notable Ken Moore Accomplishments	100
5.1 Introduction	100
5.2 Semi-Structured Oral Interview	100
5.3 Findings	110
5.4 Bringing It All Together: Summarizing Ken Moore’s Memorable Successes	112
5.5 Endnotes	117
Chapter 6: Conclusion	118
6.1 Calls to Action; Defining a National Story of an Indigenous Athlete..	118
6.2 Inclusivity in the Canadian Sports Hall of Fame	122
6.3 Summary and Recommendations	131
6.4 Concluding Thoughts	133
6.5 Endnotes	137
Bibliography	138
Archives	138
Encyclopedia Entries	138
Government and Other Reports	138
Internet	139
Interviews	139
Magazines	139

Theses and Dissertations	139
Secondary Sources	140
Newspapers	144
Appendices	147
Appendix 1 – Ethics	147
Appendix 2 – Semi-Structured Interview Session Guide	148
Appendix 3 – Timeline	149
Appendix 4 – Family History	150
Curriculum Vitae	151

List of Figures

Figure 1: Jennifer Rattray with photo of Ken Moore and his Olympic gold medal. Source: Jill Coubrough/CBC	1
Figure 2: Entrance to Peepeekesis Reserve, Saskatchewan. Source: J. McCormick, July7, 2019.....	30
Figure 3: Watercolor; Photo: J. McCormick. Source: Jennifer Rattray; Personal archive collection	40
Figure 4: YMCA Track Meet; Source: Regina Leader-Post, June 1,1925	42
Figure 5: Media Racism in 1925; Source: Jennifer Rattray, August, 2019.....	43
Figure 6: Central Collegiate athletic letter; Source: Regina Central Collegiate Yearbook, 1926-27	44
Figure 7: Central Hockey Team, 1926-27: Source: Regina Central Collegiate Yearbook	44
Figure 8: Ken at File Hills in 1929; Source: Jennifer Rattray	49
Figure 9: Scouted as a member of the Regina Pats; Source: Jennifer Rattray.....	52
Figure 10: Ken's Olympic Gold Medal (front and back) Source: Jennifer Rattray	65
Figure 11: Ken (bottom right) with St James Championship Team, Feb. 29, 1944. Source: Winnipeg Tribune	74

Figure 12: Esquires Comeback Quartet with Ken Moore second from right. Nov. 8, 1944. Source: Winnipeg Tribune	75
Figure 13: Ken's Benefit for Injury, March 31, 1931.....	88
Figure 14: Johnny Buss skin tone reference. Source: Winnipeg Tribune, March 28, 1930	90
Figure 15: Johnny Buss. Source: Winnipeg Tribune, Oct 11, 1930	90
Figure 16: Edith, Carla, and Ken (Allan Cup) Source: Regina Leader-Post, April 6, 1936.	93
Figure 17: The clip on the left shows Indigenous school children identified; on the right, Ken is not identified. Source: Regina Leader-Post, 1921.....	95

List of Appendices

Appendix 1 – Ethics	147
Appendix 2 – Semi-Structured Interview Session Guide	148
Appendix 3 – Timeline	149
Appendix 4 – Family History	150
Curriculum Vitae	151

Chapter 1

1.1 Introduction

In January 2018, with a prepared list of topic options for a final undergraduate research project, I met with the University of Western Ontario (UWO) Director of First Nations Studies, Dr. Janice Forsyth. Before commenting on the topic options which I had listed, Dr. Forsyth provided a link to a CBC interview which she asked me to watch, give some thought to, and to form some ideas and comments for discussion at our next meeting, at which time we also would determine the research topic. The subject of the CBC interview, Jennifer Rattray, had recently attempted to have her grandfather, Kenneth Moore, inducted into the Canadian Sports Hall of Fame. After Ken's passing in 1981, Jennifer, while examining some of his belongings, had been surprised to find items of which she had not previously been aware; items that contained countless, priceless stories that had not been shared with her by Ken nor by other family members. Among the items was a gold medal (figure 1) from the 1932 Winter Olympics in Lake Placid, New York.¹



Figure 1:
Jennifer Rattray with
photo of Ken Moore
and his Olympic gold
medal. Source: Jill
Coubrough/CBC.

Jennifer was aware that her grandfather had been a hockey player, but she had not been aware of the level at which he had played nor of the accomplishments he had made in the game of hockey, or in any other sport for that matter. After a more extensive search into her grandfather's background and the path he followed which led to his gold medal, Ms. Rattray felt that her grandfather had accumulated sufficient credentials to be nominated as an inductee into the Canadian Sports Hall of Fame. Her decision was inspired by the induction of the Firth Sisters, two Indigenous cross-country skiers, into the Hall of Fame in 2015.²

I obtained a copy of the criteria guide used when nominees are considered for induction into the Canadian Sports Hall of Fame. Additionally, I read whatever information that was readily available about Ken Moore, though it was scant. The opinions which resulted from my initial, but brief, exposure to the situation were narrowed to concerns about the support which Jennifer had included in her nomination letters, as well as the as-of-yet limited knowledge of the extent of Ken Moore's athletic accomplishments. Jennifer had submitted her application centering mainly on two facts: that Ken was a member of the 1932 Canadian Gold Medal Olympic Hockey team and also that he was, to the best of her knowledge, the first Indigenous Olympic Gold Medal winner from Canada. I was uncertain about how much weight that ethnicity and one Olympic Gold Medal would carry in the Canadian Sports Hall of Fame induction process, but I was certain that Ken's credentials were much more extensive and impressive than had been outlined on Jennifer's nomination application.

Very few people have any knowledge of Ken even though his accomplishments in many sports, specifically in the game of hockey, are praiseworthy and have earned him a

position alongside teammates as members of four provincial sports halls of fame. There was little information available about Ken before he was a teenager in secondary school. At the time of my meeting with Dr. Forsyth, any knowledge I had about Ken's life spanned a period of less than fifteen years and little was known about him after his sudden absence from active participation in the game of hockey when he was merely twenty-seven years of age. However, what he was able to accomplish in that short period of time was remarkable and worthy of individual recognition.

What I was positive about and what captured my interest were the pieces of the Ken Moore story which had been oft mentioned, but lacking details; fragments of information about events which influenced Ken's life both directly and indirectly at that time or in the historic past. Ethnicity, in this case, might have played a pivotal role in Ken's interest and development in meritorious achievement in multiple sports. For instance, the fact that his family had come to Regina from the Peepeekisis Reserve north of Balcarres, Saskatchewan and that he had siblings who had attended residential schools meant there was much more involved in this story. Ken's family had come to Peepeekisis from Manitoba. They eventually moved to Regina where Ken, some years later, attended Campion College and Regina College.³ During his time in each of the two schools, he excelled at multiple sports in addition to maintaining laudable academic results.⁴ He eventually focused his attention on hockey where he was a cornerstone for several championship teams through his condensed, but notable career.

Jennifer submitted two nomination applications, but "After two years of trying, I moved on."⁵ After listening to my thoughts that were created after I had watched the interview and gathered some additional information, Dr. Forsyth asked if I would like to

do a more comprehensive study of Ken Moore as the project on which to base my thesis. I was thrilled that she had asked as I saw an opportunity to present a more complete story of a young man who, as I already believed, had sufficient credentials not only to justify a nomination process but also to be successfully inducted into a national hall of fame. Whether or not ethnicity would be a consideration in the induction dialogue, I knew that the story involving Ken Moore's family history would expand far beyond athleticism. His links to the residential schools and the File Hills Indian Agency could provide an essential part of a detailed and fulfilling depiction of the life of a deserving athlete.

1.2 Thesis Statement

Ken Moore's story is a national story of Canada. It is a story of achievement that emerged from the oppression of colonial policies and practices that had been implemented by the Canadian Government to destroy millennia-old cultures. It is a story that includes not only obstacles and tragedy, but also determination, accomplishment and success. Call to Action #87 encourages more public education of Indigenous athletes, such as Ken Moore, who were part of Canada's history. Countless stories of fine examples of Indigenous athletes remain silent, but Ken Moore's story is now available and needs to be heard.

I intend to highlight and present multiple examples of the contributions made to Canadian sport by this stellar athlete. Although he is mentioned in a few record books and has been inducted into the Saskatchewan Sports Hall of Fame, the Manitoba Hockey Hall of Fame, the Manitoba Sports Hall of Fame, as well as the British Columbia Sports Hall of Fame as a team member, the notable achievements which Ken made to the game

of hockey and sport in general, are worthy of recognition as an individual athlete. As such, this research project will provide evidence to show that Kenneth “Strath” Moore has amply benefitted sport in general and the game of hockey in particular. The contributions which this man has made, if viewed holistically, will verify his worthiness of and justification for nomination to have him inducted as a member of the Canadian Sports Hall of Fame.

1.3 Literature Review

The background of Indigenous people⁶ in the Prairie Provinces at the time of Ken Moore’s birth is well presented by Drew Bednasek and Ana Gordlewski. In their article, “The Influence of Betterment Discourses on Canadian Aboriginal Peoples in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries,” they describe the Canadian government’s uneasiness regarding the Indigenous population while the country was continuing through the ongoing phases of settling. The authors explain how the state tried to deal with the Native people and how they utilized various brutal methods in an attempt to eliminate them, their Native identities, and their claims of rights to use the land. These ruthless methods that are now viewed as genocide or apartheid were ultimately abandoned by the government with the realization that neither extermination nor total assimilation would be realistic or achievable. Bednasek and Gordlewski focus their discussion on what the government felt might be the long-awaited salvation to the proverbial thorn in its side; that by re-educating and re-socializing Indigenous people, the process would improve genetics, the environment and morals. The idea was expanded when William Graham Morris created a scheme which would add a ‘finishing phase’ to the residential schools;

the File Hills Farm Colony. This was meant to act as the final step of the assimilation-by-education process which would see Indigenous members of the colony become members of mainstream society. However, as the authors point out, whether intentional or not, the strategy reflected overtones of eugenics as well as eugenics, which is the attempt to better the condition of human beings by means of improving their environment.⁷

James Daschuk provides an analysis of the situation on the Canadian Plains prior to the signing of Treaty No. 4 in 1874. His book, *Clearing the Plains: Disease, Starvation and the Loss of Aboriginal Life*, focuses on events experienced by the peoples of the Canadian Plains region during the transition periods when they were gradually transferred to reservations. At that time, the Indigenous people of south-east Saskatchewan had seen the bison herds diminish and their land increasingly consumed by settlers. The treaty provided them with secured land, hunting rights, schools and government protection. What it actually meant was the loss of their land, restriction of their mobility, freedom, culture and an imposed assimilation agenda. Daschuk provides a detailed look at the perpetual impact that the policies and dreadful methods that the government initiated had on the lives of First Nations peoples and how, by isolating them on reserves, they would be easier to control.⁸

Ken Moore was born and raised in the province of Saskatchewan which has a complex history stretching back centuries before 1905 when it became a province. Besides the atrocities against the Indigenous people who had lived on the land and which Daschuk describes in his book, the beginnings of racial interaction and eventually racism can also be found. Whereas Daschuk provides an understanding of government policies and the activities of the people in the region before Treaty 4 was created, Bill Waiser, in

A World We Have Lost, explains that after Treaty 4, in the final years of the 19th century, and as the region became more open, there was a rapid increase, or hybridity, in the non-Indigenous population.⁹ Racial integration had been common prior to Treaty 4 and none of the ethnic groups were overpowering. However, inter-racial marriages had been common for more than two centuries, but the rapid influx of settlers would change that.¹⁰

Although Indigenous people had been expected to disappear, they didn't. Waiser notes that after Saskatchewan became a province in 1905, "The new Saskatchewan completely ignored the complicated but reciprocal relationship that had been building between white newcomers and Indigenous peoples over two centuries."¹¹ Waiser describes how racism continued to develop in the early decades of the twentieth century and up to the present. The book provides evidence about the situation between ethnic groups in the period when the Moore family left the Peepeekisis reserve and moved to Regina to escape the wrath of the residential school system. Was it easy for James Moore to find work in the urban community? Furthermore, how would James' children fare in the public-school system with predominantly non-Indigenous students? As Waiser explains, racism has progressively gotten worse from the start of the twentieth century up to the present, as racial tensions remain high.¹²

Additionally, the Prairie Provinces were hosts to several of the residential schools and the establishments found their way into the south-east region of Saskatchewan in the second half of the nineteenth century. During the latter part of that period and in the beginning of the twentieth century, a more creative, but diabolical method of assimilation was developed by the Indian agent for the region of File Hills at the time, William Graham Morris. In her master's thesis, Cheyanne Desnomie, who is a member of the

Peepeekisis Reserve, provides a thorough critique of the residential schools in the File Hills Indian Agency and offers a comprehensive look at the File Hills Farm Colony and its creator, William Graham Morris. Morris successfully proposed the establishment of the File Hills Farm Colony that, by design, would take the best students, ‘favoring those of mixed white and aboriginal blood,’¹³ from the residential schools and enroll them in an agricultural apprenticeship program. They would be given a section of land and encouraged into marital match-ups.¹⁴ After several years of agricultural-based schooling for the men, domestic education for the women, and apprenticeship programs in the daily demands of all types of farming, the successful students would graduate as adjusted, assimilated and civilized human beings, fully prepared to start families and become active members of mainstream society.¹⁵

Residential school administrators in the vicinity, such as the File Hills Indian Residential School and the Qu’Appelle Indian Residential School, were supportive of the idea. They became affiliated with the farm colony and offered opportunities for apprenticeships in the colony as an incentive for students to intensify their levels of performance. The schools altered their curriculums to include more agricultural-based programs intended for boys and domestic-related activities for girls. Physical activities, which seemed to appease the children, became popular in the residential schools in that area as well as other residential and day schools across the country.¹⁶

Physical activity had long been an integral part of Indigenous life and culture before the arrival of the Europeans in the fifteenth century. Several modern sports such as lacrosse, were created using ideas that originated with Indigenous people whereas others evolved as a blend of Euro-Indigenous ideas. Nonetheless, by the late nineteenth century,

sport was quickly becoming organized. As games involving physical activity increased in popularity, organized sport eventually found its way into the residential school system and became a factor in the socio-cultural development of relations between Indigenous people and non-Indigenous Canadians.¹⁷ Janice Forsyth explains how the involvement of sport in the residential schools served its agenda of assimilation as well as influencing the history of Aboriginal-white relations in Canada in her chapter, *Bodies of Meaning: Sports and Games at Canadian Residential Schools*.¹⁸

Don Morrow and Kevin Wamsley, in their book, *Sport in Canada; a History*, address the state of and types of sport which existed in early Canada and how aspects of Indigenous and non-Indigenous games evolved into later versions.¹⁹ They also discuss how early sport became more controlled and organized and how the appeal of team sports lead to distinguishing between professional and amateur status in sport.²⁰ The authors also recognize the contributions by Indigenous athletes as well as the abilities the athletes demonstrated regardless of the challenges that they faced while competing in a mostly non-Indigenous environment.²¹ Additionally, Morrow and Wamsley dedicate a section of the book to the role that the media and sports journalists played and the impact it has had on athletes, fans and in general, the history of sport in Canada.²²

For example, many of the games, such as snowshoeing and canoeing, that had been established by the Indigenous people became popular with and were adopted by the settlers. The design of and guidelines of many games, such as lacrosse, were restructured to reinforce masculine class-based values and interests. Sport in Canada eventually became another mechanism that proponents of assimilation believed would advance the colonial objective by a natural integration process that mixed the Indigenous and non-

Indigenous players. This argument stems from the ‘melting pot’ theory that suggests that prolonged interethnic contact leads to the disappearance of ethnic and/or cultural differences in society.²³ The talent of the Indigenous participants was not a secret and as more Indigenous people participated in a growing number of sports, the growing tally of noteworthy accomplishments in sporting events by Indigenous participants became evident.²⁴ Over the years, many Indigenous athletes have made a mark in a variety of sports. However, recognition of the many athletes and respect for the accomplishments that they have made to sport continues to be scarce while countless others have yet to be acknowledged. How was early sport journalism responsible for this?

For Indigenous athletes in Canada, international recognition meant having the ability to compete at a world-class level at individual events or to have star recognition during team events. While a few unique and talented Indigenous athletes such as Jim Thorpe, Tom Longboat, and hockey players such as George Armstrong have managed to succeed in spite of disadvantages they encountered through colonialism in order to achieve standing amongst the nobility in the sports world, countless others remain unknown. While the reason for this is yet to be determined, the connection between Indigenous cultures, sport and physical activity is acknowledged. Games, sports and physical play, integral to the history of the inhabitants of Canada, date back more than 10,000 years.²⁵ Sporting events, especially those necessitating bodily exertion, have been an essential part of Indigenous culture; a culture that required an enhanced level of physical conditioning and ability to provide the essentials of life on a daily basis in order to survive. Because of this, it is surprising to find such a minimal representation of Indigenous athletes throughout history who have achieved celebrity status in a variety of

physically demanding fields such as long-distance running, hurdling, or other track and field events. Why then, since a lack of skill or ability does not appear to be a reason, have so very few Indigenous athletes been represented in mainstream sporting events?

Although a few Aboriginal athletes have achieved broad recognition, many others established themselves as talented enough to compete at a professional level in many sports and became successful and respected, but for the most part, only regionally. A contributing factor for this, according to Shinke, Peltier and Yungblut, is that many highly talented participants simply walk away from mainstream sport and return to their native cultures. The authors provide this reasoning:

More extensive adaptation challenges tend to further marginalize some athletes by discounting the cultural identity of minority athletes as they seek sporting excellence and by perpetuating sport environments that favor white athletes, and those who are able and willing to assimilate into white mainstream sport culture.²⁶

The athletes not willing to assimilate may account for the lack of those who abandoned their pursuit of sport excellence because of unfriendly or racist environments, but it does not explain why many athletes who reached an accomplished level of sport remain anonymous. Because so many athletes were elevated to national prominence by way of news headlines and stories, it must be asked if sports journalism is in some way responsible for the apparent lack of recognition of Indigenous athletes. The era prior to World War 2 was a time when sports journalists like Lou Marsh and broadcasters such as Foster Hewitt commanded the attention of audiences nationally. Indeed, the media had the power not only to provide exposure for athletes, but also to portray them in a manner

that promoted the image of the player, positively or negatively, and subsequently, helped to bolster the audience size. With that power, journalists could easily make a mediocre athlete's name a household word or envelope the reputation of an exemplary athlete in obscurity. In order to determine how much responsibility must be allotted to the media for the lack of recognition of Indigenous athletes, I will examine secondary sources by authors who have directed their attention to the issue of racism that existed in sport and the media in the first half of the twentieth century.

One such author, Ellen J. Staurowsky, addresses the influence that sports journalists possess and the challenges they create in the media about the image of Indigenous athletes. She claims that, "reading stories about American Indians in sport presents the challenge of how to get over, around and beyond the imagery that lives on in the minds of the authors of the texts and their intended audiences."²⁷ She also questions how power relations become enacted and repeated on the sports pages in newspapers and ultimately absorbed into the minds of the audiences. In her article, "Getting Beyond Imagery: The Challenges of Reading Narratives About American Indian Athletes," Staurowsky shrewdly notes that, "Some portion of sports writing is fiction; thus historical accounts are tainted. Further, sport folk by admission are not objective, but biased, having finely cultivated allegiances to certain teams and players."²⁸

Staurowsky's article offers Jim Thorpe as an example. Although he was selected as the overwhelming choice in the 1950 Associated Press poll as "Athlete of the Half-Century," he was not included in the *Sports Illustrated* 1999 issue of "Gathering of the Greats" that listed its choices for the top athlete of the twentieth century.²⁹ The ESPN rankings for "Athlete of the Century" on the other hand, allotted him the number seven

spot.³⁰ One sportswriter, Tim Sullivan, who was also supportive of Jim Thorpe, concluded that Thorpe should rightly have been named “Athlete of the Century.” When the results were tallied and Jim Thorpe did not receive the honor, Sullivan correctly noted, “Inherently, it’s a matter of opinion.”³¹ Indeed, opinion, which typically is guided less by merit and more with personal preference, is also vulnerable to racial bias.

Staurowsky suggests that imagery used to attach stereotypes to Indigenous athletes was commonplace, and Thorpe, because of his superior ability, was a regular target. She claims that “the creation of narratives within a racialized framework leaves American Indians particularly vulnerable to stereotypical representations”³² and she offers as examples, “Indians on the warpath,” “stealthy Indians,” “lazy Indians,” or “drunk Indians.”³³ Her article emphasizes the depth of racism which existed and continues to exist in sports journalism.

C. Richard King includes mascots in the category of imagery and argues that costumes and symbols used to depict Indigenous people are viewed as trophies, remnants of a kill that embody the ideals of white masculinity. He also includes the use of logos and caricatures that represent professional sports teams such as the Warriors, Chiefs and Braves. King claims that these images serve as constant reminders of the prowess and superiority used by Euro-Americans to channel the strengths of those they had vanquished.³⁴

Nevertheless, it is difficult to establish conclusively the depth of racism that existed in the media and sports journalism. Mark Rubinfeld, in his article, “The Mythical Jim Thorpe: Re/presenting the Twentieth Century American Indian,” and in response to

the debate about the Amateur Athletic Union's decision to rescind Jim Thorpe's amateur status that led to the loss of his Olympic medals, suggests that the determinate factor in the making of that decision was generally thought to be politically motivated, not racist. The United States was concerned about its international image and the Amateur Athletic Union was being protective of its reputation in the U.S. Thorpe's participation in 'Pro Ball' provided an opportunity to make a firm statement against professional participation in amateur sports. Moreover, he claims that there "was absolutely no hint of racial animosity towards Thorpe in any of the press accounts of the "Olympic Scandal."³⁵ He adds that the press was overwhelmingly sympathetic to Thorpe in the aftermath.³⁶ Even though the moniker 'racist' may not be applicable to all journalists all the time, there remains overwhelming evidence that it was prominent and continuous.

Bruce Kidd, a supporter of Tom Longboat, also addresses the negative images which were common in sports journalism and specifically focuses on Lou Marsh. Marsh was a journalist who I have previously mentioned that, besides being a sports writer, he was also an athlete who, unlike many sports journalists, offered comments from personal experience. However, Bruce Kidd aptly points out that Marsh was a very fickle writer, injecting his bias whenever an opportunity seemed to benefit him. In his article, "In defence of Tom Longboat," Kidd notes that Marsh's loyalty was unpredictable. This became evident whenever Marsh accompanied Longboat's entourage and revealed when the runner triumphed, but attacked Longboat when he was not victorious. Kidd also notes that, "Marsh's columns reeked of racist insult."³⁷

Even though Marsh was involved with different sports and athletes for many years, it was surprising to see that he somehow was a manager of the 1932 hockey team

representing Canada during the Olympic Gold Medal games. After all, W.J. Robertson had already been a proven and successful manager of the Winnipeggers for years. It was most extraordinary to note that Marsh was also the principal referee participating in the games. This is important for two reasons. First, it seems odd that the American team did not protest the fact that an opposing team manager was arbitrating important games. Second, Ken Moore was not only a pristine hockey player with sniping skills, but also an Indigenous hockey player. It is an additional fact that he played in only one of ten games in the round-robin event, even though he had no apparent injuries. The question is whether Marsh had the authority to make the decision and if so, was racism a factor in the decision? Since racism was commonplace among sports writers in those years, this certainly might help explain to some extent, racist imagery occupying the minds of audiences. Moreover, it might account for common beliefs that Indigenous athletes were not worthy of recognition and praise.

As Staurowsky pointed out, it is not uncommon to find sports writers who, as well as not being objective, are also biased as they display allegiances toward favored teams and players. In “In Defence of Tom Longboat,” Kidd claims that additionally, journalists can be uninformed about, or even ignorant of athletes’ preferred training methods for a particular sport. He notes that in regard to Tom Longboat, the *Toronto Star* newspaper frequently reported that the runner was “not trainingjust walking twelve miles a day.”³⁸ Tom Longboat’s training regimen was criticized by most of his handlers as well as the media. Training would be guided and monitored by trainers and coaches who, like Lou Marsh, were often athletes themselves and seemed to have a mindset that abided by a

single established routine; the idea that alternate methods could be successful was not a consideration.

