

Electronic Thesis and Dissertation Repository

8-21-2020 12:00 PM

“Born of a Spirit That Knows No Conquering:” Innovation, Contestation, and Representation in the PCHA, 1911-1924.

Taylor Mckee, *The University of Western Ontario*

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

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in Kinesiology

© Taylor Mckee 2020

Follow this and additional works at: <https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/etd>



Part of the [Canadian History Commons](#), [Cultural History Commons](#), [Film and Media Studies Commons](#), and the [Sports Studies Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Mckee, Taylor, ““Born of a Spirit That Knows No Conquering:” Innovation, Contestation, and Representation in the PCHA, 1911-1924.” (2020). *Electronic Thesis and Dissertation Repository*. 7258. <https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/etd/7258>

This Dissertation/Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by Scholarship@Western. It has been accepted for inclusion in Electronic Thesis and Dissertation Repository by an authorized administrator of Scholarship@Western. For more information, please contact wlsadmin@uwo.ca.

Abstract

The Pacific Coast Hockey Association (PCHA) was a professional North American hockey league that operated from 1911 to 1924. With markets in Victoria, Vancouver, New Westminster, Seattle, and Portland, the burgeoning league was a viable competitor to the NHA and offered a distinctive approach to the developing sport. Through innovations and rule changes, the PCHA made significant strides in player safety, in line with the vision of “clean” hockey promoted by the league’s founders, Frank and Lester Patrick. In turn, these innovations were represented through newspaper accounts from the period, which helped promote a modern, scientific, and highly-marketable brand of hockey in Western Canada.

This dissertation challenges existing assumptions regarding early professional hockey in Canada and masculinity. I focus on one league, the Pacific Coast Hockey Association (PCHA), and assess the ways that violence was mediated in newspaper reporting. The PCHA promoted a clean and safe version of the game, separate from subsequent iterations of hockey, from the 1930s to the present. Significantly, the league is also considered one of the most important and financially successful forbearers to modern hockey, a game that today features violence as one of its most marked characteristics. However, although many of the PCHA’s innovations have been celebrated as essential to Canadian hockey history, such as player numbers, the blue line, or forward passing, the PCHA’s efforts to curb violence have not been recognized by critics or fans. This project therefore offers a corrective to the longstanding belief that hockey’s violent past was reflective of a widespread acceptance or condonement of violent gameplay.

To accomplish this task, I offer a narrative analysis of twentieth-century Canadian newsprint, providing a material record of this resistance. This project thus provides a substantive investigation of hockey violence in B.C. newspapers, specifically the *Vancouver Sun*, *Victoria*

Daily Colonist, and *New Westminster Daily News*, viewed through the critical lens of representation. By tracing three periods of the league's development, birth, expansion and experimentation, and decline, I will demonstrate how newspaper reporting of PCHA games helped communicate a new vision of hockey, and hockey violence, that offers an instructive paradigm for the modern game.

Keywords: Pacific Coast Hockey Association, Hockey, Media, Violence, Newsprint, Violence, National Hockey League, National Hockey Association,

Summary for Lay Audience

As a sport, hockey has long been framed as inherently violent. This violent reputation has been sustained by using history to justify the continuation of fighting, checking, and other forms of in-game trauma. Through repeated claims that hockey's past is more violent than its present, the resulting narrative falsely suggests that the sport will naturally become "cleaner" with each passing year, so it does not require conscious efforts to mitigate violent play or reduce injury. The material consequences of this pervasive belief have led a concussion crisis at every level of the sport, from youth leagues to the National Hockey League (NHL). But while it is true that hockey violence is an integral aspect of the game's history, so too are efforts to curb violent play.

Before the formation of the NHL, earlier leagues existed throughout North America. Perhaps the most influential was the Pacific Coast Hockey Association (PCHA), which was the brainchild of two enterprising lumber heirs: Frank and Lester Patrick, who sought to sell their game to new audiences in Vancouver, Victoria, New Westminster, Seattle, and Portland. From 1911 to 1924, the PCHA was a daring league that pioneered many rule changes and innovations still seen today in modern rinks. This early league, which was described as the fastest and most skilled, also focused on innovating player safety. In this way, the Patricks created a formative model that defies the persisting myth of Canadian hockey history as gloriously violent. The Patricks made a promise that they would better regulate their version of hockey, believing that a cleaner game was a more marketable one. The brothers' ultimate goal was to attract new fans to their state-of-the-art, artificial ice arenas, the first of their kind on the West coast. To achieve this goal, the Patricks actively employed the most valuable media tool available at the time: newspapers.

Prior to the emergence of the PCHA, those who lived in British Columbia only learned about hockey through newspaper reports. Readers had encountered violent depictions of the game through these reports from central Canadian newspaper writers, but when West coast journalists started seeing games for themselves, they experienced the stark realities in person for the first time. Their descriptions excoriated the violence seen on B.C. ice, bolstering the Patricks' efforts to reduce violent play, and expressing resistance to its role within the game. Ignoring this chapter of hockey history has led to a misunderstanding of the sport itself and its continuing place within Canadian culture. To that end, this project offers a corrective to this longstanding myth through a narrative analysis of twentieth-century newspaper reporting on the PCHA.

Acknowledgements

1. I acknowledge the generous support provided by funding from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.
2. I acknowledge that my wife, Brittany, is the most supportive, loving, inspiring human being ever to have existed. I am excited to share each day with her and am deeply privileged to share a life with her.
3. My supervisor, supporter, and someone who has truly become a dear friend, Dr. Janice Forsyth. The absolute model of professionalism, warmth, encouragement, guidance, and inspiration. I am so fortunate to have learned so much from her and cannot wait to continue learning.
4. I would like to thank my family for providing me with unwavering support throughout this entire process.
5. My colleagues at the Journal of Emerging Sport Studies, Andy Pettit and Jared Walters for creating some of my fondest memories of my doctoral project.
6. My friends, Joseph, Michael, Devin, James, Greg, Matt, Dan, Cody, and all the wonderful people I met during my BA, MA, and PhD.
7. Dr. John Wong for assisting me throughout this entire process and for guiding me towards this wonderful topic.
8. Kalin Bullman for his tireless assistance in the project's late stages.
9. Dr. Christine O'Bonsawin for guiding me towards the University of Western Ontario, in retrospect an excellent decision.
10. Dr. Glenn Wilkinson, Dr. Elizabeth Jameson, Dr. Stacy Lorenz, Dr. Howard Hopkins for their inspiration in the early stages of my academic journey.
11. Lindsay Stark and Jennifer Plaskett for their consistent and relentless patience throughout my time at Western.
12. Caroline Duncan and the wonderful staff and volunteers at the Oak Bay Archives.
13. The pioneering scholarship of Craig H. Bowsby and Helen Edwards.
14. My supervisory committee, Dr. Michael Heine and Dr. Kevin Wamsley, for taking the time, under extraordinarily unusual circumstances, to guide me through the defence process.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	i
Summary for Lay Audience.....	iii
Acknowledgements.....	v
List of Figures.....	viii
Chapter One.....	1
Research Questions.....	4
Research Contribution to the Field.....	7
Review of the Literature.....	8
Violence and Masculinity Literature.....	8
Media Literature.....	23
Methodology.....	26
Limitations and Delimitations.....	31
Chapter Outline.....	33
Chapter Two.....	34
Setting the Stage – A Narrative History of the PCHA.....	34
Antecedents: The Birth of Organized Hockey.....	34
Antecedents: Hockey in Western Canada Before the PCHA.....	40
The Patricks.....	47
Early Setbacks.....	53
Innovation, Expansion, and Obsolescence.....	59
Chapter Three.....	62
Introduction – “The esthetic against the savage”.....	62
Hockey as a Cultural Institution: Newsprint and Early Professional Hockey.....	64
The Archive.....	66
Points Breakdown.....	68
“The Science of the Man:” Modernity and the PCHA.....	71
“The Proletariat’s Loss:” Class, Gender, and Race in the Early PCHA.....	80
Chapter Four:.....	94
Introduction: Paradigm Shifts and the PCHA.....	94
The Archive.....	95

The Impact of the First World War on the PCHA	96
Article Analysis	100
“The West Triumphs over the East”: Expansion and Experimentation	100
“Exhibitions of Speed” and “Carnivals of Rough, Bruising Skating”: The NHA and PCHA	103
“Wonderfully Free from Fatalities”: Modernity and the PCHA’s Expansion	118
Shift Change: The PCHA Paradigm	125
Chapter Five	128
Points Breakdown	129
Article Analysis	129
Prairie Fire: The Historical Roots and Swift Spread of Hockey in Alberta	129
‘Amateur’ Alberta: Fraud, Frank Patrick and the Big Four League	135
“Strict Adherence to the Rules:” The WCHL and the Uneasy Pacific-Alberta Alliance	140
The Vigorous and the Violent: Mickey Ion and Implementation of the Patricks’ Vision	148
“Survival With Honour:” The Denouement of the PCHA	154
“Rewarding the Exceptional:” The Legacies of The PCHA	160
Conclusion	162
Traditions Worthy of Protection	162
Epilogue	168
“This is Hockey”	168
Appendix A	173
1912	173
Appendix B	174
1913-16	174
Appendix C	175
1924	175
Bibliography	176
Primary Sources – Newspapers	176
Primary Sources – Archives	178
Secondary Sources – Monographs and Articles	179
Curriculum Vitae	189

List of Figures

Figure 1 - The Original Blueprints for the Victoria Ice Arena, Oak Bay Archives.....	52
Figure 2 - Lester Patrick Photographed in the Victoria Daily Times, December 11, 1915,8.....	55
Figure 3 - Cartoons Depiction NHA Player Raids, Courtesy Vancouver City Archives	58
Figure 4 - A Vancouver Millionaires Team Photo, The Vancouver Sun, January 31, 1914, 10..	61
Figure 5 - The Vancouver Sun’s First Issue, February 12, 1912, 1.....	67
Figure 6 - The 1912 New Westminster Royals Courtesy Vancouver City Archives	70
Figure 7 - Victoria Aristocrat Bobby Rowe, Victoria Daily Times, January 13, 1915, 9.	107
Figure 8 - An image previewing a 1924 Game Against the Calgary Tigers, The Vancouver Sun, March 10, 1924, 4	143
Figure 9 - Mickey Ion Playing Lacrosse in 1912, Courtesy of Vancouver City Archives	149
Figure 10 - The Location of the Original Victoria Ice Arena, Photographed in 2017	159
Figure 11 - Lester Patrick Confers With NHL Referee King Clancy, Courtesy Hockey Hall of Fame Archives	160

Chapter One

Introduction: The Making of Worthy Men

Since the first organized game was played in 1875, hockey, in its many iterations, has been a space where forms of violence have been learned, performed, and codified. The Canadian popular media's characterization of hockey has entrenched expectations for, and tolerance of, violent masculinity in Canadian history. The effect is the proliferation of the notion that the ideal Canadian hockey player, and by proxy, the ideal Canadian man, must be willing to at least tolerate, and often participate in, violent acts if he is to be considered authentically Canadian. History has been used to buttress these arguments and reinforce the tradition of violence in hockey. By implying that hockey's violent past has established a masculine criterion, proponents of this view suggest that boys and men of today ought to meet these standards, lest they be considered weaker than their sporting ancestors.

This representation of hockey's violent history has dominated mainstream discussions of hockey by members of the media, popular authors, and even politicians. For example, after former Prime Minister Stephen Harper published his 2013 hockey history book, *A Great Game: The Forgotten Leafs and the Rise of Professional Hockey*, he was asked about the place of violence in present-day hockey.¹ In a *Toronto Star* report, Harper maintained:

I'm not trying to be nonchalant about some of these incidents, which I think are of concern to any parent watching this and seeing examples set and worrying about what could happen to their own boys and girls when they step on the ice,' Harper said ... 'That all said, what we all have to realize is that this debate is as old as the game itself.' ... Matters are actually less rough today, said the prime minister, who called the level of violence in pre-war hockey 'quite shocking.'²

¹ Stephen J. Harper, *The Great Game: The Forgotten Leafs and the Rise of Professional Hockey* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2013).

² Bruce Cheadle, "Hockey Violence Has Always Been Controversial, Harper Points Out," *Toronto Star*, October 8, 2013, https://www.thestar.com/sports/hockey/2013/10/08/hockey_violence_has_always_been_controversial_stephen_harper_points_out.html Accessed June 14, 2015.

Certain Canadian media members have illustrated the links between hockey violence and the past more forcefully. For example, during an April 16, 2012 episode of “Coach’s Corner” on *Hockey Night in Canada*, Don Cherry, one of the most prominent members of Canadian sports media at the time, criticized the Swedish captain of the Vancouver Canucks, Henrik Sedin, for questioning apparent inconsistencies in disciplinary punishments handed out during the NHL playoffs.³ Cherry responded to Sedin by explaining that the NHL playoffs are full of examples of violent incidents and his concerns were therefore due to a lack of understanding of hockey history:

[Sedin] doesn’t understand. This is war. This has been going on forever ... This stuff [hockey violence] has been going on in the playoffs for a long time and I know a lot of you people don’t realize it ... but this stuff has been going on forever, the 20’s, 30’s ... all I am saying is quit whining that all this stuff hasn’t been going on and it’s not hockey. It’s hockey the way it’s played [sic] and if you don’t like it, take up tennis.⁴

In his interview, Harper maintained that while he is concerned about the level of violence in present-day hockey, hockey’s historically violent past pacifies concerns about the modern game. Alternatively, Cherry’s comments during *Hockey Night in Canada* explicitly link hockey’s past with combat and, in doing so, imply that those unfit for “war” are not worthy men and are better suited for more effeminate sports, of which Cherry chooses tennis in this example. Both examples are from exceptionally high-profile Canadian men, speaking to vast audiences on extremely pervasive public platforms. An uncritical examination of these statements would suggest that hockey’s violent past excuses the violence seen in present-day as simply a continuation of a long-standing sporting tradition of violent behaviour or even that the violence in present-day sport has

³ Sedin’s comments were largely taken out of context by Cherry. For the original story referenced by Cherry see: Sean Gordon and Eric Duhatschek, “Sending the Message: Bad Blood Spatters All Over the Stanley Cup Playoffs,” *The Globe and Mail*, April 15, 2012, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/sports/hockey/bad-blood-spatters-all-over-the-stanley-cup-playoffs/article4100554/>, Accessed July 11 2015.

⁴ Transcribed from TheBadQuality, “Don Cherry on Reporters,” YouTube, on September 21, 2012, video, 4:34, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vDxiIzh-Du>.

subsided. However, the historical basis for the association between media, masculinity, violence, and Canadian hockey is not self-evident and requires rigorous historical examination.

This project reveals how the history of the Pacific Coast Hockey Association (PCHA) undermines this pervasive narrative regarding hockey's violent history. In its place, I offer an alternative history of the relationship between masculinity and early professional hockey in Canada. To recover these connections, I conduct a narrative analysis of the way that violence was described by media members during the early twentieth century in western Canada. As a subject, I focus on one league, the PCHA, and analyze how violence was mediated in early twentieth-century Canadian newsprint. The PCHA is considered one of the most important and financially successful forerunners to modern hockey, a game that itself features violence as one of its most marked characteristics. However, although many of their innovations, such as the forward pass, player numbers, or the blue line are considered essential elements of hockey, their innovations to make the game cleaner by prohibiting or penalizing violent play have not been widely acknowledged by the sport's fans or historians. This dissertation thus provides a corrective to the pervasive myth regarding hockey relationship with violent masculinity by offering a narrative analysis of newspaper reporting of the PCHA.

In the context of Canadian hockey, the PCHA offers a formative narrative history. The year 1911 represents the beginning of a new age of hockey in western Canada, as Lester and Frank Patrick established the Pacific Coast Hockey Association (PCHA) in December of 1911. With the creation of the PCHA, organized hockey underwent a paradigm shift in the western regions, moving towards a professional game. Prior to the founding of the PCHA, organized hockey was essentially absent from coastal B.C., despite being widely played in the region's interior. The PCHA was one of the most sophisticated and competitive hockey leagues in North America,

making the Pacific Northwest a hockey hotbed for decades to come. However, the PCHA featured a number of innovations that distanced it from the kind of hockey that had been played throughout Canada in the previous four decades.⁵ For example, the PCHA introduced new rules concerning the goal crease, forward passes, numbered hockey sweaters, and goalie positioning.⁶ These changes became mainstays of modern hockey as the Patrick brothers aided hockey's rapid expansion in western Canada, as well as North America.

Research Questions

It is widely accepted among sport scholars that the PCHA was instrumental in shaping professional hockey in many facets including, changes to the way the game was played, daring attempts at recruiting players from other leagues, and entrepreneurial innovations that altered the way that the game was sold and experienced by paying customers. Many of the changes to the game of hockey seen in the PCHA are cited by sport historians for their lasting impact on the modern game.⁷ The entrepreneurial innovations brought forth by Frank and Lester Patrick are perhaps the clearest examples of the PCHA's legacy in hockey's, and more specifically the National Hockey League's, present-day commercialized iteration. For example, Howard Schubert argued that "The experience ... of the PCHA proved that hockey players were now mobile commodities and that, with clever management and generous pocketbooks, high-calibre teams

⁵ John Chi-Kit Wong, *Lords of the Rinks: The Emergence of the National Hockey League, 1875-1936* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 68.

⁶ Eric Whitehead, *The Patricks: Hockey's Royal Family*, (Toronto: Doubleday, 1980), 127-130.

⁷ For a partial list of readings detailing the PCHA's influence on the course of hockey's history, see: Wayne Simpson, "Hockey," in *A Concise History of Sport in Canada*, eds. Don Morrow et al., (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1989), 188-89; J. Andrew Ross, *Joining the Clubs: The Business of the National Hockey League to 1945* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2015), 47-49; Bruce Kidd, *The Struggle for Canadian Sport* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1996), 194-195; Matthew A. Hulton, "A League of Their Own: The Patrick Brothers, the Seattle Metropolitans, and the Pacific Coast Hockey Association," *Columbia: The Magazine of Northwest History* 26 (Winter 2012/13): 21-27; Wong, *Lords of the Rinks*, 68-70; Michael McKinley, *Putting a Roof on Winter: Hockey's Rise from Sport to Spectacle* (Vancouver, Greystone, 2000), 86-88; and Harper, *A Great Game*, 220-222.

could now be assembled.”⁸ The notion of players as “mobile commodities” has been highlighted by historians, such as John Chi-Kit Wong and J. Andrew Ross, who have focused their research on the business of sport. As such, the entrepreneurial history the PCHA is frequently mentioned in hockey history literature.

However, two clear research questions emerge from the conclusions reached in much of hockey’s historiography regarding the PCHA:

- 1) What do early twentieth-century newsprint accounts of PCHA hockey represent?
 - If the PCHA was successful at commodifying hockey, as has been described in the literature written about it, what was the nature of the product *being sold* to Canadians? The entrepreneurial successes of the PCHA are well documented – and are discussed during the review of the literature – but the characteristics of the product that became so successful have not been explored in any detail.
- 2) What effect did this representation have on the game of hockey?
 - Did the representation of hockey violence convey specific ideas, ideals, or concepts to western Canadian readers?

The wealth of scholarship, media attention, and public discourse surrounding violence in present-day hockey suggests that it is indeed central to the experience of the game. Throughout hockey’s past, it can be definitively stated that violence was present at each stage of hockey’s development in North America. One of the most common pieces of historical evidence used to support this claim is the much heralded, but perhaps apocryphal, account of hockey’s first

⁸ Howard Schubert, *Architecture on Ice: A History of the Hockey Arena* (McGill-Queens University Press, 2016), 120.

organized game in Montreal ending in a brawl.⁹ Furthermore, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Canadians were very concerned about the growing level of violence seen in hockey. In 1904, Ontario Hockey Association President John Ross Robertson warned, “We must call a halt to slashing and slugging, and insist upon clean hockey before we have to call in a coroner to visit our rinks.”¹⁰ However, the following year, a death occurred on the ice as the result of a stick-swinging incident, which led to a much-publicized trial in Ontario.¹¹ As such, it is certain that monitoring the level of violence was a relevant issue to any hockey league in Canada during the early twentieth century. Furthermore, given the descriptions of games played elsewhere in the country during this period, violence assuredly played a part in PCHA hockey games.¹² However, despite its centrality to the game and prevalence throughout organized hockey at the time, violence is one aspect of PCHA hockey that has, prior to this dissertation, very little if any scholarly attention paid to it.¹³

⁹ The fight was not between players but rather between onlookers and the players, likely over the use of the rink’s ice. The exact nature of the brawl remains a source of conjecture but there are many different scholarly works that reference the brawl following the first game. See: *Kingston Whig-Standard*, March 3, 1875, cited in: Michael McKinley, *Putting a Roof on Winter: Hockey’s Rise from Sport to Spectacle* (Vancouver, Greystone, 2000), 11.

¹⁰ John Ross Robertson, quoted in: Stacey Lorenz and Geraint Osborne, “Brutal Butchery, Strenuous Spectacle: Hockey, Violence, and Manhood and the 1907 Season,” in *Coast to Coast: Hockey in Canada to the Second World War*, ed. John Chi-Kit Wong (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 161.

¹¹ For a brief summary of the event, see: Lawrence Scanlan, *Grace Under Fire: The State of our Sweet and Savage Game* (Toronto: Penguin, 2002), 54-56.

¹² References to violent games can be found in: Craig H. Bowlsby, *Empire of Ice: The Rise and Fall of the Pacific Coast Hockey Association, 1911-1926* (Vancouver: Knights of Winter Publishing, 2012), 6, 19-20, 133-134.

¹³ The existing academic literature that focuses exclusively on the PCHA is scarce, though John Chi-Kit Wong’s scholarship remains an invaluable resource. See John Chi-Kit Wong, “Boomtown Hockey: The Vancouver Millionaires,” in *Coast to Coast: Hockey in Canada to the Second World War*, ed. John Chi-Kit Wong (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 223-257; John Chi-Kit Wong, “Professional Hockey and Urban Development: A Historical Case Study of the Vancouver Arena, 1911-1914” *Urban History Review* 38:1 (Fall 2009), 3-14; and Wong, *Lords of the Rinks*. Most of the materials written about the PCHA are by popular authors, see: Bowlsby, *Empire of Ice*; Eric Whitehead, *The Patricks: Hockey’s Royal Family* (Toronto: Doubleday, 1980).

Research Contribution to the Field

This dissertation seeks to analyze how hockey violence was recorded and described in Canadian newsprint to gain insight into the role of hockey violence in growing the sport of hockey in Canada. What makes the PCHA an interesting and worthwhile case for studying masculinity and hockey violence is the fact that many of the markets where PCHA teams were introduced were new markets for professional hockey, certainly for hockey at the calibre displayed by the PCHA's players. As such, the PCHA was a site of contestation for the meaning of hockey violence, with some reading about or witnessing professional games for the first time. Rather than in central and eastern Canada, where the game had existed at high levels for decades, the geographical restrictions on Vancouver and Victoria meant that there was far less opportunity for hockey to be played during winter months. It comes as no surprise that prior to the PCHA's existence, hockey was not a significant part of the sporting landscape of Canada's West coast. Illustrating the PCHA's importance in developing the game on the West coast and beyond, hockey historian John Chi-Kit Wong argued that

[Among early twentieth century hockey leagues in North America] the Pacific Coast Hockey Association was arguably the most significant organization contributing to the growth of hockey as a Canadian cultural phenomenon. Before the PCHA's establishment in British Columbia in 1911, ice hockey was not an important institution on the West coast of Canada, drawing little coverage in the media.¹⁴

Accepting Wong's argument regarding the PCHA's place in Canadian sport history, the character of the "Canadian cultural phenomenon" promoted by organizations like the PCHA is certainly deserving of serious academic attention. The existing literature available on the PCHA, though scarce in and of itself, has paid little or no attention to hockey violence or the way that violence was represented in early twentieth-century media. If the PCHA was instrumental in establishing

¹⁴ Wong, "Boomtown Hockey," 223.

hockey's place in the pantheon of Canadian sport and popular culture, and violence is so often associated with hockey throughout history into the present day, then it seems logical to analyze the part that violence played in the PCHA. Analyzing how violence was represented by Canadian newsprint demonstrates the representation of hockey's essential character; if modern hockey owes a great deal to the PCHA, then PCHA hockey must have represented violence in complex ways. Furthermore, in a macro-historical sense, this dissertation traces the evolution of the player safety movement by studying one of the most influential hockey leagues of the twentieth century.

Review of the Literature

There is a significant body of literature written on the topic of violence in Canadian sport, and many sources specifically reference the history of hockey violence. When surveying relevant literature, it was important to broaden the scope of research beyond exclusively hockey. In doing so, I sought to include theorists and scholars who provided valuable insight into the nature and definition of violence in various Canadian sports and, at times, the media reactions to that violence. In sources where hockey is the primary topic for discussion, various authors incorporate historical overviews of the sport's long history of violence, which frame present-day debates surrounding violence in hockey. Some of these sources contain thoroughly researched investigations of specific research questions, while others rely on caricature and cliché. In many regards, the methodological choices made by these authors significantly shaped the research directions of this study. Both the scholarly and popular literature are valuable as the former provides an empirical framework, and the latter describes the cultural discourse.

Violence and Masculinity Literature

One approach used when writing about violence in hockey involves the use of present-day circumstances to frame the writer's examination of the past. Even though many of these authors endeavored to historicize their arguments, generally speaking, these sources were not particularly useful when trying to trace the evidential support for their arguments. For instance, Lawrence Scanlan's *Grace Under Fire: The State of Our Sweet and Savage Game* (2002) used media sources, including newspaper reports, to reference the particularly bloody hockey season of 1905, when a player named Allan Loney was killed on the ice as the result of a stick-swinging incident.¹⁵ Similarly, Adam Proteau's *Fighting the Good Fight: Why On-Ice Violence is Killing Hockey* (2011) cites historical examples of hockey violence. In doing so, Proteau places emphasis on the influence of past violence on the modern NHL, and seemingly overlooks the historical context in which these events occurred.¹⁶ Furthermore, Proteau does not fixate on media reaction to hockey violence in the same way that Scanlan focuses on such reactions. Written for primarily popular readerships, Scanlan and Proteau employ evocative language and focus their discussions on modern hockey. Nonetheless, both works contain useful information about the reception to, and the abhorrence of, violence during the early days of organized hockey in Canada. One characteristic of sources written by academic historians, as opposed to those written by journalists or hobbyists, is the careful detailing of evidence in the footnotes. It is not always easy to find scholarly sources featuring professional standards of documentation. Perhaps the most valuable secondary source written about violence in hockey is Stacy Lorenz's 2012 doctoral dissertation

¹⁵ Scanlan, *Grace Under Fire*, 54-56.

¹⁶ Adam Proteau, *Fighting the Good Fight: Why On-Ice Violence is Killing Hockey* (Toronto: Wiley and Sons, 2011), 32-45.

entitled, “Manhood, Rivalry, and the Creation of a Canadian ‘Hockey World’: Media Coverage of Early Stanley Cup Hockey Challenges, 1894-1907.”¹⁷

To properly define the terms of this study, it was crucial that a definition of violence be established, and that implications for incidents of violence be contextualized within late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century conceptions of gender. In their article, “Social Class and Gender: Intersections in Sport and Physical Activity,” Peter Donnelly and Jean Harvey further describe relationships between class and violence in Canadian sport with some specific reference to hockey.¹⁸ Arguments presented by Donnelly and Harvey inform the second chapter of this study, which discusses the relationship between social class and early amateur hockey. Donnelly and Harvey contrast middle- and working-class conceptualizations of acceptable violence in hockey as well as the relationship between gender and violence,¹⁹ providing a research focus and methodological approach that greatly informs this study on violence in the early years of hockey.

Gender and masculinity are inextricably linked to the history of Canadian hockey violence. Bruce Kidd, a former Olympic athlete and reputable sport historian, addresses notions of gender and masculinity in many texts on the history of sport in Canada. In 1972, Kidd and John Macfarlane published one of the first monographs on hockey, entitled *The Death of Hockey*.²⁰ In this work, Kidd and MacFarlane provide heavy-handed critiques of the perceived creed that permeated professional hockey in the 1960s and 1970s. Kidd and MacFarlane include several notable passages that provide insight into their understanding of the inter-relationship between hockey and masculinity, which are common in the discourse that surrounds the history of hockey:

¹⁷ Stacy Lorenz, “Manhood, Rivalry, and the Creation of a Canadian ‘Hockey World’: Media Coverage of Early Stanley Cup Hockey Challenges, 1894-1907” (PhD thesis, University of Alberta, 2012).

¹⁸ Peter Donnelly and Jean Harvey, “Social Class and Gender: Intersections in Sport and Physical Activity,” in *Sport and Gender in Canada*, ed. Kevin Young and Philip White (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2007), 95-110.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Bruce Kidd and John MacFarlane, *The Death of Hockey* (Toronto: New Press, 1972).

A boy learns more than stickhandling at the community arena. Hockey, as a unique expression of our culture, is also a vessel for its values, passing them from father-to-son from one generation to the next. In the corners and along the boards, in dressing rooms and on the bench, in the clash of body against body ... a boy learns our attitudes towards team play, fair play and dirty play, towards winning and losing, tolerance and prejudice, success and failure ... It is through hockey that a Canadian boy first perceives his geographic horizons.²¹

The language used by Kidd and MacFarlane is significant because of its gendered nature. The wording selected by the authors is gendered and implicitly addresses aspects of masculinity. The authors describe hockey as experienced by an average “Canadian boy,” however, they provide minimal insight into what this boy looks like, where he lives, or the background of his parents and families. Kidd and MacFarlane consistently use the term “our” when referring to normative values, including “prejudices” or “attitudes.”²² This naturally assumes that readers are not only Canadian, but also share the writers’ beliefs about universal Canadian attitudes. This is, of course, a significant oversimplification of Canadian experiences, and thus weakens the arguments. Nonetheless, this broad-based and over-generalized way of describing hockey in Canada is a useful point of departure when examining the historiography of Canadian hockey history. Later scholarship on the history of hockey in Canada, some produced by Kidd, offers more analytical clarity and critical insight.

One source that problematizes Kidd and MacFarlane’s notion of a singular Canadian experience takes a socioeconomic approach to the history of sport in Canada. Canadian historian S.F. Wise’s 1989 article on sport in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, “Sport and Class in Ontario and Quebec,” considers a myriad of sports including cricket, basketball, snowshoeing, gymnastics, football, soccer, curling, and hockey. Wise notes the variance in socioeconomic background for the players and patrons of each sport and even links notions of

²¹ Ibid., 5.

²² Ibid., 5-14.

masculinity to class-conscious conceptions of gentlemanly codes of conduct. As Wise maintains, “The relationship of sport to national athletic traditions, to social class and to certain dominant ideas centering upon the code of the gentleman and the concept of manliness seems plain enough, although each of these matters warrants further investigation.”²³ Wise’s approach is historically rigorous, as it draws on the work of several other scholars in relevant fields. Wise does not make broad assumptions about the nature of Canadian athletes, but rather offers several different examples of sports that were largely played by members of the various classes.²⁴ Wise highlights the gentlemanly code of conduct and its relationship to acceptable masculinity in numerous sports. For example, Wise notes that football players were “expected to exhibit qualities of manliness, courage, and gentlemanly behaviour in the most trying conditions.”²⁵ Wise further argues that even in a game that required physical violence, a properly masculine player would adhere to the rules of the game and behave appropriately. This example could certainly be extended to hockey.

While characterizing the nature of violence in Canadian hockey, it is also important to discuss the nature of masculinity and ‘manliness’ in sport during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Accordingly, it was necessary to consult source materials outside of the historiography of hockey, including sources written about other Canadian sports. While hockey players were subject to distinct cultural expectations regarding manliness and masculinity, similar examples are also present in other Canadian sports. For example, lacrosse is another sport with a history of institutionally condoned violence. Gillian Poulter’s 2013 analysis of lacrosse in nineteenth-century Montreal contextualizes the concept of masculinity within a continuum of physical aggression. Masculine expectations in the sport of lacrosse in nineteenth-century

²³ S.F. Wise, “Sport and Class in Ontario and Quebec,” in *Sports in Canada: Historical Readings*, ed. Morris Mott (Toronto: Pitman, 1989), 126.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 120-28

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 122.

Montreal, as described by Poulter, included both physical violence and generally accepted codes of conduct for gentlemen.²⁶ John Matthew Barlow's 2009 article entitled, "Scientific Aggression: Irishness, Manliness, Class, and Commercialization in the Shamrock Hockey Club of Montreal, 1894-1901" discusses acceptable codes of masculine conduct (similar to Poulter's work on lacrosse) in hockey late nineteenth-century Montreal. Barlow directly references spectatorship of lacrosse as a major influence on conceptions of "masculinity" and "manliness" in the sport of hockey.²⁷ Barlow references the work of Gail Bederman (1996) to delineate an explicit distinction between masculinity (a term that was not used colloquially in the late nineteenth century) and manliness. Bederman argues that it was "manliness" and not masculinity that a man possessed, or didn't possess, as the two terms carry different connotations. For Bederman, the term "manliness" carried with it a moral dimension that "masculinity" did not; "manliness" meant adhering to a code of conduct that Victorian society valued in all men.²⁸ This is an important distinction that is recognized by Bederman because the two concepts are sometimes used interchangeably or without explanation. For instance, Wise employs the term manliness without explaining his word choice or defining the term. Barlow also highlights an apparent emphasis on "scientific" play in the nineteenth century, which Poulter also includes in her work. However, Barlow links the need for organized, scientific play to class, and maintains, "This middle-class masculinity promoted notions of respectability and ... fair play, with less of an emphasis on winning than on the joy of the sport itself, especially in the 1860s and 1870s."²⁹ Barlow refers to the scientific style of lacrosse teams

²⁶ Gillian Poulter, "Embodying Nation: Indigenous Sports in Montreal 1860-1885," in *Contesting Bodies and Nation in Canadian History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 85.

²⁷ John Matthew Barlow, "Scientific Aggression: Irishness, Manliness, Class, and Commercialization in the Shamrock Hockey Club of Montreal, 1894-1901," in *Coast to Coast: Hockey in Canada to the Second World War*, ed. John Chi-Kit Wong (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 39.

²⁸ Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilisation: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 15-17.

²⁹ Barlow, "Scientific Aggression," 39-40.

as being representative of “middle class masculinity” during this period, which is a class-based distinction that was not underscored by Poulter.

This section aims to define ‘violence’ and contextualize this definition within a rich scholarly debate surrounding the nature and character of violence in hockey. Sport scholars have long acknowledged the centrality of violence to sport and its presence in Canadian sport history. However, for the purposes of this dissertation, it is important to define what exactly is meant by the word ‘violence,’ as well as what is meant by hockey violence, and how this definition of hockey violence fits within the context of Canadian sport history. Without examining the nature of the term ‘violence’ it becomes impossible to critically examine violence in media from the early twentieth century. As a starting point, it is instructive to analyze the way that the term ‘violence’ has been used in sport literature, and more precisely, the way that the term ‘violence’ has been used in Canadian hockey literature. Though hockey is not solely played by Canadian men and questions of hockey violence do not only apply to men, the examples in the following paragraphs reference professional men’s hockey in Canada. This delimitation is important because it begins to establish linkages between conceptions of violence with notions of Canadian masculinity, a topic that informs this dissertation. Methodologically, establishing the way violence has been defined and described in contemporary sport literature is important for this dissertation because it contextualizes the way in which violence is understood in sport studies and popular media, while creating a clear outline for the way that violence in the past can be studied.

There are countless examples of popular authors detailing violence’s important role in understanding the sport of hockey particularly by linking notions of Canadian identity with hockey violence. To select one emblematic example, author Brian Kennedy, contrasted the violent nature of hockey with Canada’s docile reputation: “Given Canada’s reputation for being nice, the

violence in [hockey] should be unsettling, but it is tolerated and even encouraged and has been since the beginning of organized play.”³⁰ This notion of “tolerance” or encouragement asserted by Kennedy addresses some of the key research questions this dissertation seeks to examine; this study aims to analyze how the Canadian media accepted or resisted the violence in PCHA games through their writing in early twentieth century newsprint. However, to conduct this study, it is important to discuss the critical history of hockey violence in sport literature with specific attention to the way that violence and masculinity have been defined and described.

In Don Morrow and Kevin Wamsley’s foundational text *Sport in Canada: A History*, it is established that “No other institutionalized cultural activity in Canadian history has contributed more to naturalizing violence in society than sport.”³¹ Despite the prevalence of violence in other Canadian sports, it can be inferred that hockey was largely responsible for the “naturalization” of violence in Canadian society. To this end, Morrow and Wamsley also argued that in “middle-class sports of lacrosse, hockey, rugby, and later baseball, violence was common on the fields, pitches, and ice surfaces as well as in the stands.”³² Linking class to hockey violence is not solely the work of Wamsley and Morrow, as Colin Howell also argued that “Typically, the explanations for the violence associated with hockey had class connotations.”³³ Linkages between class, masculinity, and violence plays an important part in this dissertation’s analysis. During research conducted for my MA thesis, which involved analyzing hockey violence in the Kootenay region of British Columbia, it was common to find media accounts of hockey violence which described violence

³⁰ Brian Kennedy, *My Country is Hockey: How Hockey Explains Canadian Culture, History, Politics, Heroes, French-English Rivalry and Who We Are as Canadians* (Toronto: Argenta Press, 2011), 260.

³¹ Don Morrow and Kevin Wamsley, *Sport in Canada: A History*, 2nd ed., (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2010), 178.

³² Ibid.

³³ Colin D. Howell, *Blood, Sweat, and Cheers: Sport and the Making of Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 45.

along class terms.³⁴ Violence was commonly associated with lower-class players and writers often expressed disappointment in their home teams when violent acts were committed by them, expecting them to behave in a more dignified manner. While the evidence compiled for my Master's research was compelling, the sample size was far too small and the research conducted without a systematic methodology. It is difficult to draw any concrete conclusions about violence in western Canadian newsprint from such a project and it would not be prudent to assume such conclusions before the primary research is compiled. As such, while connections between class and violence are important to the language analysis of this dissertation, the nature of these connections are unclear until the data has been collected in full.

Though definitions of 'violence' and violent behaviour are frequently used in hockey scholarship, when the literature is surveyed, several questions emerge regarding the definitions of key terms. The descriptions offered by Howell, Wamsley, and Morrow presume a shared understanding of violence to study its effects, a problematic place to begin given the vastly different interpretations of violence in each sport context. Even outside of the differing rules and regulations of each game – for examples, hockey versus lacrosse – it is debatable if the same action on a rugby pitch would be interpreted as 'violent' behaviour in a lacrosse game for instance. However, when hockey is discussed by sport scholars, there seems to be a general agreement that it has been 'violent' from the very beginning of its existence in Canada, an opinion supported by documented cases of assault charges, brawls, and even deaths that occurred in hockey's early history in Canada.³⁵

³⁴ See: Taylor McKee, "The Rink and the Stage: Melodrama, Media, and Canadian Hockey," *Sport and Society* Vol.7 (December 2016).

³⁵ See: *Kingston Whig-Standard*, March 3, 1875, cited in: McKinley, *Putting a Roof on Winter*, 11.; "Hockey," *Montreal Gazette*, March 4, 1875, 3; "Sports and Pastimes: Note and Comment," *The Montreal Gazette*, January 20, 1886, 8.

Academic studies — in the humanities and sciences — directed at examining violence in hockey must first define the term ‘violence’ to appropriately focus the lens of their projects. Sociologist and labour scholar Robert Faulkner described the difficulty academics face when constructing the meaning of violence:

The meaning of violence in face-to-face encounters is not waiting there, available for any who would take it. It must be constructed in concert with like-situated others... Like many occupational tasks organized around the theme of potential danger and crisis, a man’s conduct on the ice is under the scrutiny of other interactants and he is expected to demonstrate essential qualities. In professional hockey, the adversarial idiom inevitably devolves on the integrity of one’s physical being. Essential attributes are interpreted with an eye to physical deportment, courage, toughness, and skillful execution of one’s performance under the pressure of physical injury (Goffman, 1967: 149-270). Honor revolves around a player’s capacity to move into trouble and command deferential treatment.³⁶

In this passage, Faulkner notes the importance of constructing the meaning of violence within “like-situated others.” Roughly speaking, this task entails evaluating on-ice actions in the context of other professional hockey players, removed from the restrictions placed in everyday society. This method for critically examining hockey violence is similar to legal scholar Barbara Svoranos’ description of professional hockey’s tolerance of violent acts as a “separate reality...quite distinct from ‘real life.’”³⁷ As a result, this separate reality involves a distinct set of values in that both writers acknowledge that removing violence from the context of sport would yield very different conclusions regarding a specific violent act. Faulkner also describes the “essential qualities” of a hockey player and their connection to notions of toughness, bravery, and courage. The hockey player must be able to interact with dangerous situations and “command deferential treatment,”³⁸ which can be interpreted as a player’s ability to intimidate others. To understand hockey violence,

³⁶ Robert R. Faulkner, “Making Violence by Doing Work: Selves, Situations, and the World of Professional Hockey,” *Work and Occupations* (1:3): 290-292.

³⁷ Barbara Svoranos, “Fighting? It’s All in a Day’s Work on the Ice: Determining the Appropriate Standard of a Hockey Player’s Liability to Another Player,” *Seton Hall Journal of Sport Law* 7, 489.

³⁸ Faulkner, “Making Violence by Doing Work,” 290.

Faulkner argues we first must understand what it means to play hockey, and in the above passage he outlines the expected behaviour of hockey players. Faulkner's arguments place a great deal of importance on the *lived environment* of hockey rather than individual intentions. It could be argued that, for Faulkner, hockey violence is a product of an interconnected system of both unwritten and codified regulations that encourage violent behaviour.

