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JJ Wilson

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# Skating to Armageddon: Canada, Hockey and the First World War

J.J. Wilson

Many ice hockey players in Canada enlisted in the Canadian Expeditionary Forces (CEF) during the First World War. Across the country, organized senior and amateur hockey leagues proved to be effective instruments of recruitment for the CEF. Though athletes from various sports served their respective countries during the war, ice hockey, at least in the early part of the twentieth century, was more like war than any other organized sport. In the years following Canadian Confederation, the ‘manly’ and often violent game of hockey was applauded by many Canadians who saw it as a reliable and necessary guardian of masculinity and military preparedness. Expectations of ‘manliness’, ‘duty to the nation’ and ‘loyalty to one’s team-mates’ were notions that had been instilled in Canada’s hockey players long before the war had begun. By 1914, hockey players had become obvious and ideal volunteers for military service.

Patriotism was another key factor that persuaded hockey players to volunteer in the First World War. Still, the idea of ‘Canada’ meant different things to different players and hockey was often the only tie that bound various groups of ‘hyphenated-Canadians’ in a young country struggling to establish its own identity. Many players were motivated to enlist by a sense of Canadian and imperial patriotism, while others were eager to represent their various immigrant communities within the country as they had done on the ice rink.

The intention of this essay is to establish the diverse reasons that propelled so many players from hockey leagues across Canada into the regiments of the CEF. In so doing, a review of the nature of organized ice hockey in its infancy will illustrate the fine line between the perceptions of ‘manliness’ and ‘brutality’ – and how this intense game prepared and inspired Canadian boys to war. As the most popularly played winter game in Canada, it is also important to consider the extent to which hockey had been thoroughly embraced by Canadians in the years leading up to the First World War. Finally, through an examination of various case studies of First World

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Jason Wilson, Downsview, ON, Canada. Correspondence to: [jwilson0507@rogers.com](mailto:jwilson0507@rogers.com)

War hockey players, the numerous interpretations of what it meant to be 'Canadian' at this time might be better understood.[1]

## I

The urbanization and modernization that followed confederation in 1867 brought forth a *crisis in masculinity* to Canada. The rise of factory and office work demanded that men be away from home, which left women in sole charge of raising young males. Many influential Canadians feared that with the involvement between father and son reduced, urban boys would become less 'manly' and more 'effeminate'. The *crisis* escalated when the British garrison pulled out of Canada in 1871, leaving the defence of the nation to Canadians alone. Politicians, churchmen, educators and social theorists of the day began to consider the ability of Canadian men left to defend the nation. Consequently, a doctrine of 'manliness' and 'militarism' was systematically enforced in the country's team sports, schools, libraries, boy's clubs and toy shops to meet the new responsibility of raising a standing army in Canada.[2]

By the time of the North-West Rebellion in 1885, Canadian military authorities were able to mobilize 7,000 men from dozens of militia units and a modest, but permanent army – a feat that was repeated during the Boer War in 1899.[3] With a view to increased participation in conflict, however, various social and government agents continued to endorse 'manly' behaviour among the nation's young boys. Sport was the most obvious target.

In Britain, team sport was considered a 'powerful instrument for commanding social conformity' and in the late nineteenth century various team sports became more officially regulated. Members of the British dominant classes sought to use organized sport in order to provide 'a regimen which brought physical fitness to the individual, toughening him against the debilities of city life and maintaining his readiness for armed service'.[4] Having been conceived in the British sporting tradition, Canadian team sports were codified in the same fashion that football and rugby had been in Britain, and were likewise used by various social agents as a means of 'fostering imperial and national allegiance'.[5] After all, the British influence in Canada was still paramount – and that which 'was in vogue in the mother country was steadfastly followed in the Dominion'.[6] 'Fair play', 'civilized conduct' and 'equality on the playing field' were British ideals that had been transplanted and adapted to a Canadian context. *The Renfrew Journal* advocated the principle of 'fair play', a principle that 'must be made dominant in our Canadian life. It must rule in the school yards. . . . We must call them to cherish and develop the spirit of fair play that should be our heritage as a child of the British Empire. It should rule in our sports as it does in those of the motherland.' [7] Concerned about increased leisure time, many citizens regarded the participation of young Canadian boys in vigorous sports as a purposeful and 'rational' form of recreation and most importantly, a means by which to manufacture a prospective military.

Ice hockey, which took most of its early rules from field hockey,[8] had been originally played by the professional classes of Montreal, Kingston and Halifax. Yet by the late stages of the nineteenth century, hockey had captured the imagination of most Canadians and the game eventually managed to transcend the social spectrum. Communities across the country began to identify with local teams and community pride demanded victory at all costs. Losing, it was thought, was for the weak-willed and the thirst for winning 'gradually replaced character building and fraternization as the primary goals of many organizations'.[9]

This 'thirst for winning' also helped to solidify hockey as a bona fide entertainment industry. Arena and team owners welcomed the entertainment dollars of Canada's fledgling consumer-worker, and recognized the obvious advantages of icing quality and winning teams in order to justify rising admission prices. The financial success of hockey trickled down into related industries. Hotels, railway operators, sporting goods companies and taverns all benefited from the game's ascendance in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[10] Newspapers contributed to the popularity of hockey, and with a penchant for the sensational, sportswriters glorified the hockey player's on-ice exploits, cultivating a mythology around the early stars of the game.[11] Rink-side telegraphers transmitted up-to-the-minute reports of the important games through Morse code. According to one report, when Frank McGee scored the winning goal in the 1905 Stanley Cup, the rink 'had been in a furore but it burst into a veritable Niagara of sound now ... young and old weep with joy ... only ninety seconds to play'.[12] Invariably, these transmissions would be reprinted in the newspapers the next morning, and whether truth was ever so slightly improved or not, hockey players and games were 'taking on a larger-than-life significance.' [13]

And of course there were the players themselves. Hockey, as historians Richard Gruneau and David Whitson have suggested, 'provided unprecedented opportunities for Canadian men from humble origins to achieve fame and financial rewards'.[14] Frederick 'Cyclone' Taylor, who had been earning \$10 a month in a piano factory before he turned professional, was paid \$5,250 in 1910 for only 12 games over a two-month period – a sum greater than the annual salary of the Canadian Prime Minister and only \$750 shy of what Taylor's contemporary, American baseball legend Ty Cobb received. Cobb, however, had to play 142 more games and five months longer than Taylor did to receive his wages.[15]

But more than just the stars played the game and various institutions in Canada recognized the broad appeal of hockey. Church and bank leagues were formed. The parks and recreation departments of the municipal governments in Toronto, Ottawa and Winnipeg provided urban children with various hockey outlets. Hockey quickly transcended rural Canada too, 'In many small towns – where the citizens quite rightly saw themselves as contributing vitally to the nation's economy by harvesting the natural resources of the region – hockey became an important institution.' [16] By 1905, most Canadian communities had a commercially operated ice rink and by 1914 inter- and intra-city leagues had sprouted up all over the nation. Expansion of hockey

teams and leagues around Canada in the years before the First World War was 'breathhtaking in its pace and scope'.[17]

In terms of participation, only baseball rivalled ice hockey in the number of Canadians who played the sport in the years directly leading up to the war. Moreover, with the Amateur Hockey Association (AHA) established in 1886, ice hockey was one of the first sports to establish a governing body in Canada, preceding the Canadian Rugby Football Union (1887), the Canadian Cricket Association (1892) and even the Canadian Amateur Lacrosse Association (1914).[18] Although decidedly a middle-class game to begin with, it was not long before hockey was played by those outside the Anglo-Protestant hegemony. Irish Catholics in Montreal took up hockey and, in turn, taught the French-Canadians how to play. Blacks in Nova Scotia were competing in the 'Coloured Championship' by the turn of the century, and women's teams also developed in both major urban centres and in small towns.[19]

Still, as a sport that embodied the properties of 'manliness', a quality that social and governmental agents so wished to promote, the physical game of hockey was advanced chiefly towards Canada's young male population.[20] Montreal, Toronto, Ottawa, Winnipeg, Regina, Calgary and Vancouver had all, by 1914, established either a high-school hockey league or a public-school hockey league. With the 'winter game of choice' included in the nation's school curriculum, hockey had become for many Canadians a desired 'safeguard of masculinity'.[21] In his *Origin of Hockey*, Captain J.T. Sutherland affirmed: 'Fortunate is the young man or boy who numbers himself among the thousands of Canada's young manhood who annually play hockey on school, college, club, association or community teams. Hockey provides for the youth not only a healthy outdoor sport, but a real education.' [22] The fraternity of the dominant classes in Canadian society felt a need to reclaim 'manliness' and Canadian boys at the turn of the twentieth century were defined and inspired by hockey and all of its social urgency.