How much racism was created by and through the media is debatable, but it definitely existed outside sports walls and spread through the public as well. As I continue to check other minority group athletes in the same era, I see names such as Ray Lewis, an Olympic medal winner from Hamilton, Ontario, who, like Ken Moore, was born in 1910; Lewis however, competed in the summer Olympics in 1932 in Los Angeles and his experiences, documented by John Cooper in his book, *Rapid Ray: The Story of Ray Lewis*. The third chapter of the book addresses racism. According to Lewis, as he grew up in Hamilton in the 1920's, racism he experienced was an everyday part of life, but he focuses on the racial abuse he received from the public rather than from the media. However, whether racism seeped from the public, the media, other athletes, all of it, or elsewhere, was irrelevant as the identifying features remained consistent. As Ray Lewis states, "The sadness of growing up in the early 20th century was that you were judged first and, sometimes only, on the color of your skin."³⁹

Perhaps more than in the media or the public, racism resonates much more loudly when it originates from someone of prominence. A black hockey player a few years younger than Ken Moore left little doubt of his ability to play in the NHL. Herb Carnegie's skills caught the eye of Toronto Maple Leafs owner Conn Smythe in 1938 during a junior team practice at the Maple Leaf Gardens. Smythe notoriously made the claim that, "I will give \$10,000 to anyone who can turn Herbert Carnegie white."⁴⁰ Herb Carnegie never played in the NHL, but the achievements he accomplished in the game are amazing. It would be a few more years after Carnegie played his final game that

Willy O'Ree would be the first black hockey player to play in the NHL.⁴¹ Carnegie sheds light on the role that racism played in his life and his career in the autobiography, *A Fly in a Pail of Milk*.⁴² Would Ken Moore, who lived and played at the same time that Carnegie was active, and who was an NHL prospect from his teenage years, have played in the NHL had he not been Indigenous? Was the color of his skin the reason he played in only one of the 1932 Olympic Games for Canada's Olympic team - a team that was managed by Lou Marsh? These are questions that will in all probability, never be answered, but will continue to draw speculation.

1.4 Methods

The two main methods which I utilized included a semi-structured oral interview with Kenneth Moore's granddaughter, Jennifer Rattray, and the collection of archival history data from various repositories in Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and British Columbia.

The semi-structured qualitative interview with Jennifer Rattray followed the guidelines established in the *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans*.⁴³ To the best of my knowledge, Jennifer was the only living family member who was available with relevant information about her grandfather. Therefore, only one participant was necessary. The complete interview required approximately four hours. As Steiner Kvale recommends in his book, *Interviews: Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing*, I prepared a list of questions that served as an interview guide. Utilizing short questions in lay language and urging more spontaneity by asking 'what,' 'why,' and 'how' types of questions promoted a positive interaction,

created new questions, and allowed the conversation to continue smoothly.⁴⁴ With Jennifer's permission, an audio recording was made of the interview. Anonymity was an option for Jennifer, but she confirmed it was not necessary. A copy of the audio recording was kept on my home computer in a password protected site.

A copy of the interview transcript was mailed to Jennifer for her review and comments. Prior to the interview, I had applied to the University of Western Ontario Human Research Ethics Board for its approval which I received. This was the only interview involved in my thesis research. The interview took place in Winnipeg and is the centerpiece of my fieldwork.

The interview questions elicited information about Ken Moore from Jennifer's perspective and provided a more accurate understanding of the knowledge that Jennifer has of her grandfather's athletic accomplishments. This was vital since Jennifer is, to the best of my knowledge, the only living member of Ken Moore's immediate family who has relevant details about her grandfather. The information that Jennifer provided exposed some new facts about Ken. Moreover, it revealed how Jennifer understands the unknown portions of his life before and after hockey. The information also included Jennifer's personal feelings about the reason that Ken withdrew from the sport at such an early age.

The archival research allowed me to make observations that added details to the story of Ken Moore's life after his family left the Peepeekisis Reservation and moved to Regina. Secondary information about his education before he attended Campion College was scarce. Information about the schools he attended and the activities in which he

participated were found in various repositories. Also, I discovered some information about Ken's life in Winnipeg after he retired from hockey. I searched for information about other members of his family in order to determine who or what influenced his life. This method of qualitative research, or inductive reasoning, started at the Library Archives of Canada, in Ottawa. I examined primary source documents that provided background information about circumstances that might have contributed in some way to Ken Moore's story. The types of documents which contained useful information included city directories to confirm or determine where Ken was employed as well as his location; government files such as the Department of Indian Affairs records for information about the connection that Ken and his family maintained with the Peepeekisis community; residential school records for information that might connect any member of Ken's family to any of the residential schools, and hopefully, old archived photographs that had notes or dates about Ken's family. Additionally, in order to augment my knowledge about Ken's family history and specifically the movement of the family after Ken's birth, I checked the availability of census records and whatever information existed in the genealogy section of the Library Archives of Canada.

In the locations where Ken Moore established credibility as an athlete, and in order to supplement my information, I relied on whatever original local and national newspaper reports were available free on-line and newspapers.com, which is a paid site that provides access to a number of important historical newspapers in Canada. Some older articles which had not yet been digitalized are available in the archives at the main offices of smaller publications such as *The Kimberley Daily Bulletin*, or in provincial archives. The search in these areas was not always productive, so I looked at local

heritage museums and checked for records of past employers, such as The Consolidated Mining Co. Also, I looked in old or current arenas for possible leads.

I began in the south-east area of Saskatchewan where Ken spent the first two decades of his life. After Ken's birth in Balcarres, near the Peepeekisis Reservation, his family moved to Regina where Ken started his early education. In order to learn more about reasons for the family move, I visited the Peepeekisis Reservation near Balcarres. There is ample literature available about the Peepeekisis Reserve and the controversy surrounding the situation that forced the its original members to accept, into the community, new members from other First Nations reservations by means of the File Hills Farm Colony program. Ken Moore's father, James Moore, was among those participants and any information I retrieved from the community records was a benefit to my research.

The next location that I checked was Regina, where I started by searching the libraries at the University of Regina, the archives at Regina College, as well as at Champion College; all of which are situated on the same campus. Ken was a student at the two colleges and participated in sport programs in which he rose to acclaim. I looked for documentation to support this. While attending Regina College, Ken attracted broader attention as a premier hockey player and established more extensive, national recognition as a member of a Memorial Cup championship team. More information about his experience as a hockey player in Regina was available in the archives of local Regina newspapers such as *The Regina Leader-Post* as well as in the Saskatchewan's Sports Hall of Fame and Hockey Hall of Fame. I looked for any available evidence that confirmed those experiences.

Ken's success as a junior player resulted in a move to Winnipeg, where he was recruited by the senior men's hockey team, The Winnipegs. The team, while Ken was a member, won a national senior men's hockey championship, the Allen Cup, and also an Olympic Gold Medal while representing Canada in hockey at the 1932 Winter Olympic Games. This team was managed by Lou Marsh, the racist sports journalist. It will be important to determine if the racism that existed in his articles were also evident in his decisions as a coach or manager, and if or how this may have affected team members, especially those of different ethnic backgrounds.⁴⁵ The archives of the *Winnipeg Free Press* provided articles that elaborated on Lou Marsh's empathy, or lack of, for ethnic players under his direction during his time in Winnipeg. Additional information about Marsh was available through archived articles from *The Toronto Star*, where Lou Marsh was a renowned journalist for an extended period of time.⁴⁶

Winnipeg, which was the site of Ken Moore's first foray into senior men's hockey, was also the final destination for Ken after he returned from Kimberley, B.C., which was apparently, the last location in which he participated as an active hockey player. After returning to Winnipeg from Kimberley, he returned to the sport he loved in a coaching capacity. He was also successful in this position, but after only four years, records indicate that he stopped coaching.⁴⁷ There was additional information about Ken in the last decades of his life after his career as a player and as a coach came to an end. A search of local media archives such as the *Winnipeg Free Press*, the *Regina Leader-Post* and the *Calgary Herald* provided information that helped to explain his withdrawal from sport and gave some indication of his ventures after he departed from the game of hockey.

In Kimberley B.C., I checked the Kimberley Heritage museum, where original copies of the *Kimberley Daily Bulletin*, the local newspaper, are stored. The available copies date back to the period when Ken resided in Kimberley and played for the winning Allan Cup team, the Kimberley Dynamiters. He and his family departed from the town shortly after he withdrew from hockey as an active player at a mere twenty-seven years of age.⁴⁸ He was employed by the Consolidated Mine Corporation and I found documentation that provided some insight into Ken's sudden departure from active participation in the sport.

1.5 Justification

In addition to having an opportunity to assist with Kenneth "Strath" Moore's nomination for induction into Canada's Sports Hall of Fame, there are broader social and policy reasons for conducting this study. Among the recommendations included in the "94 Calls to Action," that were drafted as a result of the findings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), which concluded in 2015, were several that addressed the involvement of Indigenous people in sport; specifically, Call to Action #87, that calls upon the Government of Canada "to provide public education that tells the national story of Indigenous athletes in history."⁴⁹ This charge is momentous as it will encourage the effort to bring attention to many Canadian Indigenous athletes who have made notable achievements in the world of sport. It also provides support for the growing interest in the study of Indigenous history in Canada. This same enthusiasm is making strides in the uncovering of and subsequent acknowledgement of Indigenous participants from the past who have enriched a variety of sports, but who have received a pittance of

recognition, or less, and subsequently, have all but disappeared from memory. The challenge is to identify these athletes and others who remain vaguely referenced or simply unknown.

That particular component of the TRC document will foster the challenge of uncovering and recognizing many Indigenous people who have participated in and contributed to sport, but who are not remembered. Because of the limitations of communication methods and technology a century ago, reports involving sporting events, other than those appealing national interest, enjoyed little exposure beyond local publications. Because of this, deeper searches are necessary to uncover information that may not have been available to broader audiences.

Ken Moore's story is a national story and Ken, an Indigenous athlete, is a prime example of a man who had the talent, dedication and determination to rise to the upper echelons of sport in Canada. Although his most significant accomplishments were in the game of hockey, Ken left a trail of achievements in other sports as well. His ability as a well-rounded athlete became obvious at an early age and it is important to draw attention to the multiple sports in which he was a centerpiece before hockey became his priority.

Likewise, the research will advance the knowledge of the relationship between Indigenous people and sport. Sport has long been linked to the cultural identity of Indigenous people. We can better understand the significance of that connection by telling the stories of Indigenous athletes like Ken Moore. A comprehensive study of Ken's life and accomplishments will serve as positive evidence to support a nomination to have Ken Moore inducted into the Canadian Sport Hall of Fame.

1.6 Limitations

I interviewed only one person, Jennifer Rattray, who is the granddaughter of the subject, Ken Moore. To the best of my knowledge, there were no other immediate relatives or close friends available who had additional and meaningful information about Ken. Any information I received from Jennifer relied for the most part, on family stories and information about Ken that was stored in scrapbooks, newspaper clippings, and memorabilia concerning her grandfather. An additional restriction was my ability to access old newspapers and documents of a single family and person who was not (until that time) a notable figure in Canadian life. Also, because of the Privacy Act, certain government records, such as census records and enfranchisement records are difficult to access. Finally, there will not be a comprehensive search of all possible archives, such as employment records or sport organization records, because of time and money constraints.

1.7 Delimitations

Jennifer Rattray is the only person who I interviewed during this process. Jennifer was the only known member of Ken Moore's direct family who was accessible for a meeting. Additionally, the time and funds that would be necessary to expand my interview list, in addition to carrying out the archival research, were not available.

1.8 Chapter Outline

Chapter one will present a profile of Kenneth Strath Moore that includes a backdrop of his life at the time of his birth, through his developing years and into his

adulthood. It will bring to light some of the many challenges faced by his family in the era of Indigenous life on the Plains of Saskatchewan in the early stages of residential schools. The method that I utilize to collect the data will also be included in this chapter. Additionally, the purpose of the study will be explained as will the rationale used to justify the project and the ways in which it will contribute to the body of knowledge.

Additionally, the first chapter will provide a literature review that portrays the historical events that contributed to the living conditions experienced by Ken and his family in the early years of the twentieth century. The literature will help to put the data, which has been collected, into perspective and to explain the reasons for the shift from life on the Peepeekisis Reserve to a life in Regina, the new challenges that would develop, and the new opportunities that would be available for the young Ken Moore.

The second chapter will focus on Ken's early years, from the time of his birth to his arrival in Regina, his initial years in public school and through to 1930 when he completed his secondary education. These are the years in which Ken started to make strides in his athletic development as well as his academic understanding. As he continued through elementary school and into secondary school, the chapter will emphasize the natural abilities, capabilities and versatility that enabled him to adopt new athletic endeavors or adapt to new sports environments and personnel. This chapter will identify elements that contributed to the refining of and strengthening of his skills. Moreover, the chapter will also illustrate the rapid escalation in his hockey prowess as the sport progressively consumed more of his passion, time, and energy.

Chapter three will closely follow Ken's career in the sport of hockey beginning at the senior level in 1930. It will also shed light on his participation in other sports as well as his susceptibility and vulnerability to injuries resulting from those particular sports. It will present an argument that Ken had the potential to play in the NHL and provide logical offerings of why he didn't. It will also highlight some of the challenges which Ken faced during the years he played at the senior level of hockey.

In chapter four, I will address the issue of racism and hypocrisy in the media. The chapter will include an overview of the elements that spawned the birth of racism as the country, and specifically, the Western Region developed. Additionally, I will explain the connection that racism had with the media and the role that the media played in advancing the spread of racism throughout the public. Finally, I will focus on what effect racism had on Ken Moore's life, why it was difficult to recognize and how the media was able to camouflage it.

Chapter five will provide an analysis of my oral interview with Ken Moore's granddaughter, Jennifer Rattray. The interview allowed her to express any thoughts she has of her grandfather, his life, successes he amassed and the reasons she feels he is qualified to be nominated for inclusion in the Canadian Sports Hall of Fame. Following, I present a brief compilation of Ken Moore's accomplishments as an active athlete as well as highlights of the contributions he made to the community.

Next, I note the TRC's Calls to Action that focus on Indigenous athletes. I draw a comparison to Ken Moore's story and determine if the events and achievements in his life help to address the criteria which are outlined in Call to Action #87. Appropriately, at this

point, I also provide a short critique of the Canadian Sports Hall of Fame facility to assess whether, where, and how the story of Ken Moore could fit into the existing framework for the posthumous recognition/induction of an Indigenous athlete into the Hall.

Chapter six offers a contrast between the expectations of the TRC and the efforts and actions of the Canadian Sports Hall of Fame in regard to Call to Action #87. I also make some recommendations as well as some concluding thoughts.

Endnotes

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² Ibid.

³ Campion College, *Campion College Yearbook*, 1928, Special Collections, Dr. John Archer Library, University of Regina.

⁴ Regina College, *Regina College Register*, 1929, Special Collections, Dr. John Archer Library, University of Regina.

⁵ Coubrough, “Canada’s 1st Indigenous Olympic Gold Medalist.”

⁶ A note on terminology: throughout the entire document, I will be interchanging the term Indigenous with Indian and Aboriginal depending on the time period, as well as using more politically specific terminology (e.g. First Nations and the names of specific First Nations) where appropriate.

⁷ Drew Bednasek and Ana Godlewska, “The influence of betterment discourses on Canadian Aboriginal peoples in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries,” *The Canadian Geographer* 53, no.4 (2009): 445.

⁸ James Daschuk, *Clearing the Plains: Disease, Politics of Starvation, and the Loss of Aboriginal Life* (Regina: University of Regina Press, 2014), 99-100.

⁹ Bill Waiser, “Bill Waiser Has Been Thinking About Saskatchewan’s Racism Problem: Why Can’t We Get Along?” *CBC Books*, July 14, 2017.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Cheyanne Desnomie, “Voices of the File Hills Farm Colony,” (master’s thesis, University of Regina, 2018), 16-17.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Bednasek and Godlewska, “The Influence of Betterment Discourses,” 452.

¹⁶ Ibid., 451.

¹⁷ Janice Forsyth, “Bodies of Meaning: Sports and Games at Canadian Residential Schools,” in *Aboriginal Peoples and Sport in Canada: Historical Foundations and Contemporary Issues*, eds. Janice Forsyth and Audrey Giles (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), 17.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Don Morrow and Kevin Walmsley, *Sport in Canada: A History* (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2013), 17.

²⁰ Ibid., 72.

²¹ Ibid., 78.

²² Ibid., 154-177.

²³ Vicky Paraschak, “Native Sport History: Pitfalls and Promise” *Canadian Journal of History of Sport* 20, no.1 (1989): 60.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Morrow and Wamsley, *Sport in Canada*, 8.

²⁶ Robert J. Shinke, Duke Peltier and Hope Yungblut, “Canadian Elite Aboriginal Athletes, Their Challenges and the Adaptation Process,” in *Aboriginal Peoples and Sport in Canada: historical foundations and contemporary issues*, eds. Janice Forsyth and Audrey Giles (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), 125.

²⁷ Ellen J. Staurowsky, “Getting Beyond Imagery: The Challenges of Reading Narratives About American Indian Athletes,” *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 23, no.2 (2006): 193.

²⁸ Ibid., 198.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

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- ³² Ibid., 195.
- ³³ Ibid., 204.
- ³⁴ C. Richard King, *Redskins Insult and Brand* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2016), 32-33.
- ³⁵ Mark Rubinfeld, "The Mythical Jim Thorpe: Re/presenting the Twentieth Century American Indian," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 23, no.2 (2006): 174.
- ³⁶ Ibid.
- ³⁷ Bruce Kidd, "In Defence of Tom Longboat," *Sport in Society* 16, no.4 (2013): 526.
- ³⁸ Ibid., 518.
- ³⁹ Corey Coates, "Rapid Ray: the Story of Ray Lewis," *Canadian Ethnic Studies Journal* 35, no. 1 (2003): 217
- ⁴⁰ Bruce Deachman, "Herb Carnegie: The Best Black Hockey Player to Never Play in the NHL," *The Ottawa Citizen*, Apr. 10, 2019.
- ⁴¹ Dave Feschuk, "Willie O'Ree's in the Hockey Hall of Fame. Now it's Time to Give Herb Carnegie his Due," *The Toronto Star*, Nov. 9, 2018.
- ⁴² Bruce Deachman, "Herb Carnegie."
- ⁴³ Canadian Institutes of Health Research, Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada, and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans*, Dec. 2018.
- ⁴⁴ Steinar Kvale and Svend Brinkmann, *Interviews: Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing* (Los Angeles: Sage Publications, 2009), 130-140.
- ⁴⁵ Morrow and Walmsley, *Sport in Canada*, 156.
- ⁴⁶ Peter Unwin, "Who Do You Think I Am? A Story of Tom Longboat," *Canada's History*, Sept. 2015.
- ⁴⁷ Gordon Goldsborough and Anne Lindsay, "Memorable Manitobans: Kenneth Strath "Ken" Moore, (1910-1981)," *Manitoba Historical Society*. Dec. 25, 2018.
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Figure 2: Entrance to Peepeekesis Reserve, Saskatchewan. Source: J. McCormick, July 7, 2019.

Chapter 2

2.1 The Moore Family and Saskatchewan; Ken's Early Years

As the lure of migrating to the new world drew an increasing number of immigrants to Canada in the seventeenth century, the development of the settler community remained concentrated, for the most part, to the lands east of Winnipeg until mid-way through the nineteenth century.¹ The previous two hundred years had seen a huge swath of land in the north and west central regions of Canada, known as Rupert's Land, remain under the control of the Hudson's Bay Company, whose principal interest was in the rapidly developing fur trade. As the expanding trapping areas continued to perforate the western territories, a slow, but increasing presence of colonial trappers established footings in lands that had previously been inhabited exclusively by Indigenous populations. As the trapping region fanned further throughout the Plains, the number of trading posts, associated personnel, and travelers not associated with the industry, started to increase long before the Canadian Pacific Railway arrived. Included were tourists and British adventurers such as Milton and Cheadle, who, prior to visiting

Canada, had been advocates for the preservation of nature. However, after their expedition across the Canadian Plains, they quickly revealed the true nature of the colonial mindset that they shared.²

Milton and Cheadle, in their speculation, determined that the extermination of an entire people, although regrettable, was inevitable in order for their own civilization to progress and develop.³ The same attitude became foundational in forging government policies targeting Indigenous people. The mentality that Indians were a contradistinction to White society, that they could neither modernize nor adapt to colonial culture, became the general expectation of the Canadian public.⁴ The idea that the Indians would simply disappear remained until the government, concluding that the Indigenous population was not going to vanish, reassessed its strategy. Eventually, the state conceived a plan to convert the Indigenous population of the Prairies to an agricultural lifestyle and open the region to European settlers.⁵

The completion of the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway that connected East and West Canada in 1885 would also initiate a rapid increase in the number of settlers moving beyond Winnipeg and deep into the Prairie Provinces.⁶ As the fur trade had been developing and pushing into the plains region, it had attracted to the area an increasing number of people affiliated with the industry. Prior to the completion of the railway, the population, although small, was expanding and that resulted in further growth in the interactions between races, and ultimately, an increase in the number of inter-racial unions.⁷ Until the population in the region was bolstered more dramatically with the completion of the railway, the quantity of members in any given group, Indigenous, non-Indigenous, or inter-racial, remained relatively stable, with no single

group being dominant enough to wield power.⁸ Additionally, any racism that may have existed was limited. However, that would change in the final decades of the nineteenth century.

Over the course of the signing of the early treaties, there were many changes to the positions that directly affected the Indigenous people. In a chain of command that included local Indian agents, regional Indian commissioners and lieutenant-governors, there was a consistent lack of consensus about the implementation of government policies. For example, in 1873, the same year that J.A.N. Provencher had been appointed as Indian Commissioner, the government established a Board of Indian Commissioners for Manitoba and the North-West Territories. It consisted of Provencher, Lieutenant-Governor Alexander Morris, and the chief officer of the Lands Granting Department in Winnipeg.⁹ The board, whose mandate was to determine general policy regarding the Indians in the West, was under instructions from Ottawa. Because Morris and Provencher took opposing positions on policy issues, the Board of Indian Commissioners never functioned as intended by its creators.¹⁰

Distribution of food was a constant problem that was amplified with the sudden decline of the buffalo herds and a widespread shortage of pemmican, a hearty, concentrated food made from dried beef.¹¹ The government felt, by controlling the food supply, people would be more apt to accept the reservation system, remain on the allotted lands, and become reliant on government food sources. As hunger gripped the Indigenous people in the prairies, discontent with government policies led to gatherings, such as occurred in May 1878, in Battleford, Saskatchewan. Several thousand Indigenous supporters camped around Government House to seek government assistance. The

incident caused alarm in the small settler population.¹² Reports by officials and media denied the shortage of food, and instead, placed the blame on the Indigenous people. Laird, the superintendent at the time, submitted a report to Ottawa claiming that Saulteaux Chief Pasquah, who had appealed for help, was “untruthful” and a “great beggar.”¹³ Officials and Settlers developed a fear and mistrust of Indigenous people. On the other hand, the grim conditions that existed in 1878 resulted in many Indigenous people returning to their traditional methods of surviving because they had no reason to trust the government, who had reneged on treaty promises.¹⁴ The treaties, after all, included a commitment by the government to provide the necessities that would assist the adjustment to a new way of life for Indigenous people.