Faulkner sought to explain the essential character of a hockey player and the professional pressures faced by them and his work has been continued by many other sport scholars after the 1970s. For example, in *Hockey Night in Canada* by Richard Gruneau and David Whitson, the authors initially acknowledge that "hockey has a level of physical confrontation beyond that of most other sports," separating hockey from not only other parts of society as Faulkner and Svoranos argued, but also from other sports as well.³⁹ Furthermore, Gruneau and Whitson also critically examine the nature of violence in hockey and the role of violence in hockey, situating the discussion of hockey violence within two theories regarding aggression in human behaviour. One theory suggests that violent behaviour, including fighting in hockey, can be interpreted as "controlled and symbolic outlets for aggression that might otherwise manifest itself in more serious forms."⁴⁰ Gruneau and Whitson describe this theory as the "catharsis hypothesis" and recognize its prominent place in popular discourse surrounding fighting's place in modern hockey.⁴¹ This "catharsis hypothesis" is often articulated by popular authors, and even some sport scholars, when discussing fighting's necessity in modern professional hockey.⁴² For example, it is common for

³⁹ Richard Gruneau and David Whitson, *Hockey Night in Canada: Sport Identities and Cultural Politics* (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1993), 175.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 177.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² See Greg Oliver and Richard Kamchen, *Don't Call Me Goon: Hockey's Greatest Enforcers, Gunslingers, and Bod Boys* (Toronto: ECW Press, 2013), 257-63; Ira Gitler, *Blood on the Ice: Hockey's Most Violent Moments* (Chicago: H. Regnery Co., 1974), xi-xii; Barry Melrose and Roger Vaughan, *Dropping the Gloves: Inside the Fiercely Combative World of Professional Hockey* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Books, 2012), 196-97; Ryan Kennedy, *Blood Feuds: Hockey's Best-Ever Rivalries* (Montreal: Transcontinental Books, 2010), 10-12; Michael

proponents of the “catharsis hypothesis” to believe that “fighting is the lesser of two evils, and that if it were eliminated from the game the number of high-sticking and slashing penalties would rise sharply.”⁴³ In the “catharsis hypothesis,” violent aggression is bifurcated into two manifestations: 1) fighting and 2) ‘extreme’ acts of violence, including stick-swinging. Essentially, the first type of violence prevents the other by releasing the aggressive tension present in competitive hockey. Despite the widespread visibility of the “catharsis hypothesis” perpetuated in popular media, there is no evidence available to suggest that such a hypothesis is true. Furthermore, Gruneau and Whitson hold that the reverse is perhaps more likely: that exposure to violence may cause more violence to occur.⁴⁴

If the “catharsis hypothesis” can be characterized as unsatisfactory, and perhaps even counterintuitive, the second explanation offered by Gruneau and Whitson appears more helpful to understanding the definition and nature of violence in Canadian sport. This second theory is based on sociologist Michael D. Smith’s work and is described as the “violence-begets-violence thesis.”⁴⁵ This argument holds that it is the aggressive environment of hockey that *contributes to* violent acts rather than preventing them. This is an important distinction because this argument challenges the dichotomy of acceptable and unacceptable violence as articulated in the “catharsis hypothesis.” Instead, Gruneau and Whitson hold that “the widespread approval of aggression in hockey by many parents, peers, and coaches, and by many journalists and fans, is compatible with this theory.”⁴⁶ The “approval” that Gruneau and Whitson allude to is certainly demonstrated by the vast number of authors willing to support ‘necessary’ hockey violence, in the form of fighting,

Farber, “Why Good Teams Fight,” in *Hockey Talk: A Collection of Hockey’s Greatest Journalism* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 2011), 111; and Bruce Dowbiggin, *The Meaning of Puck: How Hockey Explains Modern Canada* (Toronto: Key Porter Books, 2008), 101-121.

⁴³ Arpon Basu, *NHL Enforcers: The Rough and Tough Guys of Hockey* (Toronto: Overtime Books, 2006), 6.

⁴⁴ Gruneau and Whitson, *Hockey Night in Canada*, 176-77.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 177.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

to police unacceptable violence. What makes the “violence-begets-violence” thesis central to the examination of violence’s definition is the question of intentionality. The “violence-begets-violence” thesis removes emphasis on the intended purpose of the violence — such as fighting to ensure less stick swinging — and simply states that violence, in any form including fighting, does not and cannot lead to less violence.

Though the “violence-begets-violence” thesis is an important re-evaluation of the role of intentionality in hockey violence, some sport scholars maintain that the individual’s intentions are still important when defining violence in hockey. Aynsley Smith, contributing a chapter to a book titled *Safety in Ice Hockey*, noted the prevalence of violence she observed in hockey’s history: “This glimpse into the history of aggression reinforces the fact that hockey has at its foundation a history of violence. Furthermore, people with the power to influence the game reinforce aggression.”⁴⁷ The “history of violence” that resides at hockey’s core, as described by Smith, is not a controversial claim. However, the way that Smith qualifies her use of the term ‘violence’ separates her analysis from those that rest on an assumed knowledge of the word. In the above passage, Smith, like Gruneau and Whitson, used “aggression” to explain her definition of hockey violence. Smith further explained that,

Aggressive behaviour is defined as an overt verbal or physical act that can psychologically or physically injure another person. It is nonaccidental and the aggressor’s intent to injure can be classified as hostile or instrumental. Inflicting pain or injury on the target (opponent) reinforces hostile aggression, whereas instrumental aggression is reinforced by tangible rewards such as money, victory or praise. Assertive behaviour is forceful, goal—directed, and involves verbal, or legitimate force to obtain control, but there is no intent to injure. Body checking may be done either assertively or aggressively. Researchers of aggression in ice hockey have had to differentiate whether hockey behaviour is assertive or aggressive.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Aynsley M. Smith et al, “A Psychosocial Perspective of Aggression in Ice Hockey,” in *Safety in Ice Hockey: Third Volume*, ed. Alan B. Ashare (Philadelphia: ASTM Press, 2000), 200.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 201.

This definition of “aggressive behaviour” is an excellent description of the motivating factors, results of, and different characteristics that comprise hockey violence. For Smith, “aggressive behaviour” is the cause and violence is the effect, rather than simply assuming that each hockey player is likely to have violent outbursts. The intent of the player – though impossible to discern with any degree of certainty – remains an important factor when considering if he or she behaved violently. What makes Smith’s definition so instructive is her delineation between “assertive behaviour” and “aggressive behaviour,” with the latter being the one that leads to hockey violence. This definition differs from the “violence-begets-violence” thesis because it allows for one action — a bodycheck for example — to be both aggressive (violent) or assertive, leaving the interpretation up to the viewer.

The description supplied by Smith is reminiscent of arguments presented by some sport historians studying the history of violent sport in Canada. For example, Colin Howell outlined a similar line of thinking when describing the Canadian preoccupation with blood sports in post-Confederation Canada. Howell explains that nineteenth-century blood sports were a product of Canadians’ fascination with “the lines of demarcation between the ‘civilised’ and the ‘savage,’ the ‘normal’ and the ‘degenerate,’ the virtuous and the vicious, the human and the beastly.”⁴⁹ The duality of “aggressive” and “assertive” hockey behaviour outlined by Smith, and to a lesser extent in Howell, is a fundamental part of what makes defining hockey violence such a contentious issue. This is partly because it is impossible to judge which behaviour – aggressive or assertive – is being displayed by a player and also because the same player can exhibit both behaviours in very short periods of time. These problems are not entirely unique to hockey, but hockey’s unique threshold for violence — that is, the institutional tolerance for fighting, physical intimidation, and hostile

⁴⁹ Ibid.,12.

forms of masculinity — further complicates the task of separating “assertive” and “aggressive” behaviour.

The link between hockey violence and aggressive or violent masculinity seems an obvious marriage, given the attitudes surrounding hockey violence that are repeated in the popular media. One example comes from an interview with an NHL general manager named Brian Burke from 1993, “These guys [aggressive, high scoring players] are the bread-and-butter of your lineup.”⁵⁰ In the same interview, Burke goes on to say “Hockey is a man’s game and the team with the most men wins.”⁵¹ This type of language is perhaps common parlance in informal hockey discussions, but rare in on-the-record discussion with major media publications, especially coming from a person in a position of authority. Note Burke’s use of the term “man’s game,” supplying a straightforward correlation from the number of aggressive players on a team to the team’s success. Here, Burke makes the relationship between violence, aggression, and masculinity very clear: they all are a part of what makes a team successful. The above passage from Burke serves as a fitting characterization of aggressive masculinity at the core of many popular conceptualizations of hockey players.

The notion that ‘proper hockey masculinity is aggressive,’ as described in the above passage, further explains why violence in hockey is difficult to define. When sport scholars attempt to define violence in hockey, they have to acknowledge the role that hockey’s institutional forgiveness, and even expectation, for violence plays in guiding the actions of players. For example, Marc Weinstein, Michael Smith, and David Wisenthal’s study of masculinity in hockey discussed the expected rule-breaking in hockey,

⁵⁰ Steve Dryden, “High IQ: Meet the NHL’s Tough and Talented,” in *The Hockey News 1993-94 Yearbook* (Don Mills: Transcontinental Sports Publications, 1993).

⁵¹ Ibid.

Throughout this segment of an individual's socialization, support is provided for a certain amount of rule violation. From an early age, players are taught that competence (a player's ability to contribute to team success) includes certain penalties that are considered good such as hooking (placing the stick around another players' legs or waist and taking them down to the ice) and tripping that prevent goals. Certain penalties are considered bad such as slashing (using one's stick to chop at another player) or elbowing that show a lack of discipline but may not contribute to team success. Bad penalties are those benefitting the opposition. Rule infractions which are expected in certain situations (e.g., to prevent scoring chances) are supplemented by the use of aggressive tactics which are defined as essential for team success.⁵²

There is an important distinction made in this passage between acceptable rule breaking and unacceptable rule breaking. This concept is present in many other sports including soccer and basketball, where a coach would likely prefer a player committing a foul rather than allowing a clear offensive chance for the opposition. However, the rule-breaking that is acceptable in hockey extends far beyond simply impeding the opposition from scoring. Aggression — and by extension violence — are also a part of the expected rule-breaking for hockey players; “Although fighting in hockey is viewed as ‘part of the game,’ it is clear that it is against the formal rules of the game. However, within the informal rules of the game, it is clearly acceptable by players, coaches and even fans.”⁵³ If there is an implicit expectation for players to break the rules of the game — especially through the use of “aggressive tactics” — then can their conduct truly be seen as violent when they do break the rules? The “essential” quality of rule-breaking, as described by Svoranos and Weinstein et al, is an excellent illustration of the contribution that aggressive masculinity makes to the definition of hockey violence. Accordingly, the ideal hockey player is willing to act outside the rules.

Media Literature

⁵² Marc D. Weinstein, Michael D. Smith, and David L. Wiesenthal, “Masculinity and Hockey Violence,” *Sex Roles*, 33 (1995: 11-12), 835.

⁵³ Svoranos, “Fighting? It's All in a Day's Work on the Ice,” 490.

While hockey does have a long history of violent incidents, it is important to consider the kinds of source materials historians have used to inform the assertion that hockey's past was indeed violent. Our most basic understanding of the early years of hockey in Canada is heavily informed by the way that the newspaper reporters wrote about sport. Partly a function of the lack of reliable alternatives, newsprint is consistently used as primary source materials in historical investigations of the past. However, it is important to engage with newsprint with a critical eye towards the development of the medium itself and the unique pressures felt by newspapers when producing sport stories. Understanding the nature of sports reporting during this time is crucial to understanding the way hockey's representations in newsprint

Firstly, as described in detail by Minko Sotiron in *From Politics to Profit: The Commercialization of Canadian Daily Newspapers, 1890-1920*, the commercial dynamics of print media were drastically changing by the end of the nineteenth century. Due to growing urban centers and advances in printing press technology, newspaper readership and circulation was rapidly expanding: "In Canada overall, the number of dailies rose from 119 in 1899 to 143 in 1911 and ... Newspaper readership rose in the country as a whole during the first decade of the twentieth century. Circulation increased from .106 per person in 1899 to .186 in 1911."⁵⁴ During this rapid expansion, many media markets in Canada became oversaturated with newsprint, with some cities supporting three daily newspapers at once. In response to this oversupply, newspapers across Canada began to expand in both their size and reach. Larger newspapers crept into smaller city markets, attempting to reach new readerships that were removed from cramped urban print media

⁵⁴ Minko Sotiron, *From Politics to Profit: The Commercialization of Canadian Daily Newspapers, 1890-1920* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 24.

landscape. Simultaneously, newspapers expanded from four pages, at the beginning of the 1890s, to upwards of twelve pages at the close of the nineteenth century.⁵⁵

The readership of each of the local newspapers varied among socio-economic groups in Canada, which is significant as participation in hockey was similarly divided as well. Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, hockey in central Canada almost exclusively involved young, middle-class males.⁵⁶ This middle-class influence on hockey is also directly related to the exceptionally important influence that amateurism had on the development of organized sport in central Canada.⁵⁷ Essentially, in its earliest years, the working class was largely excluded from organized hockey in Canada. For example, Alan Metcalfe argues that in Montreal, there was simply no proof to suggest that the working class “had any degree of permanence” in organizing teams in many different sports, including hockey.⁵⁸ However, newspaper readerships were not exclusively middle class, as several newsprint sources emerged during the late nineteenth century catering exclusively to the lower class. Many of these newspapers became exceptionally successful in the process. These profit-oriented ‘people’s journals’ targeted readers from a wide array of social classes. The newspapers of the people’s press focused on sensational topics such as crime and entertainment, while paying less attention to politics, editorials, and foreign affairs.⁵⁹ Many of these people’s journals competed successfully for market share throughout Canadian cities, which in turn forced the older, more established newspapers to adopt some of the practices seen in the

⁵⁵ Ibid., 27.

⁵⁶ Gruneau and Whitson, *Hockey Night in Canada*, 47.

⁵⁷ There are many sources devoted to the topic of amateurism in Canadian sport, none better than Bruce Kidd, *The Struggle for Canadian Sport*.

⁵⁸ Alan Metcalfe, “Organized Sport and Social Stratification in Montreal: 1840-1901,” in *Canadian Sport: Sociological Perspectives*, eds. Richard Gruneau and John G. Albinson (Don Mills: Addison-Wesley Canada, 1976), 96.

⁵⁹ Lorenz and Osborne, “Brutal Butchery, Strenuous Spectacle,” 167.

people's press. By the end of the nineteenth century, most Canadian newspapers, people's press or otherwise, were far better suited to meet the needs of the consumer:

To sell newspapers the news had to be attractively displayed. Successful newspapers increasingly used photographs and design changes to make the news easier to read and thus more saleable. Information was packaged like merchandise in department store display cases with local news separate from provincial, national, and international news, and sports separate from business or women's news.⁶⁰

The use of the consumer-oriented strategies by the people's press certainly influenced an emerging desire for sensationalized content in every section of the newspaper. Furthermore, it even created space for the new sports section, which had become a distinct part of the newspaper.

This important media context has informed the way in which the sources are analyzed once they are compiled. A large component of this project involves analyzing media sources from the early twentieth century. One of the key research questions guiding this project is: how, if at all, was violence used to sell PCHA hockey in Canadian newsprint during the early twentieth century? The commercial pressure that Canadian newspapers faced during the early twentieth century suggests that selling the game of hockey may have been a by-product of attempting to sell newspapers as well. Given the present-day links between hockey, masculinity, and violence, it is apparent that violence, and by extension notions of masculinity, was used to generate interest in PCHA hockey games.

Methodology

Since the foundation of this dissertation involves combing through archival sources and analyzing language, it was necessary to consider the theoretical framework for such a project. Assuming that each primary source is a truthful and unassailable account of the events that

⁶⁰ Sotiron, *From Politics to Profit*, 17.

transpired would certainly be a fallacious attitude given the historical context of Canadian media during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. However, simply recording the words used by newspaper reporters without considering what was being represented would be equally flawed. One of the most important aspects of this dissertation is analyzing the way that violence is *represented* in early twentieth-century newsprint. To measure public response to violence in early hockey, a particular set of relevant primary sources was identified and contextualized. The primary source materials chosen for this dissertation are three significant daily newspapers from the three Canadian PCHA cities, the *Victoria Daily Colonist*, the *Vancouver Sun*, and the *New Westminster Daily News*. However, there are certain limitations that exist with these newsprint sources. The *Vancouver Sun*'s first paper was published on February 12, 1912, three months after the PCHA was founded in December of 1911. The fact that the *Vancouver Sun* began its run almost simultaneously with the PCHA is significant for the purposes of this dissertation. The *Victoria Daily Colonist* was in existence throughout the PCHA's time in British Columbia and was the most widely read, largest circulating newspaper in Victoria during the period of this study. These factors make the *Daily Colonist* the ideal choice for studying the way that PCHA hockey was received by the Victoria newspaper media. Alternatively, New Westminster does not have a daily newspaper with the same degree of permanence and ubiquity as in the *Daily Colonist*. Instead, the *New Westminster Daily News* existed only from 1906 to 1914, only two years into the existence of the PCHA. For the years 1912 to 1914, the *Daily News*' accounts of hockey are analyzed but, following those years, the Vancouver newspapers needed to suffice, due to the limitations on these primary sources. However, this limitation might not be substantial, given that when the Patrick brothers founded the PCHA, they planned on opening a rink in New Westminster to accompany the rinks built in Vancouver and Victoria. While the rink was being constructed, the New

Westminster team was to play at the Denman arena in Vancouver. However, the arena was never built and the team played its entire three-season existence in Vancouver. As such, the *Sun* and *Province* are also the most reliable sources of information for the New Westminster franchise.

In surveying the newspapers from 1912-26,⁶¹ I was required to examine each day's newspaper during the designated hockey season. For the purposes of this study, the hockey season consists of each day from Sept 1 – May 1, encompassing a great deal of time leading up to the season's start on January 3rd, 1912 and the final game played as late as mid-April during the course of the PCHA's existence. Archival research was conducted using digital and physical reserves across Canada, including the Weldon Library's microfilm collection at Western University, the B.C. Archives, *B.C. Historical Newspapers* online archive through the University of British Columbia Library, the Glenbow Museum and Archives, City of Vancouver Archives, the Legislative Library of British Columbia, and the Oak Bay Archives. Each mention of hockey from the Sports section or the front page during this period was recorded and digitally captured,⁶² regardless of the specific hockey content of the article, and saved for further analysis.

To analyze representations of hockey violence in newsprint, this dissertation draws on the content analysis practices outlined by Richard W. Budd, Robert K. Thorp, Lewis Donohew,⁶³ and later adapted by Evelyn Waters.⁶⁴ Content Analysis is defined in *Content Analysis for Communications* as “a systematic technique for analyzing message content and message handling – it is a tool for observing and analyzing the overt communication behaviour of selected

⁶¹ Though the PCHA was organized in 1911, the inaugural game was played in 1912.

⁶² Microfilm equipment at the Weldon Library allowed for the articles to be selected and extracted from the pages without having to scan the entire page. This allowed for greater ease of classification once the analysis of the primary research has begun.

⁶³ Richard W. Budd et al., *Content Analysis of Communications* (New York: Macmillan Publishers, 1967).

⁶⁴ Evelyn Janice Waters, “A Content Analysis of the Sports Sections of Canadian Newspapers 1927 to 1935” (Master's thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1981).

communicators.”⁶⁵ Furthermore, Evelyn Waters’ use of content analysis in the sports section of early Canadian newspapers proves a more instructive example. In her thesis, Waters coded the sports section by scoring the frequency and prominence of the article within the newspaper. For example: Waters scored an article three points if it was longer than three columns or one point for one column, three points if the story appeared on the front page or one if it was on the back pages of the sport section.⁶⁶ A similar method of measurement⁶⁷ is employed in this study, though the criterion established for coding⁶⁸ differs greatly from Waters.

First, the data set was composed of any mention of hockey from 1912-26. From this initial point, the data was analyzed based on the representation of violence in the article. The critical discussion of violence, supplied in the literature review, established the context of hockey violence and informed the way in which it was applied through my analysis. For the purposes of this dissertation, newspaper descriptions of bodily harm, occurring within the context of gameplay or by spectators, constituted representations of violence. Drawing on the methodological practice of Waters, this dissertation’s simple scoring model is as follows:

- One Point – An article is scored one point if a violent incident is simply mentioned directly or indirectly at any point during the article. For example, an article that simply says ‘Player X was ejected from the game in the second period for fighting’ would warrant a score of one point.

⁶⁵ Budd et al., *Content Analysis for Communications*, 2.

⁶⁶ Waters, “A Content Analysis of the Sports Sections,” 17.

⁶⁷ Measurement is defined by Budd et al. as “The assignment of numeric values to various characteristics of individuals, objects, or events.” Budd et al., *Content Analysis for Communications*, 31.

⁶⁸ Coding, as defined by Budd et al, is “the smallest segment of content counted and scored in content analysis ... The most common coding units are a word; a theme or assertion; a paragraph; an item; a character; group; object; or institution; and space or time.” Ibid., 33.

- Two Points – An article is scored two points if the article describes the nature of the violence in any fashion. An article that read ‘Player Y was ejected from the game after hitting Player X in the head with his stick, drawing blood’ would be scored two points.
- Three Points – An article is scored three points if the description of the violence makes an explicit value judgment – either praising or condemning – the violence from the game. To use an example from a different geographic and chronological context, the sarcastically-themed 1907 article from the *Montreal Star* that contained this passage would be scored three points:

The professional Butchers’ Association of Ottawa organized an excursion to Montreal on Saturday, and had a most successful and pleasant outing. After a most entertaining exhibition of their skill and prowess, attended by about seven thousand people in the Montreal Arena ...they returned to Ottawa well satisfied with the work done.⁶⁹

- Four Points – An article is scored four points if, in its description of the violence, the writer referenced: race, gender, or class in the description of events. For example, this passage from an 1898 article from Sandon, British Columbia, would count as four points for the article:

From the warhoops [sic] on the rink on Tuesday night, akin to those of the redskins at the battle of Tyconderoga [sic], a passerby could easily imagine there was something unusual on the wing at the rink. It turned out to be a hockey match for bivalves between picked men on both sides of Reco ave ... Referee Grierson had his hands full keeping ‘the house in order,’ though he considered choking off the laughter of the spectators a task too much for Hercules. After an hour’s lively fight with the sticks, it was found that Dr. Young’s side was ahead in the ballot box.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ *Montreal Star*, January 14, 1907, 1.

⁷⁰ “A Local Hockey Skirmish,” *The Mining Review*, January 22, 1898, 1.

After collection, the data demonstrated when and where violence was described in the greatest detail throughout Vancouver, New Westminster, and Victoria through the observation of higher scored articles. However, simply describing when and where violence was represented in the greatest detail is not the focal interest of this study. Rather, analyzing the three and four-point articles makes up the body of the dissertation. First, the numerical scores from the cities and years are outlined with some general analysis about what the level of detail was in each city during the period of study.⁷¹ The purpose of including this type of analysis is to make general observations about the nature of violence's representation at a macro-scale. Following this, each chapter analyzes the articles that measured highly – three or four points – assuming enough articles match this coding criteria. While Waters' task was more strictly a content analysis of Canadian sport newsprint, this dissertation uses the tools provided by content analysis to consider the data in the theoretical context of representation.

Limitations and Delimitations

To focus this study's analysis and limit the scope of this project, certain delimitations needed to be made regarding the research process. The most significant delimitation for this dissertation has been placed on the source materials chosen for examination: newsprint. The choice to exclusively use newsprint sources requires justification, as this decision places this dissertation inside the academic traditions of both history and media studies. As a result, a portion of the dissertation is devoted to discussing the nature of early twentieth-century Canadian media. Choosing to analyze the message without considering the context and composition of the medium is not a sound research practice. Drawing on the scholarship of hockey historians Stacey Lorenz,

⁷¹ For example, this section may read: 'Out of 369 results measured, city X averaged 4.2 four-point articles per month while city Y averaged 3.6'

Geraint B. Osborne, Daniel S. Mason, and Gregory Duquette,⁷² I analyze the narratives used to represent violence in early twentieth-century Canada. Analyzing newsprint from the early to mid-twentieth century is an instructive way to understand how violence was received by readers. As Lorenz noted in his doctoral dissertation:

Because the daily press devoted increasing attention to sport, newspapers were crucial in developing local and national audiences for sport in Canada. Since much of this coverage focused on local happenings, the media helped to instill a sense of civic pride around a city's sports teams ... Along with the telegraph and wire services, mass circulation newspapers constructed a community of interest around sport in North America.⁷³

Lorenz's characterization of newspapers during the early twentieth century highlights the power that the local media possessed in informing, and in many cases promoting, specific sports to their readership. Furthermore, the daily press also had the ability to shape public opinion regarding certain issues, including violence in sport, depending on how the game was reported and recorded. However, newsprint cannot be analyzed without recognizing questions surrounding the limitations of the medium itself, namely: whose perspectives were being represented? What kinds of messages were being promoted and to whose benefit? Which perspectives were excluded entirely, either intentionally or implicitly? The context and composition of newspapers during the early twentieth century are important considerations for this study for conclusions to be drawn from the texts. In the later sections of this dissertation, the context of Canadian newsprint is addressed in greater detail.

The PCHA was not solely a Canadian enterprise, as it also included two teams from the United States in Portland and Seattle. It is important to state that this project focuses solely on the PCHA, one of many early twentieth-century hockey leagues in North America. These other hockey

⁷² See: Daniel S. Mason and Gregory Duquette, "Newspaper Coverage of Early Professional Ice Hockey: The Discourses of Class and Control," *Media History* 10:3 (2004); Stacey Lorenz, "Manhood, Rivalry, and the Creation of a Canadian 'Hockey World'"; and Stacey Lorenz and Geraint Osborne, "Brutal Butchery, Strenuous Spectacle."

⁷³ Stacey Lorenz, "Manhood, Rivalry, and the Creation of a Canadian 'Hockey World,'" 6.

leagues had their own entrepreneurs and their own modifications of organized hockey, though the PCHA's history remains perhaps the most significant early professional hockey leagues in North America outside of the National Hockey Association. This project focusses on the three original, Canadian PCHA franchises: the Vancouver Millionaires, Victoria Senators,⁷⁴ and the New Westminster Royals. The rationale behind this delimitation are first, to keep the scope of this project narrow enough to be completed over the course of a dissertation, to analyze the *Canadian* media response to hockey violence within the context of the growth of Canadian media in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. If the study included newsprint from the PCHA teams in the United States,⁷⁵ this would entail describing a completely separate media context, which could blur the focus of the study as a whole. The most important aspect of this dissertation is gauging the use of violence in the promotion of hockey to Canadians by the Canadian media. This delimitation narrows the focus of the research to only the Canadian cities that had PCHA teams.

Chapter Outline

Chapter two is a narrative history of the PCHA. Chapter three explores the birth of the PCHA. Chapter four charts expansion and experimentation within the PCHA. Chapter five traces the final stages of the PCHA. Chapter six is a conclusion and a summary of the dissertation's findings, as well as an attempt to link this study to present-day discourses surrounding hockey violence and player safety.

⁷⁴ The Victoria franchise would later be named the Victoria Aristocrats in 1913.

⁷⁵ The PCHA also had franchises in Portland and Seattle.

Chapter Two

Setting the Stage – A Narrative History of the PCHA

The year 1911 represents the beginning of a new age of hockey in western Canada, as Lester and Frank Patrick established the Pacific Coast Hockey Association (PCHA) in December of that year. With the creation of the PCHA, organized hockey underwent a paradigm shift in the western regions, moving towards a professional game. The PCHA was one of the most sophisticated and competitive hockey leagues in North America, making the Pacific Northwest a hockey hotbed for decades to come. The PCHA featured a number of innovations that distanced it from the kind of hockey that had been played throughout Canada since the 1870s.⁷⁶ For example, the PCHA introduced new rules concerning the goal crease, forward passes, numbered hockey sweaters, and goalie positioning.⁷⁷ These changes became mainstays of modern hockey as the Patrick brothers aided the sport's rapid expansion in western Canada, as well as North America.

Antecedents: The Birth of Organized Hockey

Given the focus of this project on hockey violence and its connection to hockey's history, it is necessary to make distinctions between the terms "hockey" and "organized hockey" in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Canada. Despite a healthy scholarly debate concerning the origins of organized hockey in North America, there is no consensus on its precise starting point.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Wong, *Lords of the Rinks*, 68.

⁷⁷ Eric Whitehead, *The Patricks: Hockey's Royal Family*, (Toronto: Doubleday, 1980), 127-130.

⁷⁸ For select scholarship directed at the origins of hockey in North America and abroad, see Gruneau and Whitson, *Hockey Night in Canada*, 31-53; Robert A. Styer, *The Encyclopedia of Hockey* (New Jersey: A.S. Barnes and Company, 1970), 9-17; Neil D. Isaacs, *Checking Back: A History of the National Hockey League* (New York: Norton, 1977), 17-20; Alexander Poulton, *A History of Hockey in Canada* (Toronto: Overtime, 2010), 1-24; Howell, *Blood, Sweat, and Cheers*, 43-46; Michael McKinley, *Hockey: A People's History* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 2006), 1-36; Michael McKinley, *Putting a Roof on Winter*, 2-20; Carl Gidén and Patrick Houde, "Timeline - Stick and Ball Games," *Society for International Hockey Research* (2010); Garth Vaughan, *The Puck Starts Here: The Origin of Canada's Great Winter Game* (Toronto: Goose Lane, 1996).

Richard Gruneau and David Whitson offered a valuable characterization of the debate surrounding hockey's origin in Canada:

There is little point in engaging in debate about which folk game, played where, or when, is the true precursor to the modern game of hockey. The real origins of the game as we know it are synonymous with the beginning of hockey's institutional development. Once this is acknowledged there is no mystery about the birthplace of modern hockey in Canada.⁷⁹

It is generally agreed upon that the “institutional development” of Canadian hockey occurred in Montreal. The precise moment that many historians use as a point of departure is a game played on March 3, 1875 and organized by James Creighton, a figure skating judge and engineer at the Victoria Skating Rink in Montreal. Creighton was raised in a middle-class household in Halifax, Nova Scotia, and was exposed to many sports during his youth, including figure skating. Creighton's father had gained notoriety as a figure skating judge and James followed in his footsteps after arriving in Montreal with a Dalhousie University engineering degree.⁸⁰ In Montreal, he quickly became a prominent member of the white, Anglo-Saxon, middle class. Sport was an important part of the middle-class lifestyle in and Creighton's participation in sport clubs, including rugby and skating, helped him become a “sportsman of note and clearly a man to be followed.”⁸¹ As Michael McKinley notes, Creighton's exact motivation for organizing a game of hockey is unknown, but it perhaps arose from a desire to keep his rugby teammates in shape during winter months.⁸² In the end, a sort of nine-versus-nine hockey game was played on the evening of March 3, 1875. As evidenced from the accounts of this earliest game, from the very outset, media depictions of hockey violence were indeed central to the coverage of the sport.

⁷⁹ Gruneau and Whitson, *Hockey Night in Canada*, 37.

⁸⁰ McKinley, *Putting a Roof on Winter*, 4.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁸² *Ibid.*

The following day, the *Montreal Gazette* reported on the mechanics of the new game, comparing it to the sport of lacrosse, claiming it was “much in vogue on the ice in New England ... [but] not much known here.”⁸³ The article included the surnames of the players who played the previous evening, and further, detailed the “merriment” the audience experienced when watching the players artfully dodging and wheeling around the ice.⁸⁴ The *Gazette* omitted any sort of violence from its account of the exhibition despite the fact that following the game, a brawl broke out between the hockey players and skating club patrons who wished to re-claim the ice.⁸⁵ The local Montreal media was not the only newspaper to write about Creighton’s experiment. The Kingston *Whig-Standard* had a much different interpretation of the night’s activities, describing what happened at the end of the hockey game as “disgraceful.” Furthermore, the article alleged that benches were smashed, shins and heads battered, and female spectators forced into retreat in the face of the carnage.⁸⁶ The explanation given by McKinley for the asymmetrical interpretations is speculative, as he posits that perhaps violence was exaggerated by the time the story reached Kingston. The omission of violence on the part of the *Gazette*’s reporter is certainly an interesting editorial choice, perhaps attributable to the writer’s sense that mentioning violence would have been inappropriate, especially given the decision to name young middle-class participants. Perhaps the writer did not want to slander the names of those who participated in such violence. No matter the reason, it is clear that from the very beginning of organized hockey in Canada, including the very first organized game, violence was deeply connected to the game as well as to the way the game was covered by the media.

⁸³ “Hockey,” *The Montreal Gazette*, March 4, 1875, 3.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ McKinley, *Putting a Roof on Winter*, 9.

⁸⁶ *Kingston Whig-Standard*, March 3, 1875, cited in: McKinley, *Putting a Roof on Winter*, 11.

When Creighton moved the game into the Victoria Skating rink, he altered the physical character of hockey, away from the ponds and into clearly defined boundaries. McKinley argued that this new space played an important part in shaping the game. For McKinley, once hockey shifted into regimented spaces, there was a greater chance for aggression as players were in closer-quarters.⁸⁷ Moving the game indoors literally and metaphorically moved hockey away from nature and into a more regularized and structured setting. Beginning with the first indoor game played in 1875, hockey slowly began to move away from the unrestricted outdoor setting that spawned shinny games on rivers, towards a form of codified, commoditized, and systematic competition. It is important to acknowledge that indoor hockey did not immediately render outdoor rinks obsolete after 1875. Hockey maintained its connection to outdoor play, as the sport was played on outdoor rinks in towns and cities across the country throughout the twentieth century (and into the twenty-first century). Nonetheless, as hockey organized indoors, the sport began to be defined through developments associated with Creighton's indoor game: "It would be indoors where hockey became a sport, gaining definition and character by the very fact of its physical confinement ... Hockey would become refined in its structure and rules, it would develop standards to surpass."⁸⁸ Even outdoor games were eventually fashioned after the conventions brought through hockey's "physical confinement." This shift from pastoral pastime to structured spectacle correlated with the rise of Canadian industrial capitalism at a time when, according to Colin Howell, "existing class relations were constantly being renegotiated. For these reasons, it is important to investigate sport as an aspect of the emerging capitalist economy."⁸⁹

⁸⁷ McKinley, *Putting a Roof on Winter*, 10.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁸⁹ Howell, *Blood, Sweat, and Cheers*, 53.

Moving the game indoors meant that organized hockey began to be shaped by the economic realities of the late nineteenth century. The way in which hockey was played certainly reflected a changing society outside of the rink. As John Matthew Barlow contends, “The development of a scientific style of play can be seen as keeping step with the modernization of society as a whole at the turn of the century in Montreal, and urban industrial Canada in general.”⁹⁰ For example, in 1899, Arthur Farrell, a former player for the Montreal Shamrocks, wrote the first hockey book entitled *Hockey: Canada’s Royal Winter Game* as a guide for those wishing to play the game.⁹¹ In this book, Farrell outlined the rules (adjusted correctly for play in different provinces) and the benefits of playing the sport. Farrell also believed that hockey should be played with discipline, which meant that players should choose the most direct plays rather than engaging in irrational and self-serving displays:

The fancy play, the grand stand play, is a waste of energy, childish, worthless. The play that counts, the play that shows the science of the man who makes it, is the immediate execution, in the simplest manner, of a plan that a player conceives, when he considers the object of his playing. In other, geometrical words, the shortest distance between two points is a straight line, and applied to the science of hockey, it means that a player should take the shortest and quickest way of obtaining the desired effect, which, by analysis, is oftentimes the most scientific.⁹²

Farrell stated that structured direct play was the most desirable for hockey players, as it represented an appreciation for the economy of action. Applying Farrell’s logic, the game of hockey and its players are mechanized. Accordingly, each player should contribute to the efficient functioning of the whole rather than strive for individual success. Farrell’s emphasis on finding the “most scientific” and most direct method of play is analogous to factory production. For Farrell, players should focus on performing their tasks as quickly and efficiently as possible and re-create the

⁹⁰ John Matthew Barlow, “Scientific Aggression,” 37.

⁹¹ Arthur Farrell, *Hockey: Canada’s Royal Winter Game* (Montreal: C.R. Cornell, 1899).

⁹² *Ibid.*, 64-65.

division of labour seen inside a factory. By moving the game indoors and codifying the playing instructions, Creighton occupied an important role in the modernization of hockey. This modernization of hockey is analogous to the economic and social process of industrialization, which suited the tastes of a nineteenth-century readership.

Due to a rapidly industrializing Canadian society, new opportunities for middle-class recreation emerged. According to Gruneau and Whitson, “The economic successes of nineteenth and twentieth century industrial capitalism expanded disposable incomes and created new demands for consumption and entertainment.”⁹³ Creighton’s new form of hockey, though in its infancy in 1875, was well suited to meet a growing demand for spectator entertainment. For example, the game organized by Creighton drew a large and curious crowd.⁹⁴ All of the players in Creighton’s game, and many of those who watched this first game, represented a select group of male, white, Anglo-Saxon Montrealers and not the entire linguistic or racial demographic of Montreal during this time.

It was at the Victoria Skating rink that the Amateur Hockey Association of Canada (AHAC) was born and became an important symbol of class superiority in the recreational space of Montreal in the nineteenth century. As John Chi-Kit Wong contends, “By the early 1860s, the social elite in Montreal built the Victoria Rink for the skating socials.”⁹⁵ The Victoria Skating Rink was reserved for Montreal’s upper class, explicitly restricting the membership of patrons: “the Victoria was owned and run by its own members, many of whom also belonged to other sporting clubs in a city that was becoming renowned for its amateur sport culture.”⁹⁶ It was not until the

⁹³ Gruneau and Whitson, *Hockey Night in Canada*, 16.

⁹⁴ “Hockey,” *The Montreal Gazette*, March 4, 1875, 3.

⁹⁵ Wong, *Lords of the Rinks*, 16.

⁹⁶ Ross, *Joining the Clubs*, 11.

Victoria rink started experiencing financial difficulties later in the nineteenth century that membership expanded to include Montreal's middle class.⁹⁷ It is significant that the AHAC was formed at this rink, as it demonstrated the relationship between the upper class and early hockey clubs in Montreal. The AHAC (as were many other similar associations throughout Canada) was instrumental in enforcing hierarchical class distinctions among amateur hockey teams by insisting on strict amateur codes. However, the amateur sporting notion of 'sport for honour' (rather than financial compensation) began to run counter to ongoing shifts in North American class consciousness.

Antecedents: Hockey in Western Canada Before the PCHA

Though the PCHA was the most significant hockey league to be formed on Canada's Pacific coast, it was far from the first appearance of the game of hockey itself in the region. There is plenty of evidence that details games of hockey being played across Canada during the nineteenth century. Of particular significance to this project is the fact that, hockey, although still in its nascent form, was being played in western Canada prior to Creighton's 1875 game in Montreal. Despite the fact that organized hockey (as described by Gruneau and Whitson)⁹⁸ was not played in British Columbia in a substantive way until the last two decades of the nineteenth century, there is evidence that a game akin to hockey was played on the Fraser River in 1862. The memoirs of Royal Engineer chaplain Reverend John Sheepshanks, which were compiled in 1909 by author and fellow Reverend named D. Wallace Duthie,⁹⁹ details this proto hockey game being

⁹⁷ Ibid., 17.

⁹⁸ Gruneau and Whitson, *Hockey Night in Canada*, 37.

⁹⁹ Craig H. Bowsby, *The Knights of Winter: The History of British Columbia Hockey from 1895 to 1911* (Vancouver: Bowsby, 2006), 19.

played in New Westminster, four years after the town's founding. This game captured the attention of the print media in B.C. and, conceivably, marked the rise of hockey in western Canada:

In January 1862, winter set in with a severity unusual even in British Columbia ... The frost brought with it opportunities which no Englishman can resist. For the first time since the Creation skating began on the hardened surface of the river ... [quoting Sheepshanks' diary directly] 'Hockey sticks were cut from the forest and the male portion of the population ... were engaged in this exciting game upon the broad river... Business is at a standstill, and sleigh-driving and hockey have been the order of the day.'¹⁰⁰

This description characterizes hockey as being created from the environment, an activity born from nature. Hockey sticks were "cut from the forest," a description that underscores hockey's entrenched relationship with the land. In a sense, Sheepshanks' description serves as a useful creation myth for hockey in western Canada: hockey was a wild sport hewn from nature and directly informed by the western Canadian landscape. Certainly hockey's history in the western regions was not simply a facsimile of central Canadian hockey. Thirteen years before the first 'organized' game was played in Montreal, hockey was alive in western Canada, though perhaps without the polish applied by Creighton.

Corroborating Sheepshanks and Duthie's account of hockey being played on the Fraser River is a newspaper report from January 16, 1862 in *The British Columbian*, a New Westminster weekly newspaper. The article noted that following "safe passage" for skating being granted by the Fraser River's freezing, many residents began to scramble to procure skates and engage in "playing at ball" and "boyish sports" on the ice.¹⁰¹ The article from *The British Columbian* does not specifically state that "hockey" was played; however, given the two accounts, it is likely that a form of early hockey was played on the Fraser River in January 1862. Bowlsby suggests that

¹⁰⁰ Rev. John Sheepshanks and Rev. D. Wallace Duthie, *A Bishop in the Rough* (New York: E.P Dutton and Company, 1909), 56-57.

¹⁰¹ "A Day Upon the Ice," *The British Columbian*, January 16, 1862, quoted in *The Knights of Winter* by Craig Bowlsby, 19-20.

Sheepshank's British heritage allowed him to identify the game as "hockey" and not "playing at ball," likely because of its resemblance to English field hockey.¹⁰² This description of hockey is important, characterizing the way in which the sport was perceived and experienced by those in the western regions. According to the description provided by Sheepshanks, the form of hockey played in 1862 was a wild, "boyish" game, born out of idle time during winter months. This type of game was similar to the various accounts of "shinny" hockey, which was played across North America throughout the late nineteenth century.