## II

As a manly sport, hockey was especially commendable 'because it tested so many ... laudable qualities'.[23] Arthur Farrell, a member of the 1899 Montreal Shamrocks wrote that 'hockey is a game for men, strong, full-blooded men. Weaklings can not play in it.' [24] Yet the distinction between 'manly' and 'violent' is rendered less obvious when considering the nature of hockey in its infancy. 'Manliness' in the Canadian sense was continually redefined with every ice hockey match – harmonizing with the social and educational background of the players, not to mention the importance of the given contest.[25] The British ideals of 'fair play' and 'gentlemanly conduct' would apply only so far to the Canadian game, where violent incidents were common and sanguinary. Players were armed with sticks and fist-fighting was tolerated.[26] The aggressive, perhaps ugly side of hockey was even celebrated in children's literature as one journalist in *Harper's Young People* magazine professed in 1891: 'Hockey is a violent game, and tests both wind and muscle to the utmost. The

player must make up his mind to many falls, and no lack of hard knocking on shins and knuckles, for such things will happen however faithfully the contestants try to keep to the rules.' [27] The glorification of such sanctioned violence in sport was, among the world of organized sports, unique to the Canadian game of hockey.

Today's violent episodes in professional hockey are dwarfed by the brutal nature of the sport during the first decade of the twentieth century. Rough play and stick infractions defined the early game and the ice rink was in many regards immune from the law when it came to *real* violence. Conduct that would regularly result in imprisonment was often considered 'just part of the game'. Assaults that on some occasions, caused death, were not punishable by law as the participants had observed an unwritten waiver making 'brutality' permissible.[28] Although there were penalties for violations of the game's rules, the penalties issued were no great deterrent to on-ice violence and did little to stem the rising tide of resulting injuries. Indeed, players and spectators expected violence.

In a game played on 24 February 1905, Alcide Laurin, the Francophone captain of the hockey team in the Catholic town of Alexandria, Ontario, had been fatally attacked by Allan Loney, an Anglophone member of the team in the Protestant community of Maxville, Ontario. It was an emotionally charged game and according to referee Bernard O'Connor: 'It was one of the roughest games I have ever seen. . . . Loney hit [Laurin] over the shins with his hockey stick, he made another swipe at him and broke his, Laurin's, stick about the centre. . . . Then Loney raised his stick above his shoulders and struck Laurin on the head.' [29] After four hours of deliberation, Loney was acquitted due to the uncertainty presented in the counterbalanced testimonies of eyewitnesses. Two years later in a Federal Hockey League game on 6 March 1907, Owen McCourt of the Cornwall team died after having been hit in the back of the head by Charles Masson of the Ottawa team. Masson was also acquitted because McCourt who, according to a medical report, possessed a fragile skull, had received several knocks to the head from various sources throughout the contest and it was impossible to determine which was the decisive blow.[30]

Although these are extreme cases, assault and serious injury were commonplace in hockey during this time, and spontaneous violent behaviour could occur on the ice at any time, with little disciplinary action. For example, in a game in 1906, 'Hod' Stuart hit 'Grindy' Forrester, knocking the man unconscious. As a punishment, Stuart was sent off for the remainder of the game.[31] On occasion there was modest off-ice discipline for the more blatant incidents. For instance, 'Baldy' Spittal and Alf Smith of the Ottawa Silver Seven were each fined \$20 for vicious stick attacks against a rival player of the Montreal Wanderers.[32] There were also those who were concerned with the moral implications of the growing violence in the game. Revd N.H. McGillivray made a direct appeal to players in a 1905 Sunday service in Cornwall: 'Hockey players, if the past season's record goes for anything, seem to think more about the laws and rules of the Ontario Hockey Association or the Federal Hockey Leagues than they do about the laws of God or the rules of Christian brotherhood.' [33] Nevertheless, the *possibility* of game violence appealed to the spectators.[34] The

players, on the other hand, sought not so much to please the spectators as to meet the standard set by the visible and invisible agents of Canadian manliness; a standard that listed 'fighting hard', 'never giving up' and 'never backing down' as essential credos of the masculine identity.[35]

The martial spirit common in military drills, the strict discipline of military life, and the 'rank' system were ideas that had manifested themselves into the way hockey teams operated and prepared for battle; target practice and attack formations were routine in hockey training, as was the election of captains and the strict system of communication observed between team-mates. War and sport in general, however, were already interchangeable in many minds. There does exist a considerable number of *war as sport* analogies in military histories – 'When Captain W.P. Nevill of the 8th East Surreys led his company over the top at the start of the Somme offensive, he just had time to kick a football towards the German lines before he was shot dead'[36] – and in soldiers' memoirs: 'Under the topsoil was white chalk that showed up clearly to the Germans on the slope beyond Courcellette. It felt like being at centre ice with no clothes on.' [37] Conversely, *sport as war* analogies persist to the present day in athletic histories. Even the great Wayne Gretzky, one of the cleanest players ever to 'lace up the skates' and a long-time advocate for the abolition of fighting in the National Hockey League (NHL), confirmed that 'hockey *is* war' – on ice.[38] By 1914, hockey players, amateurs and professionals alike, were already warriors of a sort, primed to 'Play up! Play up! And win the war!' [39] For many of these ice warriors, a leap from the ice and into the trenches was academic, and according to Captain Sutherland, 'with every man doing his bit, Canada [would] raise an army of brains and brawn from our hockey enthusiasts the likes of which the world [had] never seen.' [40]

One man 'doing his bit' was Frank McGee. McGee had helped the Ottawa Silver Seven successfully defend eight Stanley Cup challenges and amassed a remarkable 71 goals in only 23 regular games.[41] As the single greatest scoring threat in hockey during the first decade of the twentieth century, McGee was a target for opponents' sticks and dirty play. McGee had lost an eye during a game in 1900 before he starred for the Silver Seven. This fact should have kept him out of hockey, let alone the war, but McGee, like many other Canadians, did not want to miss the 'thrill' of fighting at the front. The 'thrill' of the First World War had been, as one Canadian soldier confessed, 'the greatest adventure of my life, the memories of which will remain with me for the remainder of my days, and I would not have missed it for anything'.[42] Indeed, beyond patriotic rationale, one reason hockey players may have willingly enlisted, as unpalatable as it may seem to some, was the 'joy of war'.[43] Some men simply enjoyed fighting. This fact might explain not only why so many men enlisted but also why, after having suffered the war's deplorable conditions, they continued to serve long after the conflagration had begun.[44]

While serving with the 21st Battalion in 1915, Lieutenant McGee suffered a serious knee wound which should have put him out of the war.[45] Nevertheless, with sight in only one eye and the full use of only one leg, McGee carried on as a motorcycle dispatch rider for the 21st Battalion at Courcellette. The Battle of Courcellette had cost

the Canadians over 7,000 casualties.[46] On 16 September, McGee rode his motorcycle from the battalion's headquarters to the 'Sugar Factory' line where the Canadians were withstanding a German counterattack.[47] Sometime after noon, Frank McGee was killed in action. His body was 'unrecovered for burial', which suggests that the most prolific goal-scorer of his time had been killed by shell fire.[48] No one would have blamed McGee had he not returned to action after being wounded, but there was no 'thrill' to be found in an 'unmanly' clerical job, safely located behind the front lines. McGee, like many hockey players, chose to chase the 'thrill' and paid the ultimate price.