Instead, the failure to honor treaty terms increased the mistrust in both groups and resulted in a greater division between the colonial population and Indigenous communities. Papers such as the *Globe* and the *Gazette* exacerbated the situation with derogatory narratives that depicted the people as unpredictable and dangerous.¹⁵ They continued to use the colonial term “Indian Problem” and consistently stereotyped Indigenous people in defamatory terms that resonated with racism.¹⁶ That the media played a principal role in creating and maintaining a setting for the rise of racism has been noted. Anderson and Robertson, in the introduction to their book, claim that “Colonialism has always thrived in Canada’s Press.”¹⁷

Two developments in the final years of the 1800’s would cause a shift in the prevalence of racism in the province that would continue to grow throughout the decades of the twentieth century. The first was a surge in the number of settlers coming to the region. The second was the effect that Treaty 4, the Qu’Appelle Treaty, had on the entire

population. This agreement would see the devastation of a culture, the reshaping of the ways of life for Indigenous plains-people, as well as their confinement to small reservations where they would be segregated from the non-Indigenous population. Consequently, and directly, or indirectly as a result of government policies, racism, as the twentieth century began, would moor itself in the region and begin to spread through the communities across the Prairies.¹⁸

The years preceding the Qu'Appelle Treaty had seen a rapid, steady decline in the bison herds. The animals, once in abundance across the plains, had been the main source of livelihood for Indigenous people living in the region. Government policies that had been created to eliminate or assimilate the Indians commonly led to sickness and death that resulted from strategies such as the dispensing of rotting, toxic food.¹⁹ Illness and starvation caused by the inhumane distribution methods utilized by ruthless government agents were responsible for a countless loss of life. The Indigenous people who had occupied these lands for millennia were being displaced from their homes and having their hunting grounds infiltrated and purged of natural resources by the expanding settler population. Additionally, they continued to lose their loved ones to the repressive policies of a hostile government before ultimately accepting a coerced, misleading agreement that was drafted by the Government of Canada-Treaty 4.²⁰

The Treaty had a dramatic effect on the lives of the Indigenous People and forced changes to their cultures, traditions, languages and spiritual beliefs. Written in terminology designed to appease the colonial agenda, the document promised to provide protected lands to Indigenous communities. This provision actually referred to the creation of a system of land reservations. From previously existing lifestyles that had

enjoyed unrestricted freedom to travel and hunt across vast stretches of prairie land with no more boundaries than a mutual, amicable understanding amongst nations, the people were now confined to living on designated, minuscule sections of land under the control of government agencies.²¹ Outside the reserves, the vast, virtually untapped wealth of natural resources that included hunting grounds and fishing waters would be exposed to greedy, unregulated exploitation by non-Indigenous newcomers.

Another provision in Treaty 4 was the assurance that schools would be built to accommodate the education of the children in the reservation communities. As it was written, this inclusion in the treaty appeared to be positive until it became evident that the schools which were promised were actually restrictive institutions that were components of the residential school system. It was a system that was intended by design not to promote the education of Indigenous people, but rather to be a key asset in a broad, devious scheme to assimilate them into the non-Indigenous culture.²² This offers a portrait of Saskatchewan in 1906 and how it was guided by the government agenda. In that year, the same residential school system that was created by the government would also be responsible for the relocation of Ken Moore's family to the province where they would become members of the Peepeekisis reservation (figure 2).

James Linklater Moore, Ken's father, was born in Oxford House, a Cree community located two hundred kilometers north-east of Norway House, which is on the northern shores of Lake Winnipeg. While he was in this remote region of Northern Manitoba, James would have had no idea at the time that in the future, he would become, not only a member of the Peepeekisis community, but also a permanent resident of the province of Saskatchewan. The residential school system that had been implemented in

the last half of the nineteenth century became the destination for James when he was separated from his family and enrolled in Brandon Industrial School (later named Brandon Residential School).²³

During his stay at the school, had James had any plan or aspiration of liberation from the system, he certainly had the acumen to realize that openly expressing any resistance or challenge to the rule of those in power would not be conducive to a successful departure; rather, he had the foresight to cooperate, study, and absorb the knowledge that the colonial system was providing and extract any beneficial information that became available in the time he remained at the school. He became proficient in the English language and, at the same time, maintained fluency in his own native tongue. Additionally, he excelled in coursework that included technical knowledge as well as academic content. A proven and successful student, James became a prime candidate for and was ultimately transferred to the File Hills Farm Colony in Saskatchewan, a program designed to escalate to a more advanced level, an attempt to smoothly bridge the transition of successful candidates into the non-Indigenous culture and bolster the objective of assimilation.²⁴

The preparatory stages of the farm colony program were undertaken in certain residential schools, including Brandon, where students were assessed not only for their academic skills, but also for the whiteness of their skin. The whitest and brightest males and females were frequently matched, married and encouraged to start families by the time they were moved to the next phase of assimilation, The File Hills Farm Colony program.²⁵ The Farm Colony, created by William Graham Morris, was designed as an assimilation tool as well as a means to divide and weaken the members of the

community. The Farm Colony, however, and its goal of assimilation, showed initial signs of failure as early as 1907, when it remained the sole experimental project of its type. By 1911, and in response to negative reports about the lack of success of the graduates, Duncan Campbell Scott, in a contradictory statement, responded that it was never the policy, the end, nor the aim of the project to transform Indians into white men.²⁶

The Peepeekisis Reservation, one of four sharing the File Hills section of land assigned in accordance with Treaty 4, encompassed an area of twenty-six thousand acres. William Morris initially annexed more than eight thousand acres of the Peepeekisis reservation to accommodate his experimental pursuit with the Farm Colony.²⁷ This created animosity between the original Peepeekisis members and the incoming colonists. This friction lingers today as the two communities actually live apart on the same reservation.²⁸ At the same time, it provided a virtual ‘divide and conquer’ scenario for the government and a fiendish indicator of success for the assimilation project.

James Moore and his wife, Edith Catherine Gibson, were matched for marriage while they were at Brandon Residential School. Just before they left for Saskatchewan, as part of the Farm Colony program in 1906, their first child, Oliver, was born.²⁹ James and Edith became part of the program that focused on agricultural skills for the men and domestic skills for the women. Participants were given a plot of land on which to live, work and raise their families. They were provided assistance that included farm machinery, seeds with which to plant crops, and loans to help build their homes.³⁰ James worked the land and additionally, because of his language skills, he earned extra income by working as a translator at the nearby File Hills Residential School.³¹

In 1908, James and Edith welcomed their second child, Chester. Two years later, Kenneth Strath Moore was born in Balcarres, Saskatchewan, a small community close to the Peepeekisis Reserve.³² As the three children grew, James, while working his farm, continued to participate in community activities that included organized sports, community events and even some artistic endeavors. However, James also had to face the reality that his sister and brother had been, as he had been, attendees at the Brandon Industrial School. His brother David, and sister, Lydia, had both perished before James' departure from the school to begin the File Hills program. His sister had survived only to the age of fourteen years when she succumbed to illness and David had reached a mere seven years of age when he died at the school.³³

It was common for Indigenous children to be enrolled in residential schools at the beginning of their academic years and to have them admitted to the same schools that their parents had attended; a thought that would continue to haunt James as his children grew closer to the enrollment age.³⁴ James was fully aware of the horrors that existed in the residential school system and realized that his children would almost certainly be assigned to Brandon when they reached an eligible age. Vacating the Peepeekisis reservation, however, would be his only hope of saving the remaining children from the dreaded institution. Yet, liberating the family from the grips of the unscrupulous William Graham Morris, the Indian agent for Peepeekisis, was by no means expected to be a light challenge. Nevertheless, James was determined to leave. Unfortunately, it would not be soon enough to avoid tragedy.

After Ken's birth, Oliver, the oldest son was taken from his family and enrolled in Brandon. Shortly after Oliver's departure, Chester was also removed and sent to

Brandon.³⁵ At a point, Oliver was transferred to a sanatorium, never to be released. He died in 1922.³⁶

James and Edith welcomed their fourth son, Percival (Percy) Moore, in 1911 and their first daughter, Alvinorah, in 1914. After losing his two oldest sons to Brandon, James had only three of his five children at home. He and Edith faced an extremely trying year in 1916 when they welcomed their fifth son, Victor, but experienced the loss of eight-year-old Chester. Moving the family from Peepeekisis, away from the reservation to avoid anyone scouting for residential school enrollees, was a matter of urgency. Although any move from the reservation would not be without numerous obstacles and challenges, remaining was no longer an option for James and Edith. Permission was needed from Indian agent Morris. Getting consent from this man would be difficult at best, if not outright impossible. In addition, it was commonly understood that any member of the community venturing off the reservation for any purpose had to have a signed note of permission. A note of permission was considered a legal document that had to be presented on demand at the request of any non-Indigenous outsider.³⁷

According to the family story, Ken and Edith, in the veil of night, packed whatever belongings they could in a wagon and, along with their young children, fled to Regina.³⁸ There is no doubt that a certain amount of secrecy surrounded their departure from the reserve in order to protect them from the negative forces of agent Morris. However, although speculative, it is only logical that James had to have prepared and organized a plan that involved some cooperation with connections within the Indian agency. Without some help and planning, it is difficult to imagine how James, who would need income and a residence as well as furnishings in order to survive, could have

managed when the family reached Regina. James found a home and soon after his arrival, found employment and began working for the department of Indian Affairs where he remained for several years. Later, the large retailer, the T. Eaton Co, hired him to work in various capacities. He remained employed there until he retired in 1958.³⁹

After James and Edith were settled in Regina, Ken and his siblings were enrolled in the public-school system. To the best of her recollection, Jennifer believes that during his early academic years, Ken started to participate in a variety of sports. James and Edith quickly realized that Ken had a savvy for scholastic endeavors as well as the dexterity of a natural athlete. Although the responsibilities of raising several children tested the limits of their meager means, James and Edith supported their son in whatever way they could while he developed and honed his academic and athletic skills.



Figure 3: Watercolor; Photo: J. McCormick. Source: Jennifer Rattray; Personal archive collection

In addition to his adeptness in physical activities, young Ken also displayed an exceptional flair for artistic endeavors that included drawing and painting. Evidence of an early notable achievement is a watercolor scene that Jennifer has in her possession and that Ken created as a ten-year-old in fourth grade at Benson Elementary School in 1921. The painting (figure 3), clearly advanced for a person so young, garnered a top exhibition award and a mention in the *Regina Leader-Post*.⁴⁰

By the time Ken was thirteen, in 1923, he was in the seventh grade at Connaught School in Regina where his artistic gifts were demonstrated in the sectional drawings he produced in his drafting classes.⁴¹ Jennifer's understanding is that besides his knack for the arts and his athletic skills, his academic capacity was also noteworthy. By maintaining a commendable record throughout elementary school in preparation for the secondary level, Ken would create the possibility of an option that was rare, and unique, not only for his family, but also for Indigenous people in general; an opportunity to attend university.

In 1924, in the eighth grade at Connaught School, Ken continued to expand and develop his artistic and academic abilities. At the same time, he advanced his physical skills and knowledge of sport by accelerating his participation in a greater number of sporting activities within the school that were accessible in his academic program. Outside of school, Ken involved himself in a broader assortment of sport activities, thus allowing him to compete more liberally at advanced levels of competition, and further develop the athletic skills he had cultured to that point.⁴² Through a local athletic club, he had become acquainted with Father Athol Murray, a priest from the East, who had a very open ideology that married education to physical training. Soon after he arrived in Regina

in 1922, Father Murray quickly established an athletic club for boys that was open to and included not only members of the Catholic Church, but also members of other faiths.⁴³ Father Murray was devoted to incorporating physical education into the lives of young people by means of a camaraderie which was created while the boys competed in various sports as team members. Jennifer believes that as a member of Father Murray's teams, Ken had access to good coaching, principals compatible with promoting educational values, broad opportunities across a spectrum of activities, and affordable financial requirements that were within his parents' means. Meanwhile, in a sponsored city track and field meet (figure 4), Ken placed as a top three winner in six different categories and gave Father Murray good reason to be optimistic.⁴⁴

Ken completed his elementary education at Connaught School in June 1925 and was promoted to grade nine.⁴⁵ A few weeks later, during the summer break, he would find himself leaving Regina on a trip east with a group of other boys of the same age. Father Murray, in addition to other physical activities which he organized and managed, also coached a baseball team that travelled across Canada in the summer that year to compete in a number of games with teams in different cities.⁴⁶ Ken, also a baseball player, and because of his

Class II	
75-yard dash—1.	Anton Vogt (9.2-5 seconds); 2. Lawrence Muirhead; 3. Ken Moore.
75-yard three-legged race—1.	Ken Moore and Anton Vogt; 2. Max Bell and Richard Ramsden.
High jump — 1.	Lawrence Muirhead; 2. Ken Moore; 3. Harold Kirby.
Broad jump—1.	Lawrence Muirhead (13 feet 7½ inches); 2. Ken Moore; 3. Harold Kirby.
Hop, step and jump—1.	Lawrence Muirhead (27 feet 1 inch); 2. Ken Moore; 3. Max Bell.
Shot put (6 lbs)—1.	Anton Vogt (30 feet 7 inches); 2. Ken Moore; 3. Lawrence Muirhead.
Baseball throw—1.	Anton Vogt (167 feet); 2. Ken Moore; 3. Max Bell.
Class III	
55-yard dash—1.	Russ Talbot

Figure 4: YMCA Track Meet; Source: Regina Leader-Post, June 1, 1925.

skills, was included as a member of the all-star team. Known as ‘The Argos,’ the team of juniors was so named after Father Murray’s athletic club in Regina.

Although his Jubilee tour with the Argos did gain attention for him beyond his home province, it also exposed him to an element growing in Saskatchewan at the time, that until then, had been kept mostly at bay; racism (figure 5). Although it is uncertain whether Ken, at that point, had experienced any racial harassment, the media coverage of his first long trip east to play baseball left no doubt about his Indigenous heritage and how his race was perceived on a broader stage; he was fifteen years old.⁴⁷

The next destination for Ken Moore would be the Regina Central Collegiate



Figure 5: Media Racism in 1925; Source: Jennifer Rattray. August 2019

Institute where he started the high school phase of his formal education. He would also become acquainted with a more intensified physical fitness and sports program created to promote good health and competitiveness among secondary school students. Ken took full advantage, but he did not abandon his participation in extracurricular athletic programs such as the one that was associated with and sponsored by Father Murray. By the time Ken was in grade ten, he was already anchored in the line-ups of several teams at the school, including track and field, rugby-football, and hockey (figure 7).

Class-time was a portion of his day that was not subject to alteration or reduction. However, the time outside of the classroom was balanced between school sports and Father Murray's athletic club. As a result, the determination that young Moore displayed in whetting his athletic skills would begin to yield more lucrative returns as he came to the end of his second year at Central Collegiate. The school acknowledged Ken's athletic

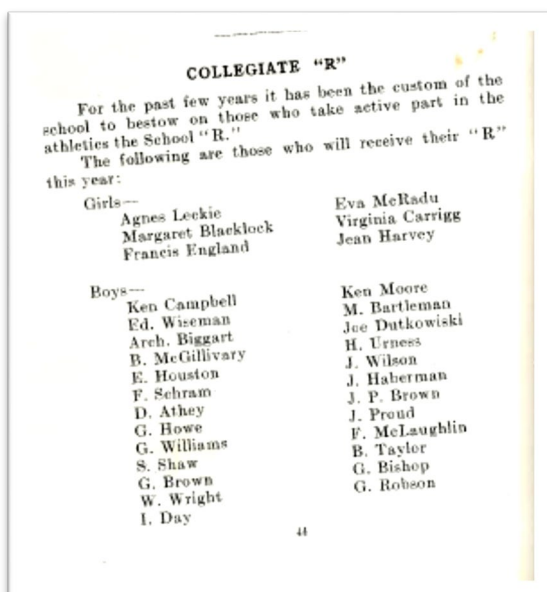


Figure 6: Central Collegiate athletic letter; Source: Regina Central Collegiate Yearbook, 1926-27

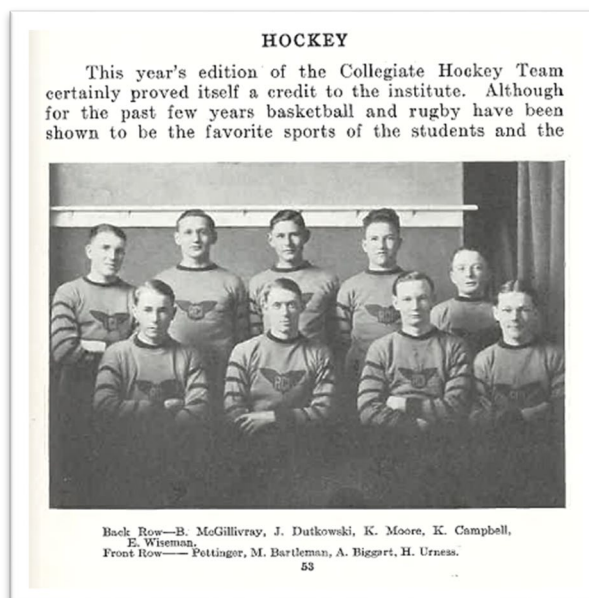


Figure 7: Central Hockey Team, 1926-27; Source: Regina Central Collegiate Yearbook

achievements by awarding him with the coveted school letter (Figure 6).⁴⁸

Another positive result of his dedication to sport was an opportunity to change schools to start the eleventh grade in the fall of 1927. Although Ken and his family were Protestant and affiliated with the Presbyterian Church, the adeptness that the young athlete demonstrated during his sports experience at Central Collegiate, as well as with Father Murray's athletic club, came to the attention of the administrative personnel at Champion College, which was governed by the Jesuits.⁴⁹ This was not so much because of coincidence, but rather, because Ken, whose athletic savvy was apparent when he played for Central Collegiate in matches against Champion College,⁵⁰ had also continued his association with Father Murray who was a liberal and progressive Roman Catholic priest.⁵¹

Father Murray had the wherewithal to recognize special athletic talents and continued to nurture the skills of every boy under his umbrella, regardless of their religious affiliations. Although Champion College was a school sponsored by the Catholic Church, it promoted an ambitious athletic program and interactions were common between the priest and the school. Father Murray was committed to working in the best interest of the boys under his guidance. If a program provided a sound opportunity that benefitted a young man, and at same time contributed to the goals of the institution, Athol Murray was supportive regardless of religious influences.⁵² This provides a logical, albeit speculative reason to explain why and how a boy who was a regular attendee at the Knox Presbyterian Church would have switched from a public high school to a Catholic high school.

In addition to sports scholarships that were available for universities and junior colleges in that era, an additional advantage for a student attending Champion was an

affiliation that existed between the college and the University of Saskatchewan. A program was implemented by the university in collaboration with Campion College that was available for students entering 'third high' at the school. This plan provided an agenda that, if followed, would construct a path to successful entry into post-secondary studies. The courses and subsequent workload, however, were more intense with mandatory requirements that included two language courses and advanced trigonometry.

The educational opportunity, in addition to a sports-friendly environment, meant that Ken would now have two options available for consideration regarding his future. Campion, with a solid academic program as well as a school noted for its competitive approach to athletics, was the path that Ken chose to follow. His granddaughter, Jennifer, confirms that evidence in her possession substantiates his enrollment in the school in 1927. He was registered in 'third high,' the equivalent of the current grade eleven, as the beneficiary of a sport scholarship. Documents to corroborate Ken's sports scholarship are still missing; but, according to the Manitoba Historical Society, sport scholarships did exist at Campion at that time.⁵³ Moreover, Ken, although qualified, was Protestant and from a family of limited means. He could certainly not have attended the school without special permission. Records from Campion confirm that Ken was enrolled in the school in 1927 for at least one academic year where he was also deeply involved in the sports program.⁵⁴ Although Ken's tenure at Campion College would be short lived, the time that he remained at the school provided the opportunities and exposure that would catapult the young man and his athletic abilities into a much broader span of recognition.

When Ken began his 'third high' classes at Campion College, he was already in demand to participate in many of the major sports that were included in the school's

physical education program. The first group to welcome his talents in the fall of 1927 was the high school rugby-football team. Ken spared no time in establishing himself as an outstanding player. He became more popular as headline references and articles in local newspapers and school magazines attested to his increasing number of accomplishments.

In that era, as rugby-football seasons drew to a close in the last weeks of a calendar year, preparation for the initiation of the hockey season would already have been underway. The demand of allotting training time to sports activities that were concurrent required Ken to divide his available extracurricular hours between practices and game commitments for two and sometimes three different sports. Undeterred, the energetic Ken made whatever adjustments were necessary and rose to the task during his first year in Campion College. He had the skill and energy to accommodate his taxing sport schedule and at the same time his intellect helped him accomplish the stipulations of his academic agenda. Regardless of his human abilities, the one thing over which Ken had no control, that placed a restriction on his activities, was the number of hours in a day. Nevertheless, he continued to let nature take its course while his enthusiasm and his accomplishments were on the rise as he pursued his passion for physical competition.

Ken had a special zeal for hockey, and although he was a key asset for the club, the Campion junior 'B' level hockey team benefitted little from Ken's talents. After playing merely one game with the team in December of 1927, Ken's services were summoned and he was drafted to the junior 'A' hockey ranks in January 1928, making him ineligible to remain as a member of the Campion hockey squad.⁵⁵

Ken finished the 1927-28 educational agenda at Campion College and transferred to Regina College, where he started the academic year in September 1928. In the short time until the year's end, Ken escalated his participation in athletic endeavors which resulted in a refining of his skills and talents. Additionally, Ken was soon faced with decisions that would have considerable influence on his post-educational life. He carried from Campion an academic load of coursework that was designed to lead to undergraduate studies at the University of Saskatchewan.⁵⁶ The growing demand on his time to accommodate athletic involvement, along with the weekly regimen of study hours needed to maintain an acceptable grade average, were in virtual competition.

Assigned as the first-string quarterback for the school rugby team, Ken was required to attend practices and games throughout the fall schedule.⁵⁷ The activity eventually overlapped with training and practice sessions for the Regina College hockey team. Moreover, Ken joined the roster of Father Murray's Regina Argos junior 'A' hockey team that played independently of the school. The team, in the Western Hockey League, followed a schedule established by the league. His now supersaturated agenda of time obligations left Ken with no choice but to drop the required French and trigonometry courses that were needed to maintain participation in the university program.⁵⁸ The course adjustment would ease the workload and still allow Ken to remain on course for a high school senior matriculation.

January of 1929 found Ken on the roster of two hockey teams in addition to being a member of the Regina College basketball team. He managed to continue his involvement through to the end of the season. In February of the same year, in the midst of the hockey and basketball schedules, Ken was selected by the school to be a

representative in the College's initial involvement in winter sport competitions. Specifically, he was entered in two of the individual events in the speed-skating contests. The games were open to all academic institutions across the city. Ken competed in a single event in each of two tournaments and won both of his races; he was the only winner on the Regina speed-skating squad that year.⁵⁹ At the end of the 1928/29 academic year at Regina College, many of the pages in the school yearbook displayed photos that included Ken as a member of various sports teams representing the school. Moreover, the author of one article that focused on the young jockey included a comment that identified Ken as the "most versatile athlete in the College."⁶⁰ By the end of the spring of 1929, Ken, now nineteen years of age, had been living in Regina since 1917. During those years, the time he dedicated to accumulating a lengthy list of noteworthy accomplishments had constantly monopolized his time. At last, he had the opportunity to



Figure 8: Ken at File Hills in 1929; Source: Jennifer Rattray

take advantage of some of his summer vacation time before returning to begin his final year of high school in September. After the hockey season ended, Father Murray relocated to Wilcox, thirty miles south of Regina, to begin a new challenge and a new school. Ken did not play for any prominent baseball teams that summer. Rather, he chose to return to his roots and visit the Peepeekisis Reservation during its Treaty Days celebrations (Figure 8). As a member of the community, he had an opportunity to partake in the festivities and also experience elements of the traditional practices and customs of the Cree Nation. Additionally, he could meet members of the reservation who had been close to James and Edith while they still lived on there. James, after all, had been popular and involved in multiple community events while he and his family lived there.