Though some version of hockey was played on the Fraser River in 1862, this does not mean that a thriving hockey community existed in the western regions prior to 1875. For example, Victoria and Vancouver's hockey history was greatly affected by environmental impediments that prevented organized hockey from thriving as it had in other parts of Canada. This section addresses the tumultuous hockey history of Victoria and Vancouver prior to 1911 and examines media discussion of hockey games played both in the western regions and in central Canada as well.

There is plenty written about 'hockey' in Victoria newsprint in the nineteenth century. However, most of these references are to field hockey, which was often played during the winter months. One of the first references to ice hockey appears in a Victoria newspaper in 1864, in a story from England about the health of prematurely-born Prince Albert Victor, the son of the Prince and Princess of Wales. The succinct mention of hockey notes that the parents, briefly taking time to rest from caring for the child, retreated to Virginia Water where "a game of hockey was played on the ice by the gentleman and the princess herself was propelled several times along the frozen lake in a sledge."¹⁰³ Significantly, one of the first mentions of ice hockey in Victoria referenced

¹⁰² Bowlsby, *The Knights of Winter*, 20.

¹⁰³ "Our London Letter: The Birth of the Prince," *The Daily British Colonist*, March 11, 1864, 2.

an activity enjoyed by royalty and was a far cry from the impromptu “wild” game described two years earlier on the Fraser River. Despite the mention of hockey in nineteenth-century media and the noted occurrence of hockey on the Fraser River in 1864, organized hockey was still decades away from being regularly played in Victoria. In fact, organized hockey did not arrive in Victoria until the twentieth century.

Following the first instance of hockey in England, there are various nineteenth-century accounts in Victoria newspapers of ice hockey games being played, almost entirely in central Canada. Most articles referenced famed nineteenth-century teams, such as the Montreal Shamrocks and the Ottawa Hockey Club, which captured the 1892 Ontario Hockey Association Championship. The articles about ice hockey in Victoria newspapers were usually brief and lacking in detail. For example, Ottawa’s victory in 1892 merited placement on the front page of *The Daily Colonist*, albeit in a brief section that simply reported the score of the game.¹⁰⁴ Conversely, using elements popularized by people’s press newspapers in the nineteenth century, the *Toronto Daily Mail*’s two-column, front-page account of the game is sensational, declaring it one of the finest games of hockey ever played despite the fact that their readership’s home team, Osgoode Hall, was defeated. The *Toronto Daily Mail*’s account of the game also praised the victorious Ottawa side for its “clean” play and for treating those assembled to “an exhibition of hockey as it is played in the home of the sport – and as it should be played.”¹⁰⁵ The lack of nuanced reporting in Victoria’s newspapers is understandable considering the majority of these games, including the 1892 OHA final, were played several hundreds of kilometres away by central Canadian players with little or no connection to any location west of Winnipeg. It was not until

¹⁰⁴ “The Hockey Championship,” *The Daily Colonist*, March 5, 1892, 1.

¹⁰⁵ “Hockey: Ottawa Defeats Osgoode Hall for the Championship,” *Toronto Daily Mail*, March 3, 1892, 1.

organized ice hockey arrived in Victoria that local media began to pay closer attention. Prior to that, organized hockey in Victoria and hockey media reporting were both in their early stages. It is important to consider the way that the term “clean” would have been interpreted by late nineteenth-century audiences. The term “clean” may have been interpreted in numerous ways, including players following the rules or the common nineteenth-century usage of a ‘clean-limbed young man,’ which referred to a slender, lean young person free of excess weight and in good shape for sport or combat.

The most significant barrier to the development of organized hockey in B.C. during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was certainly the climate. For example, on the ice surfaces of Victoria during the first ice hockey game attempted in 1899, “Good play was next to impossible, but still there was enough fast play at times to keep the spectators interested.”¹⁰⁶ The only qualitative judgment of this early form of hockey was on the speed of the game, which was directly affected by the condition of the ice, while no reference to the events of the game was made. Bowsby notes that in order for this game to have occurred at all, there had to be a reasonably significant confluence of circumstances as: “[Victorians] were lucky if they received one week of ice per year. Vancouverites were lucky if they received two weeks. Thus, it required the conjunction of just the right cold weather, and a contingent of experts to show how the game could be played.”¹⁰⁷ Between 1899 and 1911, there was no mention of local ice hockey in newspaper records in either Vancouver or Victoria. It is likely that many impromptu games of shinny were played in Victoria and the surrounding areas when weather permitted, however, such events were not documented in newsprint.

¹⁰⁶ “Neither Team Won: First Ice Hockey Match Played in Victoria Results in a Tie,” *The Daily Colonist*, January 8, 1899, 8.

¹⁰⁷ Bowsby, *The Knights of Winter*, 51.

Vancouver faced similar climatic constraints experienced in Victoria. Between 1900 and 1911, accounts of hockey seasons in Vancouver frequently referenced seasons being abbreviated due to unfavourable ice conditions.¹⁰⁸ Prior to 1911, the year in which Lester, Joe, and Frank Patrick pooled their family fortunes together to finance the Pacific Coast Hockey Association, coastal B.C. was largely without permanent hockey institutions. Contributing to this view, Eric Whitehead characterized the West coast of Canada as “virgin territory”¹⁰⁹ and Bowsby noted that there “were no hockey arenas on the coast, let alone artificial ones, and at least half of the inhabitants had never seen the game.”¹¹⁰ As John Chi-Kit Wong suggests, “In part, the mild coastal climate could not maintain any natural-ice arena, and without such facilities, hockey was not on the local winter sports calendar.”¹¹¹ Between 1875 and 1911, hockey’s development on the West coast lagged behind other regions in Canada due to environmental impediments only overcome when hockey shifted indoors (with the arrival of the PCHA in 1911). However, the history of hockey on the West coast is not fully representative of the entire province of B.C.

From 1875 to 1911, the Kootenay region of B.C. was home to one of the most vibrant organized hockey cultures in western Canada. Towns such as Nelson, Fernie, Sandon, Kaslo, Greenwood, and Rossland all had thriving hockey communities many years before the West coast moved hockey indoors. However, as on the West coast, environmental barriers hindered the growth of organized hockey in interior B.C. in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As recounted in the *Nelson Tribune*, in the Kootenay region there was limited access to ice:

The Rossland city hockey club is scheduled to play the lacrosse-hockey team on Saturday, but the game will have to be postponed as the local men will not be in shape to play even if ice should be available, which is extremely unlikely. When the season opens here, if it

¹⁰⁸ See Bowsby, *The Knights of Winter*, 51, 60, 76, 105, 123, 164

¹⁰⁹ Whitehead, *The Patricks*, 94.

¹¹⁰ Bowsby, *Empire of Ice*, 6.

¹¹¹ Wong, *Lords of the Rinks*, 64.

does at all, the Nelson club will have a long string of postponed games on their hands to play off in addition to scheduled games.¹¹²

The exasperated tone of the *Nelson Tribune* writer indicates that this was likely not the first time the issue of suitable ice was a problem for the Nelson team. Even though the Kootenay region represented a more fertile ground for organized hockey in B.C., environmental factors hindered local teams from developing consistent hockey routines. Despite these limitations, organized hockey in the Kootenay region far out-paced development on the West coast and led to some of the most competitive hockey teams in North America establishing roots in B.C.

The explanation for the expansion of organized hockey in the Kootenay region in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is tied to the industrial expansion of the region itself. Hockey was being played alongside emerging Kootenay mining towns. In western Canada, many cities and towns experienced population growth fueled by westward migration:

While central Canada began a period of industrialization, western Canada attracted immigrant farmers whose products required an adequate transportation system. It was also in the interests of the industrial East to ensure reliable transport to acquire the resources it needed and to carry its products to both domestic and overseas markets. British Columbia, in particular, experienced a surge in population during the first two decades of the twentieth century.¹¹³

Furthermore, the Kootenay region experienced a drastic surge in population in the final years of the nineteenth century as hard-rock mining companies formed several new towns including Greenwood, Kaslo, and Nelson.¹¹⁴ Martin Robin asserted that the industrial development of this region was built on the extraction of resources such as lead, copper, zinc, and silver, but most

¹¹² *Nelson Tribune*, January 18, 1900, 4.

¹¹³ Wong, *Lords of the Rinks*, 65.

¹¹⁴ "History Still Standing: A Guide to Historical Mine Sites of the Boundary Country," accessed May 3, 2015, http://www.empr.gov.B.C..ca/Mining/Geoscience/EducationalResources/Documents/Historical_Mine_Sites.pdf.

significant of all in the Kootenay region, lumber.¹¹⁵ The rapidly expanding resource extraction industries were also aided by changing government regulations:

In 1905 the [British Columbia] provincial government, under a newly elected Tory premier, Richard McBride, adopted a Special License System that loosened the restrictions on harvesting the province's forests. The new policy allowed for licenses to renew their now transferable permit for a period of twenty-one years and placed no limit on the number of licenses an individual could possess.¹¹⁶

It was against a backdrop of budding Kootenay industrialization and relaxed government regulation that Joe Patrick, the Methodist son of Irish immigrants to rural Quebec, envisioned a western outpost for a new business venture.

The Patricks

Joseph Patrick, who had previously made his fortune in the lumber industry, purchased a portion of land in the Slokan region of B.C. near the town of Nelson in 1907. During the winter of 1911, Joseph Patrick had sold his lumber company for between 300 and 500 thousand dollars¹¹⁷ and the entire Patrick family pondered their next venture, be that in lumber, finance, or a perhaps even a move back east. Joe's sons, Lester and Frank, were both well-regarded hockey players in Quebec before their family moved west. Whitehead noted that Frank and brother Patrick, now both flush with well over \$30,000 in their pockets following their share of the lumber business' sale, pondered the idea of creating a new hockey league in the burgeoning cities on B.C.'s West coast:

It was Frank who first proposed the bold idea of building a new hockey empire in virgin territory, complete with the family's own teams and own arenas. The proposition was obviously a costly one, but Joe Patrick's faith in his sons was such that he had no compunction about risking the family fortune on what hockey's eastern moguls would soon ridicule as a harebrained scheme that was foredoomed to failure.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ Martin Robin, *The Rush for Spoils: The Company Province 1871-1933* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972), 40-41.

¹¹⁶ Wong, "Boomtown Hockey," 232.

¹¹⁷ Bowlsby, *Empire of Ice*, 6.

¹¹⁸ Whitehead, *The Patricks*, 93-4.

Furthermore, Bowsby explained that “Three men had just sunk their entire family fortune into building a new professional hockey league, in a region where hockey normally occurred only one or two weeks of the year, if at all.”¹¹⁹ The “family vote,” described by Bowsby and later Whitehead, was not a true reflection of the entirety of the Patrick family’s desires. Instead, the three oldest males, Joe, Lester, and Frank, were tasked with guiding the family’s future with three votes. It was not only “eastern moguls” who had their doubts about what the Patricks were trying to accomplish. While Frank and Joe Patrick voted to create the league, the older son, Lester, “felt that the enormity of the project was still beyond their experience, and therefore it was too risky.”¹²⁰ There is little doubt that, at that moment, the task of creating a professional hockey league in B.C. was likely beyond the capabilities and experiences of the Patrick family. However, the influx of cash and the confluence of experiences, both with hockey franchises and rink construction, allowed the Patrick family to marshal enough resources to get the idea off the ground.

Both Whitehead and Bowsby use the term “virgin territory” for the new professional hockey venture, even though hockey had a long history within B.C. As noted earlier, hockey’s history in B.C. was far more developed in the Kootenay region than on the West coast. Frank and Lester, through their professional history and their athletic endeavours, were familiar with the hockey communities in Kootenay towns such as Rossland, Nelson, Kaslo, and many others. The league would be called the Pacific Coast Hockey Association and the Patricks began work selecting cities in which the franchises could play. An integral aspect of the new hockey league was the fact that the Patricks were planning on owning the arenas in which the future franchises would play. According to Bowsby, the Patrick family was familiar with the processes of planning,

¹¹⁹ Bowsby, *Empire of Ice*, 6.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

raising funds for, and building new arenas, as they had gone through a similar process when the Nelson senior hockey team needed a new arena in the early twentieth century.¹²¹ As such, the Patricks needed to have franchises in locations that could support a professional sports team, even if the local population might not yet have been very familiar with the game of hockey.

Crucially, the Patricks planned for their league to be professional hockey, a delineation that brought with it socioeconomic and athletic consequences. One of the most important expressions of class division in Canadian sport during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is the question of amateurism versus professionalism. There has been a significant amount of scholarly work written on this topic, with special attention paid to central Canada.¹²² The history of amateurism and professionalism in Canadian sport highlights the struggle between those who believed that sport should be played for intangible, esoteric reasons, such as the love of competition or pride in one's town, and those who believed that participation in organized sport was a form of labour and therefore subject to equitable compensation. Gruneau and Whitson summarize sociological differences between the two perspectives, by characterizing the relationship between leisure time and amusement:

By the turn of the century a clear distinction between the rational use of leisure time and seemingly irrational amusement had become fully institutionalized in Canada. Rational recreation was promoted in amateur sports organizations, schools, municipal parks, and libraries. Irrational leisure - typically associated with drinking, gambling, and 'rough' sport - was patrolled by the police. Amateur hockey was championed as a form of rational

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² For a more thorough examination of the amateurism and professionalism debate in Canadian sport see Bruce Kidd, *The Struggle for Canadian Sport*; McKinley, *Putting a Roof Over Winter*, 54-88; Gruneau and Whitson, *Hockey Night in Canada*, 56-77; Stephen Hardy and Andrew Holman, "Periodizing Hockey History: One Approach," in *Now is the Winter: Thinking about Hockey*, eds. Jamie Dopp and Richard Harrison (Hamilton: Wolsak and Wynn, 2009), 19-36; Isaacs, *Checking Back*, 30-37; Brian McFarlane, *The Story of the National Hockey League: An Intimate History of Hockey's Most Dramatic Half Century* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1973), 13-23; Howell, *Blood, Sweat, and Cheers*, 51-82.

recreation, and its emerging rules and organizational structures were largely in the grip of the moral entrepreneurs.¹²³

The “moral entrepreneurs” referred to by Gruneau and Whitson are the businessmen and professionals who comprised the English-speaking, white, middle-class, sporting elite. These men, champions of “moral propriety and self-improvement,” represented the vanguard of amateur sport in Canada.¹²⁴ However, McKinley puts it more directly in describing the ideological underpinning of Canadian amateur hockey’s forefathers: “Canada’s amateur athletic clubs were forged in the smithy of British Victorian idealism, in which gentlemen engaged in sport for the honour of competition.”¹²⁵ McKinley maintains that the ideal of amateurism reflected “British” design: an antiquated notion of honourable conduct imported from overseas. However, despite the pervasiveness of this amateur ideal in Canada, Frank and Lester Patrick consciously eschewed this vision in favor of professionalization. Both brothers had played professional hockey in Ontario and intentionally imported a professional model as the basis for the PCHA. Significantly then, elite West coast hockey was first formalized and introduced as a professional sport through the PCHA. Crucially, the Patrick brothers, steeped in the professional sporting traditions of the late nineteenth century, forged a new form of moral entrepreneurship through their administration of the PCHA.

From the beginning, the PHCA was forced to innovate in order to survive, even if that meant taking large financial and professional risks. Initially, the Patricks planned for franchises to be in Vancouver, Victoria, Calgary, Edmonton, and Calgary, the largest urban centres in western

¹²³ Whitson and Gruneau, *Hockey Night in Canada*, 56.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ McKinley, *Putting a Roof on Winter*, 57.

Canada. The first secured sites were in Victoria and Vancouver and, as Wong noted, the choice to put a franchise in Vancouver was an obvious one:

By 1911, Vancouver had established itself as the major Canadian city on the West coast, surpassing Victoria and New Westminster as the economic centre of British Columbia. With the help of the Canadian Pacific Railroad, Vancouver became the link between the Pacific Rim and Canadian markets through the CPR's trans-Canada rail line and its trans-Pacific fleet.¹²⁶

Furthermore, approximately 14,500 immigrants from Ontario and Quebec had moved to Vancouver by 1911, many of them familiar with hockey teams and players from other existing leagues, such as the National Hockey Association.¹²⁷ The second site initially selected was in Victoria, but both cities were ultimately unable to support an outdoor arena on account of their mild climates. Consequently, the Patricks began plans to create the first Canadian indoor refrigerated arenas in Victoria and Vancouver. Indoor arena refrigeration was not a brand-new technology in North America: "At the time, all ice rinks in Canada relied on the weather to maintain an icy surface, even though there had been artificial ice-making technology since the mid-1850s, and the St. Nicholas Arena in New York employed it when the arena opened in 1896."¹²⁸ The new artificial ice facilities in Victoria and Vancouver¹²⁹ were to be the crown jewels of the PCHA. However, the fledgling league encountered problems almost immediately.

The final decision to create the new league was made in late 1911 and the Patricks intended for the PCHA to be active in the 1912 season. Given this timeline, a herculean effort was required to prepare the necessary infrastructure for the new league. In terms of the franchises themselves, plans for teams in Calgary and Edmonton "were scrapped when problems in securing players and

¹²⁶ Wong, "Professional Hockey and Urban Development," 8.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Planned franchises in Calgary and Edmonton would have natural ice. See Bowsby, *Empire of Ice*, 7.

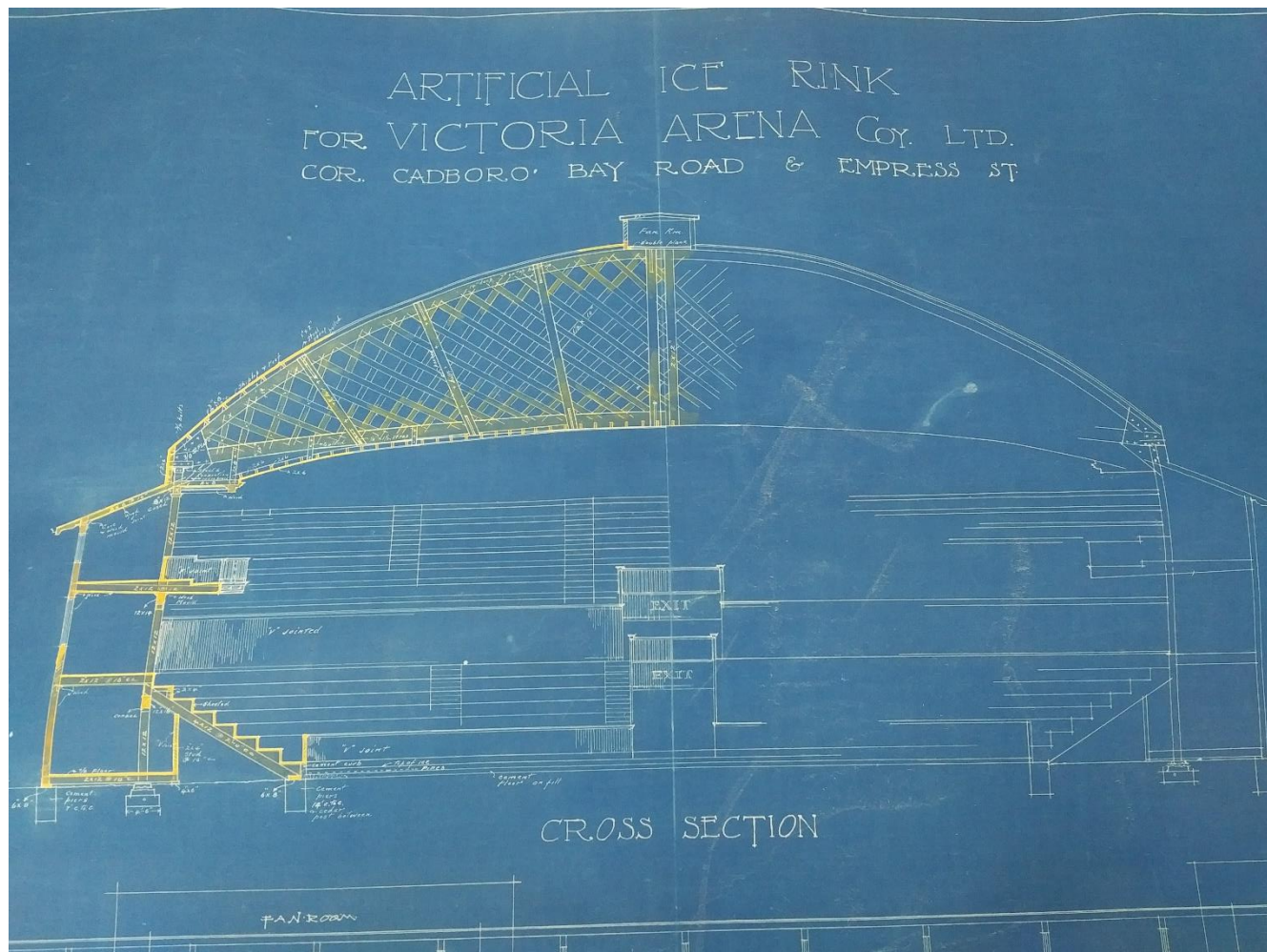


Figure 1 - The Original Blueprints for the Victoria Ice Arena, Oak Bay Archives

facilities discouraged promoters there”¹³⁰ and the league faced an immediate danger of becoming a two-team farce. The tension between the Patricks’ new professional league and existing amateur hockey in western Canada made the task of recruiting players from leagues in Alberta difficult. The Alberta Amateur Hockey Association, created in 1907, was home to some of the most formidable hockey teams in the west and, though amateur in name, paid significantly less attention

¹³⁰ Wong, “Professional Hockey and Urban Development,” 8

to the amateur status of its players.¹³¹ Losing the possibility of teams in Alberta threatened the Patrick's entire hockey enterprise.

Early Setbacks

As late as November 1911, the Patricks' were preparing initial investors for the possibility of being only two teams in their league.¹³² However, the Patricks placed a third team in B.C.'s former capital, New Westminster, with plans to play their home games in the new Vancouver arena. Wong noted that the Patricks were hoping to capitalize on a budding lacrosse rivalry between Vancouver and New Westminster when they decided that a third team was needed on the lower mainland.¹³³ The Vancouver arena was now home to two of the three teams in the PCHA and in November of 1911, the building was already two weeks behind schedule. A *Vancouver Daily Province* article from November 2nd stated, "the roof box still has to be placed on the mammoth structure and that will require some time, so the building will be opened two weeks later than originally planned ... it will probably be December 15 before skaters get their chance to perform at the arena."¹³⁴ At this stage, the Patricks could not afford to have the PCHA's inaugural season fail, as they had to begin paying back their initial investors. In Victoria, where a similar arena project was being undertaken simultaneously with the project in Vancouver, a *Victoria Daily Colonist* article detailed how "Lester Patrick ... is on the job early every morning doing everything he can to rush the rink to completion."¹³⁵

¹³¹ Robert Kossuth, "Chinook Country Hockey: The Emergence of Hockey in Pre-Second World War Southern Alberta," in *Coast to Coast: Hockey in Canada to the Second World War*, ed. John Chi-Kit Wong (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 210.

¹³² Bowlsby, *Empire of Ice*, 14.

¹³³ Wong, "Professional Hockey and Urban Development," 8

¹³⁴ "Another Month for Completion of Rink – New Ice Arena on Georgia Street Won't be Ready Until Then," *Vancouver Daily Province*, November 2, 1911, 12.

¹³⁵ "Coast Hockey Will Begin in December," *Victoria Daily Colonist*, November 28, 1911, 9.

At every stage, the Patricks planned on maximizing the financial viability of their new league, despite the mounting costs associated with constructing the new arenas. The Patricks' plan for filling out the rosters included raiding teams from central Canada's most prestigious hockey leagues, a strategy that made the PCHA many powerful enemies. The Patricks' main target was the NHA, formed in 1910, which was then the country's top professional hockey league. Whitehead noted the successes that the PCHA had in recruiting players from the NHA: "Of the twenty-three players that they had signed and distributed among the three new coast clubs, sixteen of them had been recruited from the National Hockey Association."¹³⁶ The PCHA was engaged in a full-fledged player war with the NHA.

Throughout 1911, Frank and Lester Patrick aggressively sought to sign NHA players, some of whom were also nationally-recognized professional lacrosse players in their own rights.¹³⁷ One such player recruited to the renegade PCHA was future Hockey and Lacrosse Hall of Famer Newsy Lalonde, who was a member of the Montreal Canadiens for the inaugural 1910 season before being traded mid-season to the Renfrew Creamery Kings. In addition to Lalonde, the Renfrew team at the time featured both Frank and Lester Patrick, who were still playing professionally in Ontario at that point. During the summer, Lalonde played professional lacrosse in Vancouver, which made him an instant star in the city when the Patricks convinced him to join the PCHA's Vancouver franchise, named the Millionaires. Bringing in players of Lalonde's calibre was an essential aspect of the Patricks' plan to grow hockey on the West coast. Wong explained their strategy as an attempt to build "brand equity" in the new league through building consumer confidence in the quality of the on-ice product with star players.¹³⁸ Moreover, in order to maintain this brand equity, the

¹³⁶ Whitehead, *The Patricks*, 104.

¹³⁷ Wong, "Boomtown Hockey," 237.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 236.

Patricks distributed the star players recruited from the NHA somewhat evenly throughout the three PCHA franchises. The Patricks did this in order to avoid one team gaining too great a competitive advantage, a problem that had plagued other professional hockey leagues during that period, including the NHA. For example, one such team was the same Renfrew Creamery Kings, also nicknamed the “Millionaires,” which gave the Patricks the inspiration for the name of their Vancouver PCHA franchise and boasted the two Patrick brothers and Lalonde as former players. At each early stage, the Patricks viewed the entrepreneurial development of the PCHA, that is ensuring the new league was a viable business, as an essential part of their new hockey league. Developing brand equity in the PCHA was crucially important to achieving this end.

Finally, on December 7, 1911, the PCHA was officially organized and, as the *Vancouver Daily News Advertiser* noted: “officers elected, the season’s schedule drafted, and the stage set for the opening of the championship series on the Coast on January 2.”¹³⁹ It was decided the PCHA would initially play with seven players on the ice at a time, while the NHA had only recently decided to reduce the number of players to six, just as the present-day game is played.¹⁴⁰ The



Figure 2 - Lester Patrick Photographed in the *Victoria Daily Times*, December 11, 1915,8.

¹³⁹ “Pacific Coast Hockey League Will Start Season on Jan. 2nd,” *Vancouver Daily News Advertiser*, December 8, 1911, 8.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

article also detailed how the winner of the PCHA's season would challenge the NHA's champion for the Stanley Cup in the "later part of March," despite the fact that the PCHA and NHA now played under different rules. Despite its legacy as one of hockey's most innovative leagues, in its nascency, the PCHA gleaned much of its initial institutional framework from their NHA rivals. The Patricks proposed to "practically adopt the NHA constitution along modified lines"¹⁴¹ and many of the same roster rules from the NHA were imported directly into the PCHA.

In advance of the first PCHA season, the Patricks, and by extension the media that covered their new league, were tasked with introducing prospective viewers and readers to the sport of hockey under PCHA rules. The *Vancouver Province*'s two-column explanation of the game, printed the day of their first game on January 5, 1912, stated that:

Coast folks have heard so much about the sport which is justly claimed to be [the] fastest game played ... Hockey calls for exceptional speed – in fact it is a case of speed, speed, and then more speed. The small area utilized for the game means that the players are on the move practically all the time. In lacrosse, which is generally regarded as a pretty severe test of a man's physical condition, breathing spells come every now and then, owing to the length of the playing field, but there is no rest for the hockey player. Consequently, it calls for the perfect physical condition to get the best results and that is why in the professional game where the players are able to devote their whole time to the sport, or business as it is with them, hockey attains the highest perfection.¹⁴²

The description printed in the *Vancouver Province* offers a rare glimpse into the media representation of fully-formed professional hockey, as designed for a Canadian readership. In this article, the case was made for the superiority of not just hockey, but *professional* hockey, as it allowed players adequate time to practice their skills and perfect their craft. Importantly, hockey is referred to as a "business" in this article, characterizing the players as respectable businessmen focused on developing their talents for the enjoyment of spectators. This depiction starkly contrasts the way that professional athletes, and specifically hockey players, had been portrayed in media

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² "Professional Hockeyists to Start This Evening," *The Vancouver Province*, January 5, 1912, 10.

during the early twentieth century. In Daniel Masson and Gregory Duquette's examination of newspaper coverage of the International Hockey League, they argued that the media often assumed that early professional hockey, and by extension hockey players, were less reputable than amateur players "because a professional's livelihood depended upon performance, a professional player was more likely to do whatever was necessary to win and, in the process, not engage in what would be considered 'fair play.'"¹⁴³ Rather than portraying the game as tainted by professionalism, the PCHA's professionalism is represented here as the pinnacle of hockey excellence by the *Vancouver Province*. Instead then, the game's speed and precision are highlighted, alongside the ideal version of male health and masculinity, the perfect "physical condition" for a Canadian man.

Despite the tight timeframe and construction setbacks they faced,¹⁴⁴ the Patricks and their investors managed to start their league's season on time and played out their inaugural season in Vancouver and Victoria. The team from New Westminster, playing their home games in Vancouver, was the first crowned champion of the PCHA. However, they were unable to challenge for the Stanley Cup, as was promised, due to a scheduling oversight that placed the end of the PCHA season too late to ensure playable ice in central Canadian rinks.¹⁴⁵ Desperate to prove their new league as equal to the NHA, the Patricks invited an NHA all-star team for a three-game series against a group of select PCHA players in Vancouver and Victoria in March 1912. Wong argued that the Patricks "familiarized West coast fans with the eastern star players and would be good advertising for future Stanley Cup challenges ... The series further functioned as a scouting exercise for next season's potential recruits."¹⁴⁶ Overall, the scheme was successful, as the PCHA

¹⁴³ Mason and Duquette, "Newspaper Coverage of Early Professional Ice Hockey," 168.

¹⁴⁴ Even during the article preparing for the first game, the *Vancouver Province* warned spectators that the Vancouver rink was far from complete.

¹⁴⁵ Wong, "Boomtown Hockey," 242.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

was able to further raid the NHA of players. Furthermore, with the PCHA select team defeating the NHA team two games to one, they legitimized the on-ice product of the PCHA in the minds of West coast hockey fans. Despite this progress, the season was not financially successful for the Patricks, with the PCHA recording a \$9000 loss.¹⁴⁷ Nevertheless, the PCHA had gained a foothold on the West coast and the Patricks had designs on expanding their operation beyond the three teams that comprised their inaugural season.

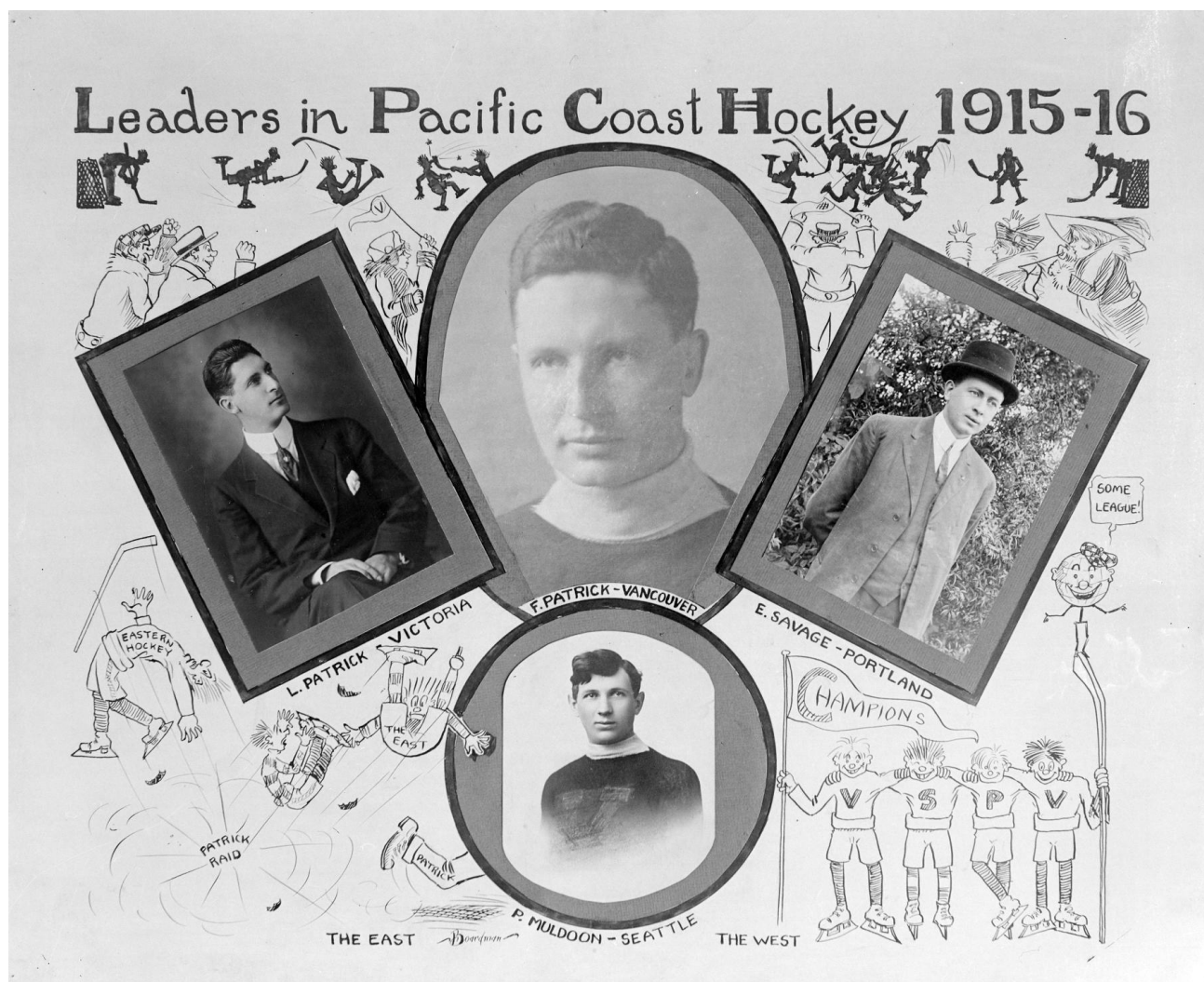


Figure 3 - Cartoons Depiction NHA Player Raids, Courtesy Vancouver City Archives

¹⁴⁷ Whitehead, *The Patricks*, 114.

Innovation, Expansion, and Obsolescence

The three-team system existed for the first four seasons of the PCHA, though the New Westminster franchise was moved to Portland before the start of the 1914-15 season. During the initial years of the PCHA, the Patricks experimented with radical new rule changes that challenged Canadian hockey orthodoxy. One of these important rule changes was the introduction of the forward pass¹⁴⁸ during the 1913-14 season, a decision met with derision from the NHA and confusion from early spectators.¹⁴⁹ The intention was to allow the game to move more freely and with fewer stoppages for offsidés, a choice made with an eye to making the game better for spectators and thus more lucrative. Such changes made the PCHA markedly different from other brands of hockey and further developed the PCHA as distinct from the NHA. After the scheduling error of the first season, the PCHA champion eventually did challenge for the Stanley Cup at the conclusion of the PCHA's third season in 1913-14 and for each season thereafter. The Vancouver Millionaires, PCHA champions in 1914-15, challenged the NHA powerhouse Ottawa Senators and defeated them in three straight games, becoming the first West coast team to win the Stanley Cup. The Patricks continued to expand their enterprise into the United States with franchises playing in Seattle, Spokane, and Portland. Two seasons after the Millionaires defeated Ottawa, the PCHA champions from Seattle claimed the Stanley Cup as well.

Throughout the history of the PCHA, the Patricks experimented with rule changes designed to differentiate their product from other professional and amateur leagues across Canada.¹⁵⁰ One

¹⁴⁸ Prior to this decision, players were not permitted to pass the puck to teammates in front of them. Instead, in order to pass the puck, a teammate had to be level with or behind the passing player, a rule similar to passing in rugby.

¹⁴⁹ Bowsby, *Empire of Ice*, 53-55.

¹⁵⁰ See chapters 3,4, and 5.

such example came during the 1918-19 season, when the Patricks instituted a new method of calculating penalties.

The Patricks continued this distinction of opening up the game and lessening its violent aspects. In the 1918–1919 season, Frank Patrick convinced the NHL to adopt a deferred penalty system designed by the PCHA. Previously, a penalized team could put a substitute on the ice for a penalized player; thus, there was no disadvantage to the team other than losing the services of that player for a time. Playing a man short in the deferred penalty system, of course, gave the advantage to the other team. It was hoped that the disadvantage would eliminate major fouls (usually of the violent variety) as the penalized team would be playing a man short for all five minutes as well as the penalized player would be banished from the game.¹⁵¹

As will be discussed in greater detail during the chapter four, the Patricks often brought changes into the PCHA that sought to limit the amount of violence in their league, some of which extended to physical modifications to the playing surfaces and broad new powers given to game officials.

By the end of the 1921 season, Frank and Lester Patrick made it known that they were willing to sell their stake in the league, having grown weary of the financial and personal strain of both playing in and governing the PCHA.¹⁵² By this point, the PCHA had emerged as one of the finest hockey leagues in the world with two successful Stanley Cup challenges and numerous star players playing for PCHA teams. To that end, in 1924, the Patricks merged the PCHA with the Western Canadian Hockey League (WCHL). The newly-formed Western Hockey League (WHL) was thus created and ran for two years. However, by 1926, the NHA, now the National Hockey League, was aggressively expanding into the United States and, as Wong noted, “the NHL’s new teams all came from larger population centres and their backers were millionaires with major corporations who had either built or were going to build bigger and more luxurious arenas than

¹⁵¹ John Wong, “The Patricks’s Hockey Empire: Cultural Entrepreneurship and the Pacific Coast Hockey Association, 1911–1924” *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol. 35, 7-8, 686.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 208-209.

any of the West coast franchises had.”¹⁵³ Rather than face a bidding war with the NHL, the WHL merged with the NHL and the modern NHL as we know it was born. Consequently, the Patricks leveraged the successes of the PCHA to gain positions of prominence in the NHL. In doing so, the PCHA, its rules, traditions, histories, and founders left an indelible mark on modern professional hockey.



Figure 4 - A Vancouver Millionaires Team Photo, *The Vancouver Sun*, January 31, 1914, 10.

¹⁵³ Wong, "Boomtown Hockey,"

Chapter Three

“A Lesson in Dynamics”:

The Antecedents, Origins, and Birth of the PCHA

Introduction – “The esthetic against the savage”

In only its third day of operation, February 14, 1912, *The Vancouver Sun* published a lengthy editorial describing a regular-season PCHA hockey game between the Vancouver Millionaires and the Victoria Aristocrats. Rather than the summary of events expected from a post-game report, the article’s writer infused their prose with elements of poetry, history, and drama:

The game was something to dream over. Description is profanation; it is something that pits the esthetic against the savage instincts, rolls up copious quantities of ginger and sends it percolating through the system, tingling the toes and creating a burning desire to get up in meeting and declare yourself.¹⁵⁴

The writer here attempted to describe one of the first hockey games they witnessed for an audience still learning the intricacies of a game developed only decades earlier. The language brims with excitement, urging readers to witness the game for themselves and assuring them that they will see an extremely exciting performance. In this passage, hockey is not simply a game, it is divine revelation. In the writer’s view, like the Hebraic Yahweh, to define hockey was to debase it. However, despite their statement that “description is profanation,” they did offer a description of the game as a sport that “pits the esthetic against the savage.” In doing so, they communicated to their reader that while the experience of hockey is sublime, it is also brutal. In this early example from the PCHA’s first season, we see how hockey journalists worked to *represent* hockey and hockey violence by using language to ascribe meaning back onto the game.

¹⁵⁴ “Terminals Fall Before Valiant Victoria,” *The Vancouver Sun*, February 14, 1912.

Throughout the first year of the PCHA, newspapers from Vancouver, Victoria, and New Westminster were tasked with describing, translating, and documenting the sport for a readership largely unfamiliar with professional hockey. This required journalists to confront the innate challenges of translating an ephemeral, performative event, such as a hockey game, into the written word. Maggie B. Gale and Ann Featherstone discuss the importance of cross-medium documentation and argue that “the viability of archiving an essentially ephemeral cultural form at all has led to debates over the possibilities, problematics and available practices of documenting both performance and our experience of it.”¹⁵⁵ The larger task of hockey journalists was not only to document the events of a given game, but to *represent* hockey through language. Historian Greg Walker asserts that “trying to re-create three-dimensional events from the two-dimensional evidence of written records ... is always to some degree a speculative venture.”¹⁵⁶ Considered in this way, newspaper writers actively constructed the perceived realities of the PCHA in its nascence and represented the game in specific ways to specific ends. Within the material constraints of early twentieth-century print media practices, newspaper writers were not simply passive chroniclers, resigned to recording the passage of time. Instead, the representation of PCHA hockey was purposefully produced through language. Nowhere is this process of representation more apparent than in the representation of violence through newspaper reporting.

¹⁵⁵ Maggie B. Gale and Ann Featherstone, “The Imperative of the Archive: Creative Archive Research,” in *Research Methods in Theatre and Performance*, eds. Baz Kershaw and Helen Nicholson (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), 19.

¹⁵⁶ Greg Walker, *The Politics of Performance in Early Renaissance Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 6.