### III

Hockey players were certainly not the only athletes to enlist in the First World War in significant number. When Canada's Interprovincial Rugby Football Union suspended play because of the war, military teams appeared in each of the league's four cities fielding football-playing soldiers. Yet Canadians did not play football as much as hockey and the appeal of the former was mostly based in Ontario and Quebec.[49] Hockey-soldiers on the other hand, came from different leagues across Canada and from different levels of play. It is important here to review the variety of leagues involved.

University hockey players were especially keen. Four days after the University of Toronto's varsity hockey team won the Ontario Junior Championship, and in the spirit of a 'pals' battalion', the entire team enlisted.[50] Captain Conn Smythe of the varsity hockey team became Gunner Conn Smythe of the 25th Battalion of the Canadian Field Artillery.[51] For Smythe, there was a sense of urgency of playing a part in the 'big game' that was the Great War: 'Somebody asked me once whether soldiers talked much about fear of being wounded or killed. I never heard that during the First World War. It was always fear that we wouldn't get there.' [52] In February of the following year, Gordon Southam organized a sportsmen's battery to serve in the CEF.[53] Southam, who was later killed at the front, asked Smythe to organize the battery's hockey team. By now a member of the 40th Battery of the Royal Canadian Artillery, Lieutenant Smythe led a military team that happened to include ten of Ontario's finest hockey players.[54]

The Ontario Hockey Association (OHA) found it increasingly difficult to continue operations during the First World War when players enlisted in the CEF and were taken overseas. However, the OHA soon realized the benefits of including in their league teams comprised of soldiers not yet called to Europe. Conn Smythe's 40th Battery competed in the Toronto division of the OHA and the soldier team was loved by 'patriotic Toronto'.[55]

The 40th Battery did eventually head overseas and saw action on the Somme in the fall of 1916. Over 24,000 Canadians were killed at the Somme in the space of five months. Every senior officer in Smythe's battery was either killed or badly wounded. For Smythe, however, the biggest fear was being called 'yellow' – as he remembered, 'I



couldn't have stood that. The two qualities I admire most are guts and loyalty.' [56] In Smythe's mind hockey had given him the 'guts' to persevere in dire circumstances: 'There was some argument that maybe we'd get lost. I wasn't worried about that. My men, Hamilton and Orillia fellows, were used to playing hockey. . . . I knew what I was going to do.' [57] In February of 1917, Smythe charged a German trench with a revolver, shot a couple of Germans and brought two prisoners back to the Canadian lines. He was awarded the Military Cross. In the spring of 1917, Smythe joined the Royal Flying Corps (RFC) as an 'Artillery Observer', and on 14 October, he became a prisoner of war when his plane crashed into a shell-hole behind enemy lines. He remained a prisoner until the war's end in 1918.[58]

There were other hockey-soldiers from the University of Toronto in the CEF. Thain Wendell MacDowell of Brockville, Ontario, had played with the varsity juniors in 1915 and was wounded at the Somme in 1916 while serving with the 38th Battalion. His nerves were so badly affected from 'shell shock' that he was unable to count past ten.[59] At Vimy Ridge in 1917, MacDowell was awarded the highest honour, the Victoria Cross, for capturing two guns, two officers and 75 prisoners.[60]

In Kingston, Ontario, the Royal Military College (RMC) also provided the CEF with hockey-soldiers. The RMC was a place where 'sturdy Canadianism [was] built on military training'.[61] The 'grand old man of hockey', Captain Sutherland, managed the RMC's hockey team, the Kingston Frontenacs. Sutherland was born in 1870, one year before the British pulled their military forces out of Canada, and grew up during the zenith of the masculinity crisis. Sutherland came to embody the voice of the Empire, and at the outbreak of the war urged his hockey players to 'trade stick and puck for Ross rifle and bayonet' and head for Europe. Sutherland declared that it took 'nerve and gameness to play the game of hockey', and it was these same qualities that were 'necessary in the greater game that [was] now being played in France and on the other fighting fronts.' [62]

One member of Sutherland's Frontenacs was Allan 'Scotty' Davidson, who turned professional with the Toronto Blueshirts in 1912. Davidson captained Toronto to a Stanley Cup Championship in 1914. In two short seasons Davidson had become the best right-winger in hockey – scoring 42 goals in 40 professional league games.[63] In September of that same cup-winning year, while at the height of his game, Allan Davidson hung up his skates at 24 years of age and enlisted in the CEF in only the second month of the war. In May 1915, Lance Corporal Davidson was killed in action at Givenchy while trying to rescue one of his officers.[64]

Another member of Captain Sutherland's Frontenacs was George B. Richardson. Richardson starred with the Frontenacs' Allan Cup-winning team in 1909.[65] On 9 February, 1916, while serving with the 2nd Canadian Infantry Battalion at the Somme, Captain Richardson was shot through the hips. Comrades claim that as he died, Richardson repeated a verse from Kipling:

*There is one track for all, one life for each to give,  
Who stand if freedom fall? Who die if England live?[66]*

Sutherland's patriotic oratories had charmed his hockey stars, and several players responded to the call to arms from 'grand old man of hockey'. At the beginning of the war, Sutherland had declared that, 'the bell has rung. Let every man "play the greatest game of his life"'. Over to centre! [67] That 'bell' had forever silenced the future for Allan Davidson and George Richardson.

As more and more players enlisted in the CEF, the shape of the country's hockey leagues were profoundly altered. Many leagues struggled during the war and some, like the YMCA Athletic League, had to abandon their hockey operations until the war's end. Canadian intercollegiate play was also halted. Many arenas were taken over by military operations for training and recruitment rallies, and when arenas in Edmonton and Calgary were taken over by the military the senior teams of these cities had to suspend play.[68] The Montreal Amateur Athletic Association struggled to continue its games when 965 of its men enlisted in the CEF in the first three months of the war.[69] The Toronto Beaches Hockey League was hard pressed to continue its operations when nearly 200 of its players enlisted.[70]

If they weren't at the front, enlisted players were most certainly playing on military hockey teams which had emerged across the country in various Canadian cities. Infantry hockey teams had appeared as early as the 1880s with the C School Redcoats of Toronto, Winnipeg's B Squadron of the Royal Canadian Dragoons and the Royal School of Mounted Infantry, to name only three.[71] Two years into the war, the OHA had 27 all-soldier teams competing in its various divisions. Military teams and other teams that included both soldiers and civilians adopted patriotic names. Apart from Canada's several battalion hockey teams, there were the Ottawa Military Headquarters team, the Ottawa Munitions, the Ottawa Signallers, the Ottawa Gunners and the Ottawa War Vets. Winnipeg boasted the 'Ypres', the 'Sommes' and the 'Vimys'. There were the Pembroke Munitions and also the Quebec Royal Rifles. The German-Canadian team in Berlin, Ontario, changed its nickname to the 'Union Jacks' to demonstrate loyalty to the Empire and to avoid a growing number of racially charged incidents which, in some cases, turned violent.[72]

The professionals enlisted too. Of the players that had played professionally before, during or following the war in the major leagues of this era, more than 80 served in the CEF. At least 25 of these players left professional hockey in the middle of their careers to volunteer.[73] Several would return to Canada as decorated heroes.