The beginning of school in September 1929 saw the start of a significant year in the life of Kenneth Moore. At the same time, he was entering his final year of secondary education, and the province was experiencing a changing economic landscape. After some rebuilding years that began at the end of the First World War, Saskatchewan was witnessing a gradual rise in unemployment, bankruptcies, and failing businesses. By 1929, the country was experiencing a rapidly declining number of jobs as well as other stern indicators of the Great Depression years that would shroud the entire country in the soon-to-arrive new decade.⁶¹

Ken was on schedule to finish high Regina College at the end of the academic year in late spring of 1930, a time when the uncertainty of the availability of jobs for new graduates was a bleak reality. However, he stayed on course to complete his senior matriculation and for certain, held firmly onto the athletic endeavors he so dearly loved. When he returned to Regina College in the fall of 1929 to begin the final year, he was

immediately re-established as a key member of the rugby-football team. Returning to his position as quarterback, Ken was assigned the respected role, along with added responsibilities as team captain.⁶²

As the squad played through its fall schedule, another major change had a weighty impact on Ken's life; the Regina Argos junior 'A' hockey club that had continued to function under the direction of Father Murray, and of which Ken was a member, would cease to operate and subsequently disband. A few of the dominant players from the defunct team, including Ken Moore, were drafted by the Regina Pats for the hockey season of 1929-30. This would be Ken's last year of eligibility for junior 'A' hockey since he would be twenty years old in February and finish the season as an overage junior.⁶³

During the winter months, Ken, in addition to his involvement with the Pats, also re-joined the Regina College school hockey team as well as the school basketball team. The Pats, the Regina College hockey team, and the school basketball team all participated in a full gamut of league games as well as tournaments and exhibition matches. In his final year of high school, a busy Ken Moore took full advantage of any available time.

As the winter months came to an end and school sports activities finished in the spring of 1930, the Regina Pats would enjoy an extended season because of the success the team continued to achieve during the playoffs. His move to the Pats had been good for the team and great for him. He was a good fit with his new teammates and the synergy within the group materialized to guide the team to a national championship and

the Memorial Cup. In the final game of that playoff series in the spring of 1930, Ken Moore scored the winning goal to lead the Regina Pats to victory.⁶⁴

A national hockey championship was a crowning achievement for the young man who had been welcomed into the world just twenty years earlier as a member of the Peepeekisis reservation. However, victory, as a member of the Regina Pats, and the completion of secondary school would mean not only the start of the adult phase of Ken Moore's life, but also, the sudden creation of a vast void that would have to be filled; his craving for physical activity as well as a means to support himself.

Since returning to school was no longer an option, Ken needed to find employment. Sadly, the end of October in the previous year had marked the beginning of the Great Depression and the unemployment rate across the country rocketed to thirty percent.⁶⁵ Regina, because its major employment sectors, agriculture and construction, were hit especially hard, felt the impact much worse than the rest of the country.⁶⁶ The reality was that the opportunity for any job that did exist would become rarer as each day passed.

Faced with the reality of living in an adult world outside the snugness of academic institutions,

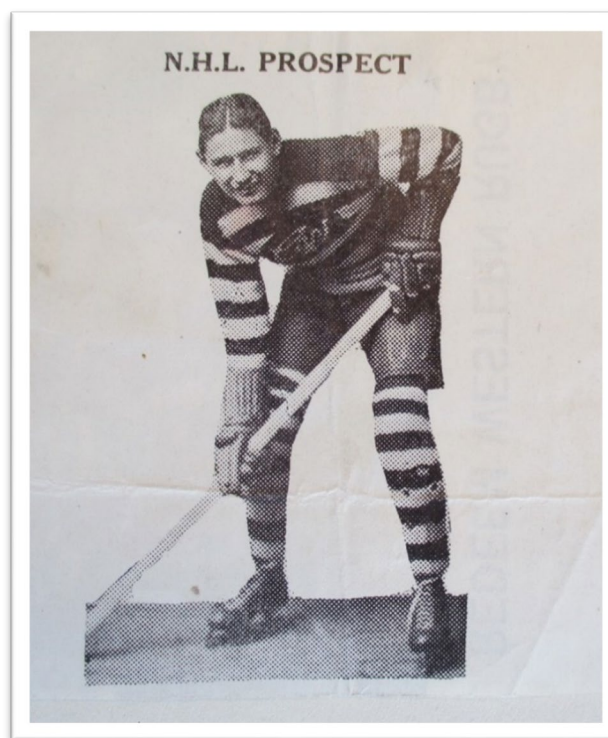


Figure 9: Scouted as a member of the Regina Pats; Source: Jennifer Rattray

Ken had to make firm decisions. He had no experience and no special qualifications to offer on a resume regardless of the value they may have had in a city where there were essentially no jobs to solicit. The abundant skills and experience that he was in possession of were all sport -related; more specifically, hockey-related. However, how does a twenty-year old athlete, fresh out of school, at the onset of the Great Depression, earn a living, armed only with a load of physical talent? Playing professional sports and more precisely, playing in the NHL, was an option that might have been considered if the organization was indeed interested, which it was; but not necessarily ready to pursue. Al Ritchie, coach of the Regina Pats when they won the Memorial Cup, was aware of Ken's talent on the ice. Ritchie, who was a long-time scout for the New York Rangers had the connections to bring Ken to the attention of the NHL (Figure 9).⁶⁷

There appeared to be two options available for Ken Moore that would enable him to earn an income. One possibility involved searching for workforce employment that did not necessarily exist and the other involved waiting to be beckoned by a professional NHL team in need of his talents; something that also might never have come to fruition. Despite the uncertainty posed by the choices at hand, there was for Ken, an additional course of action that was in play and which he could ponder.

The NHL, the prestigious Holy Grail of hockey players, was alluring to promising candidates and would provide the prospect of playing the sport at the highest level. Nevertheless, in 1930, the National Hockey League had a limited capacity consisting of only ten teams. The significance was simple; the number of players required for the rosters in the entire league was not much more than two hundred. Put frankly, there was too much cream for the pot and more crème de la crème players were available than were

needed to accommodate ten teams. The NHL teams aggressively recruited players and found themselves in a great bargaining position. However, although some of the elite players and journeymen were commanding substantial salaries, most of the foot soldiers in the league, especially freshman, were earning less than the league average of approximately a thousand dollars per season.⁶⁸

To the detriment of the league, the depression was already taking its toll as ticket sales reflected the disparity created by the diminishing unemployment. Several teams were declining financially and the compensation packages offered to players were certainly not improving. The uncertainty of the survivability of some teams, as well as the entire league, and the established salaries available for potential newcomers, was not enticing. Rather, players had to give serious consideration to any viable options. Besides the compensation, there was one additional concern that would have had an effect on Ken Moore had he been recruited; other than a brief appearance by Henry Maracle, there were no known Indigenous players in the NHL in 1930.

Prior to the start-up of the NHL in 1917, a few Canadian hockey teams vying for the Stanley Cup around the beginning of the twentieth century had occasionally included a few, but less than a handful of Indigenous players.⁶⁹ However, after 1917 until 1930, while the only two Indigenous players to be mentioned are Paul Jacobs and Taffy Abel, their actual status as members of an NHL team remains unclear.⁷⁰ A Mohawk man from Ayr, Ontario, Henry Maracle, is gaining support for recognition as the first Indigenous player in the NHL. Henry starred in the minor leagues but lasted only fifteen games with the New York Rangers during the team's hockey season in 1930-31. Albeit short, his tenure in the NHL provided a clear foreboding of expectations for Indigenous players

from that point forward. As fodder for sensationalist sport journalists, Henry received less attention for his contributions on the ice than he did for the monikers cast upon him by unscrupulous media. “Springfield Injun,” “Redskin Icer,” and “Chief” were among the nicknames used to identify Henry Maracle by headline writers.⁷¹

Whether Ken Moore was aware of the absence of and insolence toward Indigenous players in the NHL is not known. He had personally experienced similar signs of racism while he played baseball with Father Murray’s Argos during the team trip east to Ontario in 1925. However, based on a limited review of newspaper reports from and around Regina, where sports teams frequently competed, obvious signs of racism, at least for Ken Moore, seem to have been an exception rather than a rule. Had Ken been aware of, concerned about, or offended in any way by racial discrimination, according to his granddaughter, he never mentioned it. Jennifer recalls that Ken never complained, but rather, was thankful for opportunities he had been given. Nevertheless, at the beginning of the summer of 1930, the first two options available for Ken Moore were tentative at best.

Yet, there remained one other possibility for players who loved the game, wanted to play at a highly competitive level, and needed an income; senior hockey. Senior hockey players of course, are amateur and are not compensated. In spite of that, because of the popularity of senior teams, locals in the hometown communities were very supportive. Senior hockey for the locals was more interesting than the NHL, and more affordable. Additionally, senior hockey played to full houses. This popularity resonated with corporations that recognized the value of having an association with beloved teams, and company executives were often anxious to offer some means of financial aid. One

common and popular method for local industries to express their support was to make jobs available for team players, especially those players recruited from distant areas.⁷² This approach provided an opportunity for players to earn a living, support themselves or their families, and enjoy participating at the highest level of the game outside the NHL.

Therefore, the option was frequently pursued by a number of recipients of NHL offers. After all, many jobs in the private sector included salaries similar to and often greater than those of rookie NHL players.⁷³ In addition, there were more benefits, security and less physical risk in private jobs as opposed to occupations in professional body-contact sports. A serious hockey injury could be career-threatening, whereas an injury in a private sector job typically involved no more than some healing time off work.

This option appealed to Ken Moore and he was recruited by the ‘Winnipegs,’ the senior hockey team from Manitoba. In the summer of 1930, Ken packed his gear and travelled east to begin the adult phase of his life in Winnipeg, as an independent, self-supporting, young athlete.

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Chapter 3: The Perks and Perils of Contact Sport

3.1 The Move from Junior to Senior Challenges

In the fall of 1930, Manitoba's senior hockey team, the Winnipegs, was still encumbered with the memory of being eliminated from Allan Cup contention a few months earlier. The team had won convincingly throughout the season and continued on a victorious path into the playoffs before being abruptly eliminated. The flaw in the seemingly intact unit was the lack of scoring power; the absence of at least one sharpshooter with the ability to penetrate a formidable defense. The team had failed to score and lost the elimination series in two straight games.¹ An experienced goal scorer, a sniper with a proven record, agility, and a pair of young, fresh, speedy legs was the ingredient that had to be added to take the team over the final hurdle to claim the Allan Cup in the upcoming season; Ken Moore was tailor made for the job.

Ken's move to Winnipeg in the summer of 1930 was positive, not only for the hockey team, the city and its sports enthusiasts, but also for Ken. Winnipeg was the hub of the grain industry, which had gradually, since the latter part of the nineteenth century, supplanted the fur industry to become the leading economic force in the province. Grain mills, grain elevators, manufacturers and related industries in the region had prospered and by 1930, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta had control of fifty percent of the national market, so the industry, as a whole, remained strong.² Additionally, local governments, from the early years of the twentieth century, had been encouraging private industries by means of tax incentives, to provide financial support for the development of sport and sport facilities.³ This included employment opportunities for members of prominent community sports teams such as the Winnipegs, especially those players who

had been imported from out-of-province cities or towns. Ken was able to take advantage of the situation and secured work in the grain industry in his primary years in Winnipeg.⁴ With a source of income established and a role to play on a competitive team in the upcoming hockey season, Ken had resolved two major challenges that he had faced just weeks previously when his college studies and his eligibility to play with the Regina Pats had both come to an end.

In Winnipeg, Ken also found a city that was enraptured with sport; hockey in particular. From a seedling in the late nineteenth century, the sport had mushroomed into a multiplicity of leagues and divisions, from budding juniors to seasoned journeymen, and from male participants and on-lookers to female players and spectators.⁵ Moreover, the city was not a stranger to ethnicity. Ken was Indigenous, but not the first Indigenous player with exceptional skills and star status to play in Winnipeg. A Franco-Manitoban Métis, Tony Gingras, had already anchored his name in the hockey record books. In 1901 and 1902, as a member of the Winnipeg Victorias, Tony Gringas played on two Stanley Cup winning teams. The Stanley Cup had, from its origin in 1892 until 1906, been awarded to the top amateur hockey team in Canada.⁶ Other Indigenous hockey stars, such as Métis brothers Rod and Magnus Flett, who were on the same Stanley Cup winning team as Gingras in 1901 and 1902, had also made notable contributions to the game and helped to bolster the flourishing sports environment in the city. Although Ken was not the first prominent Indigenous hockey star to play in the city of Winnipeg, he would quickly establish himself as a fan favorite.

There was no doubt that the locals loved Ken. His outstanding achievements in multiple sports from the time he was in elementary school and through a series of

secondary schools and colleges had kept his name and image in the media, and therefore in households, on a recurring basis until he left Regina to pursue accomplishments at a more serious level. In the process of research for this thesis, because of Ken's ethnicity, I looked for any racist or prejudiced references directly or indirectly involving him. However, on the surface, there was not an abundance of conspicuous indications of racism.

Nevertheless, although racism surrounding the young athlete was often deceptive and difficult to identify, it did exist. The question, however, was why discrimination seemed deceptive and difficult to identify. I will elaborate on this issue in chapter four, but for now will offer, by way of example, a description from an article written by Johnny Buss of the *Winnipeg Tribune* in March of 1930. The extract refers to Ken's performance in the first game of the Memorial Cup playoff series with West Toronto. The author refers to Ken as the "dark complexioned right winger,"⁷ and while the article acknowledges the quality of Ken's playmaking, it reveals a tool for disguising racial comments. However, it is difficult to understand the necessity of describing an athlete by the color of his skin.

As he waited for the hockey season to begin in the fall of 1930, Ken, as had become characteristic, was not idle. The waiting period from the end of the summer until the beginning of the hockey season was an opportune time for him. The beginning of the fall had recently become a beckoning call to another sport that he loved dearly; rugby-football. He accommodated his thirst for the game in 1930 by penetrating the line-up of the Winnipeg Native Sons football team and quickly earned his position as quarterback of the club.⁸ Among his teammates was Teddy Morris, who had travelled west from

Toronto to play with the team. Morris and Ken were the same age and both players remained with the Native Sons for only one season.⁹ However, the two men, in their final year of junior eligibility, helped to inspire a successful season. The team climbed to within one win of the national championship before losing to the Toronto Rifles in the final game.¹⁰ Ted Morris pursued his love for the game, dedicated his efforts to football, and had a successful and rewarding playing career as a member of the Toronto Argonauts. He is now a member of Canada's Sports Hall of Fame.

A positive aspect of playing football was the physical conditioning attributed to the weekly regimen of workouts. Players who also played ice hockey at the end of a football season were physically groomed, occasionally bruised to some degree, but were in prime shape to begin the on-ice season. Conveniently, the regular football schedule finished before the winter hockey schedule got underway in the first week of December, unless a rugby-football team advanced to the playoffs. Regardless, training and practice sessions for hockey invariably started when ice was available either indoors or outdoors; that certainly overlapped with football practice sessions during the fall. However, not many players were affected. Few players participated in two full contact sports simultaneously at the elite level. One such Canadian was Lionel Conacher who participated in multiple sports, including football and hockey, during the early decades of the twentieth century. Another Canadian who was active in two contact sports simultaneously was Ken Moore. Ironically, both Ken and Conacher were active during the same era. Conacher was elected to Canada's Sports Hall of Fame in 1955. Ken, as of yet, is not a member.

Ken never confined his athletic abilities to a single sport. It is important to acknowledge the significance of becoming proficient in and accomplishing meritorious status in multiple sports. Athletes who have achieved special recognition due to their praiseworthy contributions in multiple sports include Indigenous athlete Jim Thorpe, who was the greatest American athlete of the first half of the twentieth century, and black athletes Bo Jackson and Deion Sanders. I do not intend to draw a comparison among the athletes, but rather, to bring attention to the sports in which they participated. For example, all three of these athletes had outstanding careers as football players. The second sport common to all three was baseball; Thorpe, in addition, was a brilliant track and field star. Of the sports that I have noted, the only full contact sport was football.

Thorpe played professional sports, including football, into his forties.¹¹ Jackson had to retire from professional football after only six seasons due to a hip injury he received. However, after a period of recuperation, he was able to continue his baseball career.¹² A personal choice, not an injury, was behind Sanders' decision to retire from football, but he was still able to attempt a comeback in baseball, though unsuccessfully.¹³ None of the three participated in more than one grueling physical contact sport in the same year at any time in their careers. The relevance to Ken's story is that the sports in which he participated, in consecutive seasons, included at least two full contact sports, as well as lacrosse and some non-contact sports. Hence, he became more susceptible to injuries and vulnerable to extensive body damage than most players.

Ken joined the Winnipeg hockey team in December of 1930. During the first game of the season, he impressed the administration and the fans, leaving no doubt of his ability or dedication to the sport as he scored the only team goal in a losing effort. A

writer for the *Winnipeg Tribune* acknowledged an accomplishment that few were likely to have considered. Ken performed like a star in the first game, held on Tuesday night, December 9th, 1930. A mere seventy-two hours earlier, he had played football for the Native Sons in a grueling national championship game against the Toronto Rifles in Varsity Stadium, some fifteen hundred miles away in Toronto. Ironically, in the hockey game, he played against the Native Sons, the opposition hockey team of the same name.¹⁴

With the addition of Ken and some lineup adjustments, the Winnipegs soon gelled as a team, finished the season at the top of the league with a winning record, and started the playoff elimination process. The team continued to be victorious, winning the Allan Cup, symbolic of the national championships, and earning the right to represent Canada in the Winter Olympic Games in February of the following year.¹⁵

Winning the coveted Allan Cup though, like any hard-fought battle, was not an accomplishment without a cost. In the second game of the semi-final series, Ken had his arm shattered as a result of a crushing body-check into the boards.¹⁶ The arm, reconnected with pins, would never return to its normal state.¹⁷

Although losing Ken for the remainder of the series was a setback, the team rallied and was victorious in the final showdown of the season. Ken had time for his arm to heal to a functional state before the beginning of the 1931-32 hockey season, prior to the trip to Lake Placid for the Olympics. Even though Ken had experienced injuries in his college and junior years, none had been as severe as the grisly damage to his broken arm. The question was, to what effect, if any, the injury would have on his playing ability.

3.2 Olympic Gold: A First for First Nations



Figure 10: Ken's Olympic Gold Medal (front and back) Source: Jennifer Rattray

After several months, in the late fall of 1931, a new season of hockey was underway. The team returned intact, but in December through the New Year, the Winnipeggers hovered near the basement of the league standings before departing in January 1932 to participate in the Olympic Games at Lake Placid.¹⁸ When the team arrived in Lake Placid to begin the round-robin series, it was not exactly the same team that had won the Allan Cup the previous year. Two substitute players were added to the club and, in addition, Lou Marsh was added to the team as a manager to assist the veteran manager of the team, W.J. Robertson. Marsh also was appointed as head referee in the tournament.¹⁹

Ken, from the beginning of the season, had not returned to the standout form he displayed in the previous year prior to shattering his arm. For that reason, the team engaged the services of Norm Malloy, a right-winger formerly with the Regina Vics, in order to shore up the line that also included 'Tic' Garbutt and 'Stoney' Wise, who had previously formed the line with Ken.²⁰ Ken was used sparingly, but stayed prepared by

participating in team exhibition games during the events. In the second last game of the tournament against Poland, Ken played on a regular shift throughout the match and contributed one goal to the Canadian victory.²¹

Although he was used sparsely in the tournament games, Ken demonstrated a new kind of enthusiasm. His spirit of competitiveness contrasted somewhat with that of an earlier, younger Ken who had, in at least one earlier hockey season, won the Eilers Medal for sportsmanlike conduct in the Regina Hockey Organization.²² In one particular exhibition game during the Olympics, a news article acknowledged that Ken received a five minute major penalty for fighting.²³ Although pugilistic attributes were never a noted part of Ken's playing style, a few years later and midway through January in the 1936 season with the Kimberley Dynamiters, he earned the reputation of the "leading bad man" when he had amassed the most penalty minutes in the league.²⁴

The Winnipeggers went on to win the Gold Medal at the 1932 Olympics (Figure 10). They returned to Winnipeg and finished the hockey season, advancing to the playoffs, but failing to secure a second consecutive Allan Cup victory at the national level. The rumor mill, in the off-season following the Allan Cup finals, suggested a break-up of the club due to some discontent in the organization.²⁵ The team nevertheless, including Ken, was prepared to begin the 1932-33 season in the fall. However, a disagreement lingered among the members leading to the exit of a few members before the schedule began. Ken, among the group claiming some displeasure, asked for his release from the Winnipeggers and started the new season with the Selkirk team in the same league.²⁶

Ken played the December schedule, but suffered a traumatic maiming to his knee when he played with Selkirk in the first game of January of 1933. The injury sidelined him for the remainder of the regular league. As the schedule wound down near the end of February, Ken was traded back to the Winnipegs to strengthen their roster for the playoffs; however, the persistent knee injury limited the amount of time he was used. The 'Pegs were eliminated early and Ken, used moderately from the start of the playoffs, did not play in the team's final game in which they were eliminated. With the season finished, Ken returned to Regina and his playing days in Winnipeg were now behind him. Injuries had taken a heavy toll on the young man, and, in the past two seasons, the physical damage he absorbed limited not only the number of games in which he participated, but also countered his effectiveness when he was on the ice. Nevertheless, the hockey world and other sports in which he participated had hardly seen the end of Ken; he was after all, only twenty-three years old, highly committed to sports, and he had a lot more to contribute.²⁷

3.3 Benefits of Senior Hockey in the Depression Years

The summer of 1933 found Ken, after completing his employment obligations in Winnipeg, back in Regina to consider his options.²⁸ With his transfer from Winnipeg anticipated, expectations grew in the Saskatchewan city that Ken, along with some other Regina alumni and ex-members of the successful Winnipeg team, would be joining the Regina Vics, or the Aces, two popular hometown teams. Although media reports continued to release premature assumptions mid-way through October about Ken's intentions, by November the Saskatchewan fans were disappointed to learn that two of

their home-town stars, Ken and Ralph Redding, had signed with the Kimberley Dynamiters of the new Commercial Hockey League in British Columbia.²⁹

Not the least of temptations available to senior hockey players and other competitors who hailed from communities outside of Kimberley, was the lure of jobs in the flourishing mining industry and in particular, with the Consolidated Mining Company. Kimberley, prior to joining the newly formed Commercial Hockey League, had been part of the West Kootenay League, which operated from 1922-23 through 1940-41. According to Joe Pelletier, who wrote a blog about the league, “Many of the players resisted the idea of turning professional because, with the promise of high paying mining jobs, they had security and were making as much, if not more, than players in the NHL.”³⁰

Hence, in Kimberley, Consolidated, an avid proponent and sponsor of Kimberley sports teams, provided job opportunities as an incentive for players who wanted to play hockey, but also required the security of a day-job that provided a regular paycheck. “The promise of a good wage and steady work attracted some of the very best hockey players to the area. Players with the Kimberly Dynamiters in the 1930s were making more money than a regular player in the NHL.”³¹

The move to Kimberley provided a shot of adrenalin for Ken. Re-enthused, he and Redding quickly became home-town favorites and a duo to be reckoned with as they combined with teammates to produce a winning trend in the little mountain town. However, the successful season would end earlier than expected for Ken, Redding, and two other imports from Regina, Bert McGillivray and Harry Brown. The boys had not yet

been established as residents of Kimberley and the league rules did not allow their participation in playoff events.³² The confirmation of playoff ineligibility was an official end of the season and Ken returned to Regina to spend some time with his family and friends. In August 1934, Ken made a return trip to Winnipeg for a special event; his wedding. When Ken returned to Kimberley, his new wife, Edith, accompanied him.³³

In Kimberley, Ken worked as an electrician for the mining company.³⁴ As well, he and Edith acclimatized themselves in their new role as a couple as they established a home. Moreover, his residency in Kimberley was now official as he embarked on a new hockey season. In January 1935, the Dynamiters had already established themselves as contenders with no player restrictions as they set their sights on Allan Cup contention in the spring.³⁵ The end of February initiated the primary playoff rounds and Kimberley eliminated the Vancouver Cubs, its first rival. Unfortunately, the team from Port Arthur would again douse the flame of Allan Cup hope for the Kimberley team and it was eliminated in two straight games.³⁶

The summer of 1935 brought a lot of joy to the Moore family as Ken and Edith's daughter Carla was born in July.³⁷ Aside from his job at the mine, his new responsibilities as a father and head of a family, Ken found ways to keep active in the off-season. He took advantage of any available spare time to pursue an opportunity to play yet another sport in which he excelled, a competitive activity that avoided the harsh body tolls of physically grinding sports; the more leisurely game of golf. Although Ken's talents ran broad and deep, it is important to know that he did not hold a monopoly on athleticism in the Moore family. While Ken was attending to his many duties in Kimberley in the summer of 1935, his younger brother Victor, eighteen years old, was

busy winning five esteemed men's golf tournaments in Regina. Victor, already a highly touted hockey star with the Regina Pats, captured sufficient golf championships that year to earn him the moniker 'sensation,' which was expressed by a reporter at a November banquet in the city.³⁸ Like Ken, Victor continued to be prominent in multiple sports.