Hockey as a Cultural Institution: Newsprint and Early Professional Hockey

Media Studies scholar Daniel J. Robinson observed that: “Newspapers have long relied on institutions, not readers, to support their operations.”¹⁵⁷ While Robinson was detailing the importance of political parties, governments, and workers’ unions to the continuing survival of a newspaper, it is important to consider sport as another institution that newspapers relied on “to support [a newspaper’s] operations.”¹⁵⁸ The relationship between hockey and newsprint was certainly mutualistic at the time of the PCHA’s formation, with both the newspapers benefitting from the addition of regular hockey stories to their expanding sports pages and hockey benefitting from newspaper exposure. As such, Canadian sport historian Bruce Kidd noted that “Perhaps the most important factor contributing to the ‘making of sports’ was the celebrity given to sports by mass-circulation newspapers and magazines.”¹⁵⁹ As Gruneau and Whitson explained, “Hockey was emerging as a notable element in a fast-changing world of urban commercial entertainment, a world more and more influenced by mass media, advertising, and mass consumption.”¹⁶⁰ Furthermore, media scholar Minko Sotiron argued that, during the early twentieth century “with readership, rather than partisanship, becoming progressively more important, newspapers had to be made more appealing to readers.”¹⁶¹ Accordingly, PCHA hockey was ideally placed to help newspapers, including the brand-new *Vancouver Sun*, attract readers in a competitive marketplace.

In central Canada, hockey had existed as an institution since at least 1887 with the formation of the Amateur Hockey Association of Canada. Furthermore, professional hockey’s

¹⁵⁷ Daniel Robinson, *Communication History in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2009), 123.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Kidd, *The Struggle for Canadian Sport*, 20.

¹⁶⁰ Gruneau and Whitson, *Hockey Night in Canada*, 80.

¹⁶¹ Minko Sotiron, “Public Myth and Private Reality” in *Communication History in Canada*, ed. Daniel Robinson (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2009), 145.

roots date back to 1904 and the creation of the International Hockey League (IHL).¹⁶² By the time professional hockey reached Canada's West coast, central Canadian newspapers had been reporting on the game for almost half a century, developing a unique hockey-specific lexicon that influenced the way the game was represented to readers, especially with regards to professional hockey. However, as hockey transitioned into the twentieth century, it was no longer the exclusive possession of the upper-class, Anglo society that had birthed the game a quarter of a century earlier. As Mason and Duquette observed in their study of Canadian newspaper coverage of IHL games from the early twentieth century: "One of the underlying themes that emerged from coverage of IHL games in the *Montreal Gazette*, *Ottawa Citizen*, *Toronto Globe*, and *Toronto Star*, was a focus on violent actions that occurred during IHL games."¹⁶³ Mason and Duquette further noted the emphasis on violence in the IHL as a method of promoting rival central Canadian hockey, both in amateur and professional contexts. According to Mason and Duquette:

High-calibre hockey was moving away from its organizational and participatory roots under the surveillance of white, middle- and upper-class, English-speaking, men in the larger urban centres of eastern Canada, toward a more popularized, commodified, entertainment spectacle, participated in, watched, and appreciated by, different social groups. Seen in this way, coverage of the IHL's operations in the Canadian press was not simply about rough house players in a rival league.¹⁶⁴

In this passage, Mason and Duquette position central Canada's media representation of violence as a form of resistance to changing power dynamics in early twentieth-century Canadian hockey. There are certainly many other examples of powerful media institutions, such as the *Montreal Gazette*, *Toronto Globe*, *Toronto Star*, defending the existing power structures of organized sport in Canada during this same period, perhaps due to the relationship between newspapers and

¹⁶² For more detail on the evolution of professional hockey in North America, see: Wong, *Lords of the Rinks* and Ross, *Joining the Clubs*.

¹⁶³ Mason and Duquette, "Newspaper Coverage of Early Professional Ice Hockey," 162.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 170.

institutions highlighted by Robinson. However, the game that the Patrick brothers brought to the West coast was markedly different from the game played in central Canada and in the northern United States. Consequently, special consideration must be paid to the unique approach to representing PCHA hockey in the league's first year.

The Archive

The newspapers selected for this section include the *Vancouver Sun*, *Victoria Daily Times*, and the *New Westminster Daily News* all from the year 1912, the first operational year for the PCHA. Choosing this season and comparing media coverage across all three PCHA cities was important to establishing how each city was reporting, editorializing, and representing PCHA hockey for their respective readerships. A clear choice for inclusion was *The Victoria Daily Times*, the largest newspaper in B.C.'s capital city. *The Victoria Daily* covered Victoria's PCHA team, nicknamed the Aristocrats, throughout its time in the league. On the mainland, 1912 was a significant year for newsprint media on Canada's West coast, as the *Vancouver Sun* began printing this same year, joining the *Vancouver Province* as the city's second daily newspaper. The rationale for selecting the *Sun* and not the *Province* was that the history of the *Vancouver Sun* is inextricably linked to the PCHA, since the *Sun* began printing on February 12, 1912 and the PCHA's first-ever game was played on January 2, 1912 in Victoria: a game between Victoria and New Westminster with Vancouver's first game coming three days later.¹⁶⁵ In 1912, the *Sun*'s closest competition, the *Province*, was regularly more than thirty pages long, while the *Sun*'s first issue was twenty-four pages and filled with evocative images, cartoons, and photographs. From examining the two papers directly from the first year of the *Sun*'s publication, it is apparent that the *Sun* was more

¹⁶⁵ Bowlsby, *Empire of Ice*, 20.

heavily influenced by the sensationalist “people’s journals” discussed in chapter one, likely as an attempt to target a different readership than the *Province*.



Figure 5 - *The Vancouver Sun's First Issue, February 12, 1912, 1.*

The *Sun's* sports section routinely featured large illustrations, similar to front-page political cartoons, and editorial images like the one found on the debut issue. The Vancouver PCHA hockey team featured prominently in the sports coverage of the *Sun* throughout its first year of publication.

The *New Westminster Daily News* was a much smaller paper, compared to the *Sun* and *Daily Times*, routinely totaling eight pages, as opposed to the twenty or more from its neighbours in Vancouver or Victoria. Historically, the city of New Westminster was the capital of the Colony of British Columbia, a territory that existed from 1858 until 1866, and did not include Vancouver Island, which was a part of the Colony of Vancouver Island with Victoria as its capital. The city was chosen as the capital for economic and military reasons, providing both good access to the Fraser River and potentially fortifying imperial interests against a theoretical land invasion from

the United States.¹⁶⁶ Originally titled “Queensborough,” in honour of Queen Victoria, the city earned the nickname ‘The Royal City,’ not to be confused with the city of Victoria on Vancouver Island, which were also named in her honour. The term ‘Royal City’ frequently appeared in newspaper coverage of PCHA games featuring New Westminster’s team, which was aptly named the Royals. Although the name was changed from Queensborough to New Westminster at the British government’s insistence,¹⁶⁷ the ‘Royal City’ nickname stuck and New Westminster was consistently referred to as the Royal City throughout its time in the PCHA by papers in all three cities.

Points Breakdown

The analysis of each paper focuses on the articles that scored three or four points to examine the way that violence was represented in detail. The purpose of counting results scored one point or two was to evaluate how much detail and attention was being paid to violence in each paper throughout their coverage of the PCHA. In accounting for this point system, it is also important to note that PCHA was not the only hockey covered in each of the newspapers selected for study. Often, coverage of central Canadian amateur and professional leagues, Pacific northwest amateur leagues, prairie professional leagues, maritime professional leagues, Allen Cup challenge matches, and Olympic hockey games would appear on the sports pages of Victoria, Vancouver, and New Westminster newspapers. For the purposes of this project, the results have been narrowed to reflect the way that violence was represented in PCHA hockey games.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶ Jean Barman, *The West Beyond the West* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 73.

¹⁶⁷ Margaret Ormsby, *British Columbia: A History* (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1976), 175.

¹⁶⁸ See Appendix A

The *Victoria Daily Times* had 416 total mentions of the word “hockey” in the year 1912 and forty-six distinct articles that referenced PCHA games. However, when evaluating the stories from Victoria, it became evident that many of the results were referencing field hockey, a sport that remained more popular on Canada’s West coast than anywhere else in the country. More specifically, newspapers in Victoria consistently used the term “ice hockey” throughout 1912, a practice not as readily adhered to by their colleagues in Vancouver and New Westminster. For example, throughout 1912 there were seventy-two distinct mentions of the term “ice hockey” in the *Daily Times* as opposed to only twenty-eight in the *Vancouver Sun*. Of the forty-six distinct PCHA stories, six scored one point, seventeen scored two points, thirteen scored three points, and two scored four points. The remaining eight did not mention violence at all.

The *Vancouver Sun*, which began publishing nearly a month and a half into the inaugural PCHA season, had 248 usages of the word “hockey” and thirty-nine distinct PCHA stories. The *Sun* was much more comfortable differentiating between the field and ice variations of the game, choosing to call “ice hockey” simply “hockey” and the grass game as “field” or “grass” hockey. This allowed for a greater number of the “hockey” results to be pertinent, as opposed to the results from the *Daily Times*. Of the thirty-nine distinct PCHA stories from 1912, six scored one point, four scored two points, three scored three points, and two scored four points.

In New Westminster, fans in the Royal City were treated to the best team in the brand-new PCHA with the Royals claiming top spot. The *New Westminster Daily News*, in operation from 1906-14, was far more of a community newspaper than the broadsheets found in Vancouver and Victoria. As such, coverage was far more spartan, with many of the stories sticking to game summaries rather than the colourful re-telling found in the *Daily Times* and *Sun*. Acknowledging the difference in size between the *Daily News* and the other two papers, the New Westminster newspaper had a significant amount of hockey coverage. In 1912, there were 146 mentions of the word “hockey” and twenty-three distinct stories about PCHA play. Of the twenty-three PCHA stories, six scored one point, five scored two points, seven scored three points, and no four-point articles were found.

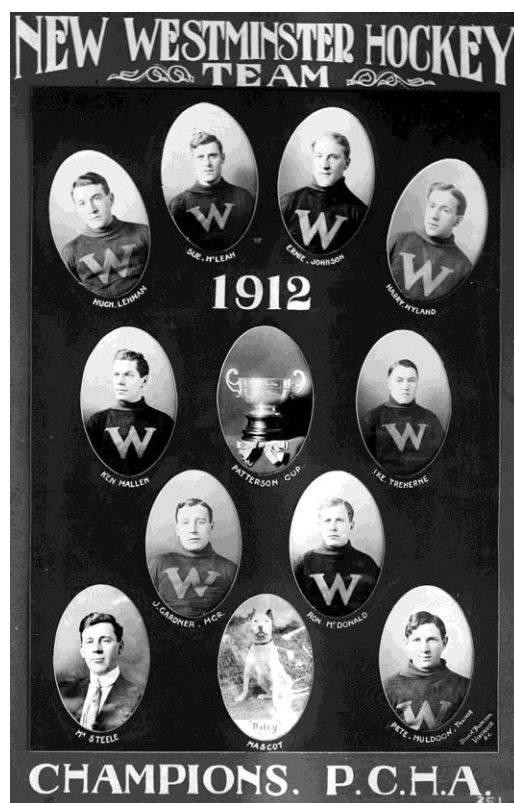


Figure 6 - The 1912 New Westminster Royals Courtesy Vancouver City Archives

After evaluating the newspaper articles based on the points system outlined above, the following analysis will be based on articles that scored three and four points to critically analyze the way that violence is represented. In the three and four point articles, several main themes emerged: modernity, class, race and gender. These three main themes were chosen based on their prevalence in the articles that scored three- and four-points, but many articles contained elements of more than one theme. These three themes are especially pertinent to an examination of the representation of violence in newspaper coverage of the early PCHA, laying the foundation for future media coverage of hockey violence. As a result, during the first year of the PCHA's existence, violence was inextricably linked to these broader intersectional concepts.

Article Analysis

“The Science of the Man:” Modernity and the PCHA

The game of hockey is in many ways a product of nineteenth-century modernity: a period characterized by rational efficiency, urbanization, and widespread mechanization. Born in the mid-to late nineteenth century, organized hockey was steeped in modernity's obsession with efficiency, rationalism, and mechanization. As Gruneau and Whitson observe, the development of Canadian sport, and hockey specifically, is “partly about ‘tradition’ versus differing concepts of ‘modernity.’”¹⁶⁹ It is therefore crucial to revisit the cultural context hockey developed from during the early twentieth century, as examined in greater detail in chapter two. As was earlier discussed, sport started to reflect the growing corporate fixation on rationality and efficiency that permeated North American society. As Gruneau and Whitson observed,

Throughout the second-half of the nineteenth-century, growing industrialization in Canada's fast-changing capitalist economy meant subjecting workers to new forms of work

¹⁶⁹ Gruneau and Whitson, *Hockey Night in Canada*, 53

organization in the factory and the office, to the technical requirements of machinery, and to the competitive pressures of a system geared to extracting maximum productivity from human labour power.¹⁷⁰

Concurrently, leisure practices mirrored developments in the industrial world and, by the end of the nineteenth century, “leisure was no longer an occasional event... but the routine experience of non-work.”¹⁷¹ Furthermore, hockey historians Stephen Hardy and Andrew Holman argued that “The grinding monotony of ‘modern’ work in factories, offices, or mines may have prompted interest in hockey as a temporary experience in freedom. But the same iron cages of innovative technology produced the infrastructure that expanded its popularity.”¹⁷² The modernity referenced by Hardy and Holman depicts a society where individuals reacted to the conditions of early twentieth-century society by searching for collective experiences and identification with others. For example, social theorist Leonidas Donskis observed a collective identity crisis pervading modern society, leading us to seek affirmation through shared experiences and common exemplars.¹⁷³ In early twentieth-century Canada, hockey served as a respite for urban citizens from monotonous, mechanized labour and allowed groups to meet, participate, and share in communal experiences. Importantly, this form of social reprieve was by no means a perfect or inclusive site of community-building, as the remainder of this project will explore, and the game itself was not immune from the same forces that were shaping industrial society. Consequently, early reports on the PCHA explored and expanded on hockey’s pre-existing relationship with modernity and conceived of the game as at once distinctly “modern” and an escape from the isolating conditions of modernity.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 51.

¹⁷¹ Simon Frith, *Sounds Effects: Youth, Leisure and the Politics of Rock n’ Roll* (London: Constable, 1983), 250.

¹⁷² Stephen Hardy and Andrew C. Holman, *Hockey: A Global History* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2018), 54.

¹⁷³ Leonidas Donskis, *Modernity in Crisis: A Dialogue on the Culture of Belonging* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 12.

The way that the public viewed elite sport was subsequently affected by this view of “modern” versus “traditional” hockey and other observers, purveyors, and administrators of sport began to preach the values of scientific, rational, and efficient sport. For example, as early as 1899, Arthur Farrell, a former player for the Montreal Shamrocks, wrote the first hockey book entitled *Hockey: Canada’s Royal Winter Game* as a guide for those wishing to play.¹⁷⁴ In this book, Farrell outlined the rules (adjusted correctly for play in different provinces), the benefits of playing the sport, and the preferred way in which hockey should be played. Farrell believed that hockey should be played with discipline, which meant that players should choose the most direct plays rather than engaging in irrational and self-serving displays:

The fancy play, the grand stand play, is a waste of energy, childish, worthless. The play that counts, the play that shows the science of the man who makes it, is the immediate execution, in the simplest manner, of a plan that a player conceives, when he considers the object of his playing. In other, geometrical words, the shortest distance between two points is a straight line, and applied to the science of hockey, it means that a player should take the shortest and quickest way of obtaining the desired effect, which, by analysis, is oftentimes the most scientific.¹⁷⁵

Farrell stated that structured, direct play was the most desirable for hockey players, as it represented an appreciation for the economy of action. Applying Farrell’s logic, the game of hockey and its players should function as if they are mechanized. Accordingly, each player should contribute to the efficient functioning of the whole rather than strive for individual success. Farrell’s emphasis on finding the “most scientific” and most direct method of play is analogous to the workplace dynamic of the nineteenth-century factory. For Farrell, players should focus on performing their tasks as quickly and efficiently as possible and re-create the division of labour seen inside a factory. By moving the game indoors and codifying the instructions for play, Creighton played an important role in the modernization of hockey. This modernization of hockey

¹⁷⁴ Farrell, *Canada’s Royal Winter Game*.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 64-65.

is analogous to the economic and social process of industrialization, which suited the tastes of the industrial consumer.

Returning to PCHA articles, newspaper coverage of hockey games also reflected the changing tastes of the Canadian sporting public, reiterating Robinson's argument regarding the interdependence of newspaper with institutions. The reaction to the first glimpses of hockey from the *Victoria Daily Times* focus on the game's speed and excitement,

Hockey, a lesson in dynamics / Ice hockey in Victoria – in a real live rink too. What would our forefathers think? / With all due reverence for cricket, we think hockey is a trifle faster. / This is a day of mergers and combinations. The tariff has nothing to do with team combinations. Never mind politics, Victoria, combine, combine, then score! / For genuine thrills, hockey has every other game faded to a shadow.

It is the swiftest exhibition of skill in the sporting world ... Many Victorians saw the real article of ice hockey for the first time last night. They will like it better the more they see of it. / Lacrosse is a pretty swift game, but it is a funeral procession compared with hockey.¹⁷⁶

In the representation of the first PCHA games in the *Vancouver Sun*, historical parallels were also drawn:

See a good hockey game and then ship all other sports to the descendants of Pharoah and have them embalmed as ancient parlor games. In comparison they are as ping-pong, jack straws and roque. The man who evolved ice hockey deserves a monument. Napoleon, Wellington and "Jack" Johnson were merely climbers that had not arrived when real worshipful heroes were created.¹⁷⁷

In both papers, hockey's inherent modernity is one of its most significant selling features. In both descriptions, hockey is compared to other sports, which are comparatively viewed as outdated, trivial, or colonial: jack straws, roque, and cricket respectively.¹⁷⁸ In the article from the *Daily*

¹⁷⁶ "The play's the thing," *Victoria Daily Times*, January 3, 1912.

¹⁷⁷ "Terminals Fall Before Valiant Victoria," *The Vancouver Sun*, February 14, 1912.

¹⁷⁸ Jack straws is a table game, similar to pick up sticks, and roque is an outdoor game similar to croquet. Along with cricket, these games were meant to contrast the violent and fast-paced nature of hockey with the safe, effete games of the aristocracy.

Times, the writer clearly associated hockey with political and social escapism, since it was free from the domestic tariff politics currently occupying the front pages of the *Daily Times*. For the *Sun* writer, hockey's speed was also an important aspect, as was the fact that hockey was a far more advanced game; in the *Sun* article, hockey was "evolved," rendering other sports primitive and obsolete in comparison. In the *Daily Times* article, the speed of hockey elevated it above both lacrosse and cricket, two sports with vastly larger followings in 1912 British Columbia society.

During the paper's first month, history also played an important role in the *Sun*'s depiction of another game:

Battling with a desperation born of a spirit that knows no conquering, New Westminster went down to defeat before the Terminal City hockey seven Tuesday night by a score of nine goals to two. It was just such a game that tests the material of which a hockey player is made, brings his last resource into play and casts about him a halo of heroism such as has brought the world to the feet of athletics from its earliest period.¹⁷⁹

Moreover, it is important to consider the aspects of hockey that the *Daily Times* focused on its reporting on the first game played in Victoria. Speed and teamwork, evidenced by the praise for "combination" play, are the two most striking features of ice hockey to an audience that had not seen the game played at this level before. *The Vancouver Sun* similarly chose to criticize individualistic play: "It was a good game to watch, there being plenty of sensational individual stunts, to pull the fans from their seats and cause them to lift up their voices, but as far as real scientific hockey goes, the game was only fair."¹⁸⁰ Choosing to praise clean, fast hockey is a reoccurring theme throughout each of the papers examined in this project and the *Daily Times* are no exceptions. Beyond the associations between clean, fast hockey and the streamlined

¹⁷⁹ "Terminals Vanquish Royal City Warriors," *The Vancouver Sun*, February 21, 1912.

¹⁸⁰ "Vancouver's Hand Capitals Defeat," *The Vancouver Sun*, February 28, 1912, 8.

mechanization of play connected to “modern” hockey, terms such as “clean” are necessarily understood in contrast with “dirty” or violent play.

At this stage then, it is important to consider what is meant when “clean play” is represented in newsprint from the early twentieth century. After examining the way that games were represented in newsprint, it becomes apparent that the outcome of the game, the score itself, was not the only relevant aspect of these first PCHA games. In order to garner praise from writers, play needed to be considered “clean” or, at the very least, free from perceived malicious intent. For example, when writers viewed opposing teams as attempting to use aggression to win, their lack of scientific play was criticized and the modernity of their game was called into question: “The Royals were very aggressive but lacked the combinations which is so essential if their rushes were to be effective.”¹⁸¹ Additionally, individual players were also capable of being judged clean or dirty, depending on their conduct on the ice. The *New Westminster Daily News* profiled Ernie “Moose” Johnston, one of the stars of the PCHA seduced to Canada’s West coast by the Patrick brothers three days after the first PCHA game was played: “Dashing and daring yet good natured to an extreme, Johnston is a player who is sure to win his way into the hearts of the lovers of clean sport before many games have been played.”¹⁸² As these examples help demonstrate, early reporters of the PCHA positioned clean, scientific, and modern hockey as the preferred antithesis of traditional, outdated, and dirty play. By casting beloved players, such as Moose Johnson, as heroic figures lauded for their clean and modern play, these writers were able to implicitly suggest the ideal form of PCHA gameplay: specifically, clean play without excessive violence. For this reason, the practice of praising clean hockey by newspaper writers was scored as three points in

¹⁸¹ “Hockey Notes,” *Victoria Daily Times*, January 20, 1912, 8.

¹⁸² “Hockey,” *New Westminster Daily News*, January 5, 1912.

each newspaper, as it explicitly makes a value judgment about the violence, or lack thereof, in each game. The “meaning” of violence in this reporting is thus produced by the representation of clean hockey. Of equal importance to what is represented in newsprint is what is absent; the silences are as important as what appears in print. While clean play was frequently represented as hockey’s pinnacle, violent hockey was often denigrated. As these two forms are diametrically opposed, an article did not need to explicitly promote clean play to be scored three points. For this reason, both praising clean hockey and admonishing violent play are both scored three points.

Repeatedly, *Daily Times* writers lamented when the game would devolve into rough play. One representative example of this practice comes from early in 1912, in a report from a game versus New Westminster ominously sub-titled “To Do or Die:”

It could be seen from the start that New Westminster meant to win at any cost. The[y] had learned the futility of trying to stop the Victorians with the sticks alone in the recent games played against Vancouver and consequently, stiff body-checking was the order last night. This gave rise to many cases of unfair checking and made the game the roughest of any in the series to date ... There were several men who might be mentioned as flagrant offenders in this connection who were smart enough to get away with it.¹⁸³

Later in the article, the writer described that, following a string of violent incidents, the game devolved into a “grim battle in which there was no let up until the final whistle.”¹⁸⁴ In this article, the *Daily Times* writer attempted to convey the belief that New Westminster had won the game by resorting to aggression, despite the fact that the article also praised the game’s excitement, including calling the game “magnificent” in the headline. This ambivalence towards violent incidents in otherwise entertaining games is a theme repeated in coverage of the PCHA later in the inaugural season. For example, in a *Daily Times* article from March 16, 1912, the “wonderfully clean” play was celebrated by the writer: “The game was wonderfully clean and in fact until the

¹⁸³ “A Magnificent Game Won By Westminster” *Victoria Daily Times*, January 17, 1912.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

third period there was no rough work, the players being too busy otherwise, but as they lost some of their ‘pep’ rougher checking was brought in to fill up.”¹⁸⁵ In this report, not only was the clean play of both teams acknowledged, but the writer went so far as to suggest that “rougher checking was brought in to fill up” later in the game as a result of the players losing “some of their ‘pep.’” This observation is significant because it not only provides an early articulation of the persisting view that clean play prevails when players are “too busy otherwise” with more scientific gameplay, but also suggests that “rougher checking” is the result of players losing “pep” or energy. Violence or rough play is therefore presented as a deviation from the actual playing of hockey, which only occurs as the result of low energy and is in no way preferable to the “wonderfully clean” play observed earlier in the game. Instead of framing violence as intrinsic to the sport and an acceptable form of gameplay, the writer frames it as a disappointing interruption to the game and a breakdown of clean, scientific play. In another post-game summary, the writer¹⁸⁶ offered a blow-by-blow description of a fight between two players that was nearly identical to the summaries of boxing matches in neighbouring hockey columns in each newspaper:

Charlie Young, whose chief duty in life is to keep time, no matter whether it be hockey or lacrosse, qualified for a seat on the Hague peace tribunal when he crowded in on the batting duo, and by superior weight put an end to all the dispute. This incident was only one of many interesting little incidents during this final period, and everybody left the rink perfectly satisfied with the evening's entertainment, even though the quality and pace of the hockey shown in the first two periods of the game left much to be desired.¹⁸⁷

Charlie Young, the game’s referee, is depicted here as the modern voice of rationality, attempting to keep peace among warring nations. The historical reference to the 1907 and 1899 Hague Conventions is an important one, as a third was scheduled for 1914, eventually cancelled due to

¹⁸⁵ “Game Clean.,” *Victoria Daily Times*, March 16, 1912.

¹⁸⁶ Information regarding the number of authors is unknown. Hockey articles in the *Daily Times* and *Sun* were unsigned.

¹⁸⁷ “Rowe and Mallen Mix,” *Victoria Daily Times*, March 13, 1912.

the outbreak of the First World War, and was certainly an issue of concern for Canadian readers. The belief in these peace conferences was that they could help avoid modern warfare by symbolizing the pinnacle of civilized, enlightened discussions between developed nations.¹⁸⁸ Though an offhand, pithy comment about a referee, this representation of hockey officials as modern diplomats carries significance because of the way it depicts the violence on the ice and the important role of officials as arbiters of order and good governance. Although the PCHA was in its first season, referees were already lauded in newspaper coverage as metonymic symbols of modernity, efficiency, and good, clean play. Furthermore, by invoking the Hague Conventions, the role of the referee as a peacekeeping figure is not minimized and their good judgement in maintaining order in PCHA hockey is celebrated, in contrast to the brutish behavior of the brawling combatants. Considered in this way, the article does not claim the violence to be uninteresting or unentertaining, but instead uncivilised.

Mirroring the practices observed by Mason and Duquette when exploring central Canadian newspapers covering IHL hockey games, newspapers in Victoria, Vancouver, and New Westminster attempted to characterize play in rival central Canadian leagues as inherently uncivilized and dangerous, often focusing on violent incidents during game-play descriptions. For example, as with descriptions from PCHA games, individual players were chastised for rough play and when star player Newsy Lalonde, who would eventually ply his trade in the PCHA, was involved in an on-ice dispute that led to legal action, the *New Westminster Daily News* was quick to report: “Although one of the brilliant players of today, both in hockey and lacrosse, there is no denying the fact that [Newsy Lalonde] is the foulest player too.”¹⁸⁹ Furthermore, the article was

¹⁸⁸ Daniel Hucker, “Our Expectations Were Perhaps Too High”: Disarmament, Citizen Activism, and the 1907 Hague Peace Conference,” *Peace & Change*, 44: 5-32 (2019): doi:[10.1111/pech.12322](https://doi.org/10.1111/pech.12322)

¹⁸⁹ “Newsy Lalonde is Liable to Arrest” *New Westminster Daily News*, December 25, 1912.

clearly arranged to highlight the danger and brutality of hockey being played in central Canada, perhaps in contrast to the first season of the PCHA, as seen through the sub-heading of this article, which read “Dirty Work Features First Game in Eastern Hockey – Police Will Serve Summons.”¹⁹⁰ In this way, B.C. reporters used the violence observed in central Canadian hockey to chastise incidents of rough play and suggest an alternative approach to hockey that could be taken by the PCHA. While the PCHA was by no means immune to incidents of violence in its inaugural season, as seen through the examples already explored through this study, reporters intensely criticized rough game play in central Canadian hockey to chastise that style of play and implicitly suggest that the PCHA could chart its own path: a more clean and modern vision of the game.

“The Proletariat’s Loss:” Class, Gender, and Race in the Early PCHA

From the very beginning of Canadian organized hockey, ethnicity and class were inextricably linked to the game and its players, particularly in urban centres where the game was established. Often, white, anglo saxon, upper-middle class ‘scientific’ masculinity was represented as the ideal incarnation of the newly minted winter game. The inclusion of these themes in newspaper representations of hockey dates back to the earliest reports of hockey in Canada. As McKinley notes, newspapers such as the *Montreal Gazette* “paid attention to James Creighton’s indoor game likely because of the pedigree of players.”¹⁹¹ McKinley further argues that, due to the Scottish and English surnames of the players listed in the *Gazette*, the distinct ethnic makeup of the players would have been noticed by Montreal’s French and Irish communities, which were largely ostracized from English sporting society.¹⁹²

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ McKinley, *Hockey: A People’s History*, 9.

¹⁹² Ibid., 10.

Like central Canadian hockey before it, the PCHA was similarly steeped in class codification from its origins, as exemplified through its loaded team names: Victoria Aristocrats, Vancouver Millionaires, New Westminster Royals. From early on, the PCHA was forced negotiate the same questions of class and to determine who would participate in and observe their brand of hockey. Beyond influencing how the league itself was structured, managed, and administered, class was also taken up as a key issue in newspaper reports on games during the 1912 season, as writers not only prescribed their ideal forms of gameplay, but also their ideal forms of spectatorship. For example, perhaps the most interesting passage from the *Sun*'s inaugural year was an editorial published on the paper's third day in operation:

That was some hockey game! That is, from a spectator's view. As to the fine points leave it to the experts and "fans" who have time between thrills to argue the question. It is the spectator – the "greenhorn" – that absorbs his money's worth to a farthing.

The Arena last evening was not as full of the great proletariat as it might have been. That is the proletariat's loss ... But this is the sleeper's fault, and he has no right to chalk it up against the game, only the ultra blasé can sleep when there's a hockey game. Fastest of Games.¹⁹³

This particular article is of specific importance when evaluating media representation of PCHA hockey, due to the unusually large amount of space devoted to describing the nature of hockey when the article was published. Given the fact that the *Sun* was such a new entity in the Vancouver Media scene, it seems apparent that the writers of the sports section were attempting to put their stamp on the game and voice a unique perspective on the new sport. Again, the important aspect of this depiction is the speed of the game itself, lamenting the fact that the stands were not full enough to witness this fast game. Additionally, those present at the game are categorized into three groups by the writer of this editorial: experts, "fans," and spectators. In these groups, the writer

¹⁹³ "Terminals Fall Before Valiant Victoria," *The Vancouver Sun*, February 14, 1912.

combines “experts” and “fans,” a notion antithetical to present conceptions of the dichotomy between sport criticism and fandom. It is possible that the “fans” and “experts” referenced by the writer denotes spectators present at early PCHA games from central Canada, who had more experience watching hockey live.¹⁹⁴ For this writer, the focal audience was the local working-class Vancouver spectators who were able to get their money’s worth, “absorb his money’s worth to a farthing,” because their inexperience with hockey allowed them to be immersed in the product in front of them.

Furthermore, in the same passage, the spectators that were present were characterized as proletariats on two occasions. To provide context of the specific usage of that word, the *Sun* used the word “proletariat” in only five stories for the entirety of 1912, one of which was the hockey report. The other four stories that used this word included the following: a report from Paris regarding increased rates of consumption among poor Parisians,¹⁹⁵ two stories regarding the upcoming Extraordinary International Socialist Congress in Basel – one a scathing indictment of the meetings and the other a report detailing socialist plans to resist entry in any upcoming wars,¹⁹⁶¹⁹⁷ and finally a report from China’s first set of elections following 1912 Republic of China national assembly elections detailing popular discontent with the ‘queue’ hairstyle.¹⁹⁸ In each of these cases, the word “proletariat” has specific political connotations and is only used to describe Canadians in the context of the hockey game; for the *Vancouver Sun* in 1912, the word proletariat conjured images of organized foreign labour and urban poor. Clearly, this term was not commonly used in the newspaper and was never used again that year in the sports section. In fact, this usage

¹⁹⁴ “Hockey Notes,” *Victoria Daily Times*, January 7, 1912.

¹⁹⁵ “Marked Increase in Consumption Among Workmen,” *The Vancouver Sun*, March 5, 1912.

¹⁹⁶ “Socialists Prepare Further Campaigns Against Bloodshed,” *The Vancouver Sun*, November 26, 1912.

¹⁹⁷ “French Socialists Aim to Strike Blow Against All Welfare,” *The Vancouver Sun*, November 23, 1912.

¹⁹⁸ “Queue or No Queue is the Issue for the New Republic,” *The Vancouver Sun*, December 21, 1912.

is the first time the word “proletariat” appears in the *Vancouver Sun* at all. From context, it is apparent that the writers of the *Sun* were identifying working-class people as the representative socio-economic group of early hockey spectators.

It is also important to consider the changing demographics of British Columbian society at the time the article was written: “Between the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the beginning of the First World War in 1914 British Columbia underwent a demographic transformation. In less than three decades the province’s non-Native population expanded almost tenfold, even as the Indian population declined by one-third.”¹⁹⁹ This influx of newcomers meant that many of Vancouver’s working class were new Canadians or new to the region. As such, the term “Greenhorn” used in the article, though commonly associated with neophytes, also denoted recent immigrants to a nation to readers in 1912.²⁰⁰ Lastly, it would be naïve to exclude the Marxist connotations from the usage of the word “proletariat” which frames hockey spectatorship as subversive to the established sporting order of Vancouver, the sporting elites represented as the “fans” and “experts” in the above article. The proletariat, here cast as hockey spectators, are represented as the ones ideally suited for the brand-new PCHA. This article is positioned as a direct address to fans themselves, inviting them to join a revolutionary league in its earliest phase. In this passage, the *Vancouver Sun* writers not only construct the meaning of the PCHA to Vancouver readers but also envision the league’s prospective fanbase as working-class, local, and diverse, seemingly distinct from other sporting traditions. However, while newspaper accounts of the PCHA in 1912 were writing with a working-class spectatorship in mind, it is not entirely clear from these accounts what this group’s expectations were regarding violence or rough play. At this

¹⁹⁹ Barman, *The West Beyond the West*, 73.

²⁰⁰ *Oxford English Dictionary*, “Greenhorn,” OED Online. June 2019. Oxford University Press. <https://www-oed-com.proxy1.lib.uwo.ca/view/Entry/81184> (accessed August 21, 2019).

point in the PCHA's history, what is apparent is that newspaper coverage envisioned a different socioeconomic class from other West coast elite sports and that these issues would persist and evolve as the league developed in later years.

In the examination of the three- and four-point articles, it was common for newspaper writers to link violence with concepts of race, in some cases with articles connecting violence and disorderly play with notions of racial superiority. For example, early in the first season of PCHA hockey, *The Victoria Daily Times* summarized a game thus:

The strenuous checking, which featured the game, made it very rough in spots and particularly in the last few minutes, when, if a horde of Manchus and an equal number of Chinese had been turned loose in a limited space with no means of egress, a greater hubbub and turmoil could not have been caused.²⁰¹

Before the exact language of this particular article is analyzed, it is important to place this language within the context of racism in B.C. during the period that the article was written. One of the largest racial minorities in B.C. during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were Chinese, originally lured to North America during the mid-nineteenth-century gold rush. Initially, the gold rush immigration to B.C. from China was scarce, with Chinese workers immigrating to Canada in 1858 being "submerged beneath the incoming tide of more than 25,000 white miners."²⁰² Historian Peter W. Ward noted that the wave of immigration to B.C.

Transformed white society on the northern Pacific coast. The most obvious change was in size, for the small fur trade and agricultural settlements of previous years suddenly swelled to substantial proportions. But changes wrought in the composition of colonial society were equally important ... Thus a rootless, polyglot tide of humanity inundated Britain's little outpost on the Pacific.²⁰³

²⁰¹ "Hubub and Turmoil," *Victoria Daily Times*, January 24, 1912.

²⁰² Peter W. Ward, *White Canada Forever: Popular Attitudes and Public Policy Towards Orientals in British Columbia* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 23.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*

The landed British society that received this wave of Chinese immigration was quick to view immigration as a threat to white workers in B.C. For example, as early as 1860, concerns regarding Chinese labourers in B.C. were expressed in public forums, characterizing Chinese immigrants as a “nuisance,” a “moral scourge,” and a “curse.”²⁰⁴ Despite this resistance, Chinese immigration to B.C. increased in the later decades of the nineteenth century, a process accelerated by an American ban on Chinese immigration signed in 1882.²⁰⁵ During this period, the Chinese population in B.C. swelled due to labour demands for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway.²⁰⁶ At this point, the question of Chinese immigration in B.C., and across Canada, had gained national significance. When addressing the House of Commons, Prime Minister John A. Macdonald characterized the Chinese as “foreigners,” “strangers,” and if patterns of Chinese immigration continued

they might control the vote of that whole Province, and they would send Chinese representative to sit here, who would represent Chinese eccentricities, Chinese immorality, Asiatic principles altogether opposite to our wishes; and, in the even balance of parties, they might enforce those Asiatic principles, those immoralities . . . , the eccentricities which are abhorrent to the Aryan race and Aryan principles, on this House.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 25.

²⁰⁵ Section one of the Chinese Exclusion Act reads: “*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That from and after the expiration of ninety days next after the passage of this act, and until the expiration of ten years next after the passage of this act, the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States be, and the same is hereby, suspended; and during such suspension it shall not be lawful for any Chinese laborer to come, or having so come after the expiration of said ninety days to remain within the United States.” *An Act to execute certain treaty stipulations relating to Chinese*, 47-126, https://www.ourdocuments.gov/print_friendly.php?flash=false&page=transcript&doc=47&title=Transcript+of+Chinese+Exclusion+Act+%281882%29.

²⁰⁶ Barman, *The West Beyond the West*, 105.

²⁰⁷ Canada, House of Commons, *Official Report of the Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada* (Ottawa: Maclean, Roger & co, 1885) (Henceforth, *Commons Debates*), 18, May 4, 1885, 1588.

Macdonald's naked racism²⁰⁸ underlines a prevailing national attitude towards Chinese immigration, which had reached fever pitch on Canada's West coast by the time the Patrick brothers had brought professional hockey there in 1912.

Returning to the article from *The Victoria Daily Times*, the writer explicitly connects the ending of a particular PCHA game, which had become "very rough in spots," to the perceived lack of order displayed by a "horde of Manchus" and "Chinese." It is not terribly difficult to identify the racism present in the *Daily Times* article, but it is important to interrogate the way that violence and disorganized hockey is *represented* by newspaper writers. As discussed earlier, late nineteenth and early twentieth-century hockey was deeply concerned with rationality and modernity; essentially, the more scientific the game was, the better the hockey team. However, it is important to note that in many cases, concepts of rational sport were deeply connected to notions of racial superiority, aided and abetted by representation in popular media, as exemplified by the *Daily Times* article from 1912. The struggle to organize, rationalize, and commercialize PCHA hockey was not simply a fight to develop a game into a suitable sport for mass consumption, it was a fight to further lay claim to a specific form of sporting masculinity for a specific section of North American society. As Gruneau and Whitson argued: "These struggles [to organize modern sport] have always been about power and privilege; about whose values count and whose do not; about who gains advantage from certain changes in technology, values, or patterns of social organization; and who is disadvantaged."²⁰⁹ The struggle to represent acceptable masculinity and acceptable forms of violence in sport are similarly about power and privilege, with language surrounding

²⁰⁸ For more insight into John A. Macdonald's views on Chinese immigration see: Timothy J. Stanley, "John A. Macdonald's Aryan Canada: Aboriginal Genocide and Chinese Exclusion," *Active History*, January 7, 2015, <http://activehistory.ca/2015/01/john-a-macdonalds-aryan-canada-aboriginal-genocide-and-chinese-exclusion/#6>.

²⁰⁹ Gruneau and Whitson, *Hockey Night in Canada*, 53.

correctness, rationality, and morality. Often, one of the most powerful tools at the disposal of entrenched, established sporting authority is media.

For further historical context, hockey is not the only sport that has connected concepts of racial superiority to violence in Canadian history and often the targets of racist characterizations in media are not those newly immigrated to Canada, but Canada's Indigenous people. In newspaper accounts of the PCHA's inaugural season, the term "savage" was employed as a racially-coded symbol and falsely equated with particular forms of identity or conduct. For example, in the *Vancouver Sun* article referenced in the introduction to this chapter, the author writes: "The game was something to dream over. Description is profanation; it is something that pits the esthetic against the savage instincts."²¹⁰ The term "savage" here connotes primitivity and was commonplace in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century media and was broadly employed to dismissively refer to indigenous populations. As social scientist Brian V. Street argued, the medium most commonly associated with the stereotype of the savage during the Victorian age (1837-1901) was "popular literature and periodicals,"²¹¹ a literary and journalistic tradition that carried on into the twentieth century. Street contends that the racist trope of the savage was defined as "faithful, gullible, childlike and cannibalistic and often ugly."²¹² Considered through the long tradition of the savage stereotype in literature, and its continuing prevalence into at least the twentieth century, the use of the term "savage" in the *Sun* article necessarily evokes well-known, racist associations with the term. Additionally, this description of hockey positions civility, restraint, and aesthetic beauty on one side against brutishness, violence, and racialized notions of savagery. Applied in this way, the use of this distinctly Eurocentric analogy is an attempt to present

²¹⁰ "Terminals Fall Before Valiant Victoria," *The Vancouver Sun*, February 14, 1912.

²¹¹ Brian V. Street, *The Savage in Literature* (London: Routledge, 1975), 50.

²¹² *Ibid.*, 55.

violence in hockey as the domain of the cultural ‘other’ and distinct from the practices and beliefs of western civilization. Accordingly, in both the *Sun* and *Daily Times* articles that reference the “savage” and the Chinese “hordes” respectively, violence is explicitly connected to beliefs regarding primitive societies in order to demonstrate its cultural abhorrence. While both the efficacy and ethics of this comparison for twentieth-century readers are highly dubious, it is important to note the extreme lengths to which these writers went in chastising hockey by equating it with insidious stereotypes of marginalized racial groups. Unfortunately, this racialized representation of violence was not unique to the PCHA and the concurrent development of lacrosse in Canada offers an important comparison for understanding this history.