Harry 'Punch' Broadbent from Ottawa, was one such example. The NHL's leading scorer in 1921, Broadbent had turned pro at 16 and was awarded the Military Medal while serving with an artillery unit.[74] Another was Captain Art Duncan, who starred with the Vancouver Millionaires and the 228th Battalion's hockey team. Duncan earned a Military Cross with bar during his service in the RFC, where he shot down 12 German planes.[75] Yet another was Harold 'Bullet' Joe Simpson, who served with the Winnipeg 61st Battalion and later played professionally with the New York Americans of the NHL. Simpson was awarded the Military Medal after having been wounded twice, once at the Somme and again at Amiens.[76] Participation in the CEF from the professional leagues, however, was not limited to the players. NHA

referee Sergeant Cooper Smeaton, for example, was awarded with the Military Medal for 'tossing crates of ammunition off of a burning truck as shell fire rained down around him' while serving with the 11th Canadian Siege Battalion.[77]

Some players tried in earnest to enlist but were refused for a variety of reasons. Frank and Lester Patrick played in the Pacific Coast Hockey Association (PCHA), a league they also owned. When they tried to march off to war, the Patricks were stopped by the Canadian government. The contentious reasoning that prevented the Patrick brothers from heading overseas was that hockey, and in this case the PCHA, was considered crucial 'to sustaining morale during the war'. This was a reminder of the 'psychosis of war' as journalist Michael McKinley observed, 'for which one young Canadian could be deemed expendable for a yard of foreign soil, another too priceless to leave his patch of ice'.[78]

Not all of the players that volunteered were as 'keen' as Smythe, McGee and Davidson had been. 'Cyclone' Taylor had 'no illusions about war'. Taylor was not anxious to serve, as he himself confessed, 'but if they wanted me and needed me, I was willing and ready to go'.[79] Taylor was an alternative to the eager hockey-soldier prototype, which speaks to the variety of hockey players' views of the war. For Taylor, the sense of 'duty' far outweighed any anticipation of adventure at the front.

#### IV

As important as military service was to hockey players, hockey was still very important to the soldiers of the CEF. It was also, at times, important to military officials and the Canadian public at large. Remarkably, one soldier team actually played in a professional league. A team from the 228th Battalion was granted a NHA franchise in 1916. Professional sport in North America had never seen anything like it before. The 228th Battalion was formed in North Bay in 1916, where approximately 1,000 would-be recruits from all over northern Ontario assembled in North Bay to enlist in the battalion. The 228th, also known as the 'Northern Fusiliers', was noted for its hockey talent and apart from its NHA squad, boasted both a senior and a junior team in the OHA, and three teams in the Toronto Beaches League.[80]

For the professional league, the 228th offered an option that was sensitive to patriotic opinion and saved the NHA from suspending its operations.[81] Although league president Major Frank Robinson ordered that 5 per cent of the gate from each game be donated to the Red Cross, it was becoming harder for the NHA to justify the continuation of their professional league of able-bodied men during the war. Moreover, the Canadian military now had many of the game's top players and soldier teams appeared in other senior leagues. NHA officials witnessed the value and credibility that soldier teams had brought to the OHA and therefore decided that granting a franchise to the 228th was the best protective measure against their own league's collapse.

The inclusion of the Northern Fusiliers into the NHA did not sit well with all of the league's team owners, some of whom took issue with the fact that the Fusiliers were

receiving more than their service pay, and that the army 'was arranging transfers for reasons having more to do with hockey than with winning the war'. [82] The protest grew louder in response to the unexpected success the army team was enjoying in the first half of the 1916/17 season. Half-way through the season, the 228th Battalion, in khaki uniforms that featured the battalion's crest, was only one game behind the Ottawa Senators and the Montreal Canadiens for the league lead.

There was, indeed, some uncertainty as to whether military decisions were being held to ransom by matters on the ice as far as the 228th was concerned. The battalion had quietly and deliberately recruited hockey stars of the highest class, with a secret mandate of icing a franchise in the NHA season of 1916/17. As enlisted soldiers, these players could continue playing hockey at the highest level, provided that the battalion remained in Canada. As hockey historian Charles Coleman explained: 'The 228th Battalion's officials hoped that the military authorities would grant four months furlough to drafted players on the basis that the first few months of military training is to get the men into physical trim.' [83] At least for a time, the 228th was able to transcend normal military protocol.

In an effort to win on the ice, the soldier team had more than once attempted to bypass official military regulations. The Northern Fusiliers' captain was Howard McNamara who, along with his brother George, was in charge of the team's operations. McNamara's hockey career was not without its controversy, and soon his soldier team would have its own share. The first problem arose when the league disclosed that Eddie Oatman of the 228th was promised \$1,200 by the McNamara brothers to serve with the soldiers' hockey club. While starring with the Portland Rosebuds of the PCHA, Oatman had enlisted in the CEF, but he had *not* enlisted with the 228th Battalion. Ergo, Oatman should not have been allowed to play with the 228th Battalion's hockey club. Nor should he have been paid for it. Although Oatman was entitled to his military service pay, it was revealed that \$500 of his contract was strictly for his hockey skills. This fact directly contradicted the battalion's mandate of competing in the NHA to remain prepared for overseas duty – the players of the 228th were simply not supposed to receive money for playing hockey. This revelation drew into question the battalion's original mandate. Oatman never saw duty with the Canadian Expeditionary Forces and was unceremoniously discharged shortly after the scandal broke.

Another embarrassment for the 228th came when player Gordon Meeking publicly revealed that he had been promised an officer's commission by the McNamara brothers to play hockey for their team. In an attempt to solidify his unearned promotion, Meeking went so far as to wear an officer's uniform when the 228th Battalion were preparing to head overseas. When the battalion entrained in St John, New Brunswick, Meeking was ordered to don a private's uniform and was later discharged, deemed unfit for service. These findings did much to expose the somewhat perfidious nature of the battalion's hockey-friendly policies during the First World War.

Not all of hockey's inglorious wartime scandals, however, were related to the 228th. Some players took advantage of the physical requirements for military service to advance their hockey careers. It seems ludicrous that a player who is unfit for war could

possibly suffer the physical abuse of professional hockey, yet that is exactly what happened in the case of Reg Noble. Noble turned professional with the Toronto Blueshirts after being discharged from the 180th Battalion due to an ankle injury. Unable to march in the CEF, Noble curiously managed nearly a thousand penalty minutes on the ice in an NHL career that lasted until 1933.[84] Bernie Morris, who was playing with the Seattle Metropolitans in the PCHA, was actually arrested in the United States for evading the draft. Morris was sentenced to two years hard labour.[85]

NHA league officials and team owners had made grand proclamations which, in truth, were only small gestures of commitment to the war effort compared with a rather long list of embarrassments. League officials had flatly rejected a proposal put forth by Llewellyn Bate, president and team spokesman of the Ottawa Senators' hockey club, who requested that the Senators withdraw from the NHA for the duration of the war.[86] Sam Lichtenhein, owner of the Montreal Wanderers, declared that only married men and munition workers would be signed and allowed to play for his team. This was a calculated declaration as most of the Wanderers were already married. Another embarrassment came when the NHA tried to collect on a \$3,000 bond that the 228th Battalion had taken out with the Ocean Accident and Guarantee Company, in the event the team had to abandon the league for overseas duty. The league gave up the bond chase, but only after they had been stung by public criticism and journalists who felt that the NHA's actions were 'unsporting as the soldiers had withdrawn for a more important game'.[87] Alas, the NHA was a business and, war or no war, business was business.

NHA team owners may very well have been 'unabashed sports capitalists' who sought to 'forge identities that could be turned into consumer loyalties',[88] and the soldier team experiment may have been in many respects a 'propaganda stunt'.[89] Still, well over 25 per cent of active players from the NHA saw overseas duty during the war, and whether they anticipated it or not, the men of the 228th Battalion's hockey club *were* pulled out of the league and summoned overseas. The battalion had been converted from an infantry unit to a railway construction corps as 'many of the husky men from Northern Ontario had rail experience, they were naturals for the assignment'.[90] The Northern Fusiliers arrived in France on 4 March 1917, and remained largely intact until the end of the war.[91]

As the war continued to take its toll on Canada, the fate of the Fusiliers had been sealed, and soon Prime Minister Borden 'would move to introduce conscription – and neither the army nor the public could justify having men in uniform playing games, never mind games in a professional league'.[92] Though for a time military and patriotic considerations were partially compromised by a game that had become so important to so many different people.