3.4 Final Major Triumph as a Player

The Dynamiters returned to the ice in the fall of 1935 to prepare for the new season. Resoluteness injected a new approach in many of the players, including Ken. By mid-January, the once mild-mannered winner of an Eisler Trophy (for sportsmanship) years before, now claimed the title "bad boy of the league" with a league-leading number of penalty minutes.³⁹ The team continued its successful league play and once again earned the right to advance to the playoffs.

On April 11th, 1936, in Winnipeg, the Kimberley Dynamiters defeated the Sudbury Falcons in sudden-death overtime to win the final series in two straight games and claim the national senior amateur hockey championship and the Allan Cup. This was a historic victory as a team from west of Manitoba had never before won the prestigious title. Ken, as he had done at least twice before, participated in the scoring effort of the overtime winning goal. Ken and his teammate, Mackie, who scored on a perfect pass from Ken, were showered with accolades for their effort.⁴⁰

Thus, in addition to the honor of being national champions, the team had the designation of representing Canada in the upcoming 1937 World Hockey Championship tournament in England. The team re-grouped early in the fall to organize and practice with a membership that was altered from the squad that had claimed the Allan Cup a few

months previously. Ken was with the team initially in the fall of 1936, but not for long. The plan for the team was to play a series of exhibition games as they travelled across Canada to Halifax where they would depart for Europe in mid-December. The exhibition tour was arranged to start in Trail, British Columbia, on November 13th. The team would play up to fourteen games in different centers over a span of about a month as they travelled east to Halifax where they would arrive in time to play a final game and depart for Europe on Sunday, December 13th, 1936.⁴¹

After the tour-launching game with Trail and an additional game in British Columbia against the Nelson team, the Dynamiters travelled to Calgary to play an exhibition game with an all-star Calgary team. The *Calgary Herald*, on the day of the game, November 23rd, published a picture of three of the Kimberley stars: Ken, Fred Botterill, and Paul Kozak. An accompanying article listed all three as included in the anticipated line-up for the game.⁴² The following day, in a subsequent article, nothing was mentioned about Ken in the game summary. Later, the list of players who had participated in the game did not include Ken.

A search of local papers in many of the centers that hosted the exhibition games failed to produce any evidence that Ken was still with the team. I was aware that he did not accompany the club for its European tour, but I was curious about the lack of a reason to explain why he was suddenly disconnected from the team before the Calgary game. He had been, after all, a prominent member of the club for three seasons, a major contributor to the team's Allan Cup success and, according to the *Calgary Herald*, one of the current stars of the team.⁴³

Ken's family, according to his granddaughter Jennifer Rattray, understands that a recurrence of the injury that had left Ken's arm shattered in the 1931 Allan Cup playoffs kept him from joining the team for its overseas tour.⁴⁴ Because of the severity and subsequent complications stemming from his injury, Jennifer maintains that his arm had never healed correctly and that it remained a concern for Ken for the rest of his life.⁴⁵ The injury hindered his play throughout the season in 1931-1932 and remained a problem during the Olympic Games in Lake Placid. However, appearing refurbished, he was once again impressive on the ice after moving to Kimberley where his play continued to become stronger, more aggressive,⁴⁶ and increasingly productive as the team advanced to the Allan Cup playoffs in the spring of 1936.⁴⁷ Therefore, a re-injury of his arm in the fall of 1936 could offer a reasonable explanation for Ken's sudden exit. Yet, I have not found any documented evidence that can support that claim.

The facts surrounding the situation suggest another logical explanation. The team was scheduled to be on the road for approximately five months. Ken had a full time job and a young family that included a one-year-old daughter. It is not unreasonable to think that Ken placed a higher value on his role as a husband, father, and family provider than he did on his participation in sports. At some point, in a two or three-day period prior to the Kimberley exhibition game with Calgary, Ken retired as an active hockey player. Whatever the reason, Ken's sudden departure from the Dynamiters was hardly his 'swan song,' or last goodbye to the world of sport. Rather, it provided an adjustment period to provide some relief to his broken-down body, conform to his new role as a family man, and consider available options in order to appease an undying passion for competitive sports.

3.5 Still Competitive: Adjusting and Moving On

Ken, as previously noted, was always inclined to inject additional challenges into a year-round, daily and crammed regimen of competitive pursuits. Like his brother Victor, Ken had also enjoyed playing golf when time was available in the off seasons. When his sudden departure from an active role in grueling contact sports left a void, Ken, looking for a new challenge, focused on a game in which he had previous experience, but did not have a notable record of achievement.

At twenty-seven years of age, Ken, barring the unfortunate series of injuries that plagued him for years, was still capable of contributing to a game that required agility and coordination. With more time to participate and refine his dexterity, he was able to spend more time on the golf course and compete in several tournaments in the summer of 1937, winning two of them: the Bruce Ritchie Cup at one event and the President's Trophy at the Kimberley Golf Club Championship. To shed some perspective on Ken's capabilities as a golfer, the flight in which he participated to win each of the two aforementioned events was low gross; a flight for 'scratch' golfers.⁴⁸

During the winters in 1938 and 1939, according to journalist Vince Leah of the *Winnipeg Tribune*, Ken kept himself active and maintained his ties with the hockey world by refereeing in the West Kootenay Hockey League in British Columbia. By 1940, Ken and his wife Edith had decided to return to Winnipeg and Ken started to communicate with some hockey teams in the area about the possibility of a coaching position.⁴⁹ In November of that year, Ken and his family had moved back to Winnipeg and he was one of three applicants seeking the soon-to-be-vacant position as head coach of the St.

Boniface Athletics. ⁵⁰In November of 1941, Ken was offered the position, which he accepted. ⁵¹

Ken coached the team to a divisional championship for two seasons before he joined the St. James Canadians in the fall of 1943. ⁵² With Ken at the helm, the team won its first provincial championship in March of 1944 (Figure 11), but lost the interprovincial series to Port Arthur in the next round. ⁵³



Figure 11: Ken (bottom right) with St James Championship Team, Feb. 29, 1944. Source: Winnipeg Tribune

Ken did not return to lead the team in the fall of that year and Vince Leah, a few years later in his column, noted that the team, by then, had had twelve different coaches in thirteen years; of all of the coaches, he noted that Ken had been the most successful. ⁵⁴ At this point, Ken had experienced the sport of hockey from seemingly, every angle as a participating player and as coach behind the bench. He was however, still a young man with a lot of passion for the sport, and a lingering desire to be involved.

With the junior coaching position behind him, Ken, surprisingly, decided to try something he had previously not attempted in hockey; a comeback. At thirty-four years



Figure 12: Esquires Comeback Quartet with Ken Moore second from right. Nov. 8, 1944. Source: Winnipeg Tribune

of age, Ken, along with some other veterans, was invited to attend a tryout for the Esquires senior team in the new Commercial League. (Figure 12) The league, which had been organized to produce a contender for the Allan Cup, consisted of only four entries. The team started in November, played a few exhibition games, and Ken looked sharp. The inaugural game for the league was played before a paltry two hundred fans on December 20th, 1944.⁵⁵ However, a few weeks later, the second league game that the team played on December 27th, which the Esquires won, would be Ken's last.

The next day, during an interview, Ken admitted that after being out of the sport for eight years, a sudden comeback was not a wise choice and he would prefer to return to refereeing. He retired from hockey as an active player for the second and final time.⁵⁶

He was thirty-four-years-old, a time when many hockey journeymen, currently in the sport, were still highly productive, in demand, signing multi-year, multi-figure contracts and playing into their late thirties and early forties. However, the game itself has changed dramatically since the 1930's. For instance, in the current NHL, every team, for each game, must dress eighteen skaters plus two goaltenders selected from its active list of twenty-three players. They also have a reserve list that stretches from fifty, who are under contract, up to ninety.⁵⁷ This is in stark contrast to game policies while Ken was active.

Ken resumed his role as a referee and furthermore, in 1946-47, he returned to the bench to coach a midget team in the local Manitoba League.⁵⁸ After that season finished, there is no indication that he continued his active involvement in the game. Also, there is very little information about Ken's athletic or leisure activities from that point when he was in his thirty-eighth year. Since the time that he and his family relocated to Winnipeg in 1940, Ken had been employed by the City of Winnipeg and worked in various capacities that included a position as an assessor. A later role tapped into his knowledge as an electrician and had him administering the City's fire alarm system. Eventually, with his experience, he worked as a liaison to coordinate that fire alarm system with the functions of the Police Department.⁵⁹ He remained with the City until he retired.

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Chapter 4: Hypocrisy in the Media

4.1 Introduction

A national story that features Ken Moore, an Indigenous athlete, must not only address the racist environment in which he lived, but also identify the types of challenges he endured throughout his lifetime because of the color of his skin. Irrefutable evidence is available to demonstrate the existence of racism as it had developed and grew in Saskatchewan in the early twentieth century. In the decades before and after World War 1, the years when Ken was becoming educated in the public school and honing his athletic skills, racism flourished throughout Canada. Yet, the paper trail of Ken's life and numerous sources revealed very little pronounced evidence suggesting that he was the recipient of flagrant, wide-ranging racial abuse. Other than the few references to his ethnicity in some Ontario newspapers during a summer baseball tour when he was fifteen, overt news articles, or headlines that specifically targeted Ken for being Indigenous, were rare and often difficult to find. On the contrary, the newspapers often seemed supportive, the fans appreciative, and teammates grateful for successes generated by Ken's savvy; so where was the racism in his life?

Expanding the search for details about athletes who in the same era had consistently been exposed to prejudice and racism was warranted to try to explain why something that is known to exist is not always apparent. I started by tracking the origins of racism in Saskatchewan to help identify the underlying elements that fostered its growth in the province. Next, I searched for any indications of racism that may have been present in Ken's life, from the time he started public school in Regina and onwards.

4.2 The Footprint of Racism in the West

In the late nineteenth century, the western provinces were being opened to settlement and development after the signing of several numbered treaties. New government policies were created that targeted the control of the Indigenous population and racism became unleashed as a reality in the Prairies. Racism was not unique to the Indigenous people in the west since light-skinned people across the country were already inclined to feel superior to those with different skin tones. Provinces in the east, such as in Ontario and Nova Scotia, had already implemented legislation and policies to restrict black people to segregated schools and discourage them from migrating to the west; British Columbia launched campaigns to bar Asians and East Indians from immigrating to the province.¹ Jim Miller states that, “From the middle of the nineteenth century onward, Canadians who identified with the Caucasian race usually held condescending attitudes toward non-white peoples.”²

Bill Waiser, in his book, *A World We Have Lost: Saskatchewan Before 1905*, traces the roots of racism in the Prairies to the period when the fur traders and various people associated with the trade and distribution networks began to expand in a westerly direction. The Prairies, at the time, were occupied mainly by Indigenous people, so the interchanges and mixed relationships that developed between them and the newcomers were neither uncommon nor overwhelming. Rather, the three dominant groups that emerged included newcomers, First Nations, and Métis people. These groups maintained a working relationship that remained balanced for almost two centuries, during which time racism had not become an issue of major concern.³

However, the government implemented policies aimed at controlling Indigenous people. The actions coincided with the sudden growing influx of colonial settlers at the end of the nineteenth century and upset the balance of power. Waiser notes that racism started to grow rapidly from the late 1800's through the early twentieth century and has since increased consistently and dramatically.⁴ In the last decades of the nineteenth century, as Waiser notes, whiteness was emphasized, Indigenous ancestry was regarded as a liability, and mixed relationships were scorned.⁵

The growth of the residential school system also increased the number of Indigenous children who were extracted from their families. In the schools, rigid segregation of the races and strict separation of the sexes was emphasized.⁶ The concern about differences in ethnicity became more widespread and embedded in non-Indigenous communities and fueled the spread of racism. Another tool that provided a foothold in the embodiment of racism in the early twentieth century was media.

4.3 Shifting Narratives in the Media

Racism, unlike a disease or a bad habit, does not magically disappear with medication or treatment. It can become part of the human character and not likely to change. Although it can be controlled to some degree through education and legislation, societal tolerance for racism is a reflection of the character of that society. Education and legislation in early Canada reinforced and legitimized racism. Although these institutions have evolved and are now among the essential tools in the fight against racism, policy changes have not eliminated racism in Canada. Additionally, with the passage of new laws that address the inciting of hatred in public, media and the content in its reporting

have come under increased scrutiny from the justice system, as well as from the public.⁷ Yet, new communication methods, such as social media and the internet, have also opened doors to spread racist content and encourage discriminatory beliefs and practices.

How is the media responsible for spreading racism? Morrow and Wamsley address this question and respond by offering a frequently quoted axiom from Marshall McLuhan: “the medium is the message.”⁸ The ability of writers, and the liberty they enjoy, allows them to distort or sensationalize almost anything they write. Popular writers can attract swarms of followers who become attached and cult-like as they believe in and help spread the opinionated messages that are written in regular news columns. While journalists did take advantage of freedom of expression in their presentations, they were not immune to the influence of their employers. According to Fatima Ba’abbad:

Although many people believe they are getting unfiltered news and are thus learning about what is happening ‘in the world’ from unbiased sources, media content is anything but free of distillation. The content is carefully selected, edited, and packaged by those who own and control the means of production. These individuals and groups act as filters because they select the information for consumers based on what they think consumers want and/or need, and these determinations are further based on their own vested interests in media production.⁹

The same individuals who ultimately controlled media content could also, by means of selective narratives, garner support for government policies that discriminated against Indigenous people and other minority groups. For example, racism had been

buoyed in the latter part of the nineteenth century and into the early decades of the twentieth century when many members of the scientific community created what Robert Berkhofer terms, “scientific racism.”¹⁰ The mythical belief that tests resulting from craniology would prove the superiority of the white race over all other races was pursued and embedded in the minds of the North American public until the mid-twentieth century when it was ultimately debunked by the scientific community.¹¹ Prior to that, the so-called science was used to rationalize discriminatory policies.¹²

Media was, therefore, a breeding ground for racism. In the early twentieth century, Canadian Indigenous athletes were an easy target for discriminating reporters. In his master’s thesis, “Remembering Tom Longboat: A Story of Competing Narratives,” William Brown provides a convincing contrast of chronicles that paints two totally different pictures of the renowned Canadian Indigenous runner. Brown researched articles that were written throughout the life of Longboat and split them into the two categories of early narratives and modern narratives. The image that the newspapers created of Longboat in his active years was in stark contrast to the image provided by more informed, racially sensitive writers in recent years.¹³

The most common reports, written during the time when Longboat was alive, presented him in a variety of negative images. In hindsight, the fickleness of popular sports journalists has been highlighted in numerous accounts by various scholars such as Bruce Kidd, who offered as an example, the highly touted reporting of Lou Marsh. Marsh, in his columns, would frequently heap praise on Longboat after a winning effort, but in an about-face, would disgrace him when he came up short.¹⁴ Brown also refers to an article by Fergus Cronin in 1956 that was written after Longboat’s death in 1949. The

story not only attacks the athlete about unproven rumors regarding his personal life, but also disparages his military service, including its disciplinary environment, in the armed forces during World War II.¹⁵ The article was published in 1956 in *Maclean's Magazine*, a prominent and influential Canadian publication. Hatred incites hatred, and according to Brown, the shameful article was perpetuated on a much broader scale through additional popular news sources such as the *Toronto Daily Star*, *The Evening Telegram*, and the *Encyclopedia Canadiana*.¹⁶ Sadly, the callous, prejudiced opinions of unscrupulous sports writers that were ultimately reproduced in other popular publications undoubtedly influenced readers' sentiments.

Historian Mark Rubinfeld notes that in the case of Jim Thorpe, in spite of his popularity with the American public, non-Indigenous antagonists, through the communications industries they controlled, often misrepresented him in the newspapers.¹⁷ This documented hostility toward Indigenous people was by no means a monopoly of the early twentieth century media. Rather, it was a long, lingering process that continued well into the second half of the century and was equally as venomous in Canada. The image of Indigenous people that portrays them stereotypically as simple, poor, lazy, and alcoholic, was bolstered and maintained by media.¹⁸

Modern depictions of Longboat, according to Brown, suggest that journalistic treatment of the runner was commonly prejudiced and unfair. However, as he pointed out, that was not always the case. As evidence, he provides ample examples of situations in which Longboat was praised not only for his ability, but also for his character.¹⁹ Brown's point is valid. Yet, the fact remains that the majority of media representations

about Longboat, Thorpe, and other athletes in marginalized groups constructed and reinforced racial prejudice.

Therefore, the inconsistencies that existed in the way various media represented Indigenous athletes are noteworthy. Although it is difficult to argue that the common goal was to create appeal and ultimately enhance profits, the fact remains that different portrayals were necessary to appease the sentiments of dissimilar audiences. In addition to the bigotry embedded in printed publications, media caused further anguish by creating imagery using derogatory depictions of Indigenous people.²⁰ The use of logos, symbols and caricatures incorporated by professional sports teams provided a constant reminder that colonial attitude toward Indigenous people was very much alive and served to inflate the supremacist ego.²¹ The practice, which is widespread according to Hokowhitu, was also visible in early racial depictions of Indigenous athletic bodies that served as tools aimed at upholding the aspirations, desires and policies of Westerners.²²

The racism embedded in mascots, logos and nicknames is controversial. Defenders of the use of these portrayals argue that it actually honors Indigenous people and is not offensive. Pewewardy disagrees and claims that the use of these representations in schools equates to cultural violence.²³ While most Indigenous people oppose using logos and mascots for sports teams, the majority of European Americans are supportive. Pewewardy claims that the practice amounts to dysconscious racism; a concept that unconsciously accepts culturally dominant norms and privileges as played out as Indian mascots in North American sports culture.²⁴ He suggests that mass media has ingrained nicknames and false representations into narratives that have infiltrated the minds of readers for more than a century.²⁵ With this in mind, how can we explain the

praise and appreciation for popular Indigenous athletes that I referred to earlier in this chapter?

Readers less driven by racist passion, but more by athletic performance, were increasingly likely to read and appreciate narratives offering reviews of the quality of an athlete's contribution. An article about Fred Simpson by Janice Forsyth and Josh Archer offers some examples of the contrasting approach to reporting about Indigenous athletes. The article also serves as a buffer to help rationalize the difference between the abhorrent vernacular that was used to portray athletes such as Longboat, and the more respectful vocabulary utilized in reports that depict Ken.

The article on Simpson is important because it reveals different elements that contribute to the variations in the depiction of Indigenous athletes in the first half of the twentieth century. Although media presentations that focused on negativity were dominant, representations that were objective and centered on athletic qualities were not unheard of. The authors support this by claiming that in their readings from the *Peterborough Examiner* and the *Peterborough Review*, "the majority of articles provided a more objective style of reporting for Simpson than was afforded to Longboat."²⁶ Since both Simpson and Longboat were Indigenous, why would one be painted in a negative manner while the other was portrayed in a positive way in the same paper? The authors present a variety of situations indicating that controls over negative media reporting were not limited to a single source. The wishes of an owner of a publication, the personal opinions of a writer, a writer's appeal, audience support of an athlete, as well as the talent and character of a featured athlete were all elements that impacted the content of an article; all were addressed in the Simpson story.²⁷

Although Simpson was not immune to negative feedback, Forsyth and Archer found that the majority of offensive racial content involving the runner originated in the *Toronto Star*.²⁸ Journalists in Peterborough did not normally resort to using demeaning racial epithets to talk about Simpson. However, the same cannot be said about their use of racist tags, such as ‘redskin,’ that was part of a common jargon that writers used as a device to single out ‘otherness’ and stimulate audience interest.²⁹ The appreciation that the press and the fans expressed for Simpson are mainly responsible for the positive support that the runner received. However, it is important to know what was different about Simpson that would encourage people to appreciate him. Forsyth and Archer claim that in addition to his accomplishments as an athlete, there is another reason for Simpson’s allure. This second reason provides a better understanding of why the public showed more favor to Simpson than Longboat. Additionally, it can also suggest an explanation for the seeming support of the public in the case of Ken.

4.4 The Concept of ‘Good’ and ‘Bad’ Indian

The government’s assimilation strategy, designed to eradicate the Indigenous race, failed from the moment of its enactment. The attempt to eliminate a race of people by forcing them to learn, understand, and accept European cultural practices, had infinite challenges. If the Indigenous people tried to blend, they were good; if not, they were bad.

In order to understand how the public characterized Indigenous athletes as good or bad, it is necessary to understand what influenced people’s minds and opinions in the early years of the Twentieth Century. Media, and specifically newspapers, affected the school of thought at the time. A paper about an early Indigenous athlete offers some

insight. The article, written by Forsyth and Archer on Fred Simpson, references an excerpt from the *Lindsay Free Press* that posits an explanation to explain why Simpson was more acceptable to the public than Longboat. The authors claim that Simpson and Longboat were locked into colonizing narratives about Indians as being either ‘good’ or ‘bad’ depending on how they behaved according to dominant white standards. On the one hand, the narratives projected an image of Simpson that was acceptable to non-Indigenous people.³⁰ Since media narratives of Longboat created an image that depicted someone who was difficult to manage, stubborn and contradictory, he was viewed as a ‘bad’ Indian. However, the general view of Simpson, they claim, was that he was compliant, pleasant, and easy to manage; he was a ‘good’ Indian.³¹

The colonial concept of a ‘good’ Indian, as noted in the Forsyth and Archer article, also closely reflects the character of Ken. Good or bad of course, in this context, refers to a person’s behavior. Ken’s behavior did not offend the public, and like Simpson, Ken was an Indian who had successfully adapted to white society. A friendly man with a pleasing disposition, superb athletic skills, and an abundance of enduring fans, he attracted less racialized reporting from sports writers, other than occasional instances where his ethnicity is revealed in camouflaged vocabulary, such as ‘dusky’. The support and appreciation (Figure 13), abundant in moments of glory, by no means waned in times of

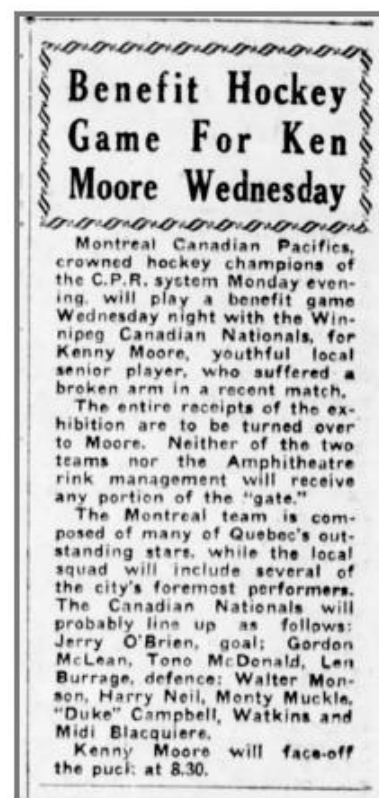


Figure 13: Ken's Benefit for Injury.
Source: Winnipeg Tribune. Mar 31, 1931

misfortune. The response by the newspapers, Ken's teammates, fans and even opposing team members was telling when Ken was incapacitated with a crushing injury to his arm in the Allan Cup playoffs in 1931.

Furthermore, journalists who wrote for newspapers published from Kimberley, British Columbia, across the Prairies to Winnipeg, Manitoba consistently avoided writing ethnic slurs about Ken. His popular demeanor and performance as a competitor might have been justification for positive reviews in the newspapers, but even Simpson was prone to common, trademark racial inferences about his Indigenous identity. So, what was different about Ken, an Indigenous member of the Peepeekisis Reserve in Saskatchewan? If he was not subjected to the same racism in the newspapers as other Indigenous athletes, what was the reason? The answer is that he did experience racial discrimination; albeit, not in the same manner, nor to the same extent, as others.