By the start of the PCHA’s inaugural season in 1912, another Canadian sport already had a long and contentious legacy of perpetuating racialized expectations for athlete identity and conduct. Hockey and lacrosse were not only born in the same city, Montreal, but lacrosse also presented significant sporting precedent in Canada for how athletes, spectators, and the media would contend with differing expectations of violence for Indigenous and white athletes. Gillian Poulter’s analysis of white and Indigenous lacrosse in nineteenth-century Montreal explored the concept of masculinity on a continuum of physical aggression; white lacrosse players were expected to find a moderated type of masculinity, while Indigenous players were viewed as incapable, or unwilling, to restrain their aggression. According to Poulter, white Montrealers who played lacrosse during this period were represented as trying to “civilize” the game by introducing new rules and “scientific” models of play, as opposed to the free-flowing game played by Indigenous populations.²¹³ White lacrosse teams would carefully organize themselves on the field rather than “bunching around the goal” as the Indigenous teams did, thereby displaying a perceived

²¹³ Poulter, “Embodying Nation,” 85.

level of restraint and structure that was considered admirably masculine by the white Montreal press.²¹⁴ Poulter quoted a *Montreal Family Herald* reporter in 1831 who wrote that “strength of character consists of two things: power of will and power of self restraint.”²¹⁵ Furthermore, the new rules instituted by white Montrealers focused on creating a gentlemanly code of conduct, including restrictions on footwear and on the amount of violence permitted during the course of a game. Essentially, the “gentlemanly” player was to avoid these unseemly acts of violence as they did not suite the type of acceptable masculinity that was preferred by white Montrealers in the nineteenth century. To play lacrosse correctly was to act with rationality and restraint, the opposite of what Montreal newspapers viewed Indigenous lacrosse to be.

Though the descriptions of Indigenous lacrosse in nineteenth-century Montreal society may have cloaked their distaste for alternative versions of lacrosse in the language of refined masculinity, racism was never far from the surface. Furthermore, racism against Indigenous Canadian athletes was exceptionally commonplace well into the twentieth century. Famed *Toronto Star* sportswriter Lou Marsh, whose name was later given to the present-day award for Canadian Athlete of the Year, repeatedly slandered Tom Longboat, an *Onondaga* long-distance runner who competed at the 1908 Olympics in London. Bruce Kidd examined Marsh’s treatment of Longboat:

Marsh’s columns reeked of racist insult ...most frequently expressed view was that Longboat ‘must be taken in hand by a trainer who will handle him like a race horse – made to live and work absolutely under his trainer’s orders – or he will be into the discard before the year is out. Longboat cannot be left to his own devices a moment when preparing for a race.’²¹⁶

Marsh’s characterization is not only naked racism, it also reveals a racist belief about Indigenous masculinity. In Marsh’s view, Longboat represented a type of hyper-masculinity, evidenced by his

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ Bruce Kidd, “In Defence of Tom Longboat,” *Sport in Society* 16, no.4 (May 2013), 526.

characterization of Longboat as a leopard, and was therefore unsuitable for the refined world of international athletic competition. In both sources, Indigenous athletes are treated as exuding the wrong kind of unrestrained and unfettered masculinity, a quality that offended white observers.

Returning now to the PCHA and the treatment of violence in the league's early years, lacrosse not only presents an important antecedent for understanding how racial coding was used in the reporting of games, but also helps contextualize from where these authors drew their terminology. Lacrosse in Canada predates both the PCHA and Creighton's game in 1875 and its lengthy history, both as a sport and a subject for media representation, offered a well-used template for early hockey writers. As a result, by the PCHA's formation in 1912, a Canadian sporting lexicon had been developed through lacrosse that was informed by these bifurcated expectations for Indigenous and white players. As detailed above, despite lacrosse's Indigenous origins, early reporting on the sport privileged white athletes and behaviors as normative, while Indigenous participants were chastised for their identity and style of play. Consequently, hockey writers, from central Canada to the West coast, learned these same patterns, terms, and stereotypes from the problematic sporting lexicon that had developed around lacrosse. As these early examples show, and later instances will continue to demonstrate, when these newspaper writers encountered violent behavior, they similarly deployed Indigeneity as synonymous with savagery and rough play. Therefore, representations of race, ethnicity, and class further entrenched social divisions and prejudices present during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by linking 'clean' play with upper middle-class white masculinity.

The connection between appropriate masculinity and violence in hockey and lacrosse has been well-established, but it would be careless to evaluate claims of masculinity without considering the implications for female participation in and observation of PCHA hockey in its

first season. In the same editorial referenced earlier this chapter from February 14th, 1912 in *The Vancouver Sun*, the author devotes an exceptionally large amount of the editorial to recalling an incident they supposedly overheard at the game:

There was a charming young bud in the adjoining box. Her companion had hockey committed to memory from alpha to omega. He knew the fine distinction between a shin-splitter and a pungle amidships.

The band struck up a lively air, and the crowd that was streaming through the doors scurried to vantage points. They were all there the banker and family, the lady hairdresser, the butcher, baker and candlestick maker and the girl chewing gum. The office boy slapped the boss on the back and exclaimed: "Great game, eh!" and knew his salary would not be cut.²¹⁷

In this section, the writer takes time to mention the occupations, comparative ages, familiarity with hockey, and importantly, the genders of the participants in the exchange, some of whom were witnessing their first hockey game. Here, the women referenced were: "young bud," "lady hairdresser," and "a girl chewing gum," all positioned in opposition to the office boy, who was able to recognize the quality of the game, and the companion of the "young bud," who had the game memorized from "alpha to omega." The writer continued their recollection of the exchange:

But the young bud! There was a skirmish and hockey sticks flew thick and fast "Oh!" she exclaimed, "what are they all striking that little fellow for?" This was her thousandth question. "He bit a piece out of the puck Mild they're trying to make him cough it up," said the expert.

A gentleman named Griffis went scudding down the rink, chasing the elusive rubber sphere as if he's missed a train. A hockey stick smote his shins, and he sat down. "Oh! what a shame!" exclaimed the bud / Should Apologize / "Yes, he should apologize for his awkwardness. His aim was for the cranium." prompted the expert.²¹⁸

²¹⁷ "Terminals Fall Before Valiant Victoria," *The Vancouver Sun*, February 14, 1912.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

In this exchange, the male audience members are represented as being familiar with the level of violence in a hockey game, with the office boy explaining to his female companion that the violence seen in the game was essentially normal and a higher degree of violence could and should have been expected. The female observer, clearly positioned as a nuisance to the male “expert” of the game, objected to the violence seen in the game. Her concerns were presented as naïve by the writer of the story, clearly representing hockey violence as simply a part of what a fan can expect from the game, a game that the writer had earlier praised as “something that pits the esthetic against the savage.”²¹⁹ Aside from the plainly condescending and sexist tone of the article, which will persist in later instances as well, it is important here to consider the way that violence is represented in relation to the gender of the audience. In this passage, the occupations of the participants seem to imply that working-class observers, the “butcher, baker, and candlestick maker” referenced previously, may have a different tolerance for, and even an expectation of, violence at a hockey game. Clearly, there is a contradiction between the desire for rational, restrained sport, outlined throughout many of the articles examined from 1912, and the description offered by the male companion of the “young bud” in the *Sun* editorial, since there are competing desires articulated for both clean play and violence. It is important to note that the concept of ‘clean sport’ was not free of violence, rather it was legitimized as being scientific, a process similar to the way that violence in boxing was represented in newsprint and court rooms.²²⁰ In fact, as Wamsley and Whitson point out in their examination of early twentieth-century boxing and masculinity, clean,

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Kevin B. Wamsley and David Whitson, “Celebrating Violent Masculinities: The Boxing Death of Luther McCarty,” *Journal of Sport History* 25, no. 3 (Fall 1998), 419-431.

sporting violence was encouraged not only by the proprietors of early Canadian sport, but also by the early Canadian judicial system.²²¹

This inherent contradiction between deriding and desiring hockey violence not only pertains to this specific article, but can be sensed in various examples from throughout the 1912 archive. In analyzing hockey articles from the PCHA's inaugural season, it would be an oversimplification to state that every reference to hockey violence was pejorative or that violence of any sort was universally condemned in every article observed. Following the analysis of articles from the 1912 *Vancouver Sun*, *Victoria Daily Times*, and *The New Westminster Daily News*, violence is largely characterized as retrograde in the face of modernity and in direct opposition to clean, scientific play. Furthermore, through the evocation of racial stereotypes, writers drew from existing Canadian sport lexicons to conflate violence with marginalized, racial groups. In this first year of the PCHA, hockey reporters faced a steep learning curve, encountering elite professional hockey for the first time in the history of Canada's West coast. Part of learning how to represent hockey violence and translate the experience of the sport into writing involved drawing from established terminology and media traditions, especially relating to modernity, class, race, and gender. Following its inaugural season, the PCHA would immeasurably change in the years that came and innovate the sport in new and exciting ways that still affect how it is played today. What now remains to be seen is whether the way the game is reported, especially in relation to violence, innovated with it.

²²¹ Ibid., 426.

Chapter Four:

“The West Triumphs over the East:” Expansion and Experimentation

Introduction: Paradigm Shifts and the PCHA

In the first years following the inaugural season of the PCHA, the Patricks began to radically change their renegade league, changing the format of the regular season, the newly-introduced playoff system, the rules governing on-ice passing, the number of players permitted on the ice, goaltending, offsides, shot-blocking, and many other areas. The Patricks instituted these changes in order to differentiate their new league from existing models of hockey across North America. The constant, relentless modification of PCHA hockey transformed the game in ways that are still felt in the modern game.²²² Changing the way that hockey was played, observed, refereed, and marketed also created a *paradigm* shift in hockey history. The concept of a “paradigm shift” is worth considering further, as its historiographical legacy is relevant to the history of sport more broadly and, in this case, the study of the PCHA.

Though the notion of “paradigms” has existed in philosophy since the ancient Greeks,²²³ the concept of “paradigm shifts” was pioneered by influential historian of science Thomas S. Kuhn through his critique of positivism in the philosophy of science, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Himself a physicist, Kuhn’s method of describing the way that the scientific community adopted new practices is commonly used outside of the historiography of science; as Terence Kennedy argued, “Kuhn’s theory gave this intellectual movement a public voice.”²²⁴ Kuhn postulated that paradigms contained two essential characteristics: “Their achievement was

²²² Whitehead, *The Patricks*, 128-129; Wong, *Lords of the Rinks*, 68.

²²³ Terence Kennedy, “From Paradigms to Paideia: Thomas S. Kuhn and Michael Polanyi in Conversation,” *Bulletin of Science, Technology, and Society* 31, no. 3 (2011): 196.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*

sufficiently unprecedented to attract an enduring group of adherents away from competing modes of scientific activity. Simultaneously it was sufficiently open-ended to leave all sorts of problems for the redefined group of practitioners to resolve.”²²⁵

However, there was another aspect of hockey that the Patricks looked to change in their new league: player safety. The concept of ‘player safety’ has become a contemporary hockey buzzword in the wake of an efflorescence of awareness regarding the effects of head trauma in sport. However, considering the safety of players was important to the entrepreneurial Patrick brothers who understood that if their entertainment product was to succeed, their entertainers needed to be protected. The *player safety paradigm* changed with the Patrick brothers in the PCHA, despite the fact that not all of their innovations survived the demise of their renegade league. The scientist Max Planck wrote that “a new scientific truth does not triumph by convincing its opponents and making them see the light, but rather because its opponents eventually die, and a new generation grows up that is familiar with it.”²²⁶ The “scientific truth” discovered by the Patrick brothers in the PCHA was that hockey ought to be fast, skilled, and strenuous — but also safe. The league’s representation in media mirrored the Patrick’s intentions, excoriating dirty, unscientific, or rowdy hockey, especially when it was played by rival leagues and served as propaganda for the vision of hockey extolled by the Patricks.

The Archive

This chapter covers the period of 1913 to 1916 in the PCHA. By this time in the league’s development, the franchise in New Westminster had folded, meaning the sample of newspapers in

²²⁵ Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 2nd ed (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 10

²²⁶ Max Planck, *Scientific Autobiography and Other Papers*, trans. F. Gaynor (London: Williams and Norgate, 1950), 32-33.

the study was reduced to two: the *Victoria Daily Times* and the *Vancouver Sun*. The *Victoria Daily Times* had 269 total mentions of hockey throughout 1915, forty-one of which specifically mentioned PCHA hockey games. From 1913-16, the *Vancouver Sun* averaged 262 hockey stories a year and an average of sixty-one articles per year that specifically treated the PCHA.²²⁷

The Impact of the First World War on the PCHA

The Patricks in 1914 were attempting to expand their league into new markets, specifically into Seattle and Portland. The Patricks' plan was to capitalize on the building of an arena in Portland by other parties, while forming their own Seattle Arena company to build an arena in a similar fashion to the ones built in Victoria and Vancouver. In November of 1913, the Seattle Arena Company was capitalized with \$150,000,²²⁸ a sizeable investment in developing a hockey franchise and area south of the Canadian border. If the Patricks were to succeed in expanding their league into American territory, they would have accomplished something that their eastern professional hockey rivals from the NHA had not achieved by 1914: establishing an international league.

As with most fledgling professional sporting leagues, all did not go according to plan. The Patricks, who had claimed to have a tentative deal in place to build an arena in Seattle prior to the outbreak of war,²²⁹ abandoned the plan for expansion into Seattle for 1914 and accepted that Portland, with the newly-completed Portland Ice Hippodrome, would be the only new PCHA market for this season. Unfortunately for the Patricks, their expansion into Portland did not translate into an increase in PCHA clubs. The New Westminster franchise, champions of the

²²⁷ For a complete points breakdown, see Appendix B.

²²⁸ "Seattle Will Have Arena Next Season," *The Vancouver Province*, November 18, 1913, 10.

²²⁹ Bowlsby, *Empire of Ice*, 67.

inaugural 1912 season, ceased operations in the fall of 1914 after negotiations for a new arena stalled. The PCHA remained a three-team league for the 1914-15 season, a fact that did not please league president Frank Patrick. The Patricks knew that the long-term viability of the PCHA depended on the ability to expand beyond three teams and, ultimately, this meant expanding the league across provincial and national borders. However, the outbreak of war drastically changed the outlook of the PCHA's expansion plans and the domestic administration of the league itself.

Canada entered the First World War along with the United Kingdom on August 4th, 1914 and on August 10th, the Canadian government set its desired number of troops to join the European conflict at 25,000, an increase of roughly 22,000 soldiers from the pre-war period.²³⁰ The 25,000 soldiers would be comprised of those who volunteered or were conscripted and this included many hockey players from across Canada. In the earliest weeks of the conflict, the *Vancouver Sun* reported the impact that the conflict was having on the PCHA by stating, "A number of professional lacrosse and hockey players have joined the Canadian contingent. They are accustomed to giving and taking punishment and will be right at home where the carnage is thickest."²³¹ It is evident from passages such as these that there was a belief that hockey, lacrosse, and other violent contact sports might perhaps prepare Canadian men for battle in Europe. But sadly, the carnage of the First World War unleashed a horror on the globe that no sport could have adequately simulated.

By 1916, Canada's commitment to the war effort had swelled: "Without previous warning, Sir Robert Borden ... announced that the authorized strength of the forces was being doubled;

²³⁰ Gerald W.L. Nicholson, *Canadian Expeditionary Force 1914-1919: Official History of the Canadian Army in the First World War* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2015), 18.

²³¹ "Canadian Players Going to War," *The Vancouver Sun*, August 24, 1914, 4.

commencing on 1 January 1916 the goal was to place 500,000 men in uniform.”²³² By the end of the First World War, the impact on Canada was devastating: “the total number of Canadian army casualties of all categories in all theatres was 232,494.”²³³ Considering Canada’s population in 1914 was approximately eight million people, this represents roughly 3% of the entire population of the country. Throughout the course of the war, roughly 7% of Canada’s population served in uniform at some point.²³⁴ This would be the equivalent of 2.6 million people serving from Canada’s 2019 population. The impact of the First World War on PCHA hockey was clearly multi-faceted, affecting the administration of the league, availability of players, facilities, and materials, as well as how the game itself was represented in media. Perhaps for the first time, explicit connections were made between ice hockey and a *Canadian* military, especially deepened by the game’s place in military camps both in Canada and abroad.²³⁵

Understandably, the First World War affected the manner in which the PCHA was represented in print media, both throughout the conflict’s duration and for many years after. For example, during 1916, the *Vancouver Sun* reported:

The second opened and closed without either side tallying although during the while the Portland Rosebuds missed some extremely nifty passes that would have meant goals and Hugh Lehman did some new contortion acts seldom witnessed anywhere outside of a circus. Not once but on several occasions Mr. Johnson endeavored to give an example to the rest of the Rosebuds, and Hugh Lehman in the net received enough shots to earn a veteran's row of medals.²³⁶

In a December 1915 article from *The Vancouver Sun*, military and sporting diction combine in the images of an “old war-horse” and a “laurel wreath.” Dating back many centuries, laurel wreaths

²³² Nicholson, *Canadian Expeditionary Force*, 215.

²³³ *Ibid.*, 535.

²³⁴ “Canada at War,” *Canadian War Museum*, accessed March 3, 2020, <https://www.warmuseum.ca/firstworldwar/history/going-to-war/canada-enters-the-war/canada-at-war/>.

²³⁵ For an excellent summary of the way hockey was woven into military life and into the NHA, see Stephen Smith, “When War and Hockey Shared the Ice,” *New York Times*, December 30, 2016.

²³⁶ “Goddess of Chance Smiles on the Millionaires,” *The Vancouver Sun*, January 19, 1916, 6.

have been used in both sporting and military contexts, including in the British Military during the Napoleonic Wars. This history makes the inclusion of the reference below especially pointed:

Si Griffis, the old war-horse, not content with holding the Victoria men out, went down and got into the limelight and the tally sheets by scoring. Then he passed the word that seeing the Millionaires had the lead the boys had better watch to their laurel wreath. But the youngsters, ambitious to get their names into the paper, left the defense open and the visitors ran up a cricket like score.²³⁷

These accounts are typical of many descriptions of hockey games throughout Canadian newspapers, directly linking the violence seen on the ice with military violence. It was not uncommon for reports of lacrosse, rugby, football, or soccer games to contain sporadic military analogies, but they were unquestionably more prevalent in hockey reports. It is important to note that the medium for reporting on hockey games was also the medium through which Canadians would learn of casualties from the European conflict. This would often create an uncomfortable symmetry between the front pages and the sports pages. For example, one account from *The Victoria Daily Times* from 1915 draws a direct parallel between the violence of hockey and war through the phrase ‘casualty list’: “Two broken ribs and one fractured nose is the casualty list for the Portland-Vancouver Ice hockey game at the ice hippodrome Tuesday night.”²³⁸ Significantly, in this same issue of the *Daily Times*, the front three pages of the paper were strewn with stories from the European front lines and the casualties occurring there, bringing greater resonance to these on-ice battles and drawing haunting comparisons to the conflicts abroad.

²³⁷ “Millionaires Bow to Aristocrats,” *The Vancouver Sun*, December 15, 1915, 6.

²³⁸ “Portland Stars on Hospital List,” *Victoria Daily Times*, January 7, 1915, 9.

Article Analysis

“The West Triumphs over the East”: Expansion and Experimentation

A prescient quip appeared prominently in a December issue of *The Vancouver Sun* in 1915: “So ya want to know the distinction between rowdyism and aggressiveness in hockey? Well, if you belong to the home team, it's aggressiveness that the locals display. Only visitors are rowdy.”²³⁹ Clearly, despite that fact that hockey was still relatively new on Canada’s West coast, observers had already pinpointed that the interpretation and representation of a hockey game differed greatly depending on the team being covered. As detailed in the previous chapter, PCHA hockey was itself a re-interpretation of hockey that had been played for decades across North America. However, one important factor that differentiates the history of the PCHA from the multitude of other professional hockey leagues that were founded in North America during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was the way the league was governed. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Patricks owned and operated the teams in the PCHA, a system J. Andrew Ross refers to as a “syndicate model,” which allowed the Patricks exceptional freedom to act as they pleased, including “acquir[ing] players for the whole league and assign them as needed to their three clubs ... Being outsiders meant that the Patricks could ignore the NHA reservation clause and raid its clubs for players.”²⁴⁰ The NHA reservation clause was designed to restrict a player’s ability to sign with other teams inside the NHA, or, as was far more relevant to the burgeoning PCHA, prevent players from signing with another league.²⁴¹ As the PCHA did not have any formal affiliation with the NHA in its earliest years, players were free to sign with PCHA

²³⁹ “Chorus-Pawn-Dense,” *The Vancouver Sun*, December 17, 1915, 6.

²⁴⁰ Ross, *Joining the Clubs*, 48.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 50.

clubs, many of which were offering higher salaries, as long as they were comfortable upsetting the directors of eastern hockey clubs. This model for governing the PCHA meant that in the earlier years of the PCHA, a fierce rivalry developed between what Vancouver and Victoria newspapers often referred to as “eastern magnates” and the Patricks. This freedom also extended to administering rule changes and new policies for their league

Following the tumultuous inaugural season of the PCHA discussed in chapters three and four, the PCHA began a period of expansion and experimentation.²⁴² The 1914-15 season saw many changes to the rules of PCHA hockey, including to the faceoff structure, scorekeeping of assists, and the introduction of position-based numbers on the backs of player sweaters.²⁴³ It is important to note that, in the early years of the PCHA, there was an inconsistent application of hockey justice during the games themselves:

As for penalty minutes, either the referee, or judge of play, if there were two referees, could give a player any length of penalty he wished ... the referee could allow penalized teams to continue at regular strength, by substituting in new players, despite the number of penalties handed out. This was rare, but the referee was all powerful, and could mix and match the rules as he chose.²⁴⁴

The “all powerful” referee was able to distribute penalties at his own discretion, often leading to strident criticism or moderate praise from newspaper reporters covering early PCHA games. However, this system of refereeing would be altered virtually every season that the PCHA existed, with special attention paid to what kinds of on-ice conduct would be permitted or prohibited.

²⁴² It is important to note that the NHA also frequently experimented with rule changes, sometimes with creative ideas for regulating penalties. For example, “Several of the N H. A. directors were supporters of a projected change in the penalty system which was up last night, that was framed to control fouling much as roller polo rules do. A fraction of a point would be taken from the standing of the club for each offense. In certain instances the player who was fouled or a substitute for him would be given a free shot at the opposing goal, with the goaltender in the net, but all other players behind the man making the shot.” From “Hope to Make Down East Hockey Clean,” *The Vancouver Sun*, December 4, 1915, 6.

²⁴³ Bowsby, *Empire of Ice*, 73.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 24.

The total control that the Patricks had over the way their game was administered, governed, and even refereed makes the PCHA a unique case study for the treatment of violence in early professional hockey. There were no aspects of the game of hockey off-limits to the Patricks' penchant for tinkering, including the playing surface itself. For example, in the 1914-15 season, the Patricks mandated the division of the ice surface into three sections, creating the layout of a modern arena that would last for over a century:

The following is the off-side rule to be used during the games played under the Western rule: "The rink shall be divided into three equal sections by drawing a colored line four inches or more in width across the ice and up the side fences at right angles to the length of the ice. "In the middle section there shall be no off-side, but the off-side rule shall remain in force in the two end sections. 'No player shall take the puck offside in the middle section if it has been played by one of his side from the end section.'²⁴⁵

The following month, the offsides rule would be adopted by the NHA as well,²⁴⁶ effectively altering the way hockey was played across Canada with a single rule change. Altering the layout of the arena was an immense change that would outlive the Patricks, one of their many hockey innovations, but perhaps the most interesting rule change came in the way that violence was regulated in the PCHA. Throughout the early seasons of the PCHA, many different forms of punishment were handed out to guilty parties. Frequently, on-ice punishments were accompanied by monetary fines:

Four players were sewed up after the game because of wild swinging and rough work on the part of the players. In the last minute and a half of play, Bobby Rowe was ruled off the ice for cutting Tobin across the face. Referee Ion imposed a fine of \$10. Half a minute later Carpenter struck Harris across the head and [the referee] fined him \$5. Harris was fined \$3 and put off the ice for delaying the game after the blow.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁵ "NHA Magnates Discuss Matches With Coast Champions," February 20, 1914, 8.

²⁴⁶ "Patricks Draft Three Players From N.H.A – Eastern League Adopts New Offside Rule," *The Vancouver Sun*, March 31, 1914, 7.

²⁴⁷ "Rosebuds Rally in Second Frame and Win Out," *The Vancouver Sun*, January 8, 1916, 6.

Furthermore, in some cases Frank or Lester Patrick, themselves in the somewhat unusual position of team coach, owner, and league presidents, felt it necessary to modify the monetary fines issued by on-ice officials: “After the game Frank Patrick raised both Carpenter's and Rowe's fines to \$25 each. Seattle led at the end of the first period, two goals to one. In the second period Walker was ruled off for knocking Johnson into the fence, and his absence cost the Mets the game.”²⁴⁸ Here, Frank Patrick leveraged his position from within the game’s administrative elite to exact his vision of how he wanted the PCHA to be run; that meant that violence was to be controlled at any cost.

“Exhibitions of Speed” and “Carnivals of Rough, Bruising Skating”: The NHA and PCHA

Before the arrival of Stanley Cup matches played between the NHA and PCHA champions, the PCHA and NHA played a de facto world championship series between 1912 and 1914. The Stanley Cup was not awarded to the winner of these series.²⁴⁹ However, the series marked the first time that a PCHA team was exposed to an NHA opponent, resulting in a collision between the leagues’ respective ethos. In addition to critiquing the calibre of play, newspaper writers at the time also focused on perceived differences in player conduct between the rival leagues, as seen in the following passage:

That old stereotyped phrase, “the West triumphed over the East,” is again appropriate ... Quebec looked anything but like a champion hockey team last night. They are champions in some respects, but these are so far, foreign to Coast hockey circles. If the game played by the Quebecs at the Arena last night is the result of a post-graduate course in the National Hockey Association, coast fans should delight in the fact they are followers of the Coast league. Quebec can play good clean hockey, so it is said, but last night they were some distance away from their good behavior.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁸ “Rosebuds Rally in Second Frame and Win Out,” *The Vancouver Sun*, January 8, 1916, 6.

²⁴⁹ Bowsby, *Empire of Ice*, 44-46.

²⁵⁰ “Western All-Stars Beat Quebec,” *The Vancouver Sun*, April 1, 1913, 10.

From this 1913 article, it is apparent that the first opportunity for the upstart, renegade PCHA to measure itself against the well-established, well-funded NHA resulted in a renewed sense of confidence and a belief in the league's experimental practices. As seen here, the moral and athletic quality of the NHA players was called into question, implying in the phrase "post-graduate course" that hockey in eastern Canada was administered through broken, bureaucratic systems. Because the game was played in eastern Canada, PCHA fans relied on newspaper accounts to report on the style and quality of play that was seen through this interleague bout. This article's tone of paternalistic admonishment, as seen through repeated mention of the Quebec team's lack of "good behavior" and "good clean hockey," established a sense of relational superiority for the burgeoning PCHA. Establishing that "the West triumphed over the East" or "Quebec looked anything but like a championship team" suggested that early comparisons between the NHA and PCHA in head-to-head competition affirmed the superiority of the latter, according to B.C. newspaper accounts. The PCHA's first exposure to NHA competition was a critical step in cementing the legitimacy of the Patricks' experimental, upstart league. Following the successful confrontation of their eastern rivals, PCHA players, coaches, managers, fans, and newspapers writers returned home, confident that their product was on par with the NHA and in even with regards to the policing of hockey violence, superior. The affirmation of PCHA hockey emboldened further, more aggressive experimentation that began to shape the course of hockey across North America.

The *Vancouver Sun* reported on the rule changes adopted at a pre-season meeting in October of 1914: "Two changes in playing rules were adopted last night, one being the prohibition of body checking within ten feet of the boards, and the other stipulating that there will be no offside from the goalkeeper in the first section from his own goal."²⁵¹ It is important to note that the PCHA

²⁵¹ "Pacific Coast Hockey Association Season Starts Dec. 8," *The Vancouver Sun*, 23 October, 1914, 6.

already stipulated that body-checking into the boards was illegal, but this new rule prohibited body contact much further, one of the few rule changes that did not survive the demise of the PCHA. It was clear that body contact was legal, even encouraged, in the open ice, but contact into the boards was deemed too dangerous for the PCHA and the threat of it required further action from the Patricks and the rest of the PCHA executives. The PCHA was able to influence the way that NHA hockey was played as well; during offseason meetings, the two leagues met and ratified rules that would govern both styles of hockey, east and west. For example, in March 1914, PCHA and NHA executives met to arrange for player transfers, discuss the creation of the Stanley Cup championship series, and ratify rule changes, including one from the PCHA that prohibited body contact into the boards.²⁵²

The “prohibition of body checking” was accompanied by the alteration of the ice surface in order to facilitate this change: “no body-checking could take place within ten feet of the boards, to show the non-body-checking area. This speeded up play along the sides of the rink.”²⁵³ This new rule was novel compared to those that governed the PCHA’s most direct hockey competition, the NHA, who did not share the Patricks’ vision of regulating violence:

While in the N. H. A. Taylor was subjected to heaps of abuse because of his bewildering rushes, and the easterners will endeavor to bottle up the goal-getting champion before he can do much damage. Under the N. H. A. rules the players can body a man into the boards without interference by the officials.²⁵⁴

This excerpt is from a 1915 *The Victoria Daily Times* article previewing an upcoming Stanley Cup game between the PCHA-champion Vancouver Millionaires and the NHA-champion Ottawa Senators. In this series, the Millionaires eventually swept the Senators, earning the first Stanley

²⁵² “Patricks Draft Three Players From N.H.A – Eastern League Adopts New Offside Rule,” *The Vancouver Sun*, March 31, 1914, 7.

²⁵³ Bowsby, *Empire of Ice*, 73.

²⁵⁴ “Easterners Plan to ‘Get’ Taylor,” *Victoria Daily Times*, March 18, 1915, 9.

Cup for a PCHA franchise and the only Stanley Cup for the Millionaires during their existence. This 1915 Stanley Cup is an important moment for the development of professional hockey because it is the first season where the Stanley Cup, professional hockey's top prize, was awarded as a "championship series" between the PCHA and NHA,²⁵⁵ an acknowledgment from the eastern hockey establishment of the PCHA's growing prominence.²⁵⁶ Through the change to include the PCHA as one half of the Stanley Cup championship, the PCHA was recognized as a top-tier professional hockey league in North America. Furthermore, through their introduction of more stringent body-checking regulation, the PCHA was meaningfully differentiating its product from the NHA product, a fact made plain through the article, which alleged "under N.H.A rules the players can body a man into the boards"²⁵⁷ without consequence. The *Daily Times* article clearly insinuates that when Patrick would be playing against Ottawa, the NHA champion, he would be far more likely to be body-checked because the NHA style was more brutal than the PCHA hockey to which Victoria readers were accustomed. Altering the physical space of the arena was a drastic step for the PCHA, but it demonstrated the seriousness of the Patricks' efforts to eradicate perceived danger in their league.

The strict regulation of violence became a selling feature for the PCHA game, at least in the way that it was represented in newsprint. This distinctive feature of the PCHA's brand of hockey was most clearly conveyed when it was contrasted with an example from another form of professional hockey, especially when PCHA teams would play NHA teams. The most obvious

²⁵⁵ Previously, the Stanley Cup had been awarded on a challenge basis. See Wong, *Lords of the Rinks*, 12-28; Ross, *Joining the Clubs*.

²⁵⁶ Wong, *The Lords of the Rinks*, 69.

²⁵⁷ "Easterners Plan to 'Get' Taylor," *Victoria Daily Times*, March 18, 1915, 9.

occasion for direct comparison came when the NHA and PCHA faced off in Stanley Cup matches, the first of which occurred in 1915:

Westerners had a chance to look the much vaunted Eastern game over closely and compared with the Coast game not a great deal of enthusiasm was shown. In the first period when the players kept strictly to business the play was pretty, but in the closing periods the teams showed a disposition to rough it up, and as a consequence play was almost continually interrupted with players wending their way to the penalty bench. Once the Ottawas had three men penalized. With substitutes taking the place of the penalized players as soon as they are sent off the ice, a good chance was given to view at close range this joke rule.²⁵⁸

In this article, a report from the 1915 Stanley Cup series between the Vancouver Millionaires and Ottawa Senators, the *Vancouver Sun* reporter bemoaned the difference in style between the NHA and the PCHA. The key difference identified by the writer was the “disposition to rough it up”



Figure 7 - Victoria Aristocrat Bobby Rowe, *Victoria Daily Times*, January 13, 1915, 9.

²⁵⁸ “Eastern Champions Beaten at Own Game,” *The Vancouver Sun*, March 25, 1915, 6.

demonstrated by the Ottawa team, here represented as emblematic of the “much vaunted Eastern game.”²⁵⁹ Here, violence and roughness were represented as a part of the NHA’s mandate, in stark opposition to the skilled, modernized, and, in this writer’s representation, superior form of hockey seen by those who watched the PCHA.

Writers from Victoria and Vancouver detailed their disgust with NHA hockey, or as it was sometimes referred to “eastern” hockey, which was characterized in West coast newsprint as rough, corrupt, lawless, or simply dull. For example, the writer of this *Victoria Daily Times* article detailed complaints with the penalty system employed by the NHA:

The rational remedy is to cut out the substitution. Make the teams play short-handed when player fouls, and then, a penalty will mean something besides a little black mark on a penalty sheet. In reality the only real penalty imposed in pro. hockey now is on the man who deliberately injures an opponent. He is fined [\$]315 and must serve at least ten minutes on the fence. All everybody else gets is a rest on the fence, while a substitute gets a chance to earn piece of his salary. It has been suggested that a team be allowed only two or three substitutes, and that when these are used that after that the team offending be forced to play short-handed. Any way the N. H. A. penalty system is an absolute failure.²⁶⁰

In the above article, the writer’s frustration with a perceived lack of severity in punishments handed out by referees is clearly expressed. This includes a stated desire for monetary fines to be imposed, which the referee had the power to do in the PCHA. The writer is here imploring the Patricks to change the rules of the game to force teams to play at a numerical disadvantage when a team commits a foul, the same fashion in which penalties are awarded in contemporary hockey. In this article, violence is represented as a part of professional hockey, through the detailing of monetary fines and the discussion of players earning salaries during play. However, the writer importantly stops short of blaming professionalism as the culprit for this form of violence. Instead, the writer

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

²⁶⁰ “Hooper Boosts Seven Man Hockey,” *Victoria Daily Times*, March 11, 1915, 7.

chooses to blame the “N.H.A penalty system” for the injustice in the game he observed, which again happened to be between PCHA and NHA teams.

Notably, complaints regarding violence and officiating were not only present when NHA and PCHA teams would face each other. For instance, a writer from the *Vancouver Sun* wrote a similar complaint regarding the level of violence seen in a PCHA game the following January: “The entire game was strenuous and was marked by scrappy checking. The officials were a little lenient, otherwise the penalty list would have shown up the fact that the work on the ice was of the “get him” kind.”²⁶¹ Furthermore, following a game in which many players from both the Portland and Vancouver teams suffered injuries, the manager of the Vancouver Millionaires wrote to Frank Patrick, himself a player and owner of the PCHA, asking for changes to be made to the rules governing violence:

Both these players were big stars in the rough-and-tumble match played in the Pacific Coast hockey league against the Vancouver Millionaires, and because of so much roughness, Manager Muldoon, of the locals, has written to the president of the league asking that some change be made in the officials.²⁶²

In this example, the bureaucratic response to regulating violence in the PCHA is noted by the *Vancouver Sun* writer. Rather than simply lashing out against the perceived incompetence of officiating, as was common during PCHA and NHA championship matches, this article described how the team’s manager chose to write the complaints down and submit them to the league. This response to violence represented the aggrieved party as civilized, while not focusing too heavily on the specific complaints regarding officiating in general. However, at times, there were reports of players choosing less civilized methods of complaint during gameplay:

²⁶¹ “Aristocrats Slip it Over Millionaires,” *The Vancouver Sun*, January 15, 1916, 6.

²⁶² “Portland Stars on Hospital List,” *Victoria Daily Times*, January 7, 1915, 9.

With Ran McDonald and Lloyd Cook doing penance on the bench for rough work, Tobin was benched and then Throop was ordered off the ice. Captain Eddie Oatman, who was never known to possess a mild disposition, swelled up with indignation at the penalties handed out to his men and he protested in vigorous, not to say unparliamentary language to Referee Tommy Phillips.²⁶³

In the above article, the characterization of Eddie Oatman's language with the referee as "unparliamentary" represents his concerns as severe, but not petulant. This effort to minimize the aggressive or unseemly nature of the player's expression is enhanced by the writer evoking Oatman's "mild disposition." As seen in this instance, when frustrations were expressed, PCHA players were represented as fundamentally rational, even in their states of anger. Furthermore, when violence was present and players or coaches voiced their discontent, newspaper writers were quick to represent the displeasure from both the participants and observers, serving to further justify their response:

The score just about indicates the play, for the Champions were superior to the visitors in every department, with the possible exception of speed, but this asset of the Westminsterites was offset by their rough playing. It was one of the roughest games ever played here and the penalty bench held one or more occupants practically throughout. Westminster seemed to take their reverse to heart, and adopted methods, which did not make a very good impression with the 4000 enthusiasts who occupied every available seat in the arena.²⁶⁴

In this article, the writer communicates consensus regarding the crowd's displeasure with violence. By stating that the fans themselves did not agree with the violence they were witnessing, the writer suggests that the players were not the only ones who were upset by the presence of violence in PCHA hockey. These examples are typical of many reports from Vancouver, Victoria, and indeed across North America, where on-ice violence was judged to have been too extreme or referees were perceived as having allowed too much violence to occur. What is interesting about the way

²⁶³ "Roughest Game of the Season Last Night," *Victoria Daily Times*, January 16, 1915, 9.

²⁶⁴ "Victoria Defeats Royals Six to Two," *Victoria Daily Times*, December 13, 1913, 12.

that violence's relationship to refereeing was represented in Vancouver and Victoria newsprint is that there were near-constant calls for reform, revision, and reinterpretation of the rules of PCHA hockey. The constant experimentation being conducted by the Patricks in the PCHA, especially with regards to on-ice violence, allowed writers, and even players, officials, fans, and coaches, an opportunity to voice their opinions regarding future rule changes, a practice not seen in other sports at the time, such as cricket, soccer, or field hockey.

While complaining about officiating is hardly a novel concept in any form of sportswriting across nearly a century of reporting, it is important to note that PCHA hockey was represented as far less violent and far more refined than NHA hockey. This representation was aided by the rule changes instituted by the Patricks to curtail on-ice violence in the PCHA, as evident in the above passage that specifically bemoans the NHA's penalty system. PCHA versus NHA hockey was frequently presented as a clean/dirty dichotomy by newspaper writers in Vancouver and Victoria. The additional rule changes instituted by the Patricks gave the writers the certainty that West coast hockey was far more respectable than its eastern counterparts:

The question of officials is still unsolved The N. H. A. will never have clean hockey as long as its present system of substituting penalized players remains in force. It is practically no penalty at all, in these days when all the teams have capable substitutes, to rule a man off the ice for a foul. A new, fresh man comes in, and the side penalized is at no particular disadvantage.²⁶⁵

In the above passage from March 1915, the *Victoria Daily Times* writer warned that the NHA "will never have clean hockey," due to its penalty system. This same point was reiterated by a *Vancouver Sun* reporter, who later took issue with a specific aspect of the hockey being played in the NHA:

The important innovation that was laid aside, had to do with a feature of hockey which has done much to discredit the game in the eyes of the fans. It has been asserted that in a close game a club manager can withdraw a player from his side, sending a substitute with

²⁶⁵ "Hooper Boosts Seven Man Hockey," *Victoria Daily Times*, March 11, 1915, 7.

instructions to "get" a man on the opposing team, who is doing much to keep his players in check, and when the act is done, the offending player is given a five or ten-minute penalty or ruled off, and the regular player who was replaced returns to the game.²⁶⁶

In this article, a specific innovation was referenced as being "laid aside" in order to facilitate undesirable violence in hockey. This change refers to the penalty system that was used in PCHA games at this point, but not in NHA games. This writer effectively infers that a lack of innovation allowed the game to devolve into brutality, with opposing managers seeking retribution on opposition players. The language here is important because it shades the way that clean hockey is represented. The clean game is seen as innovative, while the violent game is considered retrograde. However, the tone was not always so scolding. For example, in this *Victoria Daily Times* game report from 1915, the writer chooses an optimistic stance, opting to praise a desirable brand of hockey, while still acerbically reprimanding eastern hockey as well:

This goes to show that hockey can be free from rowdyism, and at the same time the games can be productive of plenty of excitement for the fans. In the east, there has been a deplorable lack of competence on the part of officials and referees, with the result that many free-for-alls have taken place.²⁶⁷

In each of the preceding articles, which are representative of many written during this period, the writers argue that the credibility of hockey, and more specifically the NHA, was weakened by ineffectual rules governing on-ice violence and the tendency for players to intentionally harm opponents in order to remove them from the game. The commercial interests underpinning PCHA hockey used representations of clean hockey to promote their product and denigrate their competition. Whether or not NHA hockey was *actually* more violent or suffered from poorer refereeing is not important to the larger concept of the way that the PCHA was being represented

²⁶⁶ "Hope to Make Down East Hockey Clean," *The Vancouver Sun*, December 4, 1915, 6.

²⁶⁷ "Si Griffiths Sustains Broken Leg, Lester Patrick May Substitute," *Victoria Daily Times*, March 20, 1915, 9.

by writers in both the *Vancouver Sun* and *Victoria Daily Times*; in terms of newspaper representation, the PCHA was a more dignified, skilled, and essentially modern league and the NHA was vicious, disorganized, and languid.