## V

Countries throughout the Empire experienced effective recruitment through sport franchises. There was the 'Footballers Battalion, of the Middlesex Regiment',[93] for

a British example, while hundreds of rugby players from various countries signed up for military service during the war.[94] One distinctive feature of the Canadian experience, however, was the number of players that enlisted from different immigrant communities within the country. Subsequently, many compelling interpretations of Canadian patriotism existed within the body of hockey-soldiers that served in the CEF during the war.

Many third- and even fourth-generation Canadians held fast to the traditions of their homeland while tentatively exploring the emerging abstraction of 'Canada'. This celebration of the old world did not bode well with many prominent Canadians, whose aim was to unify a small and diverse populace inside an overwhelmingly vast country. Still, these hyphenated-Canadians were reflective of the country's many pockets of ethnicity.

Talbot Papineau was a wealthy French-Canadian, fluent in both official languages but educated exclusively in English in Montreal before studying international law at Oxford. During his time at Oxford, Papineau played in goal for the Oxford Canadians Hockey Club. The 'Canadians', or 'Rhodies', had been formed in 1906 and were comprised of Oxford's Rhodes Scholars. Papineau was one of Canada's first Rhodes Scholars, and while playing for the Rhodies, his team successfully challenged both national and club teams in Britain and Europe.[95] As grandson of the Patriote leader Louis-Joseph Papineau, Talbot was pegged by some as a future Prime Minister. Governor-General Earl Grey said of him: 'Young Papineau . . . is able, with English ideals and a French temperament and wit. If he has ambition, he may go far.' [96] Had Papineau survived the war, he would have certainly enjoyed a successful career in Canadian politics.

Papineau was rather optimistic about French Canada's participation in the war when he publicly assured his audience at the Associated Canadian Clubs that, in the event of war, 'there would be as many French-Canadians as English-Canadians to take up arms in defence of the Empire in this crisis.' [97] Papineau himself honoured this pledge and enlisted as an officer in the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry (PPCLI), seeing action at Bellewaerde Ridge before receiving a Military Cross for leading the first 'trench raid' at St Eloi.[98] Yet, when the war broke out, many French-Canadians had grave reservations about fighting a British war, even if that war included France.

French-Canadians began to observe an informal boycott on volunteer enlistment in 1916. The *Autonomiste* movement of Quebec and Anglo-Canadian nationalism collided when Borden included a plan for conscription in the famous 'Khaki Election' of 1917. When a bill for conscription passed in the spring of 1918, French-Canadians rioted in the streets of Quebec.

Papineau would never understand French-Canada's subdued response to the war effort and was disgusted at the reality of the conscription crisis. In Quebec, Henri Bourassa had spearheaded the Quebec *Nationaliste* movement and used his own paper, *Le Devoir*, to voice French Canada's frustration with the Anglo elite.[99] Bourassa was Papineau's cousin. The Protestant Papineau was outraged with his

Catholic cousin's anti-conscription opinions, as Papineau believed that there was a desperate need for new recruits. In a ten-thousand-word open letter entitled 'What of the Soul of Canada?', the pan-Canadian nationalist Papineau challenged his *Canadien Nationaliste* cousin: 'At this moment as I write, French and English Canadians are fighting and dying side by side. Is their sacrifice to go for nothing, or will it not cement a foundation for a true Canadian nation?' [100] The letter was published in Montreal, Quebec and Toronto in July 1916, and Bourassa curtly responded by saying that his cousin, in spite of his name, was 'utterly unqualified to judge the feelings of French Canadians'. [101] In their public debate, the two cousins had articulated the prerogative of the nation's two distinct polarities. In English-speaking Canada, Papineau became a national hero. [102]

Papineau's ambition may have taken him much further had he remained in the staff job at the Canadian Corps Headquarters in France. Having watched the Canadian successes at Vimy Ridge from the sidelines, however, Papineau was restless to rejoin the 'Princess Pats', which he did on 7 June 1917. In October of the same year, the PPCLI were assigned to the infamous mud of Passchendaele. There would be 16,000 Canadian casualties at Passchendaele, and on the morning of 30 October, before going 'over the top', Oxford's famous goaltender turned to his second-in-command, Major Hugh Niven, and spoke his last words: 'You know, Hughie . . . this is suicide.' In only a few minutes, Canada's future statesman was killed by a German shell.

Like Frank McGee, Papineau had refused a staff job in the middle of his military career, choosing instead to chase the 'thrill' of the front. Yet, Papineau was much more than just a 'thrill-seeker' – and with his unique understanding of Canada's 'two solitudes', [103] he possessed a sincere if unrealistic desire to unify the country's two largest ethnic groups towards the war effort. His body, also like Frank McGee, was unrecovered for burial. [104]

Outside English and French Canada, there were other, smaller ethnic communities that were eager to demonstrate their commitment to the war effort. Among these communities were some of the nation's most talented hockey players, including those in Manitoba's Icelandic community. One example was Frank Fredrickson. Born in Winnipeg, Fredrickson had not spoken English until he started school. The British elite of Winnipeg were suspicious of the Scandinavian immigrants 'who had swelled the population'. [105] As one of those 'white-haired' Icelanders, Fredrickson confessed, 'coming home from school frequently turned into a battle because the kids would gang up on us and start fights just because we were Icelandic. My best outlet was hockey.' [106] The Icelandic Athletic Club played their first hockey game against the Vikings in Winnipeg in 1896. By 1908, the two teams had become one: the Winnipeg Falcons, named after the national bird of Iceland. During this time, Winnipeg's top Anglo hockey clubs refused to compete with the 'immigrant squad' until 1915. [107] It was here that the Winnipeg's Anglo teams relaxed their snobbery when Fredrickson and his Icelandic-Canadian team-mates demonstrated their loyalty to the Empire by enlisting in a battalion comprised largely of Scandinavian-

Canadians.[108] The Falcons, representing the 223rd Battalion, joined the Patriotic Hockey League and finally competed with some of Manitoba's top teams. For two seasons, Fredrickson led the Patriotic League in goals before the battalion was called overseas.

In Europe, Fredrickson left the 223rd to join the RFC in England. After having trained in Egypt, Fredrickson was *en route* to Italy when his ship was torpedoed just outside the port of Alexandria and sank.[109] Fredrickson, along with other soldiers, found refuge in a canvas-sided boat until a Japanese destroyer saved them. As the hockey-soldier recalled: 'The destroyer swerved in the nick of time and came right alongside us. Japanese sailors dropped a few ladders and we climbed aboard. . . . They gave us sake and pyjama tops to bandage some of the fellows who were hurt.' [110]

When the Falcons returned to Winnipeg after the war, the hockey situation had sadly reverted to its pre-war condition, and the team, as Fredrickson explained, was once again ostracized by the elite Anglo teams: 'We found out the reason we couldn't get into the senior league was because the players there were from well-to-do families and wanted no part of us. But they couldn't quite get away from us that easily.' [111]

The Falcons regrouped and were soon vindicated. After having been off skates for much of the war, the Icelandic-Canadians still managed to win the Manitoba League title. This meant that the Anglo 'Winnipeggers', who had claimed the city title, *had* to play the Icelandic Falcons for the Manitoba championship. The Falcons trounced the Winnipeggers by scores of 5–0 and 10–1, and Fredrickson scored 11 of the 15 goals. Subsequently, the Falcons went on to win the Allan Cup and gain a berth at the 1920 Olympics in Antwerp, where they handily defeated their inexperienced opponents.[112]

The Falcons were now Olympic champions and Canadian heroes. The team was received in a civic reception in Toronto, and on 22 May 1920 the city of Winnipeg threw a parade for the 'immigrant team'. Remarkably for the Icelandic-Canadians, it was *not* their patriotic role in the war but rather Olympic gold in hockey that had purchased approval from Winnipeg's Anglo elite.