Herein lays the hypocrisy of media. A very calculating industry, media projects its messages, often in a chameleon-like approach, with a force that is determined on the basis of public response. In other words, a message in print will at times be blatant; at other times it will be camouflaged. For example, in chapter 3, I referred to a phrase used to describe Ken in an article that was printed in the *Winnipeg Tribune*. Ken and The Regina Pats were in Winnipeg playing the West Toronto junior team for the Memorial Cup Championship in the spring of 1930. A reporter for the newspaper provided a detailed recap of the game, which the Pats won after Ken's strong performance. The reporter, Johnny Buss, appeared to praise Ken's performance by describing him as the "shining light of the game"³² (Figure 14). He also noted that Ken was responsible for scoring the only two goals of the game.³³ However, he initiated the article by referring to

Ken as the “dark complexioned right winger.”³⁴ It is difficult to find rationale in the necessity to incorporate the color of one’s skin to identify a hockey player who has an assigned number on the back of his jersey. The same reporter, in another article in a following edition of the paper, referred to Ken as “dusky-skinned.” Curiously, in the same article, but in a different paragraph, he referred to Ken as “dashing”³⁵ (Figure 15). It is possible that the reporter, in the earlier instance, and for whatever reason, felt a need to note Ken’s ethnicity, but preferred to avoid the more obvious and common racist tags. Nonetheless, it serves no practical purpose to identify popular athletes by skin color. “Dark complexioned” in this article is coded language to identify Ken as being Indian.

In a similar fashion, in February 1932, a reporter for the *Regina Leader-Post*, who was covering the Olympic Games in Lake Placid, wrote an article that showed the Winnipeg roster included two former members of Father Athol Murray’s Regina Argos

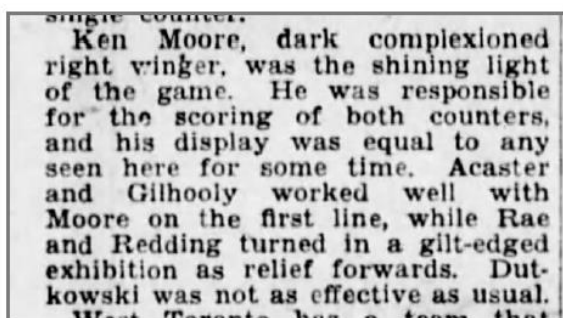


Figure 14: Johnny Buss of Winnipeg Tribune skin tone reference, March 28, 1930

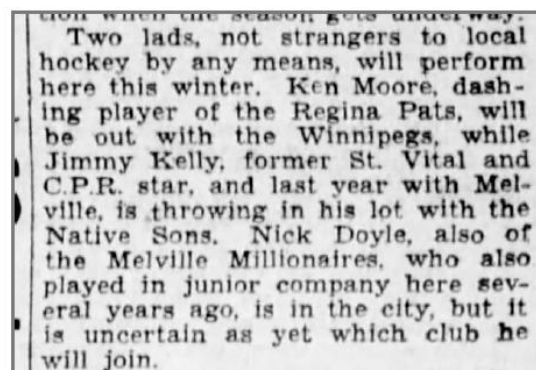


Figure 15: Johnny Buss, Winnipeg Tribune, Oct 11, 1930

hockey team. One of the members was Ken, who was described as a “smiling Indian youth.”³⁶ This example, and numerous others, shows that racism was pervasive, even in Regina and Winnipeg, where Ken was admired and respected as an athlete, just as Longboat was in Toronto. In addition, it further establishes the hypocrisy that exists in the newspapers. The *Regina Leader*, prior to it becoming the *Regina Leader-Post*,

exposed its duplicity in earlier editions. In 1905, the paper argued that the (Indigenous) race was not meant for the modern world and would gradually fade away, or “culturally disappear.”³⁷ In an earlier publication in the same year, the paper identified the general success of mission school education. It further noted that the “native race” was demonstrating aptitude, especially in drawing, writing, and singing.³⁸ However, as far as the scholarly literature shows, Ken appears to be the exception to the rule that media was racist towards Indigenous athletes.

The idea of the ‘good’ Indian that is referenced in the Forsyth and Archer article may be applicable to Ken. While doing so, it is important to keep in mind how these media frames are binaries. Good versus bad, difficult to manage versus manageable, contradictory versus compliant, and cooperative versus stubborn – are common tropes that appeal to simplistic understandings of a person or a group and have profound implications that structures how people are treated. In order to offer a broader understanding of what constitutes the use of ‘good’ or ‘bad’ in an Indigenous context, we must determine when and how the binary originated and how it is linked to media.

Media did not create this binary alone; rather, it was connected to a centuries-old strategy that is also essential to understanding the difference between assimilation and adaptation. The European culture of colonization was the foundation of the assimilation process. The policies that were designed to implement the assimilation strategy compromised the ability of the Indigenous people to control their own lives.³⁹ As Brown explains, “They were forced to adapt to European culture and this adaptation was misinterpreted by many observers who assumed Aboriginal people were being assimilated. What they did not see was the cohesiveness and tenacity of the Indian

community and in most cases the capacity of the Indian to adapt without the loss of identity.”⁴⁰

In other words, the Indian who adapts and projects an image that fits the public perception of an assimilated person is more likely to be categorized as a ‘good’ Indian. According to Robert F. Berkhofer Jr, the perceived image of a ‘good’ and ‘bad’ Indian has endured with little change from the time of Columbus and was measured by the Indian’s acceptance or rejection of white civilization.⁴¹ The public then would define assimilation by the obvious behavior of an individual.

Ken Moore fit the image of a ‘good’ Indian. He fit the image Berkholder described and he adapted well to the European culture. He was well-behaved, courteous, and friendly; he was also well dressed, though Berkhofer suggested dress was not an essential to the image.⁴² Was Ken an assimilated Indigenous man or did he adapt to a lifestyle out of necessity? No one will ever know. However, we cannot forget that his father, James, was also cooperative and studious in the many years he spent in Brandon Indian Residential School. Although James witnessed the loss of siblings, and daily, continuous hostilities, he persevered. James absorbed the colonial knowledge that helped him maneuver his way in dominant society. During his time at Peepeekisis, he continued to cooperate, provide for his family, and to participate in tasks, such as translating, all of which whetted his understanding of colonial culture. Adapting, for James, was a tool that was important in order to survive, but not at the expense of relinquishing his identity.

Ken, with a mere six years living on the reserve, was exposed to colonial urban life from the time he entered the Regina Public School system. Adapting to colonial

culture would likely have been much less of a challenge for him than it was for his father. Also, fitting the image of a well-behaved Indian posed fewer challenges for Ken than it would for someone who had little or no exposure to the colonial society's customs or traditions. Regardless, no amount of adjusting, popularity or athletic ability could change Ken's ethnicity or shield him from the rancor of racism.

Longboat, according to media, did not always behave as his managers and journalists expected, which helps to explain why media, especially newspapers that printed Lou Marsh's stories—Marsh being his former manager and influential journalist—framed him as the 'bad' Indian. It is also important to note that some Indigenous people could also be racist toward their own people, demonstrating how racism could seep into minority cultures and affect their own communities. Brown points out that E. Pauline Johnson, an Indigenous poet who, like Longboat, also hailed from Six Nations. She referred to the runner as a "redskin" who was a "typical present-day semi-civilized Indian living in a "clearing" in the woods."⁴³ Oddly, her portrayal of Longboat, and of the Onondaga people in general, is harsh, raising questions about her motives since the evidence contradicts her claim. Kidd also suggests that even though Longboat preferred his own training methods and cultural habits, he was familiar with colonial lifestyle and customs. Living



Figure 16: Edith, Carla, and Ken heading to the Allen Cup. Regina Leader-Post, April 6, 1936

in Toronto for years, dressing, as Ken Moore did (Figure 16), in affluent clothing and eating in a similar manner to that of prosperous businesspeople, clearly illustrates that Longboat incorporated colonial customs when he saw fit.⁴⁴

However, since Longboat preferred his own training techniques and managing methods, he did not conform to the racist ideology that the coaches and writers expected of him. He made his own decisions, drawing the ire of advisers and journalists alike. The negative manner in which the newspapers commonly portrayed Longboat often placed more focus on his personal preferences and lifestyle than on his amazing accomplishments as a great athlete.

On the other hand, unlike Longboat, there is no obvious evidence that Ken openly challenged regulations, preferring instead, to focus on matters that structured his life. Moore, after the age of six years, spent his entire life in colonial society. One difference between Longboat and Ken may be in the extent that each adapted to colonial practices in order to survive; their reasons for which will never be known. Ken was a popular cooperative Indigenous athlete who, according to his granddaughter, Jennifer, refrained from complaining or criticizing and blended in with mainstream society. Yet, like Longboat, Ken did what he felt was best for him and his family.

There are questions, however, about racism and hypocrisy in the newspapers that are difficult to answer. One such issue concerns the way racism also appeared in areas other than sports and raises questions asking what it accomplished or why it was necessary. For example, a page in the 1921 *Regina Leader-Post* was allotted to acknowledging elementary school projects that had been submitted for an educational

exhibition. The paper listed and recognized the students' submissions by school, grade, and community in which they resided. Oddly, the children who attended public schools, and who were Indigenous, had the additional identifier 'Indian' added in parenthesis after their names. Most, but not all of these children, lived on reservations that were also named in the information, so the additional emphasis on their ethnicity defies logic.

What is worthy of attention is that Ken was ten years old at the time and in grade four at Benson Public School. As noted in chapter 2, he had created a water-color painting that was submitted to an exhibition. Ken won an award for his submission and the newspaper recognized his achievement.

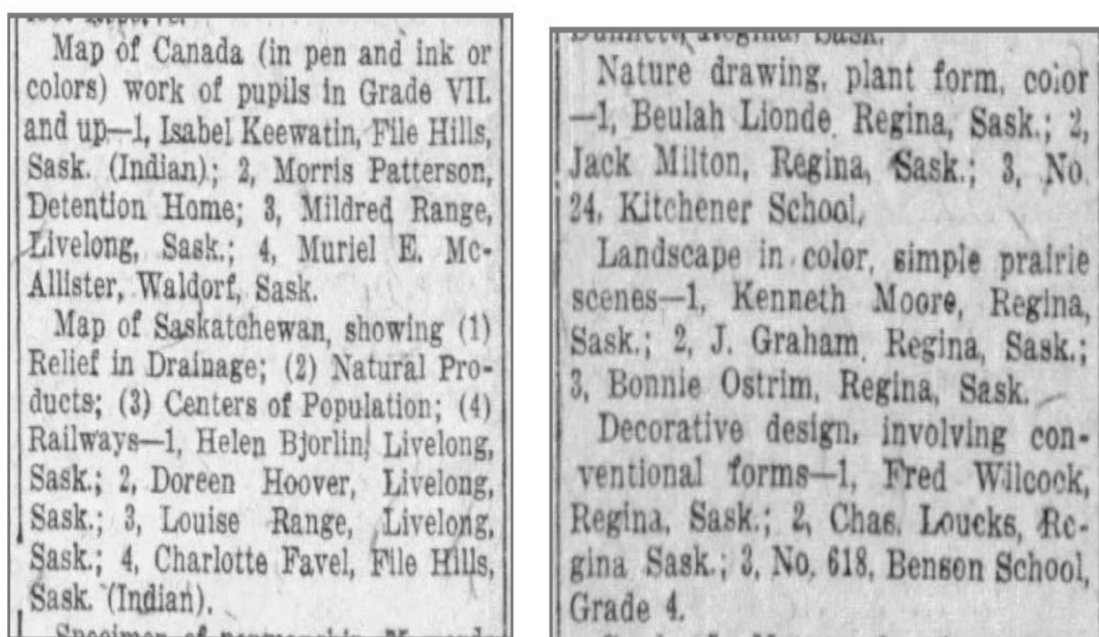


Figure 17: The clip on the left shows Indigenous school children identified; on the right, Ken is not identified. *Regina Leader-Post*, 1921.

An additional check in a subsequent 1925 edition of the same newspaper, on a page that listed the Saskatchewan students graduating from grade eight, found the publication did not identify Ken as Indigenous (Figure 17).

4.5 Observations

This chapter expanded on the work of Forsyth and Archer who demonstrated that not all Indigenous athletes received the same treatment from media.⁴⁵ This conclusion, however, should not be limited to athletes, but should also include other Indigenous people. The numerous news outlets, the various influences affecting content, and the colonial image of Indigenous people, all contributed to narratives that represented Indigenous people in various ways that reinforced prejudice. The trend, which became increasingly complex throughout the early twentieth century, added momentum to the growth of racial discrimination.

Evidence produced by extensive studies and observations corroborate the fact that the press has never been non-partisan nor strictly objective in Canada.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, while evidence that hypocrisy and racism were widespread throughout the newspapers and its contributors is indisputable, we cannot paint the entire assemblage of journalists with the same brush because there are exceptions. Some articles, by means of coded or camouflaged language, appeared to contrast with typical racist accounts at the time. One anomaly I found, which involves Ken, needs to be noted. Although he remained in Kimberley, B.C. for less than ten years, Ken, due in large part to his athletic skills, generated many friendships. Included in those relationships was Jack Cavanaugh, a sportswriter for the *Kimberley Daily Bulletin*.

Jack covered the activities of Kimberley's sports teams, including the Dynamiters, for most of his life. After Ken returned to Winnipeg, Jack kept in touch with the hockey player for another four decades. Over the years, in his column 'Cav's Corner,' Jack would occasionally insert an update about Ken to keep the townspeople informed of the Dynamiter star's activities and health. In a 1978 edition of the paper, by then only a weekly publication, Jack informed Ken's old friends and fans that Kimberley's star right winger from the thirties, after experiencing declining health for several years, had lost his mobility and required a wheelchair in order to get around.⁴⁷ That was the last update I found from the reporter and I would like to add, that in my research, I failed to find a single instance in the *Kimberley Daily Bulletin*, or in Jack Cavanaugh's reporting, that mentioned Ken's ethnicity.

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Chapter 5: Jennifer Rattray Interview Analysis; Compilation of Notable Ken Moore Accomplishments

5.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with an analysis of an interview with Jennifer Moore Rattray, granddaughter of Kenneth Strath Moore. The interview discusses Jennifer's perspective of her grandfather in the brief period of time that she spent with him when she was a child. The oral history about Ken and his family background contains information that she received from her mother, Carla, and Edith, Jennifer's grandmother. Jennifer also allowed me to explore an extensive collection of documented evidence, such as photos and news reports that she has maintained in several scrapbooks, which support the family's version of Ken's history. The semi-structured qualitative interview that I prepared would help me to understand the family history and details of Ken's life. Additionally, it would provide a better grasp of his involvement in sports as well as the reasons why Jennifer believes her grandfather should be inducted into the Canadian Sports Hall of Fame. In the last part of the chapter, I will provide a concise compilation of the feats which Ken accomplished during his lifetime.

5.2 Semi-Structured Oral Interview

One of the graduate courses I completed served as a tool to assist with my preparation for the interview with Jennifer. The text for the course, *Interviews: Learning the Craft of Qualitative Interviewing*, was authored by Steinar Kvale and Svend Brinkmann.¹ Dr. Forsyth instructed the course. As recommended in the text, I prepared a list of topics and questions in order to compose an interview guide.² The interview, to a degree, involved an exploratory approach, which is more open with less structure.

Additionally, because I hoped the interview would generate new ideas to help explain portions missing from Ken's story, I felt that following an inductive interview process would be a useful approach. However, I was also aware that I had created a theory about some of the aspects of his life, so using a deductive process for part of the interview also seemed appropriate. Because of this situation, I incorporated segments of both inductive and deductive reasoning and used a hybrid approach for conducting the interview.

The interview allowed an insight into the family's background from an oral history perspective. Because there was limited information about Ken, I expected to rely on newspaper articles to add detail. However, before I started a comprehensive research of newspaper archives, I needed more information in order to avoid a blind search. Therefore, an accounting of Ken's history from his granddaughter's perspective would outline events and dates that enabled a more advanced and refined search in the newspapers.

The single interview that I conducted for this thesis was with Jennifer. Her contribution was a crucial part of my investigation as I struggled to complete her grandfather's story. Before I spoke with her, I had reached an impasse in my research as I attempted to gather details that would shed light on more than a few years of Ken's life. The oral history with Jennifer was necessary to understand how he had come to reside in the File Hills area of Saskatchewan before eventually arriving in Regina. The family account would be significant as it identifies the residential school system as being at the root of imposed changes that would permanently affect the family. During the interview, Jennifer revealed a cache of collectibles that accounted for years of her grandfather's

activities. As I examined the various items, she informed me of the related circumstances; all of the information became invaluable in the fulfillment of this thesis.

In 2015, a journalist from the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation interviewed Jennifer. During the interview, Jennifer explained that she was surprised by the contents of a box that had belonged to her grandfather.³ I initiated my interview by asking why she was surprised at what she had found in the box. She said that she was only three years old when her grandfather, three months after his retirement and in his sixtieth year, had suffered the first of a series of strokes. Although he survived, he remained in a state of paralysis for the next dozen years before succumbing to his illness. A short time after her grandfather's passing, Jennifer also lost her grandmother. With access to her grandparents' belongings, she found many items of which she was previously unaware. Among those items, she found a cardboard box and its contents. According to Jennifer:

I just had no idea, like it really didn't hit me what he had done, and what he'd accomplished; that there was a medal, that there were these things...So it was really once my grandma passed, and I was opening up that drawer and I found these items and it was this amazing surprise. It was like this family secret, although it wasn't really a secret. It was just something that people didn't talk about, they weren't focused on, and that was that.⁴

The fact that Jennifer uncovered the trove of collectables made it possible, along with the oral family history, to compose a story of Ken's life that can be presented, honored and respected. In an article that Jennifer wrote for the *Campion College* magazine, *Brag*, she addresses some of the hardships that her grandfather experienced in his personal life.⁵

That article, in addition to the collection, formed important jumping off points for sharing what she knew about her grandfather.

During the interview, Jennifer shared some background information indicating that her great-grandfather, James, and her great-grandmother, Edith, had both originated in the northern region of Manitoba. James and Edith had, as small children, been taken from their families and enrolled in the Brandon Industrial School, where they remained until they graduated from the institution and then became part of the Files Hills Farm experiment. During his time in Brandon, James experienced the loss of siblings Lydia and David, who both died while they were enrolled at the school.⁶ While at Brandon, James was matched with and married to Edith, before transferring to the File Hills Farm Colony where they started their family. During the next ten years, he and Edith faced more agony as two of their sons, Chester and Oliver, were forced to attend Brandon, where they eventually died. When Ken was six years old—old enough to be sent to school—James finally left the Peepeekisis Reserve and moved to Regina.

Jennifer emphasized that Ken was devastated by the loss of his siblings. Already burdened with the memory of his two older brothers, Oliver and Chester, the death of Percy, his younger brother, in a tragic grain elevator accident in 1932 took an exceptionally heavy toll on Ken. At the same time in 1932, he was still trying to return to form after his arm had been severely fractured the previous year. A decade later, Ken would lose his youngest brother, Lloyd, in World War II. Jennifer described how Ken was affected by the loss of Percy and Lloyd:

He [Percy] was also an amazing athlete and my grandpa's supporter. My grandpa was very close with Percy. My mom said it was really a tragic loss for my grandpa. Like he really, really took that to heart. He was his little brother, his sport buddy, like they played hockey together. Percy was following my grandpa in his hockey career, and that Percy died was just devastating for my grandpa. And then his little brother [Lloyd], he dies in the war. My mom said that's the only time she ever saw her dad cry, was when Lloyd died.

Our conversation then turned to Ken's life and achievements. As I had no knowledge of Ken's activities before he was in third high at Campion College, I asked Jennifer about his first two years in high school, of which I had no information, his elementary school education and the schools he attended, as well as his involvement in sports during those years. Not surprisingly, details about her grandfather's life during those times were vague. However, she provided me with memorabilia from Ken's past that allowed me to pursue new avenues in my research that eventually helped to create a more complete story about her grandfather.

For example, a watercolor painting that Ken had done while he was in the fourth grade led to a newspaper article that identified the painting.⁷ The same article revealed the name of the public school that Ken had been attending at the time. Jennifer provided some additional drawings from a seventh-grade drafting class; these drawings encouraged me to search for information to confirm the name of the school that was written on the drawing. That was a different school than the school Ken had attended in the fourth grade. Also, by expanding the search, I discovered a notice in the same newspaper the following year that listed Ken and his classmates as members of the eighth-grade

graduating class.⁸ Jennifer also had documents that confirmed Ken had attended Sunday school in a Presbyterian church regularly from the time his family arrived in Regina until he was in high school. We moved to the portion of collectible items which reflected Ken's extended and successful participation in sports.

The next objects in Jennifer's collection included some ribbons that Ken had won in school track and field meets. Later, while searching online newspaper archives, I discovered an article that documented Ken performing well in a variety of events at a track and field competition in Regina.⁹ According to Jennifer, because James and Edith had long been aware of Ken's athletic talent, they supported his involvement in sports. For instance, they had him on any ice surface that was available in order to develop his abilities in skating and hockey. However, this did not account for the many other sports in which he was active, nor did it account for the accelerated development that led to so many continuous and notable achievements. With this thought in mind, I continued my conversation with Jennifer.

We discussed the fact that although Ken was raised as a Protestant, he had attended Campion College, a Jesuit run school. Jennifer acknowledged that some explanation was necessary and started by producing a news clipping of fifteen-year-old Ken in the summer of 1925, when he had completed his final year in elementary school and was about to enter secondary school. The article pictured Ken in a baseball uniform and revealed yet another sport in which he excelled. I asked Jennifer about his involvement on the team. Her response caught my attention as she spoke of yet another person whose history would yield answers to many of the questions I had about Ken's life and his growing mastery of multiple sports. She explained that, while Ken was still in

elementary school, “they met a priest, a priest who took them across the country, a good priest who took them across the country with baseball and that opened up all sorts of doors for him.”

The priest that Jennifer referred to was Father Athol Murray. He had been assigned to a Regina posting in 1922 and quickly established an inter-denominational athletic club for boys in the city. Murray, in addition to his role as the club administrator, wore many hats, including that of a coach. He was involved in multiple sports with the club until he transferred to Wilcox, Saskatchewan in 1927 where, at Notre Dame College, he continued to encourage players and help develop their talents.¹⁰ One of his successful teams, the Regina Argos, consisted of a highly talented group of juvenile baseball players who travelled across Canada during the summer and competed with all-star teams; they even contended with teams in the USA. Their level of play attracted large audiences and garnered praise from numerous newspaper sources.¹¹

I asked Jennifer if she knew anything about Ken’s athletic involvement in secondary school, especially in Central Collegiate in Regina, where he earned his athletic letter. She did not know much except that he was transferred to Campion College in third high class for one year before transferring again, this time to Regina College. He remained there for the next two years until he graduated in 1930. I made notes and took pictures of the items that Jennifer had laid out which reflected events in Ken’s elementary years. With that information, I searched for and found evidence that showed his schooling and athletic trajectory each year until he entered Campion.

Jennifer was in possession of many of the same yearbook photos that I had come across through my archival searches. The yearbooks provided a lot of information about Ken's academic and sporting achievements, as well as other interests while he attended Champion College and Regina College. She was aware of many of his numerous achievements at these schools, especially in hockey. His academic resume, above average ability in sports, and his association with Father Athol Murray help to explain how a Protestant was enrolled in a Jesuit college. Champion College, like Regina College, had an affiliation with the University of Saskatchewan and, in that era, sports scholarships were not uncommon. Jennifer explained, "From what my mom told me, my grandpa went to Champion College and then Regina College for two years, and he was on a full scholarship."

The programs in the two schools were created to provide a curriculum that, if followed successfully, would be credited as the first two years of university. In chapter two, I explained that due to the overlapping time allotted to demanding sport commitments and intense academic requirements, Ken opted to follow the high school program. This allowed him to continue with his sports until he completed high school, but still provided him with a senior matriculation which, at that time, was an outstanding academic achievement.