A pair of articles emblematic of the disparate representation of PCHA and NHA hockey comes from 16 March 1914 in the *Vancouver Sun*. In this particular day's sport section, a hockey game was covered between the Victoria Aristocrats and Toronto Hockey Club in the newly-created World Championship between the two best NHA and PCHA teams.²⁶⁸ That same evening, a game was played between the Montreal Wanderers and the Quebec Bulldogs, both NHA clubs. This game was part of a three-team exhibition series²⁶⁹ sponsored by the St. Nicholas Rink in New York City.²⁷⁰ The two game reports appeared side-by side, with the PCHA summary appearing as such:

The work of the visitors created a good impression, and while they were naturally under a disadvantage, owing to the match being played under N. H. A. rules, they easily had the better of the play, and but for the sensational work of Harry Holmes in the nets for the Torontos, the Coast champions would have won.²⁷¹

In this section, the writer identified that although the PCHA team was forced to play under NHA rules, a system that had been readily criticized throughout the 1913-14 season in the pages of the *Vancouver Sun* and *Victoria Daily Times*, the Aristocrats not only managed to hold their own but may have been the better team during this first game:

The visitors in the first and second periods shaded the N. H. A. champions, but for the marvellous work of Holmes, who gave one of the best exhibitions of goal-keeping ever witnessed on the local team, the Westerners would have piled up a substantial lead in the three periods. It was a splendid crowd of over 6,000 that packed the arena when the game began. The visitors surprised the crowd by their skill in the six-man game style. Early in the game they resorted to spectacular three and two-man rushes that fairly carried the locals

²⁶⁸ Bowlsby, *Empire of Ice*, 59-62.

²⁶⁹ The third team was the PCHA runners-up, Vancouver Millionaires.

²⁷⁰ "Puckerings," *The Globe*, March 27, 1914, 12

²⁷¹ "Torontos Win from Capitals In First Game of Big Series," *The Vancouver Sun*, March 16, 1914, 10.

off their feet, and while they played this style of game they looked to have the better of the play, and gave Holmes the opportunity of playing the game of his life.²⁷²

In this section, the writer detailed the remarkable skill present in the both the Toronto and Victoria teams, with special praise being heaped upon the goalkeeper of the Toronto team, again reinforcing the offensive prowess of the Aristocrats. The large crowd was also noted alongside their “surprise” at the skill of the PCHA team.

Time and again Patrick and Genge, after breaking up dangerous-looking sallies by the local forwards, came sweeping down the ice, Patrick surprising the crowd by his exhibitions of speed, while Genge’s corkscrew rushes on the net also caught the fancy of the enthusiastic ones. Of the forwards Poulin was probably the most effective man on the ice, and his work in front of the net gave Holmes many anxious moments. The game throughout was a fast, close-checking affair.²⁷³

Finally, the writer recalled the specific heroism of Lester Patrick and his teammates, putting on “exhibitions of speed” while the game itself was praised for being a “fast, close-checking affair.” Alternatively, the NHA exhibition game between Montreal and Quebec was represented in a far different fashion:

A carnival of rough, bruising skating and a shower of goals, marked the opening game tonight of the series at St. Nicholas rink between the Canadian professional teams, the Quebec team running over the Wanderers at Montreal, rough and shod, and winning by the overwhelming score of 16 to 8. There was no restraint, whatever, on the players, although the officials put the offenders off the ice continually, a substitute was allowed under the rules, so that each team always had six men on the ice.²⁷⁴

The “carnival of rough, bruising skating” starkly contrasts the “exhibitions of speed” represented by the writer of the PCHA game. While it is possible that these two particular games accurately reflected the descriptions offered by the writers, the two articles fit the archetypes presented throughout the 1913-16 period of hockey writing in Victoria and Vancouver:

²⁷² Ibid.

²⁷³ Ibid.

²⁷⁴ “Settled Old Scores Before Gotham Fans,” *The Vancouver Sun*, March 16, 1914, 10.

The roughness was never checked, and more than once the players smashed each other with their sticks. When the teams were not roughing it the game was a fine exhibition of fast, clever hockey. The speedy, elusive skating of the men and their skilful stick work was a revelation to local fans. Such swiftness is not to be seen in the games here, and local players do not have the knack of following the puck with the intuitive sureness which marks the Canadien game.²⁷⁵

Furthermore, the writer excoriated the quality and cleanliness of play during this game while noting that the game itself did contain skilled players. In the above description of the NHA game, the writer attempted to relay that there were moments of good play, characterized as “fast, clever hockey,” but that these attempts were marred by the violence that permeated the proceedings and left the observers with a bitter taste. In effect, the writer implied that the skill of the players was not to blame as much as the system of the NHA, which made such brutality and roughness possible.

An interesting analogue to the representation of NHA versus PCHA hockey is the way that PCHA rivalries were represented in Vancouver and Victoria during this same period. While genuine animosity had surely developed between Victoria, Vancouver, and New Westminster, then later Portland and Seattle, the way these intraleague rivalries were described in newsprint took on a decidedly different tone. For example, this account from the *Vancouver Sun* described a game between the Millionaires and New Westminster Royals: “Everyone likes to see Vancouver win, particularly if it is New Westminster that is sent down to defeat. Not until the present season has that old lacrosse spirit which featured the professional game for several years on the coast been manifest.”²⁷⁶ In this account, the spirited rivalry between Vancouver and New Westminster was contextualized within the history of lacrosse games between the two cities. Essentially, the writer implied that the rivalry had only started to heat up, embodying heated, yet still sporting competition between two regional rivals. A tone of respectful competition was common in representations of

²⁷⁵ Ibid.

²⁷⁶ “Must Defeat Lehman’s Seven to Again Lead Coast League,” *The Vancouver Sun*, January 16, 1914, 8.

rivalries between PCHA teams, which implicitly encouraged a sense of collegiality and civility among both the teams and their respective fans. In a *Vancouver Sun* article, the representation of the hometown Vancouver club was glowing, even when they were depicted as gloating in victory over Victoria:

To compound a list of all the stars, last night at the hockey game, in which the Millionaires so signally walked all over the prostrate forms of the proud Aristocrats, would be to write out a line-up of the Vancouver hockey team. And even to pick one big, outstanding star in the line-up would be a job for the wisest old astronomer that ever lived.²⁷⁷

The Vancouver team is represented here as not just talented or skilled, but *sublimely*, ethereally skilled. In addition to focusing on the events of the game, the writer represents the successes of the Millionaires as inevitable, given the extraordinary makeup of the team itself. Conversely, from the perspective of Victoria's readership, the losing performance of the Aristocrats was not denigrated, as much as rationalized in the face of the overwhelmingly superior opposition.

Violence, when it occurred in PCHA hockey, was frequently represented differently in newspaper reports than when PCHA teams played against NHA teams. For example, when fighting occurred during a PCHA game, writers would often attempt to frame the violence within the context of rationality and science, rather than brutality:

He was particularly enthusiastic over Duncan, the new wing man who put up a clever exhibition in the Rosebud city and who also let "Moose" Johnson learn the fact that Art Duncan knows the art of fighting. The Seaweed Kid, alias Jim Seaborn, is going better than ever, showing that he is taking after his instructor, Si Griffiths.²⁷⁸

In this passage, Art Duncan's fighting was a part of a "clever exhibition" and an "art" learned under the tutelage of a veteran player. Fighting in hockey, perhaps the purest expression of hockey violence, was frequently denigrated in previous reports from Vancouver and Victoria newspapers

²⁷⁷ "Millionaires Walk Over Victoria to Victoria," *The Vancouver Sun*, January 12, 1916.

²⁷⁸ "Millionaires Hitting Championship Stride," *The Vancouver Sun*, December 19, 1915, 10.

throughout the existence of the PCHA.²⁷⁹ However, in this example, the fighting was represented as rational, regulated, and controlled, a skill like any other athletic ability. The language used here links hockey fighting to boxing through the use of the “Seaweed Kid” pseudonym for Si Griffiths, the famed PCHA player, and the discussion of the “art” of fighting. In this way, although fighting in PCHA games was still discussed, the tone, manner, and treatment of these violent incidents was considerably different than reporting on interleague conflicts.

Another interesting parallel between boxing and hockey violence, in terms of the representation of hockey violence in newsprint, is the staging of the violence itself within the confines of sport. In newspaper reports, PCHA hockey was frequently linked to theatricality, especially with regards to the way violence was represented.²⁸⁰ An example typical of this type of representation appeared in a *Vancouver Sun* article from 1916:

The third period was about the nicest little finish to a three-act play that could have been staged. Less than fourteen minutes to go and the score still three to three; headquarters gave Lloyd Cook orders to get down the ice with the puck. The turning point had come. Apparently Frank Patrick figured that the Aristocrats were "all in." They certainly were. Cook came down the ice, like the famous doctor he's named after, coming down from the north pole. He was in a hurry and had business to attend to.²⁸¹

The action, detailed by the *Vancouver Sun* writer in thrilling detail, is framed as a part of a “three-act play,” which provides an extremely explicit analogy for the drama seen during a three-period hockey game. Furthermore, when violence became a part of the “three-act play,” it was often framed as a part of the drama’s staging, rather than an unwelcome break in the performance:

Outside of the fact that it pretty near cost the locals a chance at the champion, in last night's overtime battle, which resulted in a victory for Vancouver over Victoria by seven to six, was the funniest game ever staged here. The crowd wasn't very big, but what it lacked in

²⁷⁹ See the previous chapter for the earliest examples of PCHA newspaper accounts responding to hockey violence from the first seasons of the league.

²⁸⁰ For further reading, see Taylor McKee, “The Rink and the Stage.”

²⁸¹ “Millionaires Walk Over Victoria to Victoria,” *The Vancouver Sun*, January 12, 1916.

size it made up for in noise, for in the first two frames there was hardly a whisper and when Victoria began scoring the din beat anything Rome's Coliseum ever heard.²⁸²

This article from a 1916 *Vancouver Sun* report of a game between the Vancouver Millionaires and Victoria Aristocrats noted that the game itself was “staged” in Vancouver. Here the game is placed within the context of theatre and the game itself is categorized within the genre of comedy, as it was “the funniest game ever staged here.” This classification serves to undercut the danger or tragedy of any violence that took place within the confines of the game itself. Furthermore, the reference to the Roman Coliseum that appears later in the article continues the focus on the game’s spectacle and riotous environment, while simultaneously clarifying that, although the action itself appeared to be dangerous, the crowd was removed and exempt from the perceived dangers of the on-ice action.

“Wonderfully Free from Fatalities”: Modernity and the PCHA’s Expansion

As discussed in chapter three, the PCHA was heavily influenced by modernity and the changing conditions of the modern age in the twentieth century. Chapter three discussed newspaper representations of PCHA hockey as mechanized, sophisticated, and scientific, all key aspects of modernity. However, another important facet of modernity that figures into the PCHA’s period of expansion, from 1913 to 1916, is the relationship between risk and trust. In order to understand this relationship, it is necessary to explore conceptions of risk and trust within the context of twentieth-century modernity. British sociologist Anthony Giddens wrote that, in modernity, “*Trust* operates in environments of risk, in which varying levels of security (protection against dangers) can be achieved.”²⁸³ Furthermore, Ulrich Beck explained the concept of risk mitigation in modernity as: “Those practices and methods by which the future consequences of

²⁸² “Millionaires Win Great Overtime Battle,” *The Vancouver Sun*, February 12, 1916, 6.

²⁸³ Anthony Giddens, *Consequences of Modernity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 54.

individual and institutional decisions are controlled in the present.”²⁸⁴ Broadly speaking, the historical context surrounding modernity necessitated public trust that decision-makers were acting with the “future consequences” of societies in mind, even in the face of present horrors, such as the First World War. In the early- and mid-twentieth century, modern societies were forced to confront the continuing presence of “dangers,” while trusting that those in power were attempting in good faith to mitigate “risk.” This belief extended beyond governments and into social institutions, including media and governing sporting organizations. Consequently, while the PCHA expanded, experimented, and evolved from 1913-16 it also began to develop the way that hockey *ought* to be played, viewed, and, importantly for this project, written about. In both the game itself and the manner in which it was reported, this approach relied on a careful balance between acknowledging the real risks associated with hockey, while establishing a sense of trust in both the PCHA and the organizations reporting on it.

As the PCHA expanded across the Pacific coast, the game itself was being introduced to new fans nearly every time games were played. As such, the dangers and horrors of the game were consistently recounted in the *Vancouver Sun* and *Victoria Daily Times*, perhaps with the intention of selling hockey to new audiences. Countless examples were collected for this study, with both papers describing gruesome injuries occurring to players. One typical, early example of this coverage came from the *Vancouver Sun*: “Fred Taylor was twice badly injured during the course of the game, being once carried from the ice unconscious as the result of a crack over the head from Dunderdale. Taylor, however, quickly resumed playing and won the plaudits of those Victoria fans for his gameness.”²⁸⁵ This particular description of violence came from the second

²⁸⁴ Ulrich Beck, *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*, trans. Mark Ritter (London: Sage Press, 1992), xii.

²⁸⁵ “Vancouver Defeats Victoria Team In Whirlwind Hockey Struggle,” *The Vancouver Sun*, March 5, 1913, 8.

season of the PCHA and similar representations can be found throughout the existence of the league in both the *Vancouver Sun* and *Victoria Daily Times*. Importantly, while the violent incident is reported here, the writer is quick to alleviate reader concerns by couching the description in the assurance that Taylor “quickly resumed playing and won the plaudits of those Victoria fans for his gameness.” This approach to reporting on violence allowed readers to vividly imagine the dramatic dangers of the game, while also being assured that the potential risks were mitigated by a league they could trust. Furthermore, this strategy established a sense of trust in the newspapers themselves to protect the reader from experiencing the physical horrors of bodily injury, functioning as a reliable intermediary that would make sense of the violence or provide comfort that adequate measures had been taken to prevent real danger. For example, in 1915, the *Victoria Daily Times* felt it necessary to explain that hockey was “wonderfully free from fatalities”:

Considering the terrific pace and hard usage in a hockey match, the game is wonderfully free from fatalities. In fact in the last decade but three instances of a player succumbing to injuries received on the ice can be cited. Only one of these, the fatality in Alexandria ten years ago was directly the result of an injury received during the game. The other two resulted fatally through complications setting in afterwards.²⁸⁶

In this passage, the reporter cheerfully reports that “only one” fatality could be reported playing hockey and that two others died from injuries, but not *on the ice*. Furthermore, the writer adopts a defensive stance, explaining the dangerous practices inherent to a regular hockey game, while at the same time assuaging potential reader anxieties regarding physical harm:

While a hockey stick is a dangerous implement to intentionally swing at a man's head, it is a very rare occasion when a player so far loses control to attempt such a thing. The scalp wounds, cuts and bruises come from short taps, pokes and cross-checks. And it can be worked out that eighty per cent of the injuries sustained on the ice are a result of accidents ... There is no doubt that stick-checking often goes farther and the hockey [stick] finds the puck-carrier's knees, ankles and feet ditto wrists and fingers. All players nowadays are pretty well armored around these parts and it is seldom one is called upon to retire from a

²⁸⁶ “Few Fatalities in Organized Hockey,” *Victoria Daily Times*, February 16, 1915, 9.

chop. Taking into consideration the strenuousness of the game, hockey holds a better record for fewer accidents than any other pastime coming under this category.²⁸⁷

While the danger of hockey is clear from the above article's description of the game's mechanics, there is a clear emphasis on reassuring the reader that the game itself was not *actually* that dangerous. By that time, conscious, concerted efforts had been taken to "well armor" hockey players, shielding them from mortal danger in the fires of combat. Therefore, a careful *modern* reader could feel comfortable and guiltless when enjoying a hockey game because, during a time in which mortal peril was awaiting young boys and men in Europe, hockey's danger was an illusion, thanks to the measures taken by the trusted league and the reporting of the faithful newspapers.

The existence of such an article begs the question of why the *Daily Times* felt it necessary to reassure readers regarding the safety of the game itself. Perhaps the *Daily Times*, sensitive to the ongoing bloodshed occurring in European battlefields, wished to assuage readers that the game of hockey was a worthwhile distraction and not an allegory for the brutality of warfare. Furthermore, as Don Morrow and Kevin Wamsley argue, military training was also being introduced to schools across Canada dating back to as early as the 1860s and "School and social activities linking masculinity with military patriotism were powerful tools of nation building in the Confederation era."²⁸⁸ However, newspapers would often employ the same conflict lexicon from the frontline, and indeed the front pages, in the sports section. For example, one month before the article explaining the safety of the game of hockey and the inertness of its on-ice violence, the *Daily Times* reported on hockey violence in a Portland versus Vancouver game in the following fashion: "Two broken ribs and one fractured nose is the casualty list for the Portland-Vancouver

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

²⁸⁸ Morrow and Wamsley, *Sport in Canada*, 188.

Ice hockey game at the ice hippodrome Tuesday night.”²⁸⁹ Choosing to describe the injuries, piling up for both teams in this specific game, as a “casualty list” is a fairly obvious connection to the very real casualty lists that were appearing in newsprint across Canada during this same period. In fact, in the same issue of the *Victoria Daily Times*, the front page contained the headlines: “Savage Warfare Waged by Germans,” “Mines Exploded in Positions Held by Germans in France,” and “First Line Trenches Won by French.”²⁹⁰ The juxtaposition of the real dangers of the First World War with the sporting dangers of the PCHA seemed to have caused the sportswriters of the *Victoria Daily Times* to reflect on the way in which the game of hockey was being represented on their sports pages. One month later, the article detailing the safety of hockey is printed in the *Victoria Daily Times*. Clearly, the *Daily Times* were interested in using violence to sell the game itself but also conflicted about insinuating that *actual deaths* were possible for those participating.

Efforts to both preserve and represent the inherent safety of hockey also had implications for those attending hockey games themselves and the sense of safety they wanted to feel. In the previous chapter, the representations of hockey violence and relationship to gender and class are discussed in greater detail, but in terms of modernity and safety, the suitability of hockey for a female audience was noted as important during this period as well. For example, this *Vancouver Sun* 1915 article details the way that women participated in observing hockey:

That ice-hockey holds premier position in the affections of the citizens of the Terminal city as a winter pastime was exemplified in no uncertain manner, and the playing of the matches here will give to a further stimulus if such were needed. The ladies turned out in strong force and were not a whit less enthusiastic than their escorts.²⁹¹

²⁸⁹ “Portland Stars on Hospital List,” *Victoria Daily Times*, January 7, 1915, 9.

²⁹⁰ *The Victoria Daily Times*, 7 January, 1915, 1.

²⁹¹ “Vast Assemblage Witnesses First Championship Tilt,” *The Vancouver Sun*, March 23, 1915, 1.

Situated within its historical context, this report offers a telling indication of how PCHA hockey was being sold and marketed at the time. In a period when suitable forms of entertainment for women was a pressing concern, the statement that the violence of hockey did not scandalize the “ladies” present reflects a clear desire to minimize the horrors of the sport. Furthermore, by suggesting that this “winter pastime” was so appealing to women that they “turned out in strong force and were not a whit less enthusiastic than their escorts,” the writer was clearly representing the game as both inoffensive and pleasurable for all audiences. Framed within this context, this evocation of gender and female support conveyed a clear message about the PCHA in 1915: that it earned the “premier position in the affections of the citizens” due to the game’s inoffensive, lack of real risk or danger, and genuine fun for all audiences.

To return to the notion of “trust,” as outlined by Giddens, viewers of the PCHA, and by extension readers of PCHA stories in West coast newsprint, repeatedly wrested with the notion of trust with those in charge of the PCHA. As discussed earlier, often newspaper writers, representing violence as extreme, unfair, or unseemly, would often appeal to the leaders of the PCHA to modify the rules of the PCHA to eradicate undesirable elements from the game, as they perceived them. When it came to discussing the Patricks themselves, the representation from newspaper writers was decidedly different from their representation of other players, managers, or officials from other hockey leagues. There are many examples of deferential, reverential, or even propagandistic articles heralding the exploits of the Patricks as managers, businessmen, coaches, or hockey players, each of them reinforcing a different aspect of “trust” as Giddens would characterize it. For example, as a player, Frank Patrick was represented thus: “The Mainland fans like Patrick’s headwork and managerial ability, while Oatman’s all-round usefulness and aggressiveness give

him a big edge on the other players.”²⁹² In this article, Frank’s “headwork and managerial” ability convey a sense of rational leadership to the readers, painting the team’s leader as thoughtful and scientific compared to other players, including the “aggressive” Oatman. This thoughtfulness and calm leadership were also represented as qualities of Frank Patrick, the PCHA president, as well:

On the coast it is pleasing to note that the game has been clean. Many players have been penalized, but only for minor offences. This is a tribute to the able manner in which President Frank Patrick and his referees have handled the contests, and demonstrates clearly that the players themselves realize that the spectators appreciate clean hockey.²⁹³

In this article, the writer is careful to note that “on the coast” fans should be thankful that the games have been “clean,” thanks to the stewardship of Frank Patrick, clearly insinuating that this was not the case across the country and especially in the NHA. This celebration of the Patrick brothers was key to instilling a sense of safety and confidence, both in players and fans. By championing the Patricks, as players, managers, or owners, newspaper writers were able to establish a sense of trust in both them and their growing league.

For example, Frank’s brother Lester was also represented differently than most other players and his fighting spirit and resilience in the face of injury or adversity were explicitly lauded in many articles:

Then Lester Patrick, leader of the Aristocrats, got laid out, and this made Lester so angry that he put in two goals inside of three minutes and put heart into the Victoria team. With that the birds began to sing sweetly for Victoria, and the fans changed their growls to groans, and before the period closed Victoria was leading by one goal. Lester Patrick started the rally that won Victoria the game, and he did it after being laid out cold... Lester Patrick was laid out. - Did Lester quit? Yes, he did, while they carried him off to the side lines, but came back a moment later and took the puck and went through the defense and tallied.²⁹⁴

²⁹² “Champions Look for Victory,” *Victoria Daily Times*, February 9, 1915, 7.

²⁹³ “Si Griffiths Sustains Broken Leg, Lester Patrick May Substitute,” *Victoria Daily Times*, March 20, 1915, 9.

²⁹⁴ “Millionaires Bow to Aristocrats,” *The Vancouver Sun*, December 15, 1915, 6.

Here, Lester is represented as a paragon of the athlete hero. First, he was shown to be resilient, as he overcame great physical pain to return to the game following injury. Second, he was celebrated for his skill, since Lester scored two goals inside of three minutes. Third and chiefly, Lester was depicted as an inspiring figure. The main takeaway from the game's representation was the fact that Lester was able to will his team to victory through his courageous deeds and through his individual skill. By depicting the Patricks in heroic terms, such newspaper accounts instilled a profound sense of trust in the brothers and encouraged readers to view them as worthy stewards of the sport. In this way, newspaper reporting during the PCHA's period of expansion mitigated the perceived risks of hockey by portraying the Patricks as heroic and trustworthy individuals, deserving of their players' and fans' faith and adoration. This was an essential aspect of the league's expansion, mollifying anxieties regarding the risks and dangers of the growing sport. As a result, faith in the PCHA was fostered by both rule changes and laudatory newspaper reports, which allowed the league to grow and the game to develop in accordance with the Patrick's unique vision.

Shift Change: The PCHA Paradigm

The PCHA represented a fundamental *paradigm* shift in hockey's status quo. The Patrick brothers, themselves financially responsible for the success or failure of their new interpretation of the game, were not content to simply replicate the forms of hockey smithed in the forges of central Canadian sport. Instead, from 1913-16, the PCHA entered a period of experimentation, innovation, and expansion, animated by an entrepreneurial spirit that became the hallmark of the renegade league. This same time period was marked by the outbreak of the First World War, a defining moment in the development of Canada. Placing the representation of hockey violence within the context of the First World War is extremely important, as Victorians and Vancouverites

were receiving news of European carnage in the same space as reports from their local hockey team. Elements of combat coverage seeped into hockey reportage, causing some papers to have to reassure readers of the relative safety of the game itself. During this period of expansion, the Patricks also bumped up against their hockey rivals in eastern Canada and began a series of showdowns against the NHA that led to some of the most widely-publicized and interesting games in the league's history. Direct comparison between the PCHA and NHA product was now possible and the most common method of comparison in newsprint was the perceived difference in hockey violence between the competing leagues.

A crucial element of this period of experimentation was the introduction of rules governing player safety, intended to reduce the amount of violence in the game itself. Examples of these types of rule changes included the introduction of a black line painted on the ice within ten feet of the boards in which no body contact was allowed and consistent modifications to the penalty system, including the institution of instantaneous monetary fines. The representation of this period of expansion in newsprint assisted the Patricks in attempting to change the hockey violence paradigm in several important ways. Firstly, they resolved that hockey violence, though unavoidable, was secondary to the safety of PCHA players and made concrete steps towards ensuring player safety. Secondly, the PCHA's product was depicted as inherently rational and modern in the way that it handled hockey violence, unlike, as the representation in newsprint suggested, their eastern counterparts in the NHA. Finally, through both rule changes and newspaper representation of the PCHA, concerted efforts were made to mitigate the game's real and perceived risks, leading to a greater sense of trust in both the league and the newspapers that reported on it. As this chapter has explored, the PCHA's period of expansion from 1913 to 1916 represented a period of major growth and change for both the league and the sport itself. However, in the next leg of the PCHA's journey,

it would encounter new challenges and obstacles that posed an existential crisis for the league itself and threatened to reverse the benefits of this important *paradigm* shift in hockey violence.

Chapter Five

“Clean Hockey of the Highest Calibre:” The Confrontations, Codification, and Conclusion of the PCHA

It is rare for a professional sports league to take on the personality of a single individual. In the case of the PCHA, there is no doubt that by the end of the second decade of the twentieth century the league had become an extension one man’s vision: Frank Patrick. Philosopher and cultural theorist Stephen Cave posited that “The contest for cultural immortality is a highly competitive one that necessarily only rewards the exceptional.”²⁹⁵ In the case of the PCHA, Frank Patrick’s contributions to modern hockey have certainly rendered him both exceptional and immortal. While the PCHA was a collaborative enterprise between the Patrick brothers, and both would go on to influence the course of hockey history, the received image of Frank Patrick became inextricably linked with the PCHA. When analyzing the way in which newspapers represented violence in PCHA stories from the final stage of the PCHA, it becomes starkly apparent that Frank Patrick was at the centre of this representation. Frank’s ability to disseminate his brand of hockey, distilled from years of experimentation and innovation, was among his most marked characteristics. In turn, this crystalline conception carried through to the public reputation of PCHA hockey, as represented through popular print media during the league’s final seasons. This chapter explores the way in which PCHA hockey was represented in newsprint systematically in 1924 in Vancouver and Victoria during the final year of the PCHA and sporadically in newsprint from 1921-25.

²⁹⁵ Stephen Cave, *Immortality: The Quest to Live Forever and How It Drives Civilization* (New York: Skyhorse, 2017), 227.

Points Breakdown

The newspapers selected for this section include the *Victoria Daily Times* and *Vancouver Sun*, the two largest newspapers in each city, both with robust sport sections that devoted a substantial amount of space to covering PCHA hockey. These two newspapers were subjected to the same systematic analysis from the early two chapters. Additionally, *The Edmonton Bulletin* and *Calgary Daily Herald* were used sporadically when specific game events necessitated their analysis.

In 1924, the *Vancouver Sun* contained 445 specific references to hockey and eighty-seven references to PCHA-specific hockey. Of these articles, six of them were scored four points, thirteen scored as three points, six were scored two points, and five were considered one point. In the *Victoria Daily Times*, seven articles were scored as four points, sixteen were scored three points, eleven were scored as two points, and eight were scored as one point. Generally, PCHA coverage in both newspapers that mentioned violence more frequently did so with more detail rather than simply observing the presence of violence in-game.²⁹⁶

Article Analysis

Prairie Fire: The Historical Roots and Swift Spread of Hockey in Alberta

It is crucial to frame the decline of the PCHA within the context of its closest geographical counterparts in Alberta and Saskatchewan, two locations that had dogged the Patrick brothers since their earliest days in western Canada. Both brothers were intimately familiar with the territory, as

²⁹⁶ See Appendix C.

players, power brokers, and most importantly for this project, masters of media manipulation. From the outset, the Patricks viewed the Prairies as an opportunity for expansion, growth, and the continuing development of their brand of professional hockey. As has been explored in previous chapters, the PCHA was an *entrepreneurial* enterprise dependent on financial success. However, their geographical situation on the West coast would always lack the cultural legacy of amateur hockey, which had been cultivated throughout the Prairie provinces. Hockey, played in outdoor rinks, converted barns, or frozen Prairie ponds, has a more credible claim to the coveted amateur spirit, as advertised by western Canada's bastions of amateurism. In Vancouver and Victoria, where hockey was born in purpose-built, ornate opulence, hockey was born indoors and *professional*. In effect, professional hockey was transplanted into Vancouver and Victoria. By building state-of-the-art indoor artificial arenas, the PCHA blazed a new trail without the benefit of decades of hockey history on the West coast. Guided not by notions of purity, the Patricks created a flexible, innovative, and dynamic product that sold hockey to the Pacific Northwest. However, they would always lack the same history of amateurism that defined hockey on the Prairies and they continued to covet that sense of authenticity by seeking to expand into those territories. Unfortunately for them, as with many entrepreneurial ventures, obsolescence or extinction does not only occur through competition, but also by a far more insidious means: imitation.

There is no way to properly understand the final stanzas of the PCHA's history without including its volta: the change to include Prairie cities in the infrastructure of what was initially a West coast pipedream. In the early stages of the PCHA's development, the Patrick brothers were laser-focused on hockey's central Canadian nexus of power, emanating from Montreal, Toronto, and Halifax. In those locations, professional hockey, most notably the birth of the NHA in 1910,

was the most significant rival to the Patricks' fully-professional PCHA. The two leagues fought for players, resources, and, ultimately, the right to establish hockey orthodoxy. However, it was another upstart professional league, having learned many hard lessons from the Patricks' coastal experiment, that ultimately felled the PCHA and immediately benefited from its innovations. From 1921 until its final season in 1925, the PCHA was forced to participate in a two-front war for hockey supremacy, contending with both Eastern Canadian and Prairie rivals.

The final years of the PCHA saw new challenges emerging from east of the Rocky Mountains. Rival leagues, who were previously mired in the professional/amateur wars of the early twentieth century, were starting to emerge as professional threats. The most serious of these challenges was mounted from Alberta, a province with a hockey landscape with which the Patrick brothers were exceedingly familiar. For example, in 1908, Lester Patrick had joined the amateur Edmonton Hockey Club²⁹⁷ for a Stanley Cup challenge. They took on his former team, the Montreal Wanderers, for whom Lester had previously captained during their 1906 and 1907 Stanley Cup champion seasons.²⁹⁸ Lester's arrival in Edmonton for the challenge series, along with a fleet of other premier players, sparked suspicion regarding the truly amateur nature of the Edmonton club, though bringing in outside players, or 'ringers,' was hardly an unheard of practice in Canadian amateur hockey at the time: "No one doubted that [Edmonton Team Manager Fred] Whitcroft was paying the players under the table, and had in fact hired a pro team to take the place of amateurs for the cup final."²⁹⁹ The games against Montreal were marked by violence, with the *Ottawa Citizen* noting that "the match was a rough, slashing battle. The officials ... penalized every offence that was possible to catch but despite their watchfulness, the teams got away with

²⁹⁷ This team is sometimes referred to as the Edmonton Thistles, named after their home rink the Thistle Rink.

²⁹⁸ "The Challengers in the 'Peg," *The Edmonton Journal*, December 19, 1908, 7.

²⁹⁹ Steven Sandor, *The Battle of Alberta: A Century of Hockey's Greatest Rivalry* (Surrey: Heritage House Publishing Company, 2005), 16.

considerable rough work.”³⁰⁰ This challenge ultimately failed but it marked the first time that a club from Alberta had earned the right to challenge for the Stanley Cup. Consequently, it was a watershed moment for Alberta’s hockey development and the first step towards establishing a viable hockey presence on the Prairies. It also forged an important relationship between the Patrick brothers and Alberta hockey that would greatly influence the latter days of the PCHA.

A year later in 1909, Lester was playing for an amateur hockey team in Nelson, B.C., and again turned his sights on Alberta’s capital city. After winning the B.C. amateur hockey championship with Nelson, Lester continued his pattern of spurning former clubs and challenged the Edmonton senior team, again under the direction of Whitcroft, to a challenge series of their own in a B.C./Alberta amateur hockey championship. Again, Lester was on the losing end of this affair, with Edmonton victorious in both matches played in Nelson. However, the challenge series was a huge financial success for Nelson’s club, drawing in approximately one thousand spectators for the matches.³⁰¹ Lester observed a clandestine professional team in Edmonton earn the right to challenge the famed Montreal Wanderers, themselves of rather dubious amateur *bona fides*, and witnessed a raucous faux-amateur challenge series in B.C.. Clearly, he determined, there was a healthy appetite for elite hockey in western Canada. It is fair to speculate whether Edmonton’s surreptitious efforts to seek the advantages of professional players were yet another formative influence on the Patricks, who chose to form a fully professional league two years after Lester’s final experience playing in Alberta.

But before the Patricks could advance the professionalization of Alberta hockey, they first needed to contend with a long and proud history of amateurism. The main opponent of professional

³⁰⁰ “Edmonton Loses First to Wanderers 7 to 3,” *The Ottawa Citizen*, December 29, 1908, 8.

³⁰¹ Bowsby, *Empire of Ice*, 4.

hockey's development in the Canadian Prairies was the foothold that amateur hockey had established in the first decade of the twentieth century. As discussed in previous chapters, by the end of the twentieth century's first decade, the Stanley Cup had established itself as *professional* hockey's top prize and the professional PCHA was therefore devoted to its capture. However, professional hockey, or at least the notion of professional hockey, was not widely accepted in many communities across Canada, including the western Canadian Prairies. In cities such as Regina, Calgary, Edmonton, and Saskatoon, amateur hockey remained extremely strong, despite consistent challenges regarding the validity of the teams' amateur status. Amateur hockey's top-prize was the Allan Cup, awarded to the winner of Canada's senior men's circuit, consisting of clubs from coast to coast. Regionally, hockey's amateur governing bodies determined who would represent their provinces in Allan Cup matches. Outside of Alberta, the Saskatchewan Amateur Hockey Association was formed in 1912, the Manitoba Amateur Hockey Association in 1914, and the British Columbia Amateur Hockey Association in 1919.³⁰² Crucially, the PCHA's formation in 1911 gave the Patrick brothers an eight-year head start in the battle for widespread acceptance among the B.C. sporting public, whereas in other provinces, amateur hockey had deeper roots. During the earliest stages of the PCHA, the Patricks planned to include professional teams in Calgary and Edmonton, along with Vancouver and Victoria, and the Calgary and Edmonton teams were intended to play in natural ice arenas.³⁰³ However, the plans to expand into Alberta never came to fruition: "It was clear that hoped-for franchises in Calgary and Edmonton were lost causes, even though some of the solicited players had been led to believe they'd be playing in Alberta ... it became clear that no Alberta businessman would be willing to partner up with the Patricks."³⁰⁴

³⁰² Gary W. Zeman, *Alberta on Ice* (Edmonton: Westweb Press, 1986), 11.

³⁰³ Bowsby, *Empire of Ice*, 7.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 13.

The Patricks never quite lost sight of the potential for Alberta expansion though, and they maintained this keen interest well throughout the PCHA's tenure.

During the early years of the PCHA, Alberta's top hockey was played in the Alberta Amateur Hockey Association (AAHA), which formed in 1907. Gary W. Zeman described the expressed goals of the AAHA as to maintain control of organized hockey in Alberta and to "keep out professional hockey."³⁰⁵ He further explained that there was controversy from the earliest days of the AAHA about which cities would be part of the fledgling league: "Calgary decided not to join the association or the league because the team claimed that travelling expenses were prohibitive. (It is possible that there was more to it than that. Edmonton was a 'powerhouse' and perhaps Calgary did not want to compete in the same league)."³⁰⁶ By 1910-11, the same moment the Patricks were creating the PCHA on the West coast, Alberta amateur hockey consolidated its power with the creation of the Herald-Journal Cup, a twenty-one-team, four-division tournament that was one of the largest in Canada.³⁰⁷ The connection between Alberta amateur hockey and newsprint here is also noteworthy, with the tournament's two main sponsors being the *Calgary Herald* and *Edmonton Evening Journal*. The close relationship between newspapers and early organized hockey, as discussed in chapter two, is similarly evident in Calgary and Edmonton, as both newspapers became explicitly linked to the health and viability of amateur hockey in Alberta and, therefore, quite likely to defend it from intrusive professional influences. Alberta's amateur hockey history is marked by a vicious rivalry between Calgary and Edmonton, with the Calgary Tigers and Edmonton Eskimos being the most notable teams that rose to prominence during the formative years of amateur hockey in Alberta. Nevertheless, the validity of 'amateur' status

³⁰⁵ Zeman, *Alberta on Ice*, 11.

³⁰⁶ Ibid.

³⁰⁷ William M. McLennan, *Sport in Early Calgary* (Calgary: Ft. Brisbois, 1983), 114.

remained an open question during this period, a fact that was well known to the Patrick brothers after Lester's stint as a paid ringer for Edmonton in 1908. Amateur teams in Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba fought each other for amateur players in order to compete for the Allan Cup. Despite the stated goals of amateur sport, addressed in more detail in chapter two, the teams themselves began to aggressively and monetarily pursue new players, all in clandestine fashion, while purporting themselves to be amateur operations. However, in 1919, Alberta would establish a new amateur hockey league that teetered closer to openly flaunting the amateur status that both teams and players depended upon for both their Allan Cup and Olympic eligibility.

'Amateur' Alberta: Fraud, Frank Patrick and the Big Four League

Created with the express purpose of obtaining the Allan Cup for Alberta, the Big Four League was founded in 1919. With two teams from Calgary and two teams from Edmonton, the Big Four League was steeped in a heated 'amateur' hockey rivalry that had existed for decades prior.³⁰⁸ The notion of a rival amateur hockey league sharing a border with the Patricks' PCHA would not be a major problem, in theory, given that the PCHA was only drawing from a pool of professional players. However, the Big Four League was perhaps the most brazen example of an artificial amateur, or 'shamateur,' hockey league in Canadian history. As discussed in chapter three, the debates surrounding amateur and professional sport throughout the history of Canadian sport have involved far more than simply matters of gameplay. Explicit connections between the moral character of a player and their amateur or professional status were commonly made, especially in the way that players were reported on in late nineteenth and early twentieth century newsprint. Prior to the founding of the Big Four League, Frank Patrick again attempted to realize

³⁰⁸ Sandor, *The Battle of Alberta*, 17-20.

his vision for expansion of professional hockey east of the Rocky Mountains into Calgary and Edmonton, proposing the construction of artificial arenas there.³⁰⁹ Again, as in 1911, this vision did not materialize, partly due to the strong relationship that the Alberta public had with the ideals of ‘amateur’ hockey, regardless of the Big Four League’s rather specious claim to amateurism. After visiting Alberta and publicly praising the league’s calibre of play,³¹⁰ Frank soon realized that the league posed a substantial threat to his PCHA and sought to rectify the situation and maintain the overall health of his league.

The Patrick brothers had an explicit agreement with the NHL to divide the country West of the Great Lakes; all professional hockey players who wished to play in western Canada were the PCHA’s personal possessions.³¹¹ Without a natural geographical territory to draw players from, the Big Four League was in open competition for players with the PCHA. Now, the Patricks were forced to contend with the commercial might of the Big Four League, which was operating under the protective guise of amateurism. This competition between western leagues did not please the Patrick brothers, who intimately knew the practices of hiring and paying players to play hockey in Alberta under the auspices of amateurism. This led to many tense encounters between the PCHA and the Big Four League, the most serious of which was over Duke Keats, the star player for the Edmonton Eskimos of the Big Four League and a former professional player in his early teenage years in Ontario. Interestingly, Keats should likely have never been considered an amateur, at least by the stringent bylaws outlined by the Amateur Athletic Union of Canada, which was the “absolute arbiter of amateur status in Canada” during this period of Canadian sporting history.³¹²

³⁰⁹ Bowsby, *Empire of Ice*, 171.

³¹⁰ Ibid.

³¹¹ Zeman, *Alberta on Ice*, 21.

³¹² Alan Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play: The Emergence of Organized Sport, 1807-1914* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987), 102.

An amateur is one who has never assisted in the pursuit of athletic exercises as a means of livelihood, who [plays] for pleasure or recreation only and during his leisure hours, and does not abandon or neglect his usual business or occupation for the purpose of training more than two weeks during the season.³¹³

This distinction lays bare the absurdity of attempting to discern ‘true’ amateur status during this period, especially when this qualification allowed some teams to gain a competitive or commercial edge. Furthermore, given Lester Patrick’s experience as a paid ringer for an Albertan amateur team, there was absolutely no doubt in the minds of the Patricks that the amateur status of the majority of the Big Four League’s players would not stand up to even the most cursory of examinations by an external governing body.

Frank Patrick convinced Keats to abandon his amateur status and join the Vancouver Millionaires of the PCHA. He reportedly wired Keats, agreeing to pay him the sum of \$2800 to play.³¹⁴ However, Keats mysteriously reneged on his agreement to play for Frank and the Millionaires, instead opting to stay in Edmonton with the Eskimos. Frank did not feel as though Keats had suddenly remembered his commitment to the purity of amateur sport in Canada and unleashed his full fury against the Big Four League:

Frank responded with a lightning bolt he’d been preparing for some time, just in case he’d ever need to use it. On November 10, 1920, Frank launched a fiery open letter to the Attorney General of Alberta, accusing the Big Four League of fraud. He charged that the Big Four teams operated as an underground professional league, paying many of their player salaries consistent with, or even greater than, the other professional leagues ... Frank’s letter also went to all the important newspapers in Canada.³¹⁵

The letter forwarded to the Attorney General of Alberta, along with Canada’s most prominent newspapers, alleged that not only was the league “semi professional,” but was also actively

³¹³ Ibid., 103-4.