Perhaps the most compelling example of the hyphenated-Canadian is to be found in Montreal, where, by the middle of the nineteenth century, the Irish in that city had grown to represent one-third of the city's population.[113] The Irish were positioned in a peculiar dynamic between the English and French. Yet by the sheer numbers of Irish in Montreal, the Irish-Canadian was, in a manner of speaking, able to mix with and infiltrate the two prominent cultures of Quebec while remaining distinctly Irish.

Though it was not always easy to do so, Harry Trihey blended a commitment to the Irish of Montreal and to Canada throughout his life.[114] Trihey, the quintessential hyphenated-Canadian, described Irish-Canadians as having a deep interest in the welfare of Ireland, but never allowing 'that interest to interfere with their duty to Canada'. [115] Along with team-mates Arthur Farrell and Jack Brannen, Trihey revolutionized the game of hockey by implementing new and successful strategies of attack, as well as employing unprecedented defensive tactics. This trio joined the Montreal Shamrocks in the Canadian Amateur Hockey League in 1897.



The Irish community of Montreal delighted in the team, in grey uniforms with green trim, and support for the Shamrocks was immense as a newspaper report describing a Shamrock victory attests: 'Then there was a wild scene. People cheered and danced. Matronly women fairly hugged their escorts. As for the young people, why they were all beyond control. On the ice, wild scenes were being enacted. Supporters had jumped on the ice and the victors were lifted off their feet.' [116]

In 1899, the Shamrocks defeated Queen's University to win the first of their two Stanley Cups, but it was Trihey's play in the 1900 Stanley Cup Challenge that became the stuff of legend. In this challenge, the Shamrocks met the Winnipeg Victorias for the cup, and Trihey scored the winning goal in two of the three games in the series to secure the championship for Montreal. The Irish population of Montreal would long remember Trihey's incredible display in 1900, and 14 years later the Irish-Canadian icon would call upon his Montreal community for their participation in Canada's war effort.[117]

Many Irish around the world grew increasingly hostile to the Allied war effort. In Australia, a large immigrant Irish population 'were in no mood to come to England's aid when she had backed away from granting Home Rule to Ireland after the Easter Rising in the spring of 1916'. [118] In Ireland, Sinn Féin planned for an independent Ireland. The Irish in Canada, however, took a decidedly different course. English, Scottish and French communities in Montreal all had distinct representation in Canadian military outfits and several celebrated Irish-Canadians wanted the same. Thus a committee of 12 organized the 55th Regiment: The Irish Canadian Rangers, and Harry Trihey was named its commanding officer.[119] The regiment had only one, perhaps ambiguous, prerequisite: that its members 'be purely Irish-Canadian in the best sense of the word'. [120] The Rangers had two chaplains, one Methodist and one Catholic. The very idea that Irish-Canadian Protestants and Catholics were training together had impressed several influential parties that would later shape the future of the Rangers regiment. Suitably, the Rangers' badges featured a shamrock on the cap and a harp on the collar.

Irish Ranger recruits enlisted in the CEF under the banner that 'small nations must be free'. Irish-Canadian volunteers were likely quicker to fight for the liberty of 'small nations' than they were to help Britain in the defence of its imperial assets. In essence, those Irish-Canadians who did serve were optimistic that if they fought alongside the British in good faith, Ireland would secure independence following the war. So when the desire for home rule was beating in the hearts of Irish nationalists in Ireland, Montreal's Irish could boast a regiment that exemplified the possibilities of a United Ireland: Catholics and Protestants, serving side by side, under the battalion motto *Quis Separabit* ('Who shall separate us?'). [121]

The Irish-Canadian Rangers were assured of staying intact as other Canadian regiments had. Trihey later challenged that members of Prime Minister Borden's cabinet had promised the Irish of Montreal that the Rangers 'would go to France as a unit representing Irish-Canadians.' [122] These pledges were not honoured. The Rangers arrived in England on 26 December 1916, one day after Harry Trihey's

thirty-ninth birthday. Seven days later, on 3 January 1917, Trihey was informed that the 199th Battalion was going to be separated and that the soldiers of the regiment would be sent to other regiments. Trihey's war was over, and he resigned as the regiment's commanding officer on 9 January 1917.

Trihey had been betrayed. Britain's Colonial Secretary, Andrew Bonar Law wanted to exploit the Rangers in an effort to remedy ailing recruitment in Ireland, and had made a request to Borden to parade the Rangers in Ireland.[123] Borden received this request on 30 October 1916, two months before the Battalion left for England. The disbandment of the Irish-Canadian regiment had been decided before they set sail for war, yet their CO was not informed until the regiment had arrived in England. Trihey was furious. In an open letter to the *New York Post*, Trihey reviewed Irish-Canadian sentiment during the battalion's enlistment period and how crucial the Canadian government's pledge to keep the regiment intact was to the morale of the Rangers. In his letter, Trihey disclosed that by 'relying on [this] pledge and animated by loyalty to Canada, Irish-Canadians volunteered despite the aftermath of the Irish rebellion of Easter Rising 1916'.[124] Meanwhile in Ireland, the Rangers, without Trihey, paraded through the streets of Dublin, Cork, Armagh, Belfast and Limerick in an attempt to bolster Irish recruiting. The Rangers were then separated and dispersed throughout British and colonial English-speaking regiments. The Rangers were officially disbanded on 23 May 1917.

Upon his premature return to Montreal, it is probable that Trihey was held to be suspect by many members of the Irish community who had supported the Irish-Canadian regiment. After all, the hockey star had been the main liaison between the soldiers and the government and the main advocate for the Irish-Canadian regiment from the beginning. Trihey's only defence was his open letter to the *Post*, later reprinted in the *Montreal Gazette*. It was not well received among the Anglo-Protestant elite who shared no sympathy with the Irish cause and the 'murderous Sinn Féin'.[125] Military authorities felt that 'the letter contravened the King's Regulations and Orders', and fellow Irish-Canadian C.J. Doherty had to intervene on Trihey's behalf to avoid the possibility of official government action.[126]

In his emotive letter, Trihey explained that the Irish-Canadian soldier now realized that what he formerly heard, but did not appreciate, that Ireland is under martial law and is occupied by an English army. He reads in the press that English soldiers in Dublin and Cork, with rifle and with machine gun fight those of his kinsmen who believe Ireland to be a small nation worthy of freedom. He wonders if the conscripting of 100,000 more Canadians would still be necessary if the 100,000 men comprising the English army in Ireland were sent to fight in France. He also wonders where Canadians now may best maintain the war purpose vital to Canada, small nations must be free.[127]

Trihey the hockey player had learned how to observe the rules of the game and how to demonstrate loyalty to one's team-mates on and off the ice – he had hoped for the same manner of loyalty from those who had power over his regiment. Still, to temper his condemnation of the government in his open letter, Trihey assured that if conscription became law, 'Irish-Canadians will loyally observe the law, for they are Canadians'.