We discussed the years after Ken finished secondary school and the fact that hockey had become his sport of choice. His continued success in the sport was rewarded when he received the crown jewel of his awards collection, the Olympic Gold Medal from the 1932 Winter Olympic Games. I asked about the trip to Lake Placid and what she understood to be the reason that Ken had participated in only one of the round-robin

tournament games. She shared my thoughts exactly; if Ken was one of the reasons for the success of the team, what was the reason for his limited action in the tournament? I asked if, like me, she thought that racism might have been a factor. She too thought it might be a possibility.

Later, I followed up on the question and did more research which I discussed in chapter three. I am satisfied that the reason that Ken was used sparingly was due to a normal management decision related to his less than stellar performance in the early games of the season; a time in which he was still dealing with the aftermath of a severely damaged arm the previous year. I asked Jennifer about Ken's injuries and how much of a factor they became throughout his athletic career. She believes that injuries played a serious role in Ken's early retirement from competitive sports. I traced his history of injuries back to his high school years when, among other ailments, a kidney injury, sustained while playing football, was recurring and sidelined Ken on more than one occasion. According to Jennifer, the arm which was broken during the 1931 Allan Cup playoffs was also injured in another instance and became an Achilles heel in Ken's career: "His arm was held together for the rest of his life by pins and wires, and very primitive, early technology. It was shattered. So his arm never fully recovered."

I had another question regarding some information that resulted from a search I conducted while I was at the Library Archives of Canada. The documents that were referenced in the search results were confidential and not available to the public, unless they were immediate family. The information indicated that the documents included the application for and granting of disenfranchisement for Ken around 1936, the year when he was in Kimberley and playing for the Dynamiters. The process, in lay terms, meant

giving up one's status as an Indian. The benefit to the government was that an Indigenous person would no longer be a ward of the state. The benefit to the people, besides having the right to vote, was the belief that it would dampen the racism they experienced and lead to a better paying job. In other words, it would result in social and economic advancement. I had no idea why Ken would disenfranchise, but I was aware that it was a common practice that Indigenous people exercised in that era. Jennifer explained:

Now I also know, in order to, for instance, graduate with a degree from university, you had to give up your status. I think the rules were interpreted differently in different places, but some have said to even go to university, you had to give up your status. To become a doctor or a lawyer, you had to give up your status. So, there were various incentives to give up your status. I know also there was a one hundred or two-hundred-dollar payment to give up your status. There were all sorts of inducements and reasons why a number of Indigenous people gave up their status because they were trying to survive in the economy and the environment that existed at the time and quite frankly, desperate times called for desperate measures and people had to make some hard choices. That is my understanding of things. I don't know what my grandpa did, or why he did it, there's no family history of that. What I do know is there were a lot of reasons why people did that. If they wanted to get ahead, if they wanted to vote, you had to give up your status.

In terms of how it impacted family members, as I understand it, my grandpa gave up or lost his status. I don't know when, why, or how, but at some point, my mom, in the mid-eighties, went and applied for her status and was granted status,

and I have the paperwork for that. Because she was granted status, my sister and I were able to get our status too.

5.3 Findings

The interview with Jennifer made the completion of this thesis possible. With the additional information that she provided, I elaborated on various events in Ken Moore's life by combing through newspaper archives, textbooks, and government records. Jennifer's story provided details that helped to explain the significance for actions that Ken's parents took and the results of those actions. For example, when James moved his family to Regina in 1917, Jennifer explained that the move involved a sudden middle-of-the-night escape from the reserve. For James, the move was crucial given the fact that he had lost two of his children to the residential school system and was in jeopardy of losing his son Ken at any moment.

Jennifer added that, prior to moving to Saskatchewan, James and Edith had lived in an oppressed environment at the residential school since they were seized, as children, from their families in Norway House and Fisher River. From that time onwards, they lived in confined conditions at Brandon before they transferred to, and lived in controlled conditions at the Peepeekisis reservation from 1906 until they left in 1916. For the ten years they remained on the reserve, they lived under the shadow of the pass system.¹² Given the circumstances at the time, it is not difficult to understand that haste and secrecy were necessary in order to facilitate their move to Regina. As Jennifer suggested, no one will ever know all the details for certain. The family version of events, however, as told

by Jennifer, remains an important part of the family history. It is a story of strength and resilience, one of countless such stories among Indigenous people.

Jennifer's picture of her grandfather in a baseball uniform at fifteen years of age and her explanation that he was in the company of a Catholic priest, Father Murray, was a major break-through in my research. It enabled me to find information about Ken's life from the time he was in grade four in elementary school to the time he entered Campion College. As well, I was able to rationalize why a boy with a Protestant upbringing would suddenly be attending a Jesuit-run school and enrolled in a Catholic sponsored scholarship program.

Furthermore, we discussed the subject of racism at different times during the interview and Jennifer responded confidently to my questions. However, a shortcoming in the interview resulted because the answer to a question that I failed to ask might have better served my research. In chapter four, I discussed racism in the newspapers and how it shaped people's perceptions of Indigenous athletes specifically and Indigenous people generally. However, in the case of Ken Moore, I discovered that racism, although in existence, was not always easy to detect, but rather, was often expressed in coded terms.

Jennifer was aware of the prejudice that existed in her grandfather's life. That awareness, however, stretched beyond the realm of Ken's celebrity status as an athlete and perforated his more intimate personal life. Jennifer acknowledged that her grandmother's parents, who were non-Indigenous, were not happy that their daughter, Edith, married Ken. Although I did not feel it appropriate or necessary to delve further

into that aspect of Ken's life, this information may have been an indication of yet another front on which Ken was exposed to racism.

5.4 Bringing It All Together: Summarizing Ken Moore's Indelible Successes

In chapters two and three, I presented a short biographical account of Ken Moore's life that included details about his family history, his athletic quests, academic pursuits, and his personal life. In this section, I would like to pay particular attention to and focus on the accumulation of notable athletic accomplishments tallied in his lifetime. This is important because notable achievements appear to be the principal resolve by which an athlete is accepted for membership into the Canadian Sports Hall of Fame. In my concluding chapter, I will confirm the requirements for induction into the CSHF according to their documented guide.

The years that Ken spent in elementary school became part of his past at the beginning of the summer of 1925. He capped his departure from the eighth grade with a handful of ribbons that marked first to third place finishes in various running, jumping and throwing events at the annual YMCA city meet. During the summer, he travelled with Father Murray's baseball team, the Argos, on a tour across the provinces to Ontario. The trip accommodated numerous exhibition games in cities in Canada and the USA. Ken's talents as a baseball player, as well as his ethnic roots were captured in the headlines of various newspapers in cities that hosted the team.

Ken started high school in the fall with a full slate of sports on his agenda. His laudable performance in those activities in the first two years at Regina Central Collegiate landed him a coveted school athletic letter; an honor that normally required

three or four years to achieve. Because of his abilities, Ken left Regina Central after he completed the tenth grade. He had been offered and accepted a scholarship to attend Campion College, a Jesuit operated school, where he started his third year of high school in a preparatory university program. In addition to the challenging academic demands, he continued to participate in multiple athletic activities that were a requirement of the scholarship. He contributed his skills to the Campion football team, basketball team, and of course, the hockey team. However, he played in only one game with the Campion hockey squad, which played in a lower tier division. Regina College had recruited Ken for its team. The team competed in the upper echelon of high school hockey. He completed his third year high school studies at Campion and transferred as a student to Regina College in the fall of 1928. Regina College also had an affiliation with the University of Saskatchewan that enabled him to continue the academic agenda that he had established at Campion.

Ken jumped into the athletic program at Regina by taking the helm of the football team as quarterback in the fall of 1928. His worthy contributions to the team earned him praise in the school yearbook. In the winter term, he starred for the school hockey and basketball teams while simultaneously, he contributed his skills as a member of the Regina Argos. The Argos, Father Murray's team, competed in the Saskatchewan Junior Hockey League. In his last year at Regina College, Ken started the fall term by re-joining the football squad before playing basketball and hockey for the school teams in the winter session. Moreover, for the season of 1929-30, his talents in the provincial junior hockey league were acquired by the Regina Pats. He gelled with other members of the team to win the Abbot Cup and the subsequent Memorial Cup, symbolic of junior hockey

supremacy in Canada. Ken's final year in high school was praiseworthy. In addition to his leadership roles as captain of his school football, basketball and hockey teams, at the request of the school athletic administrators, he competed as a speed skater in two inner-city winter sports competitions. Ken won both of the contests in which he was entered and received medals for his efforts.

Ken scored the game winning goal in the Memorial Cup championship in Winnipeg in 1930. He caught the attention of the owners of Winnipeg's senior hockey team. The team needed scoring power to bolster its chances at winning the Allen Cup. Ken joined the team, moved to Manitoba and played for the Winnipegs in the 1930-31 agenda.

Ken arrived in Winnipeg in the summer of 1930, before the start of hockey season, and played with the Winnipeg Native Sons, an elite football team. The success of the team carried it all the way to the final game of the season in Toronto, where they vied for the national championship. Although they lost the game, they won the praise of the football community for their effort. That final game of the football season, in December of 1930, overlapped the beginning of the hockey season. The Winnipegs played the first game the same day that Ken returned from Toronto after a seventy-two-hour train ride. He played a full game with his new teammates and scored the team's only goal of the contest.

The restructured Winnipeg team, with the newly acquired feisty right-winger from the Regina Pats, stretched a triumphant season to the Allan Cup finals, where they claimed victory after coming up short on previous campaigns. This was yet another major

achievement in Ken's life, but furthermore, winning the Allen cup created an even more prestigious honor; the right to represent Canada at the 1932 Winter Olympic Games in Lake Placid. The team was victorious at the Olympics and every team member was awarded an Olympic Gold Medal; a crowning achievement for Ken.

The next year, Ken moved west to Kimberley where he played with the Dynamiters and helped that team to the playoffs for two years before winning yet another Allan Cup with them in 1936. Ken retired as an active player and remained in Kimberley for three years before returning to Winnipeg with his family. Before he left Kimberley, he remained active in senior hockey by refereeing in the West Kootenay league in British Columbia. In the summers, he honed his golfing skills and as a competitive golfer, he won two distinguished golf championships in 1937.

In Winnipeg, he continued to participate in the sport of hockey and accepted the position as head coach of the St. Boniface Athletics, a junior team that he led to the divisional championships in 1941 and 1942. Next, he assumed the head coaching position for the St. James Canadians in the fall of 1943 and guided the team to its first provincial championship in the spring of 1944. In the years following, Ken continued to referee senior hockey, coach young players, serve as manager of a sports association, and contribute as a member of a hockey board of directors.

His contributions, in multiple athletic endeavors, and more specifically in the game of hockey, like those of many other Indigenous athletes, remain hidden and mostly unrecognized. Yet Ken, as a member of teams that won a Memorial Cup, two Allan Cups, and an Olympic Gold Medal, is honored in four provincial sport halls of fame. Of

the four sports halls of fame, the British Columbia Sports Hall of Fame has a distinct sector in its facility to honor Canadian Indigenous athletes. The display arrangement in the British Columbia Sports Hall of Fame is a breakthrough presentation that reflects a major step forward in the implementation of the Call to Action #87. Within the facility is an area allotted to hockey that contains a section designated the “Circle of Champions.” This special exhibit provides space for several individual displays that recognize the achievements of outstanding Indigenous athletes; Ken Moore is among those being honored in that section.

Endnotes

¹ Steinar Kvale and Svend Brinkman, *Interviews: Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing* (Los Angeles: Sage Publications, 2008).

² *Ibid.*, 134-140.

³ Jill Coubrough, "Canada's 1st Indigenous Olympic Gold Medalist Not Recognized, Family Says," *CBC News*, Apr. 24, 2015.

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⁵ Jennifer Rattray, "An Olympic Champion," *Campion's Brag Magazine*, 16, Spring/Summer 2010, 14,16.

⁶ Unless otherwise noted, the following information on and quotations from Jennifer Moore Rattray are from a personal interview with her in Winnipeg, MB, Aug. 19, Aug. 20, and Aug. 21, 2019.

⁷ "Exhibition Awards," *Regina Leader-Post*, Aug. 8, 1921, 9.

⁸ "Grade VIII Students Promoted to Grade IX," *Regina Leader-Post*, Aug. 7, 1925, 3.

⁹ "YMCA Track Meet," *Regina Leader-Post*, June 1, 1925, 14.

¹⁰ Jack Gorman, *Père Murray and The Hounds* (Sidney, B.C: Gray's Publishing, 1977), 17, 25.

¹¹ "Junior Argos Baseball Club Leave on Tour," *Regina Leader-Post*, July 14, 1925, 10.

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Chapter 6: Conclusion

6.1 Calls to Action; Defining a National Story of an Indigenous Athlete

This paper has given me the opportunity to present the story of Ken Moore, an Indigenous athlete, and about who, in spite of his impressive list of achievements, has received very little recognition for his accomplishments. The contributions that Ken made to the world of sport as well as to the community are significant. Why then, has his story, as those of countless other Indigenous athletes, remained in relative obscurity? What is the difference between Ken and the thousands of non-Indigenous athletes who, along with their lists of notable achievements, have had their feats documented, or their names revered and celebrated in public sports shrines? The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), in its final report, included a section devoted to “Sports and Reconciliation.” In that section, Call to Action #87 states, “We call upon all levels of government, in collaboration with Aboriginal peoples, sports halls of fame, and other relevant organizations, to provide public education that tells the national story of Aboriginal athletes in history.”¹

In order for the government and other institutions to advance this initiative, it is necessary to know what information should be taken into consideration when evaluating the merits of an athlete’s history. Vicky Parashak, who has been trying to bring more recognition to Indigenous athletes through her own research and writing, offers some insight about the challenges of responding to this call to action. In her research on the criteria that Wikipedia uses to assess whether an Indigenous athlete is included in its database, she affirmed that notable achievements are the major consideration in

determining their inclusion.² However, as I have learned from my experience during this research, stories about Indigenous athletes consist of much more than a list of notable achievements. The TRC, in an effort to bring the stories of deserving Indigenous athletes to the attention of the public, addresses this point specifically in its Call to Action #87. The key phrase in the statement though, is “national story of Aboriginal athletes.”³

What exactly is a ‘national story’ of Indigenous athletes? What does it look like? What are its main components? Call to Action #87 appears to offer some direction, but there are significant shortcomings in the commission’s attempt to have the government and other institutions address this historical inequity; it neither identifies nor explains what criteria must be present to constitute a ‘national story.’ I revisited numerous sections of the TRC’s final report and examined every detail that was in the section addressing sport. However, I was unable to find a framework or even guiding thoughts about what should be included in a ‘national story.’ This creates an impediment for anyone attempting to address Call to Action #87, and perhaps worse, allows them to respond in a way that reinforces colonial biases that led to the need for the Call to Action in the first place. The lack of clear guidance is therefore a hindrance to reconciliation. It is important to clarify what components must be included for it to be a suitable national story, since these will help reverse historical and contemporary biases about who is deserving of attention and recognition. The findings from my research offer a starting point for this clarification. I focus in particular on three components: context, agency, and schooling.

Context for Understanding the Broader Environment.

Certainly, a broader precedent is necessary to accommodate elements that address the inimical issues that are unique to the Indigenous sportspeople. Familiar influences such as geographical isolation and social marginalization are factors that researchers must take into account when presenting national stories of Indigenous athletes. Additionally, the prejudicial and unfavorable environments that handicap Indigenous athletes can also negatively affect their desire to participate, the quality of their performance, and the progress they make in organized sports. All of these are factors that impact their national stories. Context is therefore a critical element that is necessary in order to write a national story of an Indigenous athlete.

Context addresses challenges that Indigenous athletes faced - struggles that many non-Indigenous athletes did not encounter or that enhanced their privilege. Afflictions such as difficulties in travel due to isolated or remote locations, as well as costs involved in equipment and organizational fees, are all fundamentals that must be considered as part of the of the influences within the context of an athlete's story.

Particular challenges, such as the fiscal and physical disadvantages faced by these athletes, are exclusive of any mental or emotional aspects they endured, and which also require consideration. For example, the lack of education in Canada about Indigenous people has also led to the creation of misleading representations such as sports mascots. When attached to team names, these insensitive emblems leave Indigenous athletes vulnerable to stereotypical and racialized depictions.⁴ These same portrayals that have continuously mocked and insulted Indigenous people are also responsible for some coaches resorting to stereotypes when referencing Indigenous sportspeople or making determinations about the amount of playing time, their positions on teams (e.g. as

‘fighters’) as well as their ability to lead teams (e.g. not given leadership or strategic roles).⁵

Agency is About Understanding Decisions

A further component in a national story is the way in which athletes were able to confront and deal with disadvantages as they competed in sports. Agency is the ability of people to make rational choices from existing options; choices that are based on logical responses to given situations.⁶ In the case of Indigenous athletes, decisions that seriously influenced their potential as competitors included matters such as whether or not to leave a reserve. The decision to leave a reservation meant much more than simply being separated from one’s family and friends. In many cases it meant learning new languages, adopting new cultures, and adjusting to foreign values and traditions. Additionally, it often meant making hard decisions in order to live in a racist society. These are conditions that many athletes, especially those who were white, male, and middle-class, were not subjected to and, in fact, benefitted from.

Another example of a decision that could impact a player’s status as an athlete involves the possibility of a career as a professional athlete in major leagues such as the National Hockey League. During Ken Moore’s lifetime, it was not uncommon for a player with a family to take into consideration the pay and security of a job in the private sector as an alternative to playing in the major leagues; such opportunities were tempting because of the potential prestige, but were tainted with the unpredictability of success. However, it was a decision, especially prior to 1950, that could negatively impact a

player's life and career or clearly augment a broader awareness of skills, talent, popularity and, ultimately, his or her legacy.

Schooling Must Be Considered Alongside Sport

Finally, the context of a national story of Indigenous athletes cannot be expressed thoroughly without acknowledging the role of schooling. The impact on the lives of athletes, who as children, were subjected to abusive, racist policies, has to be noted and included in their national stories. Although the residential school system was a major contributor of shameful antagonism towards Indigenous children, the same prejudice and racism also existed for Indigenous students attending public schools. As the TRC shows us, schooling influenced every Indigenous person's life in profound ways, including young athletes' lives. Presentations of their stories must recognize the role that education played and the affect it had on the lives of these athletes.

6.2 Inclusivity in the Canadian Sport Hall of Fame

During the data gathering process of my research, I had the opportunity to visit the Canadian Sports Hall of Fame (CSHF) in Calgary. Because it was my first visit, I had no preconceived idea of how the facility might appear or how the organizers would present the exhibits and displays. Other than serving my curiosity, my objective was to see how the CSHF had responded to Calls to Action #87; the CBC after all, had claimed this action to be complete.⁷ Intrinsic to that objective was the need for me to determine where Ken Moore would fit in the Hall and how he could be presented.

Although I explored the entire exhibition, I spent most of my time examining the displays in the area dedicated to hockey, since that is the sport in which Ken was most accomplished. A few months after my visit, and in response to what thoughts I had about the CSHF, I replied that the experience had left me with a very empty feeling. Although I can ascribe my disappointment to some extent to what I found, it is what I did not find that contributed more to my dismay.

What I found was a beautiful facility, embellished with floodlights, spotlights, glass encasements, bright colors and advanced technology. There was an abundance of audio/video displays and no shortage of interactive exhibitions that provided visitors an opportunity to experience the physical actions involved in sports such as boxing, skiing, and rowing, as well as related activities such as broadcasting.

What I did not find in any of the sports exhibits was discernible information that explained the history of any particular sport in Canada, how the sport evolved, how it contributed to social stratification, or how it privileged some groups while marginalizing others, all of which would provide a more complex (and 'real') history of sport. Minimized as well, were stories about the early participants who contributed not only to the progress of sports, but also to the accomplishment of great feats while using equipment and facilities that, by today's standard, would be considered primitive. This sounds somewhat similar to the view that Bruce Kidd expressed about Toronto's Hockey Hall of Fame (HHF). Moreover, he suggests that we subject exhibits of halls of fame to the same critical analysis we apply to our own scholarship. As I found with the CSHF, Kidd claims that the HHF is a "disappointing example of effective public history."⁸

I paid particularly close attention to the hockey exhibit. I had hoped to see a presentation that highlighted the earliest forms of the game, examples of pioneering participants, as well as the increase and development of the popularity of the sport from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century, or anything that placed sport in the broader context of colonization and nation-building. Additionally, because I had devoted an appreciable amount of time studying the TRC's Calls to Action, I looked specifically for some sign of Indigenous contribution to the sport; after all, the Calls to Action supported my objective of having Ken inducted into the CSHF. Owing to that, I was eager to find some acknowledgement of Indigenous participation in the sport of hockey, and especially in activities that occurred during the first half of the twentieth century.

If the CSHF had incorporated a deeper understanding of the TRC's Calls to Action, rather than offering surface representations, then it was not obvious to me, at least in the hockey exhibit. Besides finding no obvious evidence of a 'national story' of an Indigenous athlete, I was unable to find any trace of information regarding the contributions of Indigenous hockey players who played in the sport prior to 1950. Clearly, a lack of representation, not only of Indigenous hockey players, but also of Indigenous athletes in general, still exists in the CSHF.

Why then, with the added imperative of the TRC, does this situation still exist? Was there a shortage of Indigenous hockey players in the early decades of the twentieth century or did they lack talent? Evidence indicates that there were many active Indigenous hockey players in that era who were exceedingly capable.⁹ However, I also found that opportunities for Indigenous athletes to play in non-Indigenous sports organizations faced major obstacles such as travel distance, lack of resources, athlete

retention and recruitment, lack of competition, as well as facilities and equipment availability.¹⁰ Hence, awareness of Indigenous athletes, even outstanding players, did not extend beyond the small communities in close proximity to residences or a few residential schools where sports were included in the curriculum.

The NHL, prior to 1950, was essentially void of Indigenous or marginalized players, other than rare exceptions of athletes like Paul Jacobs, who barely saw action in a single game, or Henry Maracle, who was inundated with racial innuendo during his action in the handful of games he played in one season. I referred to each of these players in chapter three. Because of the conditions that kept the identities and achievements of so many Indigenous hockey players in a clandestine state, their national stories have become indispensable. The protocol, as established by the CSHF for an athlete to be inducted, focuses on the achievement of outstanding and extraordinary success, demonstrates exemplary values, personal characteristics, or makes defining contributions to sport or Canadian society.¹¹ In short, the protocol spotlights notable achievements—the principal criterion that reinforces which athletes are included in Wikipedia, thus contributing to the marginalization of athletes who do not fit this narrow description. Without expanding this confined policy to acknowledge the national stories of Indigenous athletes who would otherwise accommodate the criteria, the opportunity to recognize and honor these deserving sportspeople will be lost.

My concern centers on two avenues of thought regarding the presentation of athletes in a public setting: biographical information versus a national story. Biographical information, including relevant personal background details as well as performance statistics, does not address the arduous impediments that burdened the lives of people in

oppressed nations. National stories provide an opportunity to present elements that were present in the lives of Indigenous athletes and which were vastly different from and more demanding than the challenges that mainstream athletes generally faced. My point is, the effort by Indigenous athletes to overcome adverse circumstances, yet still become outstanding athletes, needs recognition.