³¹⁴ Bowsby, *Empire of Ice*, 172.

³¹⁵ Ibid., 172-3.

defrauding the Province of Alberta as well.³¹⁶ One of Frank's main sticking points was rooted in the harsh economics of operating a professional sports league during the early twentieth-century. During this period, the Alberta Amusement Tax collected a percentage of ticket sales "in any place where any game, sport, pastime or athletic exercise is played or pursued; any place where races, or boxing or other athletic contests are held."³¹⁷ Frank Patrick was the president of the Associated Amusements of B.C.,³¹⁸ an organization representing theatres and arenas, and was therefore intimately familiar with how an amusement tax would be levied and how the Big Four League was avoiding it. The Big Four League was able to avoid the Amusement Tax as an amateur sporting organization, presumably under the provision that protected "an exhibition, performance, or entertainment at any place of amusement the proceeds of which are to be devoted wholly to religious, charitable or patriotic objects."³¹⁹ Frank's complaints, accompanied by a \$1,000 reward for anyone who could disprove his claim, struck a dagger into the heart of the Big Four League, costing the league its amateur status and its ability to achieve its *modus operandi*: to capture the Allan Cup.

Under the guise of upholding the sanctity of Canadian amateurism, Frank Patrick started a righteous crusade against the Big Four League, even suggesting that for the league to be professional in secret was to be disloyal to the King.³²⁰ While Frank was not able to single-handedly bring down the league right there and then, there is little doubt that his efforts to

³¹⁶ "Robbed of his Source of Supply for Coast League Patrick Attacks Big Four," *The Calgary Herald*, November 10, 1920, 20.

³¹⁷ The Amusements Tax Act, RSA 1922, c 37, <https://www.canlii.org/en/ab/laws/stat/rsa-1922-c-37/latest/rsa-1922-c-37.html>.

³¹⁸ "Robbed of his Source of Supply for Coast League Patrick Attacks Big Four," *The Calgary Herald*, November 10, 1920, 20.

³¹⁹ The Amusements Tax Act, RSA 1922, c 37, <https://www.canlii.org/en/ab/laws/stat/rsa-1922-c-37/latest/rsa-1922-c-37.html>.

³²⁰ Bowlsby, *Empire of Ice*, 173.

undermine the legitimacy of the league critically wounded it. His protests brought a significant amount of new attention to the league from the central Canadian sporting elite, including those who governed amateurism in Canada. Furthermore, it is important to consider how he delivered his message, through a medium which he had used to become a practiced master: newsprint. By communicating directly with readers and speaking on behalf of their interests, in the form of defending the citizens of Alberta from the “fraudulent” Big Four League,³²¹ Frank was able to establish himself as the honest businessman, a man whose self-interest may not be universally palatable, but was certainly transparent. At the same time, he diametrically opposed the “shamateurism” of the Big Four League and the forthrightness of the PCHA, a move that would set the stage for his future designs. Considering these accusations, the motivations of those at the helm of the Big Four League now seemed murky. As such, in December 1920, the *Calgary Herald* devoted four full columns to the Big Four League controversy, a newspaper event that was reported on as far East as the *Ottawa Citizen*.³²² A sampling of the report from the *Calgary Herald* is as follows:

Now, let It be understood that The Herald has no animus in this matter. What The Herald desires is to see Alberta sports of all kinds operated on a clean, above-suspicion basis and to see established between players and public a thorough understanding and a complete sympathy ... And let the cost be what it may, it will not be too great in the light of the returns that will accrue to Alberta sport and Alberta generally in the shape of the rehabilitation of prestige and reputation. Alberta's good name is at stake. And Alberta's good name will be restored no matter what the Big Four does ... Surely they will not fail in this supreme hour.³²³

In this detailed account, the *Herald* makes it clear that if the Big Four League was indeed paying players under the table, it was fitting that the league be harshly punished. In sport history, the

³²¹ “Robbed of his Source of Supply for Coast League Patrick Attacks Big Four,” *The Calgary Herald*, November 10, 1920, 20.

³²² “Big Four League has Backed Down,” *The Ottawa Citizen*, December 9, 1920, 8.

³²³ “Immediate Showdown by Big Four in Respect to Grave Charges Demanded,” *The Calgary Herald*, December 7, 1920, 16.

notion of “shamateur” hockey during this period is generally regarded as an open secret, which seems to have been the case among players and organizers. Nevertheless, it is important to note how amateur sport was being represented by newsprint at that time and that writers were clearly not comfortable with any mixing of professionalism and hockey, at least not in Calgary.

The *Herald* article sampled above was a watershed moment for the way the Big Four League was covered, as two months after the editorial was published, the Big Four League was faced with its final controversy. The bitter rivalry between the Calgary and Edmonton clubs boiled over further when disputes over player eligibility took place during the final stretch of the 1921 season. After weeks of investigation, conducted by local and federal amateur bodies, the Big Four League was no more. Ultimately, the Big Four League found itself, as Bowlsby noted, “Derided and shunned by other leagues, the Alberta Big Four now imploded under internal scandals and controversies, ironically involving illegal ringers.”³²⁴ The last official moments of the Big Four League involved a secret meeting with league officials and team managers on August 9, 1921, with the intention of terminating the league. Out of the ashes of the Big Four League, a new, professional league was born and immediately began work on creating a league. But what would this new league mean for the PCHA and the Patrick brothers, who had worked so hard towards the demise of its predecessor?

“Strict Adherence to the Rules:” The WCHL and the Uneasy Pacific-Alberta Alliance

Following the collapse of the Big-Four league, the Western Canada Hockey League,³²⁵ an explicitly professional circuit, was formed. The league included the Calgary Tigers and Edmonton Eskimos from the defunct Big Four, who were joined by the Regina Capitals and Saskatoon Sheiks.

³²⁴ Bowlsby, *Empire of Ice*, 191.

³²⁵ Sometimes referred to as the Western Canada Professional Hockey League.

This new league “would continue to raise the stakes for hockey talent in North America. Now, mercenary players could play three leagues off of each other. The new pro circuit on the Prairies would also be allowed to compete for the Stanley Cup.”³²⁶ After undermining and antagonizing the amateur Big Four League, the Patricks now found themselves in the strange position of having supported an insurrection and now needing peace with the new regime. Complicating matters for all involved were ballooning player salaries in professional hockey during this period. There may be a temptation to imagine that professional hockey, still in its relative youth, was far behind other North American professional sports in terms of player compensation. However, as Sandor noted, “In the mid-‘20s, hockey players were among the highest-paid athletes in the world. Because there was no system in place to restrict player movement between the leagues, players could drive up their own prices and sell themselves to the highest bidder.”³²⁷ The Patricks and the PCHA likely did not want the WCHL to repeat their own strategy – raiding a rival league for players – and instead decided on a different path. This formative choice would result in an uneasy alliance between former rivals, which would allow the Patricks to further promote and propagate their particular vision for professional Canadian hockey.

The reputation of Frank Patrick’s preferred style of hockey preceded him when he arrived on the scene in Calgary in 1921. In a *Calgary Herald* story, outlining some of the rules used in Frank’s coast league that would be making an appearance in the newly-formed professional WCHL, Patrick is represented as eager to find solutions that made hockey safer:

Another little wrinkle may be added to coast rules that may have a tendency to curb the activities of the defense player who in some instances in the past, has chucked his implements of warfare at an opposing puck-chaser who has worked himself into a fairly good position to score. Frank Patrick, coast proxy, believes the time for experimenting is

³²⁶ Sandor, *The Battle of Alberta*, 27.

³²⁷ *Ibid.*, 34.

opportune... Frank Patrick announces. "If it looks logical and if it will help hockey and free the game of an undesirable feature I'm for it" he said today.³²⁸

In this story, Frank is represented as a figure who, as discussed in chapter four, was interested in experimentation and innovation. But importantly here, Frank states that he is determined to reduce the “undesirable” violence in hockey. This quote from Frank also focuses on the need to determine any “logical” improvements that could be made to the game, invoking the rational amusement mentality so common in the late nineteenth century and discussed in chapter three. The *Herald* writer also represents the violence committed against opposing offensive players as acts of “warfare” and, though likely meant as light-hearted colour, this phrase connotes the extraneous nature of violence in hockey itself.

Bringing the WCHL into the playoffs for the Stanley Cup allowed the two leagues to build a healthy competition between the Prairie cities and the West coast. Rather than wage full-out war against the upstart Prairie league, “Frank and the PCHA executives saw that more money could be made with cooperation, rather than by ignoring this new army of teams and players.”³²⁹ After the Patricks helped to end the reign of amateur hockey in Alberta, they had now developed an awkward type of friendship with the new league, whose administrators shared a deep respect for the PCHA, and more specifically Frank and Lester Patrick. For example, the *Calgary Herald* advertised the opening of the new WCHL and its relationship with the Patricks thus:

In adopting a playoff system here several years ago, the Pacific Coast magnates made a move which has grown in popularity throughout the country and which today bids fair to be adopted by every hockey organization. The good points of the playoff have often been referred to and while at first the system had its opponents, sportsmen are now agreed that it is one of the finest plans ever evolved in athletic competition.³³⁰

³²⁸ “Get Free Shot for Tripping,” *The Calgary Herald*, October 29, 1921, 7.

³²⁹ Bowsby, *Empire of Ice*, 192.

³³⁰ “Prepare Early Coast Opening,” *The Calgary Herald*, November 5, 1921, 33.

In recalling the way that the Big Four League's amateur scandal was represented by Calgary media, it is clear that partnering with the PCHA seemed to also be an exercise in repairing the reputation of hockey in Alberta. Frank Patrick, once emblematic of the morally suspicious professional game, had successfully represented himself in media as a straight-shooting, fair-minded businessman whose naked self-interest made him trustworthy. The *Herald* also chose to focus on Patrick's contributions to hockey as an innovator, noting that his creation of a playoff system was among the "finest plans" in athletic competition. By this point in his career, Frank had fully transitioned



Figure 8 - An image previewing a 1924 Game Against the Calgary Tigers, *The Vancouver Sun*, March 10, 1924, 4

from fighting battles on the ice to his role as an executive. Although he had already established a reputation as an excellent hockey player and devoted teammate, his ability to effect change on the ice was coming to an end and he was turning his sights to his legacy as a coach and executive. At this stage, it is likely that even Frank himself knew that his most significant hockey legacy would be as someone who created conditions for greatness, rather than solely as a great player himself. His depiction in *The Calgary Herald* provided reinforcement from an outside geographical

location that he was an innovator who created one of “the finest plans ever evolved in athletic competition.” Frank’s consistent positioning at the centre of his own media narratives allowed him to uniquely observe how his image shifted throughout his career. His subject position changed underneath him over time, but he was highly aware of the evolving reputation of both himself and the PCHA. Sensing the impending end to his playing career, and the PCHA’s own struggles, Frank worked to parlay his vision of hockey through the PCHA-WCHL merger. In hindsight, this union allowed Frank the opportunity to grow his version of the game, defined by clean play, and extend its lifespan beyond that of the PCHA itself.

The WCHL was the realization of the Patricks’ vision for professional hockey in Alberta and the Albertan hockey magnates now recognized the innovations brought forth by the Patricks in the PCHA. Although the WCHL and its teams were not formally under the umbrella of the PCHA, and therefore not under the Patricks’ complete control, the brothers maintained authoritative power over how the league, and especially matters of gameplay, would be handled. Frank Patrick is quoted in the *Calgary Herald* stating, “Strict adherence to the rules and a careful and business like handling of all affairs will make this league a success.”³³¹ Here, Frank insisted upon following the rules as a roadmap to success for the WCHL and it is important to consider the dual meaning of his position here. Certainly, Frank was referencing the business of professionalism and amateurism and strongly implying that the mistakes of the Big Four League would not be repeated. However, this position can also be interpreted as an insistence that Frank’s vision of clean hockey be carried out in the WCHL as well, which would turn out to be the case.

³³¹ “Hockey Will be a Success,” *The Calgary Herald*, August 23, 1921, 12.

As referenced repeatedly in earlier chapters, Frank advertised his league as being one that did not encourage rough play. Now, the newly-christened WCHL had an opportunity to continue this vision of hockey and, in essence, allow him to finally extend his vision of professional hockey to the Canadian Prairies. As such, when the league was established, “the WCPHL would play six-man hockey and have an eight player roster (later that year lineups had nine players) ... some rule changes were made to have the PCHL and WCPHL uniform.”³³² This sense of unity between the PCHA and WCHL was ingrained from the latter’s opening season in 1921. By 1922-23, the two leagues would become fully intertwined, with nearly-identical rulebooks, including regular season matches between PCHA and WCHL teams that counted in the regular season standings. By this point, the two leagues shared a collective fortune and were no longer actively competing against each other: “the experiment of the co-prosperity zone between western empires had been successful”³³³ or, as Bowsby described it, “Pacific-Western Alliance.”³³⁴ Despite this alliance, it was clear that there was a pecking order established between the WCHL and PCHA and Frank Patrick maintained close control over the business, administration, and gameplay of the WCHL. Furthermore, the dominance of Patrick and the PCHA over the WCHL was similarly reflected through media depictions of both leagues.

In a particularly interesting report from the *Vancouver Sun*, the reporter starkly represented the difference between the teams by comparing the PCHA’s Vancouver Maroons³³⁵ to the WCHL’s Edmonton Eskimos:

Joe has been given the euphonious title of ‘Joseph Trotsky Matte, the Rushin Hound.’ He can go the length of the ice while any ordinary speaker is reciting this litany! And by the same token if Joe is the team's Trotsky, Bostrum is it's Lenine, [sic] for what this pair have

³³² Zeman, *Alberta on Ice*, 27.

³³³ Bowsby, *Empire of Ice*, 230.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*, 233.

³³⁵ Formerly known as the Millionaires.

been doing to the capitalists aspirations of Prairie clubs lately is rapidly transforming their victims into Bolsheviks of the most saffron hue ... They seem to have settled into their collective strides and to have confidence in the altered tactics.³³⁶

Comparing Vancouver's Joe Matte and Helgy Bostrum to Trotsky and Lenin and the Eskimos to Bolsheviks is, to be sure, an imperfect analogy. Nevertheless, such a characterization is a telling representation of the two teams, and by extension, the two leagues these teams represented. The PCHA's Maroons are here represented at the centre of the action, as the Russian Revolution's most central characters, while the Eskimos are relegated to historical footnotes. It was relatively common for the *Vancouver Sun* and other Canadian newspapers to use the term "Bolshevik" derisively in the mid-1920s; in fact one article from 1926 goes so far to note that "It is a wise nation that knows its own Bolsheviks."³³⁷ Fears of Bolshevism were commonplace in Canadian cities during the 1920s, which makes the term's inclusion in a description of the Edmonton Eskimos rather strange. The two leagues were, at least by many accounts given in newspaper reports from the amalgamation, on good terms, though individual rivalries were developed between PCHA and WCHL teams. Importantly, this research project has identified that socioeconomic and political power structures were not typically employed in this fashion when describing games between PCHA teams, which ironically carried names like Aristocrats and Millionaires. Subtextually, the Edmonton team is being represented in this analogy as sinister, though unremarkable, while the Vancouver team carries the banner of Lenin and Trotsky, two powerful historical figures. Lenin's death in January of 1924 certainly put him in the minds of the *Vancouver Sun*'s staff, but the comparisons reveal a striking schism in the way that the two teams were represented to Vancouver's readership.

³³⁶ "Maroons are Over the Hill," *The Vancouver Sun*, February 16, 1924, 4.

³³⁷ Glenn Frank, "Bolsheviks of Business," *The Vancouver Sun*, October 14, 1926, 8.

This latent rivalry between the West coast teams and the WCHL teams extended to the newspapers that reported on hockey as well. After a particularly controversial game between Edmonton and Calgary, renewing a rivalry that dated back to their days in Alberta amateur hockey, sports writers from the *Edmonton Bulletin* published an impassioned series of columns, outraged at the conduct of Calgary's team. The *Vancouver Sun* parodied this reportage by publishing a lengthy poem in its sport pages, lampooning the seeming provincialism of Edmonton and Calgary's conduct:

In the *Edmonton Bulletin*, to show how President Richardson erred in suspending Sparrow of Edmonton two games for 'pushing Poulin because 'Skinner' had applied a vile epithet to Joe Simpson,' and Lalonde only one game for 'knocking out McCusker three times in one game,' the irate editor goes back to Marc Anthony's wail over the body of Caesar, digs up five passionate lines and hurls them in the general direction of Calgary, where Mr. Richardson lives, to prove his assertion that 'men have lost their reason.' 'However,' says the *Bulletin* man, philosophically.' Twas ever thus, and probably always will be, so long as there is a Western Canada Hockey League."³³⁸

The derisive depiction of this report not only served to parody the Edmonton-Calgary hockey rivalry, but also implicitly launched an attack on their respective newspapers. The mocking tone of the *Vancouver Sun* report cast the Calgary and Edmonton publications as starry-eyed admirers of their teams who were falling victim to the crime of modern-day homerism, an oft-derided tendency to favor or idolize the home team. Compared with their self-perception as professional reporters, these fans and lyricists were perceived to be lesser and subservient, which was a direct reflection of the perceived relationship between the PCHA and WCHL itself.

This uneasy friendship clearly weighed on the mind of Frank Patrick as well, as he made a point of visiting main western hockey cities including Calgary, Edmonton, Saskatoon, and Regina, with the express purpose of poaching players for the PCHA. In most cases, owners of western

³³⁸ "Sparrow Suspension and Fining of Duke Inspiring the Muse," *The Vancouver Sun*, January 9, 1924, 4.

teams were unable to compete with Frank's lucrative PCHA offers or were forced to pay their own players more to match PCHA offers. The first lesson that the experienced entrepreneur offered to neophyte western magnates was that no arrangement superseded Frank's own vision of hockey on the West coast. While the WCHL was permitted to persist, Frank Patrick initially worked hard to ensure that it did not come at the expense of the health of the PCHA and, by extension, the way that the Patricks wanted hockey to be played. From the start of the PCHA, Frank had sought the assistance of trusted individuals who could help maintain the health of the league, promote his vision, and ensure the PCHA's west-coast supremacy. After the creation of the "Pacific-Western Alliance," with the alignment of the leagues in 1922, one heightened role would become especially important to preserve Frank's vision for professional hockey: the referee.

The Vigorous and the Violent: Mickey Ion and Implementation of the Patricks' Vision

The person most trusted with enforcing Frank Patrick's vision of the PCHA was Mickey Ion, an Ontario-born former professional lacrosse player who was among the first employees of the PCHA and named PCHA referee-in-chief in 1911. Ion's career as a referee coincided with a career in professional lacrosse for the Vancouver Lacrosse Club, a team also owned by Lester and Frank Patrick. During his time as a pro lacrosse player in Vancouver, Ion's actions did not make him the most obvious choice for any league's head official. For example, during a May 24th, 1912 lacrosse game versus New Westminster, Ion reportedly attempted to hit a spectator with his stick, then threw "an orange or some other missile into the bleachers"³³⁹ in one ferocious outburst and was later fined for rough play during another game later in the season.³⁴⁰ Clearly, Ion's early temperament as an athlete made him ill-suited for the calm poise needed to officiate at the highest

³³⁹ "Commissioners are Determined to Suppress All Rough Play," *The Vancouver Sun*, May 30, 1912, 8.

³⁴⁰ "Three Lacrosse Players Fined for Unruly Contact on Field," *The Vancouver Sun*, June 21, 1912, 8.

levels of professional hockey. Nevertheless, as Ion's career transitioned into exclusively being a full-time referee – he was very nearly the *exclusive* referee of the PCHA, officiating the overwhelming majority of games throughout the PCHA's existence – the way in which Ion was represented in media shifted from a disruptive, untrustworthy influence to a respected voice of reason. In this way, he became a metonymic representation of Frank Patrick's vision for clean and scientific play, continuing into the league's final years.

Ion's name appears extremely frequently, as many referees do in professional sport reporting, throughout newspaper reports of PCHA games, as he refereed games for all thirteen years of PCHA hockey. Quickly earning a reputation as a “touchy dictator,” Ion even reportedly

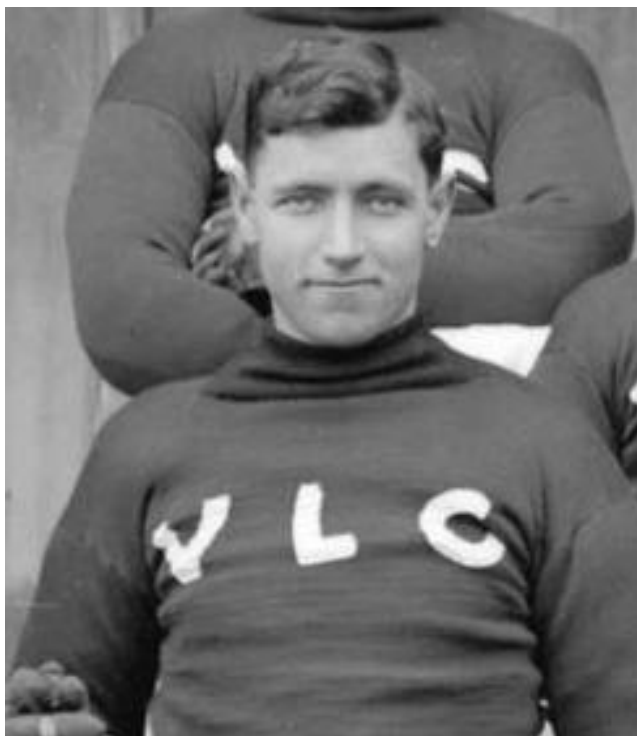


Figure 9 - Mickey Ion Playing Lacrosse in 1912, Courtesy of Vancouver City Archives

gave Frank Patrick himself a penalty for scowling at him during a game.³⁴¹ In the early years of Ion's PCHA career, newspapers would often complain about his invasive style of distributing

³⁴¹ Bowsby, *Empire of Ice*, 112.

punishment: “Mickey Ion was the feature of the game Saturday night. In order that there be no mistake we will state at the start that Mickey was the referee. No one can say that Mickey wasn’t on the job and the only trouble was the Mickey was too much on the job.”³⁴² This icy description from the *Vancouver Sun* is extremely damning for any sporting official, whose stated purpose is to not become the headline of the story. Early in his career, Ion was represented in West coast newspapers as an overly-litigious, and perhaps self-obsessed, influence on PCHA hockey. However, this reputation would drastically change by the time Ion was finished refereeing professional hockey and his own transformation would reflect the growing renown of the PCHA itself as a bastion of clean play.

Throughout Ion’s playing career, violent outbursts were among his most notable achievements. But by 1917, the representation of Ion in newsprint began to shift away from his ill repute as a lacrosse player. No longer represented as the mercurial and unpredictable lacrosse player turned “touchy dictator” referee, Ion’s personal experience as a rough player was instead represented as a strength of his officiating and his ability to physically intimidate players was characterized as an asset:

It will be a sore loss to clean hockey when Ion puts away the whistle for good, for Ion not only referees but he is Boss with a capital B when he’s on the ice and has the game in hand. As he once expressed it in his quaint Irish way: “I know I’m boss when I’m on the ice, because I can lick any man on the ice who won’t take my orders.”³⁴³

In this passage, Ion himself articulates the way in which he incorporated his personal experience from lacrosse into refereeing hockey, a task that newspapers would later adopt for him in descriptions of his officiating style. Ion’s narrative was changing and his actions began to be

³⁴² “Millionaires Outplay the Seattle Metropolitans, Vancouver Scores Seventh Straight Victory,” *The Vancouver Sun*, January 31, 1916, 6.

³⁴³ “Referee Problem” *The Vancouver Sun*, March 22, 1917, 6.

represented as thoughtful and even forthright, rather than the violent methods of his earlier lacrosse career:

Right from the initial whistle the players laid on the wood, threw their weight into each other with absolute disregard for consequences and what looked like the beginning of a fine riot in mass formation was halted when Ion sent seven men off just about as fast as they could be unloaded in the bullpens directed respectively by Messrs. L. Patrick and P. Muldoon.³⁴⁴

In this passage from the *Victoria Daily Times*, Ion is faced with an onslaught of unruly, riotous players and he takes action by liberally doling out penalties. The *Daily Times* writer represents Ion as a law enforcement officer trying to quell a mob. Unquestionably, this characterization fashions Ion into a sympathetic character to the reader and his sending “seven men off just about as fast as they could be unloaded” was not positioned as a disruptive influence but rather as a logical one, when considering his circumstances.

By 1924, the representation in media continued to be sympathetic to the efforts of the PCHA’s head referee. The *Vancouver Sun* detailed a game in which Ion, perhaps recalling his days playing lacrosse in Vancouver, struck a fan who was yelling at him during a game:

In a desperately fought sixty-minute bout the Maroons and the Seattle Mets fought a scintillating draw last night and will go into the last spasm of the two game fight for Stanley cup honors on Friday night on even terms. Each team got two goals and they "foughtlikell" to get them. It was a knock down' drag 'em out affair with Mickey Ion enlivening the proceedings by smartly slapping a bold spectator who poured some tale into Ion's open Irish ear which the receiver did not appreciate. Ion rapped him once and continued gaily on his way ... The Mets lost their collective heads in the third and Ion's arm was wig-wagging like a small boy feeding peanuts to the monkeys.³⁴⁵

First, by using the terms “bout” and “knock down’ drag ‘em out affair” the game itself between the Vancouver Maroons and the Seattle Metropolitan was described using the language of a

³⁴⁴ “Cougars Winning Streak is Halted in Very Rough Battle,” *Victoria Daily Times*, January 9, 1923, 10.

³⁴⁵ “Maroons and 'Mets Start Final Game Friday All Square Each Side Scored Two in Desperate Battle Last Night,” *The Vancouver Sun*, March 4, 1924, 4.

boxing match. Representing Ion's position in that way immediately makes him a sympathetic figure in an unreasonable situation. When Ion takes the rather unprecedented step of physically harming a patron, the *Vancouver Sun* commends Ion for "smartly" striking the fan and continuing his task of refereeing the game. Furthermore, Ion's attempts to curb the violence in the third period are positioned as a hopeless task, performed with a childlike futility. In this passage, the game's roughness was simultaneously emphasized and denounced, while the efforts of the referee to keep the game clean were praised. Here, Ion is represented by the *Vancouver Sun* as the rational actor in a maelstrom of vicious aggression, acting as polite society would want our authority figures to in order to preserve order. It is this representation that simultaneously enthralls the reader while condemning the actions of the men on the ice, a dualism common to reporting on hockey violence during this period.³⁴⁶ A repeated commonality in newspaper representations of Ion is his Irish heritage. Descriptions of Ion's Irishness were often part and parcel to descriptions of his temperament,³⁴⁷ judgment,³⁴⁸ or even his body parts.³⁴⁹

It was common during this era for hockey referees to be referenced by name in game reports, either begrudgingly or with reverence. However, as demonstrated through the above descriptions of Ion in the *Vancouver Sun*, the PCHA narrative crafted in West coast newspapers transformed Ion into a sort of literary character. For example, a retrospective published in 1928 celebrated Ion's career in the PCHA and described him in almost mythical terms:

Before Frank Patrick reached into the ambient, as it were, and picked off Ion the problem of referees in the old coast league had assumed serious proportions. Man after man was tried, but somehow he couldn't get over. If the players stood for him or the club

³⁴⁶ See Taylor McKee, "The Rink and the Stage."

³⁴⁷ "Referee Problem" *The Vancouver Sun*, March 22, 1917, 6.

³⁴⁸ "Millionaires Outplay the Seattle Metropolitans, Vancouver Scores Seventh Straight Victory," *The Vancouver Sun*, January 31, 1916, 6.

³⁴⁹ "Maroons and 'Mets Start Final Game Friday All Square Each Side Scored Two in Desperate Battle Last Night," *The Vancouver Sun*, March 4, 1924, 4.

managements the fans turned thumbs down. And then came Mickey Ion, debonair, cockily confident, hard boiled and just as tough when the need arose as in those days when he was a fearsome figure in lacrosse if the mood was on him to use the wood. Ion's natural qualities eminently fitted him for the arduous role of referee. He was good when he began, and he became better as he familiarized himself with the peculiarities of his, at times, highly temperamental subjects, and that includes fans as well as performers.³⁵⁰

The connection between Ion and Frank is made clear in this article, with Frank's selection of Ion paving the way for a successful league. The *Vancouver Sun* writer tracks Ion's career beginning as a rugged lacrosse player into a firm-handed and dignified official, well-suited to the "arduous role of referee." In many ways, the PCHA was a league marked by its construction of, and contravention of, rules. The PCHA is so often credited as a league that experimented and innovated with new rules and interpretations of hockey,³⁵¹ and Ion was the person entrusted to ensure that these innovations were actualized. Many of the rule changes instituted in the PCHA focused on improving player safety; as referenced frequently throughout newspaper reports from the PCHA era, Frank Patrick had an almost obsessive desire to eradicate needless aggression from professional hockey. The physical embodiment of the Patricks' vision for a different kind of league was their hand-selected, plucked from the "ambient," referee Mickey Ion. Frank and Lester Patrick needed someone to navigate the complex duality between the rational and the rapturous, the vigorous and the violent. This connection is exceptionally important to understanding the way that the PCHA instituted the rules designed to alter the way hockey was played, especially with regards to player safety.

³⁵⁰ "Mickey Ion Turns Down Easterners to Referee on Coast," *The Vancouver Sun*, November 3, 1928, 12.

³⁵¹ See chapters: two, three, and four.

“Survival with Honour:” The Denouement of the PCHA

Since the third PCHA season, and the collapse of the New Westminster Royals, the league had included teams from the United States, another component to the Patricks grand ambitions of professional hockey in the Pacific Northwest. By 1924, the franchise in Seattle was in serious trouble. Due to a provision in their lease agreement with the Seattle Arena Company, the University of Washington bought out the final year of the lease in exchange for \$10,000.³⁵² This now left the Seattle Metropolitan without an arena and the Patricks at the crossroads; rather than attempt an ad-hoc arrangement, the Patricks folded the Seattle franchise and began plans to amalgamate with their western rivals. Unfortunately, negotiating with the WCHL would be difficult, given the fact that the PHCA was now desperate for a home for their marquee Victoria and Vancouver franchises.

“The Patricks now only had two outposts again, just as they had in 1911, when they gained a tenuous foothold on the new hockey world. But the league could not survive with only two arenas. The obvious solution was to merge completely with the Western Canada Hockey League. This meant the Patricks would have to plead their case, from a position of weakness, for the first time in thirteen years.”³⁵³

It is also quite possible that the Patricks had one foot out the door by the time the Seattle franchise folded. Following the end of the 1924 season, Seattle head coach Pete Muldoon had hinted that the Seattle team might not be back, given the “attitudes” of the arena management, which happened to be the Patricks themselves.³⁵⁴ The consensus was that outside investment was needed to save a Seattle franchise, but the Patricks did not seem all that enthusiastic about investing more money into what seemed to be a failing financial enterprise. It is fair to question whether, upon the collapse of the Seattle team, the Patricks did not start to look further eastward for salvation. Whitehead

³⁵² Bowlsby, *Empire of Ice*, 243.

³⁵³ *Ibid.*, 244.

³⁵⁴ Bowlsby, *Empire of Ice*, 243.

noted that, as Seattle folded, Art Ross, coach and manager of the brand-new Boston Bruins NHL team and childhood friend of Lester and Frank Patrick from Montreal, wrote to Frank Patrick asking him for players; Frank's cryptic response was "not yet."³⁵⁵ According to Whitehead, at this point the Patricks were plotting "survival with honour, plus a few dollars cash," insinuating that the Patricks saw the writing on the wall regarding the profitability of West coast hockey and desired a way to extricate themselves without abandoning their vision altogether.

However, before they left the Pacific Northwest completely, Frank and Lester still held an extremely valuable commodity in western Canada: two artificial ice arenas, which made late-winter regular season games much easier to schedule and, even more importantly, early spring Stanley Cup matches possible. Ultimately then, the Patricks were able to strike a deal with the WCHL, a league that they had been in somewhat friendly competition with for the past three seasons, and finally surrendered. But although the league itself had ceased operations, that was not the end of the Patricks' vision.

Upon the demise of the PCHA, certain elements of the league's legacy were brought into sharper focus. Newspapers continued to represent the folding of the PCHA as a potential positive for the overall health of hockey in western Canada. Interestingly, one of the accounts from the *Vancouver Sun* noted the style of play that the PCHA had become known for and the impact that the Patricks had on the broader hockey world:

The Patricks have been instrumental in revolutionizing hockey, and in the present code of rules is reflected the work of far-seeing students, whose keen insight into the public's view of the winter sport has brought to the front certain reforms that bring hockey to the highest standard of perfection that has ever been known... "It is certain to create tremendous enthusiasm all through Western Canada. Instead of dividing the interest between the Prairies and the coast" remarked Frank Patrick, coast president. In an interview after the

³⁵⁵ Whitehead, *The Patricks*, 144.

first session. "It will simplify the world's series between the East and West. A series best of five games will comprise the Stanley Cup play-off with the champion club having: the games at home and alternating each season between the East, and the West."³⁵⁶

Here, the writer emphasized the "code of rules" associated with the Patricks' style of play in the PCHA and prefaced the quotes from Patrick himself by stating that Frank had brought changes to hockey that gave it the "highest standard of perfection." This is extremely high praise from the *Vancouver Sun*, whose representation here anoints Frank as high priest of hockey's reformation on the West coast. This trend continued two days later when the *Vancouver Sun* extensively quoted Frank Patrick in a summary of the changes coming to the upcoming season of the WCHL:

It was felt by all concerned that the establishment of one large circuit, embracing the three western provinces, was bound to react healthily from the standpoint of the country's most thrilling sport and would also appeal strongly to the public. While operating, the Pacific Coast Hockey League established a continental wide reputation for clean hockey of the highest calibre, and as an organization that repeatedly took the lead in cracking tradition insofar as rules are concerned, if by so doing, the game, could be made more attractive to the public and the play speeded up.³⁵⁷

This *Vancouver Sun* article effusively praised the brand of hockey played during the years of the PCHA, especially noting the widespread respect earned from other cities. In this representation of PCHA hockey, the writer made sure to highlight the "clean" hockey and noted that the "cracking tradition" of hockey was being actively combated by the rules, organization, and administration of the PCHA. Another interesting aspect is the way violence was represented as an impediment to progress for hockey in general, noting that changes in the rules inside the PCHA could be even further expanded upon to speed the game up. Here, violence was not represented as a means of promoting, celebrating, or even differentiating the league in any way. Instead, the game's speed, cleanliness, and innovative tendencies were highlighted.

³⁵⁶ "Coast and Prairie Ice Hockey Leagues Amalgamate," *The Vancouver Sun*, August 27, 1924, 12.

³⁵⁷ "Frank Patrick is Well Pleased With Merger of Leagues," *The Vancouver Sun*, August 29, 1924, 12.

Ever the intrepid entrepreneur, and perhaps hiding his desire to leave the west completely, Frank Patrick spoke in an August 1924 interview with the *Vancouver Sun*, in which he focused on the fact that hockey was being kept alive and hinted that the new league may even be stronger after Seattle's demise:

I am delighted with the new arrangements and I feel satisfied that the fans at the coast will feel the same way toward it. There will be keener competition and I know that a finer class of hockey will be shown. "While I regret the passing of the Pacific Coast League, which has run for 11 successful seasons. I believe that this amalgamation is being carried out in the best interests of the game. Matters will be greatly simplified under one organization. "With the Seattle players to bolstering Victoria and Vancouver. I believe that two superior teams will be produced and coast crowds are certain of better hockey than ever before in the annals of the winter pastime in the West."³⁵⁸

Immediately, Frank Patrick's predictions for stronger teams in B.C. were vindicated when the Victoria Cougars won the Stanley Cup, defeating the Montreal Canadiens of the NHL, the first Stanley Cup captured by Victoria and the second for a West coast Canadian team. At the awards banquet for the Cougars, Joe Patrick, the initial investor in the PCHA, characterized the Cougars championship as a victory for clean hockey:

I never played hockey but I have been following it pretty closely for thirty-three years and I want to say that I have never seen a smoother machine than that which Victoria has had this year," declared Father Patrick. "And more than all that they are the cleanest bunch I have ever seen. They have played the game and proved that rough tactics are not essential to success. We play clean out here and to the Cougars, goes the palm for being the cleanest and fairest."³⁵⁹

The Cougars' Stanley Cup championship, eulogized by Joe Patrick, contained a key component of the PCHA's legacy, both in western Canadian hockey and in broader professional hockey, as well: clean hockey. It is important to consider this summation of the Victoria Cougars because of what their achievement meant for the struggles of the Patricks and their attempt to create a different

³⁵⁸ "Coast and Prairie Ice Hockey Loops are Amalgamated," *The Vancouver Sun*, August 27, 1924, 12.

³⁵⁹ "Hockey Furore Ends at Great Victory Banquet," *Victoria Daily Times*, April 3, 1925.

brand of hockey. As Whitehead reflected, the Cougars' Stanley Cup victory "served to accent the superiority of the rules code they had developed and installed in their coast league."³⁶⁰

The PCHA was no more. The Vancouver and Victoria clubs were part of the Western Canadian Hockey League for one season and then the following season, where the league was re-named the Western Hockey League. However, the fate of professional hockey on the West coast was inextricably linked to the fate of the NHL, which was quickly becoming North America's premiere pro hockey league. The Western Hockey league folded, the teams and players absorbed by the NHL,³⁶¹ and the Patricks' long struggle to defeat the eastern hockey magnates ended with surrender. Lester Patrick embarked on a coaching career in the NHL by joining the New York Rangers. Older brother Frank retired from actively running professional hockey on the West coast after the Western Hockey League folded, though he continued his quest for hidden wealth, this time actually mining for gold, silver, and oil in B.C. mines.³⁶² While his brother began a journey that would result in him becoming a foundational member of the NHL's coaching and later administrative ranks, Frank remained in the west, owning teams and staying involved with minor professional hockey in the Pacific Northwest until the early 1930s. Despite what looked to be an ignominious end to Frank Patrick's hockey career, a third, final, and perhaps poetic act was yet to come.

³⁶⁰ Whitehead, *The Patricks*, 144.

³⁶¹ The Victoria Cougars were absorbed by a new NHL franchise in Detroit, first named the Detroit Cougars, a tribute to their PCHA roots. This franchise would later become the Detroit Red Wings. See Helen Edwards, *The History of Professional Hockey in Victoria B.C.: 1911-2011* (Victoria: Friesen Press, 2019), 77.

³⁶² Whitehead, *The Patricks*, 185.



Figure 10 - The Location of the Original Victoria Ice Arena, Photographed in 2017

“Rewarding the Exceptional:” The Legacies of The PCHA



Figure 11 - Lester Patrick Confers With NHL Referee King Clancy, Courtesy Hockey Hall of Fame Archives

Following brief periods of involvement with semi-professional hockey teams on the West coast, in 1933 Frank Patrick was once again called upon to assist in the administration of professional hockey at the highest level. The NHL did not initially ask Frank to aid them with the marketing, administration, or even coaching of their franchises, though he had extensive experience in each of these fields. Revealingly, Frank Patrick’s return was with player safety. The NHL asked Frank to help adjudicate a particularly gruesome incident between the Toronto Maple Leafs’ Ace Bailey and the Boston Bruins’ Eddie Shore. Bailey was knocked to the ice, fractured his skull, and would never play again. Frank was given the newly-created position of “NHL Managing Director” and his primary role was to “oversee the NHL officials.”³⁶³ This appointment highlighted and continued Frank’s player safety legacy, earning the trust of the NHL in what was

³⁶³ Ibid., 186-7.

the most high-profile incident of violence the league had ever seen. Furthermore, the PCHA's chosen head referee, Mickey Ion, joined the NHL in 1926 as head referee, a position he held until his retirement in 1941.³⁶⁴

The Patricks' legacy as hockey innovators is well-established in hockey literature, with many crediting them as two of hockey's most influential early leaders. However, their attempts to make hockey *safer*, to change the hockey paradigm itself, have largely been ignored. From the earliest representations in West coast newsprint, the PCHA was described as a renegade league that championed experimentation and clean play. Early attempts to establish the league as respectable, innovative, and finally reaffirming its enduring legacies, newspapers promoted and propagated the established tenets of the Patricks' vision. One would not have been possible without the other. The style of hockey promoted by the Patricks and enshrined in newsprint remains a part of the modern game and will for many years to come.

³⁶⁴ Ion was inducted into the Hockey Hall of Fame in 1961, one of the first three referees to be inducted.

Conclusion

Traditions Worthy of Protection

Philosopher Stephen Cave posited that “The contest for cultural immortality is a highly competitive one that necessarily only rewards the exceptional ... The route to immortality, therefore, is to ensure that as many of the component parts of your current self-bundle are continued in forms that are more robust than flesh and blood, and the more such parts that survive, the better.”³⁶⁵ In no uncertain terms, the marketplace that the PCHA existed in was highly competitive and the contributions made to modern hockey were truly exceptional. Though the league was ultimately subsumed by its central Canadian rivals, the PCHA has made a strong case for “cultural immortality” through the many hockey innovations that exist to the present day. However, one crucial innovation is often excluded from the list of rule changes and promotional techniques pioneered by the PCHA: player safety.

Hockey, masculinity, and violence are often depicted as *essential* aspects of the product sold to consumers of the game. A persistent narrative exists that links the institutions of early Canadian hockey with violent masculinity, creating the appearance that one is not possible without the other. The history of the PCHA proves otherwise. The Patricks attempted to create a version of hockey that reduced the on-ice violence and took measurable, concrete steps to reduce violence in order to, in their estimation, enhance the marketability of their product.