Table 1  
Hockey Players Who Served in the Canadian Expeditionary Forces (CEF) During the First World War

<i>Player</i>	<i>Place of Birth</i>	<i>Club Affiliation(s) of Note</i>	<i>Duration of Military Service</i>
Andrews, Lloyd	Tilsonburg, ON	Toronto St Pats	1917–19
Arbour, Amos	Victoria Harbour, ON	228th Battalion	1917–19
Arbour, Ty	Waubaushe, ON	Pittsburgh Pirates, Chicago Blackhawks	1915–19
Bawlf, Nick	Winnipeg, MB	Haileybury, Montreal Canadiens, Montreal Wanderers	1915–19
Beaudro, Rocque	Red Lake Falls, MN, USA	Kenora Thistles, 228th Battalion	1917–19
Beaudry, Laurent	Quebec City, PQ	Oxford Canadians	unknown
Benson, Bobby	Winnipeg, MB	W <sup>7</sup> peg Falcons, 223rd Battalion, Canadian Olympic Team	1917–19
Benson, Harvey	Winnipeg, MB	223rd Battalion	1915–
Bjomson, G. G.	Winnipeg, MB	223rd Battalion	1915–
Bostrom, Helge	Gimli, MB	Chicago Blackhawks, Edmonton Eskimos	1918–19
Boucher, Frank	Ottawa, ON	New York Rangers	1918–19
Boyd, Bill	Belleville, ON	New York Rangers	1918–19
Box, George	unknown	Victoria Cougars	unknown
Brackenborough, Jack	Parry Sound, ON	Boston Bruins	unknown
Brannen, Jack	Montreal, PQ	Montreal Shamrocks	unknown
Brennan, Tom <sup>i</sup>	North Bay, ON	228th Battalion (Juniors)	unknown
Briden, Archie	Renfrew, ON	Boston Bruins, Detroit Cougars	unknown
Broadbent, Harry	Ottawa, ON	Ottawa Senators	1915–19
Brooks, Art	Guelph, ON	Toronto Arenas	1914–16
Brown, Jack	unknown	228th Battalion	1917–19
Browne, Cecil	St James, MB	Chicago Blackhawks	1918–19
Bruce, Morley	Toronto, ON	Ottawa Senators	unknown
Butterfield, Quinn	Orillia, ON	University of Toronto	1915–
Byron, Wally	Winnipeg, MB	Winnipeg Falcons, 223rd Battalion, Canadian Olympic Team	1917–19
Cadotte, Albert	Montreal, PQ	Montreal Wanderers	1915–
Cameron, Billy	Timmins, ON	Montreal Canadiens, New York Americans	1918–20
Campbell, Dave	Lachute, PQ	Montreal Canadiens	1916–19

(continued overleaf)

Table 1 (continued)

<i>Player</i>	<i>Place of Birth</i>	<i>Club Affiliation(s) of Note</i>	<i>Duration of Military Service</i>
Carey, George	Scotland	Montreal Wanderers, Quebec Bulldogs, Toronto St Pats	1918–19
Carroll, George	Moncton, NB	Montreal Maroons, Boston Bruins	1917–19
Charlton, Pete	unknown	Galt, Portage La Prairie, Toronto	unknown
Clarkson, George	unknown	University of Toronto	unknown
Cook, Bill	Brantford, ON	New York Rangers, Kingston Frontenacs	1915–19
Cumbers, George <sup>i</sup>	Winnipeg, MB	Winnipeg Falcons	unknown
Davidson, Allan <sup>i, vi</sup>	Kingston, ON	Toronto Blueshirts, Kingston Frontenacs	1914–15
Doherty, Fred	Norwood, ON	Montreal Canadiens	1916–19
Dolson, Dolly	Hespeler, ON	Detroit Cougars, Detroit Falcons	1915–19
Donnelly, Babe	Sault Ste Marie, ON	Montreal Maroons, Toronto 227th Battalion	1917–19
Duford, Angus	Ottawa, ON	Ottawa Senators	1916–
Duncan, Art <sup>iii</sup>	Sault Ste Marie	228th Battalion	1917–19
Dutton, Mervyn	Russell, MB	Montreal Maroons, New York Americans	1915–19
Drury, Herb	Midland, ON	Pittsburgh Pirates, Philadelphia Quakers, US Olympic Team	1918–19
Fredrickson, Frank	Winnipeg, MB	Winnipeg Falcons, Boston Bruins, Canadian Olympic Team	1917–19
Fowler, Hec	Saskatoon, SK	Seattle Metropolitans, Boston Bruins	1918–19
Foyston, Frank	Minesing, ON	Seattle Metropolitans	unknown
Galbraith, Percy	Toronto, ON	Boston Bruins, Ottawa Senators	1916–19
Gardiner, Herb	Winnipeg, MB	Montreal Canadiens, Chicago Blackhawks	1915–19
Gaul, Horace	Douglas, Gaspé, PQ	Berlin Union Jacks, Haileybury, Toronto Tecumsehs	1914–
Graham, Leth	Ottawa, ON	Ottawa Senators, Hamilton Tigers	1915–19
Green, Wilf	Sudbury, ON	Hamilton Tigers, New York Americans	1917–19
Gooch, Jack	Toronto, ON	University of Toronto	1915–
Harris, Fred	unknown	Portland Rosebuds	unknown
Harty, Jock <sup>i</sup>	Kingston, ON	Queen = s University	unknown
Hay, George	Listowel, ON	Chicago Blackhawks, Detroit Cougars, Detroit Red Wings	1917–19
Hellman, Harry	Ottawa, ON	Ottawa Senators	1917–19
Henry, Howard	Winnipeg, MB	Oxford Canadians	unknown

(continued overleaf)

Table 1 (continued)

<i>Player</i>	<i>Place of Birth</i>	<i>Club Affiliation(s) of Note</i>	<i>Duration of Military Service</i>
Herbert, Sammy	Ottawa, ON	Toronto Arenas, Ottawa Senators	1915–19
Higgins, John	unknown	Oxford Canadians	unknown
Irvin, Dick	Hamilton, ON	Chicago Blackhawks	1918–19
Jackson, Stan	Parrsboro, NS	Toronto St Pats, Bos Bruins, Ottawa Senators, Toronto RFC	1917–19
Johannesson, Connie	Winnipeg, MB	Winnipeg Falcons, 223rd Battalion	1917–19
Jupp, Lovering	Orillia, ON	University of Toronto	1915-
Keats, Gordon <sup>v</sup>	Montreal, PQ	Edmonton Eskimos, Boston Bruins, Chicago Blackhawks	1917–19
Lanctot, Henry G.	St Constant, PQ	Oxford Canadians	unknown
Laird, Bill	Cobourg, ON	Regina Capitals, Regina 77th Battery	1918–19
Larose, Charles	Ottawa, ON	Boston Bruins	1918–19
Lesueur, Percy	Quebec City, PQ	Ottawa Senators, Toronto Blueshirts	1916-
Lockhart, Howard	North Bay, ON	228th Battalion, Toronto St Pats, Boston Bruins,	1917–19
MacDonnell, James	unknown	Queen's University, Oxford Canadians	unknown
MacDonnell, Moylan	Stoney Mountain, MB	Hamilton Tigers	1916–19
MacDonnell, Norman	unknown	Oxford Canadians	unknown
MacDowell, Thain <sup>ii</sup>	Toronto, ON	University of Toronto	1915–17
MacNab, Squaw	unknown	University of Toronto	1915-
Malone, Maurice <sup>i</sup>	unknown	University of Toronto	–1916
Marples, Stan	unknown	Portland Rosebuds	unknown
McCalmon, Eddie	Varney, ON	Chicago Blackhawks, Philadelphia Quakers	1919–20
McCullough, Fred	unknown	Victoria	unknown (v)
McCusker, Hugh	Regina	Regina Capitals, Portland Rosebuds	1915–19
McGee, Frank <sup>l</sup>	Ottawa, ON	Ottawa Silver Seven	1914–16
McKenzie, Mawk	unknown	University of Toronto	1915-
McKinnon, Alex	Sault Ste Marie, ON	Hamilton Tigers, Chicago Blackhawks, NY Americans	1917–19
McNamara, George	Randolph, ON	228th Battalion	1917–19
McNamara, Howard	Randolph, ON	228th Battalion, Montreal Canadiens	1917–19
McVeigh, Charles	Kenora, ON	Chicago Blackhawks, New York Americans	unknown

(continued overleaf)

Table 1 (continued)