Paraschak argues that Indigenous people continue to be “invisible” in Canadian sport history and that they lost their significance in historical accounts of sport after 1900. She adds that their resettlement on reserves visually removed them, not only from North American society, but from the attention of historians as well. She further argues that, “reports of Native athletes within mainstream sport have remained selective in terms of the sports examined.”¹² Paraschak also states that the intertwining of sport history with public history can make both much stronger and offer more than either field could accomplish independently. She explains that this will require expanding public knowledge to include remarkable athletic achievements from varying groups. Sport historians can participate by committing to fairness when selecting aspirants for public history locations such as halls of fame.¹³

The idea that has guided the induction decisions of sport halls of fame, specifically the CSHF, is that worthiness relies on a quantitative based approach that prioritizes statistics and similar achievements above all else. Selection committees appear to be unenthusiastic about considering information beyond these priorities. In contrast, the intent of Calls to Action #87 was to encourage institutions and members of selection committees to develop a deeper appreciation for how oppression works and how it has shaped, and continues to shape, Indigenous involvement in Canadian sport. The point is

not to view Indigenous involvement in sport from a deficit perspective, which views Indigenous athletes as less-than-capable in comparison to non-Indigenous athletes, and therefore, any achievements Indigenous athletes experience should be celebrated because they conform to normalized expectations for proper sporting achievements. Rather, it is essential to understand their involvement as a history of struggles mired in a complex web of racist, classist, and gendered politics that structured and reinforced what was happening in wider society.¹⁴ To put the matter another way, a ‘national story’ is a story about Indigenous peoples’ will to survive in spite of what lay in front of them. Indigenous athletes, male and female alike, faced constant struggles in trying to access sport, especially mainstream competitive sport - struggles that were detrimental to their success. It is this idea of a ‘national story’ that appears, at least until now, to have carried little weight in the CSHF. These stories provide information that presents a more complete, balanced understanding of the history of sport in Canada. Why is this so important and why should these narratives accompany Indigenous athletes when they are honored in sport institutions?

Sport halls of fame are memory institutions

The fact that the CSHF and other sport halls of fame have memberships that underrepresent marginalized athletes reflects the racism that exists in these institutions. In order to understand why this has not changed, it is important to examine the evolution of sport halls of fame.

Along with museums, libraries, and archives, sport halls of fame are memory institutions, depositories of public knowledge that provide opportunities for members of societies to better understand themselves, their histories, and how the past can impact the

future.¹⁵ Because of this, it is essential that historical presentations are as inclusive as possible in order to offer more complete and truthful versions of past events. During the twentieth century, there was a change in thinking about the agendas of museums. The shifting approach influenced the way in which sports museums, which started to become popular and develop in the middle decades, presented their exhibitions. From a focus as collectors of natural history in the nineteenth century, memory institutions broadened their roles and started to embrace issues of national identity as well as social, political and cultural history. As the function of memory institutions changed, sport was a good fit, but the lopsided representation across cultures became evident in the exhibitions.¹⁶

With the changing roles, another challenge emerged; a fissure developed in the relationship between historians and museum administrators. In short, historians believed that written historical records could more accurately depict history than celebratory material objects. On the other hand, museum staff defended practices that encouraged the use of tangible items.¹⁷ Kidd argues that these halls are vital to public remembering and interpretation of sports. He acknowledges the necessity for recognition of marginalized groups and in order to fully understand the complex interactions between sports and other social activities, he believes it is necessary to include narrative in order to help visitors interpret the meaning of artifacts that are so regardfully placed on display.¹⁸ However, even though the disproportionate depiction of athletes and the lack of scripted narratives is obvious, sporting museums have received very little criticism.¹⁹

Murray Phillips explores multiple influences that determine and prioritize content in sport halls. He categorizes sport halls of fame into groups and for example, he identifies the Canadian Hockey Hall of Fame as a 'single sport corporate' exhibition type.

Major sponsors such as Molson Canada and Imperial Esso are more interested in image, branding and marketing; subsequently, they “invest more heavily in staff dedicated to marketing, accounting, media relations and public affairs.”²⁰ Phillips notes that Kidd’s review as well as reviews by other sport historians express frustration by the “selective, sanitized, and decontextualized version of the past provided in corporate exhibitions.”²¹ The CSHF meets some of the criteria in Phillips’ ‘corporate’ category because its exhibitions attempt to depict a history of sport by presenting objects, photos, notable events, and superstars in order to influence public opinion. In addition, it indirectly advertises sport as a commodity in a competitive marketplace.²²

Phillips categorizes sport museums based on presentation style and notes that all of them focus on the use of material objects in the exhibitions. He argues against narrative based displays that do not attract modern audiences, but rather, he supports presentations that appeal to tangible senses such as visual, touch, or feel and experience.²³ Kevin Moore also supports the use of material objects and agrees, but invites more investigation; “Further research on the relationship between people and objects, and specifically, objects in museum displays, is required.”²⁴ It is reasonable that people may find it easier to relate to current, or recent events, and it also reasonable that tangible objects are more conducive to audience appeal. However, it is difficult to understand how objects or artifacts by themselves, without narratives, can explain stories of struggle, hardship, or racism.

G.Z. Kohe, a proponent of physical objects in sport museums, claims that the presentation of historical objects is of primary importance to influence an emotion such as nostalgia; any narrative, or even the content of a narrative, is secondary.²⁵ However, he

does not close the door on the need for academic involvement, “Future efforts should be directed toward investigating changes sports halls and sports museums may need to undertake to retain their academic and civic interest.”²⁶

While Kohe, Phillips, and Moore are supportive of less narrative in sport halls of fame, Kidd believes that the absence of narrative will impede a fuller awareness of the history of sport as it evolved in the country. Kohe, Phillips, and Moore are advocates for electronic dazzle and modern technological concepts to attract viewers. However, they do not acknowledge the fact that their vision of a successful sport museum, without the use of narratives, will limit, if not exclude marginalized athletes, especially Indigenous athletes, who are all but missing from sport history in the first half of the twentieth century. This is, in part, due to the mechanism that determines which participants and artifacts are chosen for the displays. Kidd does not mention racism as a contributing problem in the selection process, but he does suggest that it requires more transparency. Kohe, Phillips, and Moore, in their articles, do not discuss or even mention reasons why minority athletes are under-represented, nor do they identify the element that is tainting the selection process; colonial bias and white superiority. Indeed, discrimination is firmly entrenched in the process of determining who, or what is represented in sport halls and museums.

Racism and prejudice existed in the selection process used in early museums before sport halls of fame became popular by the middle of the twentieth century. In his discussion regarding other types of memory institutions and halls of fame in the United States, Evan J. Friss reveals, in no uncertain terms, why there has historically been lopsided representation in museums and commemoratives, and why there is little indication

of change. He refers to one of the early museums in the United States; “In effect, the Hall of Fame of Great Americans archived the memory of a solely white, and overwhelmingly aristocratic, male narrative.”²⁷ This same colonial mentality still exists in the selection process of sport museums across the U.S. and in Canadian sport institutions such as the CSHF; more research is needed in order to identify and purge the colonial bias that still dwells in Canadian culture.

6.3 Summary and Recommendations

It is also important to document native athletes within mainstream sport history, rather than just within native culture, to combat the ‘invisible Indian’ attitude prevalent in modern day historical accounts.²⁸

As Paraschak aptly explains in the quote immediately above, there is an unmistakable absence in the historical accounting of Indigenous athletes in Canada; the scant information that is available about Ken Moore is a prime example. It required almost three years of research in addition to considerable financial resources in order for me to construct a historical accounting of an extraordinary Indigenous athlete about whom I had previously been unaware. Ken represents merely one of an untold number of Indigenous athletes across Canada whose stories need to be heard.

I urge governments, museums, sport halls of fame, and other relevant organizations to take advantage of the opportunity which the TRC has presented in its imperative that calls upon these groups to be more inclusive of Indigenous athletes. This will be a positive step toward shedding the perception that their policies are still guided by colonial bias. I also urge members of the selection committee of the CSHF to critically reflect on their own biases about sport. How many Indigenous athletes are among the

current incumbent members being honored in the CSHF and why is there so little representation? How many ‘national stories’ of Indigenous athletes—meaning, the more complex version that takes into account overlapping systems of oppression that held them back—have been written and available for viewing in the CSHF? How does the interpretation of stated criteria for inducting athletes reinforce colonial biases? What facts encouraged the TRC’s Calls to Action #87, and how can a more complex version of telling the ‘national story’ support the decolonization of Canadian sport and Canadian history generally? By asking these questions, CSHF selection committee members might realize that a critical epistemological void exists in the selection process and, furthermore, this void requires a reassessment in order to understand how the procedure can be improved to be more inclusive. In so doing, the power to induct an athlete can then be used to present a more comprehensive and accurate understanding of the role of Indigenous athletes in Canadian sport history.

Meanwhile, sport historians have much to gain as they correct and improve historical accounts by the inclusion of native people. At the same time, they will be acknowledging a social responsibility to contribute to the fight against Native oppression, ultimately assisting Native people in their search for a more meaningful existence in present day society.²⁹

Although there is much work remaining, it is not only the responsibility of the halls of fame selection committees to search for candidates or their stories; this is a function that must be included as part of the nominating process. Tracing histories of Indigenous athletes from the past can be a daunting task. Yet, with determination and the

cooperation of families and friends of Indigenous athletes, historians can craft national stories to present to the selection committees of institutes such as the CSHF. As I have come to realize while researching the life of Ken Moore, the literature of sport can be richer, more informative, and educational with the inclusion of Indigenous athletes and their stories; stories from the past that reveal the roles that Indigenous sportspeople played in Canadian history, as well as the contributions that they have made to the world of sport.

6.4 Concluding Thoughts

Ken Moore spent the first six years of his life on the Peepeekisis reservation in rural Saskatchewan. A few years earlier, his parents had lived most of their lives at the Brandon Residential School before settling on the reserve as part of a discriminatory and racist government experiment. Saskatchewan, at the beginning of the twentieth century, was experiencing dramatic social changes that included an increase in racism; a result of Treaty agreements between the government and Indigenous communities a few decades earlier.

On the reserve, Ken cultivated his earliest friendships as he learned and practiced the language, traditions, and culture of the Cree community; then he experienced a major change. His parents, in order to escape the oppressive policies of the Indian Act, moved the family to Regina. Because of the move, Ken did not experience the revulsion of the Indian residential school system that claimed the lives of his two older brothers, but he lived with its memory. He grew up in the Regina Public School system and learned another language and a different lifestyle. Although he was Indigenous and living in an increasingly racist colonial society, his love of and mastery of sports appears to have

been a buffer that sheltered him to some degree from racial abuse. No matter, racism was part of Ken's life.

His academic ability, his flair for the arts, and especially, Ken's penchant for athletics, padded his popularity with colleagues as well as coaches and administrators. He participated in an array of sports, but favored those that were rugged, more physically demanding and risky. Consequently, the stringent agenda that he pursued left him vulnerable to protracted injuries that led to an abbreviated career, but not before he accumulated an extended list of amazing feats.

With his athletic superiority on full display during his teen years, Ken attracted the attention of ambitious hockey teams after he completed his secondary education. As an adult, his dexterity and prowess on the ice first established his reputation as a skilled marksman. Later, in an expanded role, his value as a two-way player and also as an enforcer became more evident. In the time Ken played hockey as an adult, he played an integral part of teams that claimed three national championships and an Olympic Gold Medal. Due to his injuries, he had little choice but to retire as an active competitor. The allure of the game and moreover, his obsession with sport provided an opportunity, by means of refereeing and coaching, for Ken to continue to participate in the sport he loved. Ken is currently a member of four provincial halls of fame. The British Columbia Sports Hall of Fame has taken the initiative and created a special individual exhibit to honor Ken and his achievements.

A humble man, Ken neither flaunted nor lingered on his accomplishments. Nevertheless, his vast collection of memorabilia, along with scrapbooks that his father James had started, Ken kept updated, and which his granddaughter Jennifer now

possesses, offer further testimony to his character. Not only do the collectibles demonstrate the infatuation with and the degree of adeptness for sports that he possessed, they also clearly indicate the depth of pride he had in his achievements.

There is no evidence to indicate to what extent racism may have impacted Ken's life. Although he lived in non-Indigenous centers, he was a First Nations man, and not immune to racism. However, he was a cooperative man and, according to Jennifer, did not complain or express his feelings publicly. Although the evidence confirms that Ken was popular and respected in the non-Indigenous community, news articles verify that racism was something he had to contend with throughout his life. Consequently, that Ken experienced racism and had to contend with it is clear.

Ken Moore's story needs to be told. However, it would be unjust to measure the contribution that the man made to sport merely by assessing the number of years that he was active or by simply offering a list of his notable achievements. Ken's story must be viewed holistically as an aggregate of extraordinary accomplishments in an environment of challenges and adversities. It is a story of Indigenous resilience and determination, and of how one man carried on as an Indigenous person in the face of incredible adversity so that one day his children could thrive without having to face the same struggles he did. As historian Bruce Trigger reminds us, it is not a celebration of Canadian sport, but rather, a counter-story to it:

After 1900 the attention paid to native people declined still further...Indians were assigned an even smaller role even in general histories, where they were normally confined to introductory chapters describing the natural environment and early European settlement. To

the extent that they were mentioned at all, their negative image as being primitive and static people who were doomed to disappear tended to persist. Canadian history, like that of the United States, had as its theme the achievements of Europeans.³⁰

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Appendix 1



Date: 16 July 2019

To: Prof. Janice Forsyth

Project ID: 113859

Study Title: Oral History Project: Ken Moore

Short Title: Oral History Project

Application Type: NMREB Initial Application

Review Type: Delegated

Full Board Reporting Date: August 2 2019

Date Approval Issued: 16/Jul/2019

REB Approval Expiry Date: 16/Jul/2020

Dear Prof. Janice Forsyth

The Western University Non-Medical Research Ethics Board (NMREB) has reviewed and approved the WREM application form for the above mentioned study, as of the date noted above. NMREB approval for this study remains valid until the expiry date noted above, conditional to timely submission and acceptance of NMREB Continuing Ethics Review.

This research study is to be conducted by the investigator noted above. All other required institutional approvals must also be obtained prior to the conduct of the study.

Documents Approved:

Document Name	Document Type	Document Date	Document Version
End of Study Letter Template (2)	End of Study Letter	08/May/2019	2
Interview Questions	Interview Guide		
Oral History Study - Letter of Information and Consent - Clean	Written Consent/Assent	13/Jul/2019	3

No deviations from, or changes to the protocol should be initiated without prior written approval from the NMREB, except when necessary to eliminate immediate hazard(s) to study participants or when the change(s) involves only administrative or logistical aspects of the trial.

The Western University NMREB operates in compliance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (TCPS2), the Ontario Personal Health Information Protection Act (PHIPA, 2004), and the applicable laws and regulations of Ontario. Members of the NMREB who are named as Investigators in research studies do not participate in discussions related to, nor vote on such studies when they are presented to the REB. The NMREB is registered with the U.S. Department of Health & Human Services under the IRB registration number IRB 00000941.

Please do not hesitate to contact us if you have any questions.

Sincerely,

Kelly Patterson, Research Ethics Officer on behalf of Dr. Randal Graham, NMREB Chair

Note: This correspondence includes an electronic signature (validation and approval via an online system that is compliant with all regulations).

Appendix 2 - Semi-Structured Interview Session Guide

Semi-Structured Interview Session Guide

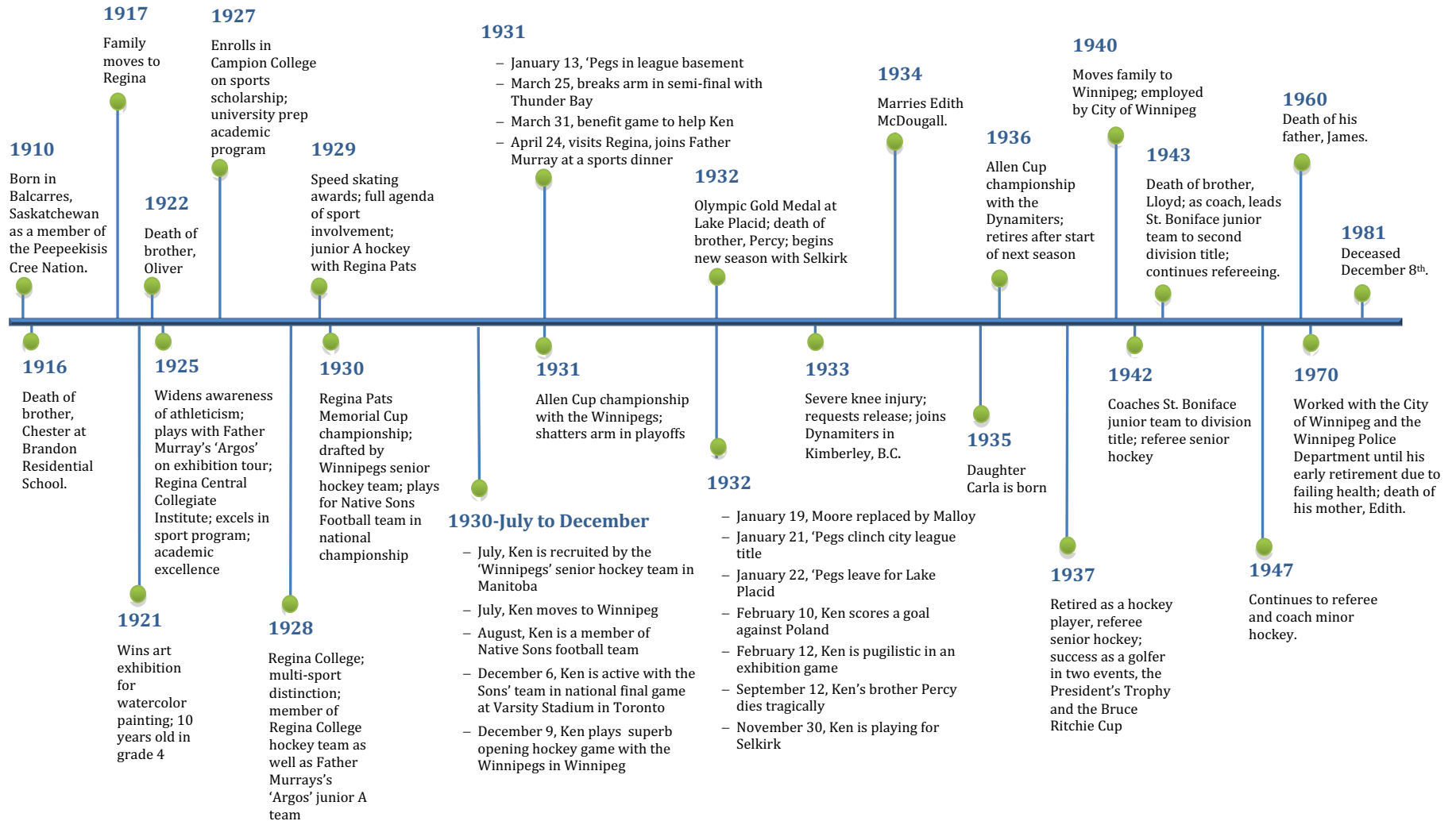
Interview Questions:

- During an interview with the CBC, you told a story about your grandfather and referenced the discovery of some materials which had belonged to him; can you elaborate on the events which led to the discovery of the box of materials and why you were surprised about the contents which the box contained?
- Did you receive most of your information about your grandfather from your mother, and if not, where did you learn about him?
- You would have been very young at the time of your grandfather's passing; what do you remember about him?
- Your grandfather was a very active athlete and had a deep love for sport; is there anything to indicate that his natural ability and love for sport was passed on to family members? For example, how involved or how interested have you, or possibly your mother, been in sport?
- After discovering your grandfather's belongings, were you encouraged to learn more about your family history, and if so, what do you now know about how / why the family arrived in Saskatchewan in the early 1900's?
- Your grandfather was born in 1910 in Balcarres, Saskatchewan. I have not seen any information about him until he was in the tenth grade at Campeon College in Regina. Have you any knowledge about his activities in the years of his life prior to post-elementary school? For instance, his athletic skills were well developed when he was in his early teens which would indicate a steady diet of sport from an early age; what are your thoughts about that?
- Newspaper accounts refer to injuries which your grandfather received while playing football and which also resurfaced occasionally while he played hockey. What, if anything, do you know about his sports injuries?
- To the best of my knowledge, Ken 'hung them up' after the Kimberly Allan Cup victory and at a point, he returned to Winnipeg where he went into coaching. Is this how you understand this sequence of events and is it possible that the injuries might have played a part in his decision? For example, your grandfather, at the time of the Kimberly victory, would have been only about twenty-seven years old.

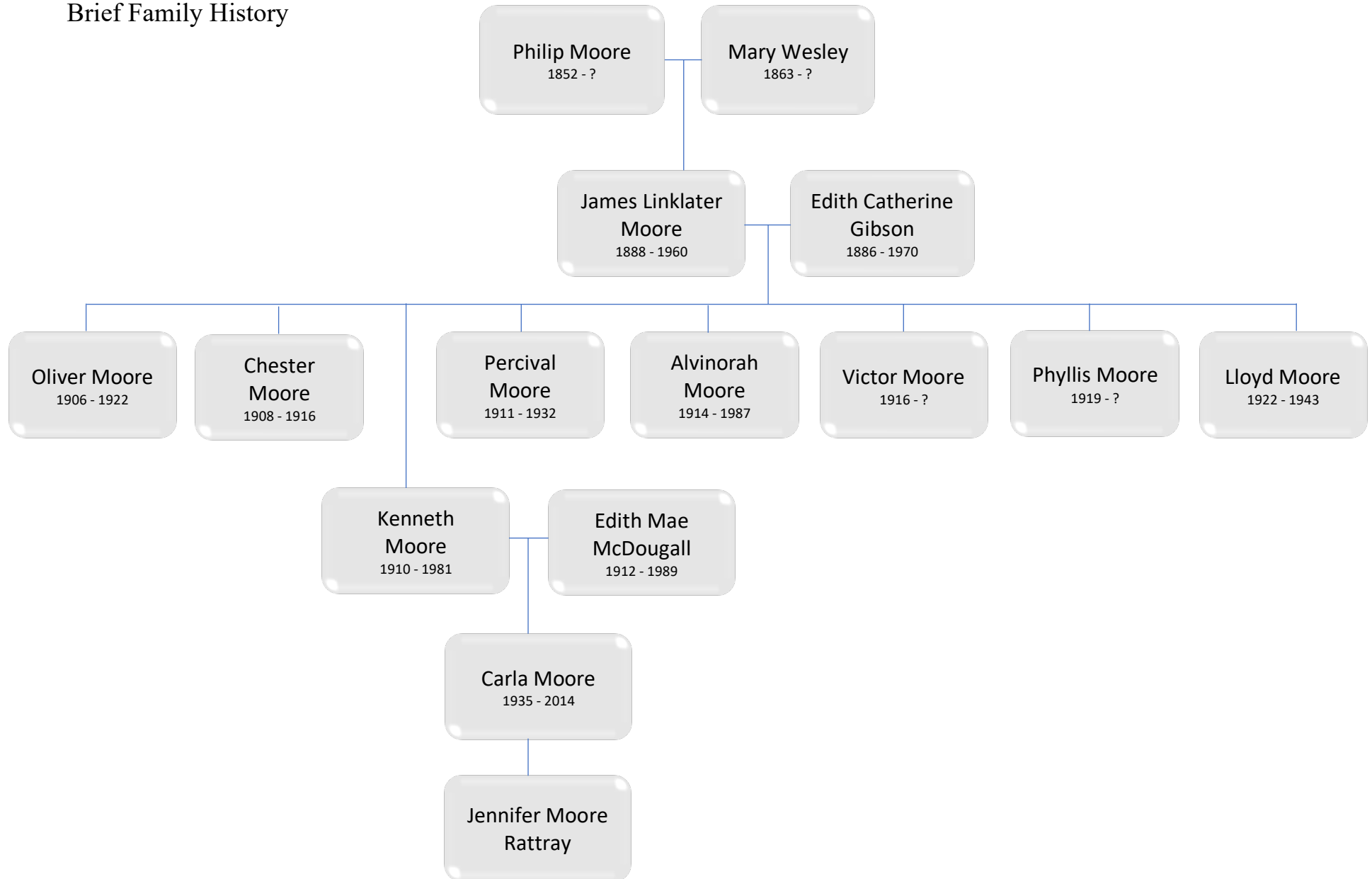
Appendix 3

Kenneth Strath Moore

February 17, 1910 – December 8, 1981



Appendix 4: Ken Moore:
Brief Family History



Curriculum Vitae

Name: James Charles McCormick

Post-secondary Education and Degrees: The University of Western Ontario
London, Ontario, Canada
1978-2018 B.A.

Related Work Experience: Teaching Assistant
School of Kinesiology
Faculty of Health Sciences
The University of Western Ontario
2018-2020