Traditionalist arguments often privilege the role of violence in hockey history, due to its perceived primacy.³⁶⁶ However, these arguments largely ignore the fact that *resistance to hockey*

³⁶⁵ Cave, *Immortality*, 235.

³⁶⁶ Oliver and Kamchen, *Don't Call Me Goon*, 7; Kevin Goff, “7 Reasons Fighting Needs to Stay in the NHL,” *Bleacher Report*, December 18, 2011, accessed April 22, 2020, <https://bleacherreport.com/articles/987054-7-reasons-fighting-needs-to-stay-in-the-nhl>.

violence has existed alongside the proliferation of violence in the sport. The PCHA serves as the ideal expression of an early professional league that actively sought to curb violence and make its version of hockey safer for its players. When the NHL seeks to make contemporary hockey safer, albeit with different incentives, information, and motivations, they are in fact *honouring* the game's heritage, as set forth by one of the game's most influential leagues. The Patricks brought professional hockey to the West coast of North America and identified "traditions" in the game that they felt were not welcome in their league. As articulated in a 1913 *Victoria Daily Times* article, Frank Patrick insisted that:

‘We will have clean hockey in the coast league, if we have to get rid of the players who persist in roughing matters...We cannot afford to lose the patronage of the coast sporting enthusiasts simply because one or two of the players have a grudge to settle, and I have ordered the referees to tack on stiff fines, in addition to long rests in the penalty box.’³⁶⁷

Newspaper reports praised the vision implemented by the Patricks throughout the history of the PCHA, adopting the style as a point of pride for West coast hockey teams. For example, when the Vancouver Millionaires captured the 1915 Stanley Cup, the *Vancouver Daily World* reported that:

It is not only a triumph for western athletes but also for western methods of training and western style of play. For the general consensus of opinion among those who witnessed all three of the games in the brief championship series and were able to judge in an impartial way of the two styles of rules under which the matches were played, is that the western or seven-man game is conducive to the better style of play and the cleanest game.³⁶⁸

The Patricks aimed to turn the profits of a lumber business into a hockey empire and could only achieve this goal by making their renegade league profitable. For this reason, the PCHA was a hockey league focused on innovation. The Patricks were singularly focused on this entrepreneurial goal, but what made their league unique was that they promoted safety as a selling feature for hockey. To house this new version of hockey, they erected state-of-the-art ice palaces, such as the

³⁶⁷ “Clean Hockey at Any Cost.” *Victoria Daily Times*, December 26, 1913, 9.

³⁶⁸ “Vancouver Wins Stanley Cup,” *Vancouver Daily World*, March 27, 1915, 6.

Victoria and Denman Arenas, that physically embodied the league's branding as dignified centers of refined amusement.³⁶⁹ In this way, fans were told, by both their environments and newspaper reporting, that they could feel good about what they saw and validated in their choice as consumers.

The PCHA actively strove to regulate and mitigate violent play. This was consistent with the Patricks' business model, which was grounded in creating a new brand of professional hockey that was distinct from existing leagues and reflected the perceived interests of their marketplace. To credibly claim that their game was safer, they made *actionable* changes to realize this vision. As discussed throughout this project, these many changes included the physical alteration of the playing surface, rule changes, the imposition of stiff fines, and referee empowerment. However, the placement of player safety at the forefront of league organization was not necessarily preserved, following the PCHA's demise in 1924. Instead, innovation in player safety remained largely dormant, as the NHL embraced excessive violence as part of its business model.³⁷⁰ However, although player safety has been out of focus for many years, the recent concussion crisis has required the NHL, and hockey at large, to return to these issues and address them with greater immediacy. For this reason, the changes initially proposed by the Patricks are now receiving renewed attention, as hockey contends with the human consequences of violent play.

As Planck observed, widespread acceptance of an idea occurs slowly, be that in science or sport.³⁷¹ Accordingly, although the PCHA experimented with changes to promote clean play, a paradigm shift in player safety would have to wait many years. In the decades following the demise of the PCHA, the spirit of innovation in player safety, which was central to the league, was similarly extinguished. In its place, violence became a central selling feature of NHL hockey,

³⁶⁹ Schubert, *Architecture on Ice*, 76-77.

³⁷⁰ Proteau, *Fighting the Good Fight*, 32-50.

³⁷¹ Planck, *Scientific Autobiography and Other Papers*, 32-33.

which persisted for many years. However, following a turbulent 2010s, including leaked emails, lawsuits, and tragedy, the modern NHL presently finds itself attempting to revise the very meaning of hockey on the fly.³⁷²³⁷³ As the NHL has discovered, revising the structure of hockey is very difficult once many decades, and billions of dollars, have compounded. Concurrently, they have been forced to reconsider and re-evaluate the many costs of their longstanding relationship with violence. In 2004, former Canadian Member of Parliament and Montreal Canadiens goalie Ken Dryden dispelled the popular regarding hockey's inextricable relationship with violence:

We need to see hits from behind and hits to the head for what they really are. We need to see finishing a check for what it really is. These and other plays are not traditions of the game worthy of protection. They have brought danger to the game. They have hurt the game.³⁷⁴

Crucially, Dryden delineates certain types of hockey violence as “not traditions of the game worthy of protection.” Dryden’s sentiment recalls Kuhn’s notion of paradigm shifts; entrenched traditions carry enormous weight and are not easily dislodged. In the case of hockey, player safety, as a guiding principle, was sidelined for many years, despite the Patricks’ innovations with the PCHA. This phenomenon is within the tradition of the paradigm shift, which acknowledges that innovations are rarely accepted upon initial encounter. Instead what follows are prolonged periods of debate and discussion, which can often obscure the idea’s original conception or creator. Even after a paradigm shift occurs, the resulting innovation remains in a state of flux and within play for future reconsideration. As outlined in chapter four, paradigm shifts are “sufficiently open-ended to leave all sorts of problems for the redefined group of practitioners to resolve.”³⁷⁵ The NHL is

³⁷² John J. Miller and John T. Wendt, “The Concussion Crisis in the National Hockey League,” *Journal of Contemporary Athletics*, vol. 9 (2015), 11.

³⁷³ Patricia Cormack and James F. Cosgrave, *Desiring Canada: C.B.C. Contests, Hockey Violence, and Other Stately Pleasures* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 105-6.

³⁷⁴ Ken Dryden, “Saving the Game,” *The Globe and Mail*, March 27, 2004. Accessed May 3, 2020, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/globe-debate/saving-the-game/article742669/?page=all>

³⁷⁵ Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 10.

now in the position of this “redefined group of practitioners,” wrestling with hockey’s “open-ended” paradigm.

Similarly, research into the way that violence has been represented throughout hockey history remains “open-ended” as well. Through this dissertation, several representative examples of the way that violence was linked to race, class, and gender were introduced and contextualized, but a stand-alone study would lend valuable insight to this topic. These connections continue to shape contemporary representations of hockey and tracing this historical link could be revealing. The Patricks’ quest for innovation also included a brief foray into professional women’s hockey, as they contemplated a full slate of teams paired with PCHA franchises. However, this idea never fully came to fruition. Furthermore, Frank Patrick organized an International Women’s Championship in 1921, underscoring his interest in elite women’s hockey. Additionally, the focus of this project was the ways in which Canadian newsprint has represented violence, but a comparison to American coverage warrants further exploration.

Finally, the question of precisely *why* the Patricks chose to enforce, encode, and advertise their league as safe is a necessarily speculative venture. As referenced in chapters two, three, and four, the Patricks’ entrepreneurial vision of the league affected the way they marketed the game, often in terms of clean, scientific play. While there is no biographical evidence to support a personal investment in pacificism, the Patricks staked their business reputations on the PCHA’s reputation as a clean league. Rather than undercutting their decision to promote a cleaner version of hockey, the fact the Patricks did not have any personal, stated objection to the notion of hockey violence as players³⁷⁶ reveals the careful planning behind their decision to implement these policies

³⁷⁶ Wong, “The Patricks’ Hockey Empire,” 686.

in the PCHA. Consequently, the PCHA serves as an example of a hockey institution that sought to reform its product and market a safe game during the earliest years of professional hockey history. In this way, the institutional scope and scale of this vision serves as an instructive exemplar for another hockey league: the modern NHL.

Epilogue

“This is Hockey”

A disturbing pattern emerges each time a truly extreme act of violence occurs on a hockey rink anywhere in North America. Initially, outrage and concern are common, especially if the event reaches the attention of those less familiar with traditional hockey discourses. In some cases, calls for change come from journalists, commentators, and even former players. However, there is another type of reaction, characterized by the evocation of violent antecedents. In these instances, hockey's violent history is cited as a rationale for resisting measures to curb the levels of violence in the contemporary game. This process of cultural mythmaking has led many to accept that hockey has always been violent, must always remain violent, and that present injuries can be justified by those of the past. This reasoning has sustained a cycle of violence that impedes progress through false precedent. In turn, when an act of violence horrified the hockey public in 2004, prominent hockey voices insisted that hockey was far more violent in the 1990s. If a horrendous injury occurred as the result of a violent incident in the 1980s, journalists were quick to point out that hockey during the 1960s was far worse, so much so that the game as they knew it lacked real masculine toughness. This constant use of historical narratives to downplay present dangers has allowed many to justify continuing inaction regarding player safety reform.

In some cases, generalized accounts of even more distant historical periods are used to undercut perceived increases in present-day hockey violence. For example, the *National Post* published an editorial by Jesse Kline in 2011 arguing that:

In Ancient Rome, upwards of 50,000 people would fill the Colosseum to watch men battle condemned criminals and wild beasts. But like many things in life, sports have become far more civilized ... Fighting has always been a part of hockey. There was a time when our

great Canadian heroes took to the ice without helmets or body armour, and got into scraps far more brutal than what we are used to seeing today.³⁷⁷

By conjuring up images of gladiatorial bloodshed, Kline here minimizes contemporary hockey violence as paling in comparison to more violent sporting pasts. Juxtaposed with these violent spectacles, hockey's own history, and certainly its present, are dismissed as pacifistic.

Similarly, in 2013, Greg Oliver and Richard Kamchen explained the emergence of the NHL 'enforcer,' as compared with the early years of professional hockey, in the following terms:

The game of those early days makes today's hockey seem tame. The players were ruthless and brutal, many seemingly on a mission to stop the opposition by any means necessary. And often those means included a heavy stick, which they used with little or no restraint, chopping one another down with crushing blows that would earn them lifetime suspensions and perhaps even lengthy prison terms today. Then along came the enforcer, who would instill fear into opponents who previously had no qualms about belting smaller, more talented players into submission.³⁷⁸

Again, the perceived brutality of hockey's history is used to nullify the perceived dangers of the twenty-first-century version of the game. Consequently, this pattern of turning to history to establish the link between violent masculinity and hockey history is well-established throughout the twentieth and early-twenty first centuries. On March 8, 2004, Todd Bertuzzi of the Vancouver Canucks grabbed Steve Moore of the Colorado Avalanche from behind, struck him in the back of the head, and drove him to the ice, fracturing three vertebrae, lacerating his face, and giving Moore a significant concussion. Moore never again played professional hockey. On February 16, 2006, Moore filed a lawsuit against Bertuzzi, and several other Canucks personnel, seeking millions in damages for his shortened NHL career. The Canadian media response to these events often references the levels of violence present in a past version of the game in an attempt to downplay

³⁷⁷ Jesse Kline, "Don Cherry is Right, Fighting is an Essential Part of Hockey," *National Post*, October 13, 2011, available <http://news.nationalpost.com/full-comment/jesse-kline-don-cherry-is-right-fighting-is-an-essential-part-of-hockey>, accessed 6 May 2015.

³⁷⁸ Greg Oliver and Richard Kamchen, *Don't Call Me Goon: Hockey's Greatest Enforcers, Gunslingers, and Bad Boys* (Toronto: ECW Press, 2013), 7.

the events seen in modern hockey. For example, three days after the incident in an editorial for *The Globe and Mail* addressing the aftermath of the Bertuzzi-Moore incident, Lawrence Scanlan maintains, “Truth is, now more, now less, it [hockey violence] has *always* been this way. And maybe, just maybe, that's why we like it. Maybe we like a little blood with our beer and our popcorn and our ‘He shoots! He scores!’”³⁷⁹ In 1981, commenting on the death of famed NHL builder Conn Smythe, *Montreal Gazette* columnist Tim Burke recalled a conversation with an old colleague:

Colleague Dink Carroll was talking about Conn Smythe who died this week. ‘You know that (pro) hockey was so rough back in the early ‘20s that it kept Smythe away for years? Hockey was the very end back then. The players were considered just a cut above bank robbers. When they came down the street people would cross over to avoid them. But when Smythe finally got into it, he eliminated a lot of the wood-chopping and he got them good sweaters and made them comb their hair. It makes me laugh when they talk about violence in hockey today. You may not believe me but guys like Minny McGiffin and Newsy Lalonde and Mean Joe Hall and Sprague Cleghorn and Lionel Hitchman were out to kill each other. Ching Johnson of the Rangers had a smile on his face the whole game, smashing everybody he could get close to with his stick.’³⁸⁰

These examples, and countless others like them from throughout hockey’s past, reflect the continuing use of history to reaffirm and reinforce hockey’s status quo regarding violence. These authors claim a position of historical primacy to lend further legitimacy to their belief that hockey reform is unnecessary, or even antithetical to the spirit of hockey’s founders. As these case studies demonstrate, this rhetorical strategy not only misrepresents hockey history, but has also been used to stymie progress in player safety. By reframing hockey history as unrepentantly violent, and then glorifying that same past as the ideal manifestation of the sport, proponents of this view implicitly suggest that hockey is better off bloody. Concurrently, by noting that hockey has become progressively cleaner over time, they position progress in player safety as a gradual, natural, and

³⁷⁹ Lawrence Scanlan, “We Like Our Hockey With a Little Blood,” *The Globe and Mail*, March 11, 2004, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/globe-debate/we-like-our-hockey-with-a-little-blood/article1346469>, accessed June 22, 2020.

³⁸⁰ Tim Burke, “Als’ Scannella Says Expand CFL Rosters,” *The Montreal Gazette*, November 21, 1980, 29.

perhaps even unfortunate process that has been taking place within the game for decades. Framed in these progressivist terms, the player safety movement is seen an extraneous, interventionist, and unnecessary.

For this reason, this interpretation of hockey's past seeks to silence calls for reform, by referencing bygone, bloody eras of the game's past. However, as this project was demonstrated, this argument, which has been frequently employed to defend the continuation of hockey violence, is founded on the faulty premise that the game was gloriously and unrepentantly violent. While violence has persisted through hockey history, so too have efforts to curtail violent play and injury. In fact, the history of the PCHA demonstrates that reform and regulation, with respect to violence, are similarly part of the game's DNA. Ignoring this legacy creates a false dichotomy forged between the game's past and its future: fans are forced to choose between "honouring" hockey's past by preserving its violent status quo or reforming the game in the hope of a safer future. In reality, the example of the PCHA demonstrates that both are possible: hockey's violent past does not nullify efforts to reform, nor does it preclude a safer future for the sport.

The contemporary NHL is being forced to alter its version of hockey in the face of crisis. Much of the relationship between hockey and violence now revolves around the morality of permitting the game's most blatantly violent machination, fighting. A stark new reality exists for many outside and inside the game regarding fighting's place in hockey's future. Among them is former NHL player, and noted fighter, Daniel Carcillo, who wrote "It is my belief that fighting has no place in today's game...Once the NHL and the [player's union] begin to educate the players about the risks of repetitive head trauma, they will not want to bare-knuckle box on ice any

longer.”³⁸¹ For decades, the NHL has justified its recalcitrance regarding hockey violence on financial grounds, claiming that fans would abandon the game if excessive violence was removed. Regardless, the NHL is now being forced to reconcile harsh scientific realities with the game’s history. Currently, the NHL is caught between a trusted, profitable version of the past and genuine concern for the well-being of their athletes. However, allowing the game of hockey to innovate, including on matters of player safety, is a practice supported by the history of the league’s most influential predecessor. In the earliest years of professional hockey on the West coast, the PCHA innovated its game to differentiate itself in the hockey marketplace. Newspapers frequently depicted the Patricks’ desire for their league to be ‘clean,’ often represented in stark relief of the versions of the game seen in other parts of North America. The Patricks saw excessive hockey violence as *detrimental* to marketing of their league and counterproductive to their capitalistic goal. If the NHL wishes to balance the desire for a safer league with the need to produce an entertaining product, the PCHA serves as an invaluable model.

Playing goaltender gives a hockey player the unique ability to see the entire ice surface throughout the game. In this way, Hockey Hall of Fame goalie Ken Dryden seems to perceive the landscape of the game’s present and future in front of him, as if tending goal to hockey’s past. Characterizing the challenge of revising a sport so heavily influenced by history, Dryden noted “This is hockey. Until somebody changes it.”³⁸²

³⁸¹ Daniel Carcillo, “Foreword” in *Major Misconduct: The Human Cost of Fighting in Hockey* by Jeremy Allingham (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2019), 12.

³⁸² Ken Dryden, “Saving the Game,” *The Globe and Mail*. March 27, 2004. Accessed May 3, 2020, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/globe-debate/saving-the-game/article742669/?page=all>

Appendix A**1912**

	Victoria Daily Times	Vancouver Sun	New Westminster Daily News
1-point articles	6	5	6
2-point articles	17	4	5
3-point articles	13	3	7
4-point articles	2	2	8

Appendix B**1913-16**

	Victoria Daily Times (1915)	Vancouver Sun (1913-16)
1-point articles	6	22
2-point articles	17	24
3-point articles	13	41
4-point articles	2	7

Appendix C**1924**

	Victoria Daily Times	Vancouver Sun
1-point articles	8	5
2-point articles	11	6
3-point articles	16	13
4-point articles	7	6

Bibliography

Primary Sources – Newspapers

Montreal Star (Montreal, Quebec)

Nelson Tribune (Nelson, British Columbia)

New Westminster Daily News (New Westminster, British Columbia)

New York Times (New York, New York)

The British Columbian (Vancouver, British Columbia)

The Calgary Herald (Calgary, Alberta)

The Daily British Colonist (Victoria, British Columbia)

The Daily Colonist (Victoria, British Columbia)

The Edmonton Journal (Edmonton, Alberta)

The Globe (Toronto, Ontario)

The Globe and Mail (Toronto, Ontario)

The Mining Review (Sandon, British Columbia)

The Montreal Gazette (Montreal, Quebec)

The Ottawa Citizen (Ottawa, Ontario)

The Vancouver Daily World (Vancouver, British Columbia)

The Vancouver Province (Vancouver, British Columbia)

The Vancouver Sun (Vancouver, British Columbia)

Toronto Daily Mail (Toronto, Ontario)

Toronto Star (Toronto, Ontario)

Vancouver Daily News Advertiser (Vancouver, British Columbia)

Vancouver Daily Province (Vancouver, British Columbia)

Victoria Daily Times (Victoria, British Columbia)

Primary Sources – Archives

B.C. Historical Newspapers – Online Archive (University of British Columbia Library Open Collections <https://open.library.uB.C.ca/collections/B.C.newspapers>)

British Columbia Archives (Victoria, British Columbia)

City of Vancouver Archives (Vancouver, British Columbia)

D.B Weldon Library Archives (London, Ontario)

Glenbow Museum Archives (Calgary, Alberta)

Kamloops City Archives (Kamloops, British Columbia)

Legislative Library of British Columbia (Victoria, British Columbia)

McPherson Library at the University of Victoria (Victoria, British Columbia)

Newspapers.com – Online Archive (www.newspapers.com)

Oak Bay Archives (Victoria, British Columbia)

Secondary Sources – Monographs and Articles

- Allingham, Jeremy. *Major Misconduct: The Human Cost of Fighting in Hockey*. Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2019.
- Barlow, John Matthew. “Scientific Aggression: Irishness, Manliness, Class, and Commercialization in the Shamrock Hockey Club of Montreal, 1894-1901.” In *Coast to Coast: Hockey in Canada to the Second World War*. Edited by John Chi-Kit Wong. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009.
- Barman, Jean. *The West Beyond the West*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007.
- Basu, Arpon. *NHL Enforcers: The Rough and Tough Guys of Hockey*. Toronto: Overtime Books, 2006.
- Beck, Ulrich. *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*. Translated by Mark Ritter. London: Sage Press, 1992.
- Bederman, Gail. *Manliness and Civilisation: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States 1880-1917*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.
- Bowlsby, Craig H. *Empire of Ice: The Rise and Fall of the Pacific Coast Hockey Association, 1911-1926*. Vancouver: Knights of Winter Publishing, 2012.
- Bowlsby, Craig H. *The Knights of Winter: The History of British Columbia Hockey from 1895 to 1911*. Vancouver: Bowlsby, 2006.
- Budd, Richard W. et al. *Content Analysis of Communications*. New York: Macmillan Publishers, 1967.

Cave, Stephen. *Immortality: The Quest to Live Forever and How It Drives Civilization*. New York: Skyhorse, 2017.

Cormack, Patricia and James F. Cosgrave. *Desiring Canada: C.B.C. Contests, Hockey Violence, and Other Stately Pleasures*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013.

Dowbiggin, Bruce. *The Meaning of Puck: How Hockey Explains Modern Canada*. Toronto: Key Porter Books, 2008.

Donskis, Leonidas. *Modernity in Crisis: A Dialogue on the Culture of Belonging*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Donnelly, Peter and Jean Harvey. "Social Class and Gender: Intersections in Sport and Physical Activity." In *Sport and Gender in Canada*. Edited by Kevin Young and Philip White. Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Dryden, Steve. "High IQ: Meet the NHL's Tough and Talented." In *The Hockey News 1993-94 Yearbook*. Don Mills: Transcontinental Sports Publications, 1993.

Edwards, Helen. *The History of Professional Hockey in Victoria B.C.: 1911-2011*. Victoria: Friesen Press, 2019.

Farber, Michael. "Why Good Teams Fight." In *Hockey Talk: A Collection of Hockey's Greatest Journalism*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 2011.

Farrell, Arthur. *Hockey: Canada's Royal Winter Game*. Montreal: C.R. Cornell, 1899.

Faulkner, Robert R. "Making Violence by Doing Work: Selves, Situations, and the World of Professional Hockey." *Work and Occupations* (1:3)

Frith, Simon. *Sounds Effects: Youth, Leisure and the Politics of Rock n' Roll*. London: Constable, 1983.

Gale, Maggie B. and Ann Featherstone. "The Imperative of the Archive: Creative Archive Research." In *Research Methods in Theatre and Performance*. Edited by Baz Kershaw and Helen Nicholson. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011.

Giddens, Anthony. *Consequences of Modernity*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990.

Gidén, Carl and Patrick Houda. "Timeline - Stick and Ball Games." *Society for International Hockey Research* (2010)

Gitler, Ira. *Blood on the Ice: Hockey's Most Violent Moments*. Chicago: H. Regnery Co., 1974.

Goff, Kevin. "7 Reasons Fighting Needs to Stay in the NHL." *Bleacher Report*. December 18, 2011. Accessed April 22, 2020: <https://bleacherreport.com/articles/987054-7-reasons-fighting-needs-to-stay-in-the-nhl>

Gruneau, Richard and David Whitson. *Hockey Night in Canada: Sport Identities and Cultural Politics*. Toronto: Garamond Press, 1993.

Hall, Stuart. "The Work of Representation." In *Representation*. Edited by Stuart Hall, Jessica Evans, and Sean Nixon. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2013.

Stephen Hardy and Andrew C. Holman. *Hockey: A Global History* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2018).

Hardy, Stephen and Andrew Holman. "Periodizing Hockey History: One Approach." In *Now is the Winter: Thinking about Hockey*. Edited by Jamie Dopp and Richard Harrison.

Hamilton: Wolsak and Wynn, 2009.

Harper, Stephen J. *The Great Game: The Forgotten Leafs and the Rise of Professional Hockey*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2013.

Howell, Colin D. *Blood, Sweat, and Cheers: Sport and the Making of Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010.

Hucker, Daniel. "Our Expectations Were Perhaps Too High": Disarmament, Citizen Activism, and the 1907 Hague Peace Conference." *Peace & Change*, 44: 5-32 (2019):
doi:[10.1111/pech.12322](https://doi.org/10.1111/pech.12322)

Hulton, Matthew A. "A League of Their Own: The Patrick Brothers, the Seattle Metropolitans, and the Pacific Coast Hockey Association." *Columbia: The Magazine of Northwest History* 26 (Winter 2012/13):

Isaacs, Neil D. *Checking Back: A History of the National Hockey League*. New York: Norton, 1977.

Kennedy, Brian. *My Country is Hockey: How Hockey Explains Canadian Culture, History, Politics, Heroes, French-English Rivalry and Who We Are as Canadians*. Toronto: Argenta Press, 2011.

Kennedy, Ryan. *Blood Feuds: Hockey's Best-Ever Rivalries*. Montreal: Transcontinental Books, 2010.

Kennedy, Terence. "From Paradigms to Paideia: Thomas S. Kuhn and Michael Polanyi in Conversation." *Bulletin of Science, Technology, and Society* 31, no. 3 (2011)

Kidd, Bruce. "In Defence of Tom Longboat." *Sport in Society* 16, no.4 (May 2013)

Kidd, Bruce and John MacFarlane. *The Death of Hockey*. Toronto: New Press, 1972.

Kidd, Bruce. *The Struggle for Canadian Sport*. Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1996.

Kossuth, Robert. "Chinook Country Hockey: The Emergence of Hockey in Pre-Second World War Southern Alberta." In *Coast to Coast: Hockey in Canada to the Second World War*. Edited by John Chi-Kit Wong. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009.

Kuhn, Thomas S. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970.

Lorenz, Stacey and Geraint Osborne. "Brutal Butchery, Strenuous Spectacle: Hockey, Violence, and Manhood and the 1907 Season." In *Coast to Coast: Hockey in Canada to the Second World War*. Edited by John Chi-Kit Wong. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009.

Lorenz, Stacy. "Manhood, Rivalry, and the Creation of a Canadian 'Hockey World': Media Coverage of Early Stanley Cup Hockey Challenges, 1894-1907." PhD thesis, University of Alberta, 2012.

Mason, Daniel S. and Gregory Duquette. "Newspaper Coverage of Early Professional Ice Hockey: The Discourses of Class and Control." *Media History* 10:3 (2004)

McFarlane, Brian. *The Story of the National Hockey League: An Intimate History of Hockey's Most Dramatic Half Century*. New York: Scribner's Sons, 1973.

- McKee, Taylor. "The Rink and the Stage: Melodrama, Media, and Canadian Hockey." *Sport and Society* Vol.7 (December 2016)
- McKinley, Michael. *Hockey: A People's History*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 2006.
- McKinley, Michael. *Putting a Roof on Winter: Hockey's Rise from Sport to Spectacle*. Vancouver, Greystone, 2000.
- McLennan, William M. *Sport in Early Calgary*. Calgary: Ft. Brisbois, 1983.
- Melrose, Barry and Roger Vaughan. *Dropping the Gloves: Inside the Fiercely Combative World of Professional Hockey*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Books, 2012.
- Metcalf, Alan. *Canada Learns to Play: The Emergence of Organized Sport, 1807-1914*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987.
- Metcalf, Alan. "Organized Sport and Social Stratification in Montreal: 1840-1901." In *Canadian Sport: Sociological Perspectives*. Edited by Richard Gruneau and John G. Albinson. Don Mills: Addison-Wesley Canada, 1976.
- Miller, John J. and John T. Wendt. "The Concussion Crisis in the National Hockey League." *Journal of Contemporary Athletics*, vol. 9 (2015)
- Morrow, Don and Kevin Wamsley. *Sport in Canada: A History*, 2nd ed. Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Nicholson, Gerald W.L. *Canadian Expeditionary Force 1914-1919: Official History of the Canadian Army in the First World War*. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2015.

Oliver, Greg and Richard Kamchen. *Don't Call Me Goon: Hockey's Greatest Enforcers, Gunslingers, and Bod Boys*. Toronto: ECW Press, 2013.

Ormsby, Margaret. *British Columbia: A History*. Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1976.

Planck, Max. *Scientific Autobiography and Other Papers*. Translated by F. Gaynor. London: Williams and Norgate, 1950.

Poulter, Gillian. "Embodying Nation: Indigenous Sports in Montreal 1860-1885." In *Contesting Bodies and Nation in Canadian History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013.

Poulton, Alexander. *A History of Hockey in Canada*. Toronto: Overtime, 2010.

Proteau, Adam. *Fighting the Good Fight: Why On-Ice Violence in Killing Hockey*. Toronto: Wiley and Sons, 2011.

Robin, Martin. *The Rush for Spoils: The Company Province 1871-1933*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972.

Robinson, Daniel. *Communication History in Canada*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Ross, J. Andrew. *Joining the Clubs: The Business of the National Hockey League to 1945*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2015.

Sandor, Steven. *The Battle of Alberta: A Century of Hockey's Greatest Rivalry*. Surrey: Heritage House Publishing Company, 2005.

Scanlan, Lawrence. *Grace Under Fire: The State of our Sweet and Savage Game*. Toronto: Penguin, 2002.

Schubert, Howard. *Architecture on Ice: A History of the Hockey Arena*. McGill-Queens University Press, 2016.

Sheepshanks, Rev. John and Rev. D. Wallace Duthie. *A Bishop in the Rough*. New York: E.P Dutton and Company, 1909.

Simpson, Wayne. "Hockey." In *A Concise History of Sport in Canada*. Edited by Don Morrow et al. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Smith, Aynsley M. et al. "A Psychosocial Perspective of Aggression in Ice Hockey." In *Safety in Ice Hockey: Third Volume*. Edited by Alan B. Ashare. Philadelphia: ASTM Press, 2000.

Sotiron, Minko. *From Politics to Profit: The Commercialization of Canadian Daily Newspapers, 1890-1920*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997.

Sotiron, Minko. "Public Myth and Private Reality." In *Communication History in Canada*. Edited by Daniel Robinson. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Stanley, Timothy J. "John A. Macdonald's Aryan Canada: Aboriginal Genocide and Chinese Exclusion." *Active History*, January 7, 2015: <http://activehistory.ca/2015/01/john-a-macdonalds-aryan-canada-aboriginal-genocide-and-chinese-exclusion/#6>.

Street, Brian V. *The Savage in Literature*. London: Routledge, 1975.

Styer, Robert A. *The Encyclopedia of Hockey*. New Jersey: A.S. Barnes and Company, 1970.

Svoranos, Barbara. "Fighting? It's All in a Day's Work on the Ice: Determining the Appropriate Standard of a Hockey Player's Liability to Another Player." *Seton Hall Journal of Sport Law* 7.

- Vaughan, Garth. *The Puck Starts Here: The Origin of Canada's Great Winter Game*. Toronto: Goose Lane, 1996.
- Walker, Greg. *The Politics of Performance in Early Renaissance Drama*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Wamsley, Kevin B. and David Whitson. "Celebrating Violent Masculinities: The Boxing Death of Luther McCarty." *Journal of Sport History* 25, no. 3 (Fall 1998)
- Waters, Evelyn Janice. "A Content Analysis of the Sports Sections of Canadian Newspapers 1927 to 1935." Master's thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1981.
- Weinstein, Marc. D. Michael D. Smith, and David L. Wiesenthal, "Masculinity and Hockey Violence." *Sex Roles*, 33. 1995. 821-835.
- Whitehead, Eric. *The Patricks: Hockey's Royal Family*. Toronto: Doubleday, 1980.
- Wise, S.F. "Sport and Class in Ontario and Quebec." In *Sports in Canada: Historical Readings*. Edited by Morris Mott. Toronto: Pitman, 1989.
- Wong, John Chi-Kit. "Boomtown Hockey: The Vancouver Millionaires." In *Coast to Coast: Hockey in Canada to the Second World War*. Edited by John Chi-Kit Wong. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009.
- Wong, John Chi-Kit. *Lords of the Rinks: The Emergence of the National Hockey League, 1875-1936*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005.
- Wong, John Chi-Kit. "Professional Hockey and Urban Development: A Historical Case Study of the Vancouver Arena, 1911–1914." *Urban History Review* 38:1 (Fall 2009).

Wong, John Chi-Kit. "The Patricks's Hockey Empire: Cultural Entrepreneurship and the Pacific Coast Hockey Association, 1911–1924." *The International Journal of the History of Sport*. Vol. 35. 7-8. 673-693.

Zeman, Gary W. *Alberta on Ice*. Edmonton: Westweb Press, 1986.

Curriculum Vitae

Name: Taylor McKee

Education: University of Calgary
BA (First Class Honours), 2009-2013

University of Victoria
MA, 2013-2015

Western University
PhD, 2015-2020

Publications:

- McKee, Taylor and Brittany Reid. “*Duelism*”: *Confronting Sport through Its Doubles*. Forthcoming Edited Collection. Publication Agreement Secured with *Common Ground Research Network*. Anticipated publication date, Spring 2021.
- Giancarlo, Alexandra, Janice Forsyth, Taylor McKee, and Braden Ti Hiwi. “Methodology and Indigenous memory: Using photographs to anchor critical reflections on Indian residential school experiences.” *Visual Studies*. Accepted for Publication. Anticipated publication date, Winter 2020.
- McKee, Taylor and Janice Forsyth. “Data, Discourse, and Decolonization at the 2019 National Aboriginal Hockey Championships.” *Canadian Ethnic Studies*. Accepted for Publication. Anticipated publication date, March 2021.
- McKee, Taylor and Janice Forsyth. “Witnessing Painful Pasts: Understanding Images of Sports at Canadian Indian Residential Schools.” *Journal of Sport History*. 46:2. (Summer 2019). 175-88. DOI: 10.5406/jsporthistory.46.2.0175.
- McKee, Taylor and Brittany Reid. “Man’s Game: Media, Masculinity, and Early Canadian Hockey.” In *Handbook of Sport and Masculinity*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020, DOI: 10.1007/978-3-030-19799-5.
- Walters, Jared and Taylor McKee. “Hollow Ring: Race, Spectacle, and the Mayweather/McGregor Fight” *The International Journal of Sport and Society*. Volume 10:1. 2018. 39-48.
- McKee, Taylor. “A Separate Reality: Creating, Contextualizing, and Curating Definitions of Violence in Hockey” *Society of International Hockey Research*. Vol 20:1. 43-55.

- McKee, Taylor and Brittany Reid. “Passing the Torch: Romanticism and the Modern Olympic Revival” *Journal of Olympic History*, Vol. 25:2, Summer 2017.
- McKee, Taylor. “The Rink and the Stage: Melodrama, Media, and Canadian Hockey” *Journal of Sporting Cultures and Identities – Sport and Society*. December 31, 2016.
- Journal article reviews in *Olympika: The International Journal of Olympic Studies*. vol. 24- 25
 - Cesar R. Torres. “Argentina and the 1984 Olympics.” *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 32, no. 1: 108-127
 - Mark Dyreson, “Global Television and the Transformation of the Olympics: The 1984 Los Angeles Games,” *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 32, no.1 (2015), 172-184

Popular Publications:

- McKee, Taylor and Janice Forsyth, “Canadian sports groups have policed themselves for too long and it isn’t making sports safer,” *The Conversation*, February 25, 2020, <https://theconversation.com/canadian-sports-groups-have-policed-themselves-for-too-long-and-it-isnt-making-sports-safer-131769>
- McKee, Taylor and Janice Forsyth, “The NHL’s culture problems have policy solutions,” *The Conversation*, January 14, 2020, <https://theconversation.com/the-nhls-culture-problems-have-policy-solutions-128687>.
- McKee, Taylor and Alison Doherty, “No Distance between Us: Canadians Respond to the Humboldt Broncos Bus Tragedy,” *Western Health Sciences: Sport and Social Impact Research Group*, 2018, https://www.uwo.ca/fhs/kin/ssirg/news_roll/2018/no_distance_between_us_canadians_respond_to_the_humboldt_broncos_bus_trag.html

Teaching Experience

Thompson Rivers University – HIST 2480_01, HIST 2480, HIST 1120, HIST 1220, HIST 1000

- Instructor for North American Sport History, History of Pre-Confederation Canada, History of Post-Confederation Canada, Canadian Social History, Global History of the Olympic Games: Summer 2019-Summer 2020

Western University – KIN 2263g

- Instructor for Canadian Sport History, Winter 2017, Winter 2018.

Western University – KIN 3362, 2263

- Graduate Teaching Assistant for Dr. Janice Forsyth’s Canadian Sport History and Olympic Issues courses.

University of Victoria – HIST 120a, 105b, 230b, 300b

- Teaching Assistant for: Hist 300b “Sports, Nation and Canadian Identity” (Dr. Eric Sager), History 230b (Dr. Georgia Sitara), Hist 120a (Dr. Simon Devereaux), and Hist 105b (Dr. Andrew Wender)

University of Calgary – HTST 211

- Marking assistant and group discussion facilitator for HTST 211 (Dr. Ken MacMillan).

Conference Experience:

2019 North American Society for Sport History Conference – Boise, Idaho

- Co-author with Dr. Victoria Paraschak (University of Windsor). Paper titled: “Assessing TRC Call To Action #87: Public engagement Through Wikipedia and Indigenoussporthistory.ca”

2019 North American Society for Sport History Conference – Boise, Idaho

- Co-author with Dr. Brittany Reid “Northern Romanticism: Romantic Literature in Canadian Hockey Literature.”

2019 Shakespeare Theatre Conference – Stratford, Ontario

- Co-author with Dr. Brittany Reid “The Shakespearean Olympiad: Shakespeare Festivals and the Modern Olympic Movement in England”

2019 North American Society for Sport Sociology – Virginia Beach, Virginia

- Co-author with Dr. Janice Forsyth, Dr. Alexandra Giancarlo, Dr. Braden Te Hiwi, and Dr. Habkirk. Paper titled: “Sporting Images, sporting memories: Photo elicitation and residential school sport photography”

2019 Thompson Rivers University’s Philosophy History and Politics Conference – Kamloops, British Columbia

- Panel moderator

2018 North American Society for Sport Sociology – Vancouver, British Columbia

- Co-author with Dr. Victoria Paraschak (University of Windsor). Paper titled: “The Bright Side of the Road: Wikipedia and Indigenoussporthistory.ca”

2018 Hockey Conference – Edmonton, Alberta

- Paper titled: “For Canada: The Memory, Marginalization, and Monetization of the Winnipeg Falcons.”

2018 North American Society for Sport History Conference and Pre-Conference – Winnipeg, Manitoba

- Paper titled: “Witnessing Painful Pasts: Understanding Images of Sports at Canadian Indian Residential Schools.”

2017 North American Society for Sport History Conference – Anaheim, California

- Paper titled: “Rebirth: The Wenlock Olympic Revival’s Romantic Roots,” Co-authored with Brittany Reid (University of Alberta).

2016 North American Society for Sport History Conference – Atlanta, Georgia

- Paper titled: “The Rink and the Stage: Melodrama, Media, and Canadian Hockey.”

2015 Qualicum History Conference – Parksville, British Columbia

- Paper titled: “A Most Brutal Display: The History of Hockey Violence in Western Canada.”

2014 Sport and Society Conference – Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

- Paper titled: “A Crisis of Conscience: The History of Institutionally Condoned Violence in Ice Hockey.”

2014 Qualicum History Conference – Parksville, British Columbia

- Paper titled: “Baseball’s Racial Past: Commemorating and Criticizing the History of the Negro Leagues.”

Relevant Experience:

IndigenousSportHistory.ca – Site contributor, web designer, November 2018-Present

Journal of Emerging Sport Studies – Co-Founding Editor, March 2018-Present

Sioux Lookout Indian Residential School Hockey Research Grant (SSHRC) – Research Assistant, September 2017 – Present.

- Assist Dr. Alexandra Giancarlo and Dr. Janice Forsyth with the production of research materials relating to the history of Pelican Lake Indian Residential School and the Sioux Lookout Blackhawks.

Indigenous Hockey Research Network (SSHRC Insight Grant) – Research Assistant, September 2018 – Present.

- Assist Dr. Janice Forsyth and PI Dr. Sam McKegney (Queen’s University), et al., in the administration, organization, and execution of the research grant.

Body Paragraphs – Co-Creator and Co-Host, June 2019 – Present.

- Audio series exploring connections between sport and literature aired weekly on Kamloops radio station CFBX and syndicated online.

Dialogues Undergraduate Research Journal (Thompson Rivers University) – Faculty Advisor, March 2020 – Present

- Advise the journal on various editorial decisions, assist in the location of suitable peer-reviewers.

Research Assistant - Early Research Award. "More than sports and games: Physical culture at Indian residential schools and Aboriginal conceptions of health," funded by the Ontario Ministry of Economic Development & Innovation. Supervisor: Dr. Janice Forsyth. December 2015 – April 2017.

The Martlet – Editor: Sports, Lifestyle, and Humor, Victoria, B.C. - May 2015 – April 2016

Canada's Sports Hall of Fame – Collections Management Assistant, Calgary, AB. June-August 2014

British Columbia Archives – Exhibit Curator, Victoria, B.C.. January – April 2014

The Gauntlet – Editor: Sports and Lifestyle, Calgary, AB. April 2012 – May 2013

National Music Centre – Oral History Project Leader, December to April 2012

Select Awards and Scholarships:

- 2018 University of Western Ontario's Award of Excellence in Undergraduate Teaching
- 2018 Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council Doctoral Fellowship
- 2017 University of Western Ontario's Award of Excellence in Undergraduate Teaching
- 2017 Sport and Society: International Award for Excellence
- 2015 Western University WGRS
- 2014 Steve Stavros Scholarship
- 2013 SSHRC Scholarship Recipient
- 2013 UVIC President's Award
- 2012 Maurice Yacowar Award
- 2012 Owen Family Scholarship
- 2011 Peer Assistance Bursary
- 2011 Jason Lang Scholarship
- 2010 University of Calgary Academic Scholarship
- 2010 Jason Lang Scholarship
- 2010 Dean's List
- 2009 Exceptional Entrance Scholarship
- 2009 Alexander Rutherford Scholarship