<i>Player</i>	<i>Place of Birth</i>	<i>Club Affiliation(s) of Note</i>	<i>Duration of Military Service</i>
Miller, Walter	unknown	Brantford (OPHL), Montreal Wanderers	unknown
Mitchell, Ivan	unknown	Toronto St Pats	1916–19
Mitchell, John <sup>i v</sup>	St John's, NFLD	Oxford Canadians	1914–16
Mitchell, Mike	unknown	Portland Rosebuds	unknown
Moore, Mew	unknown	Melville Millionaires	unknown
Morisson, John	Winnipeg, MB	Winnipeg 61st Battalion, New York Americans	1916–19
Mornes, S.	unknown	Vancouver Millionaires	unknown
Morley, Bruce	North Gower, ON	Ottawa Senators	1918–19
Nichol, John S.	Montreal	Montreal Shamrocks, Vancouver Millionaires	1917–19
Nighbor, Frank	Pembroke, ON	Ottawa Senators	unknown
Oke, Teddy	Toronto, ON	Toronto Blueshirts	–1917
Olson, J.	Winnipeg, MB	223 <sup>rd</sup> Battalion	1915–
Payer, Evariste	Rockland, ON	Montreal Canadiens	1914–17
Papineau, Talbot <sup>i, iv</sup>	Montreal, PQ	Oxford Canadians	1914–17
Pearse, Walter <sup>i, iv</sup>	Victoria, BC	Oxford Canadians	1914–17
Pethick, Jack <sup>i</sup>	Regina, SK	University of Toronto	1915–16
Power, Joseph	unknown	Quebec Bulldogs	unknown
Producers, Samuel <sup>v</sup>	London, ON	228th Battalion, Toronto St Pats, Montreal Canadiens	1917–19
Richardson, George <sup>i</sup>	Kingston, ON	Queen's University, Kingston Frontenacs	1914–16
Riley, Jim	Bayfield, NB	Seattle Metropolitan, Chicago Blackhawks, Detroit Cougars	1918–19
Scott, Harry	Moncton, NB	Montreal Canadiens	1915–17
Simpson, Joe <sup>v</sup>	Winnipeg, MB	Winnipeg 61st Battalion, New York Americans	unknown
Smaill, Walter	Montreal, PQ	Montreal Wanderers	1916–17
Smeaton, Cooper <sup>v</sup>	Carleton Place, ON	(NHA referee) New York Wanderers	unknown
Smith, Don	Cornwall, ON	Montreal Wanderers, Montreal Canadiens	1916–19
Smith, Glen G.	Meaford, ON	Toronto St Pats	1914–15
Smith, Rodger	unknown	Pittsburgh Pirates	unknown
Smythe, Conn <sup>iv</sup>	Toronto, ON	University of Toronto	1915–19

(continued overleaf)

Table 1 (continued)

<i>Player</i>	<i>Place of Birth</i>	<i>Club Affiliation(s) of Note</i>	<i>Duration of Military Service</i>
Southam, Gordon <sup>i</sup>	Toronto, ON	University of Toronto	unknown
Sparrow, Emory	Hartney, MB	Winnipeg 61st Battalion, Boston Bruins	1916–17
Spence, Gordon	Haileybury, ON	228th Battalion, Toronto St Pats	1917–19
Stephens, Phil	St Lambert, ON	Montreal Wanderers, Montreal Canadiens, Boston Bruins	1918–19
Swift, Dolly	unknown	Quebec Bulldogs	unknown
Tait, Robert	St John's, NFLD	Oxford Canadians	unknown
Taylor, Billy	unknown	Toronto, Paris	1915-
Thorsteinson, Buster <sup>i</sup>	Winnipeg, MB	Winnipeg Falcons	unknown
Trapp, Bob	Pembroke, ON	Chicago Blackhawks	1916–19
Traub, Percy	Elmwood, ON	Chicago Blackhawks, Detroit Cougars, Portland Rosebuds	1918–19
Trihey, Harry	Montreal, PQ	Montreal Shamrocks	1914–17
Turnbull, Olie <sup>i</sup>	Winnipeg, MB	Winnipeg Winnipegs	unknown
Tyner, Charles	unknown	Toronto, Brantford	unknown
Vair, Steve	unknown	Edm'n Eskimos, Montreal Wanderers, Renfrew Millionaires	unknown
Walker, F	Winnipeg, MB	223rd Battalion	1915–
Watson, Harry	St John's, NFLD	Toronto Granites, Toronto Marlboros	1917–19
Webster, Howard	Toronto	University of Toronto	1915-

Compiled from C. Coleman, *Trail of the Stanley Cup*, Vol. 1 (Dubuque: Kendall and Hunt Publishing, 1964); D. Diamond et al., *Total Hockey* (1st and 2nd edns); Hockey Hall of Fame, Player Files and Scrapbooks; National Archives of Canada, CEF Military Records (Toronto: Dan Diamond and Associates, 1998).

i: Killed In Action;

ii: Victoria Cross (only 66 were awarded to Canadian soldiers);

iii: Military Cross with Bar;

iv: Military Cross;

v: Military Medal;

vi: Allan 'Scotty' Davidson was awarded the 1914–15 Star, the Victory Medal and the British War Medal.

*General Note:* Players include those known to have served in the CEF who competed in the following competitions: the Stanley Cup, the Allan Cup, the European Championship, the British Championship and the Olympics. Only a very few senior league and junior-level players are included here, though hundreds of them enlisted in the CEF.

## Conclusion

The precept of manliness had been loosely interpreted by those Canadians who played and organized the game of hockey in the years leading up to the First World War. Armed with wooden weapons, many hockey players had skated a dress rehearsal for war on the frozen ponds and indoor rinks of Canada. As a soldier of the CEF, the hockey player was already familiar with the importance of 'primary group cohesion', a concept forged through years of warring on the ice. This is particularly visible in those teams whose entire roster had enlisted in the CEF. The University of Toronto Varsity Juniors, the Oxford Canadians, the Kingston Frontenacs and, yes, even the 228th Battalion knew well the importance of loyalty to one's team-mates, and avenging the wrong done to your 'pals'. [128]

Moreover, when the call to arms came, many Canadian hockey players volunteered on the wave of patriotic feeling that had pervaded the Anglo-Protestant hegemony. At the same time, other players sought to proudly represent their own marginalized immigrant communities – hyphenated-Canadians who, on the battlefields of Europe and the ice rinks of the young nation, secured a place for themselves within the Canadian mosaic. Although these allegiances were in no way exclusive to hockey players, they do assist us in comprehending the existent diversity among the player-soldiers' *idea* of Canada. Indeed, Harry Trihey would *not* have recited Kipling in his hour of need; yet his passion for what he believed Canada to 'mean' is in no way less valid than George Richardson's idea of the young nation.

There can be little doubt as to the passion the hockey-soldier displayed during his service in the Canadian military: a very crude provisional correlation between regular soldiers and hockey-playing soldiers can be found in the medal count of the CEF. Of four major medal categories, including the Military Medal, the Military Cross, the Military Cross with Bar and the Victoria Cross, 15,553 medals were awarded to Canadians. This means one in 38 Canadian soldiers had a chance at one of these four medals. Of the 114 players examined in this study, 13 were awarded medals; thus one in nine hockey players playing at the elite levels of the game were awarded medals in the First World War – see Table 1.

The war had left a considerable impression on ice hockey's landscape. The Memorial Cup, today awarded to the top junior hockey club in Canada, was donated by James Richardson to perpetuate the memory of his brother George Richardson, who had perished at the front. Also, when Conn Smythe returned to Canada after the war, he sought to bottle the spirit of the nation's fighting men in his own professional hockey team. Smythe bought the Toronto StPats in 1927 and renamed them the Maple Leafs: the symbol emblazoned on the uniforms of Canadian soldiers. The team is now one of the most renowned franchises in all of professional sport. [129] Perhaps the most profound impact the war had on hockey, however, was the death of at least 13 of its players, all of whom had competed at the highest levels of the game.



## Acknowledgements

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## Notes

- [1] The author is indebted to B. Kidd, A. Metcalfe, F. Cosentino, R. Gruneau and D. Whitson for their excellent contributions to the literature of Canadian athletic history, helping us to better understand the emergence of Canadian sport during the mid-nineteenth century up through the First World War and beyond. Still, the specific role hockey and hockey players regards the First World War is deserving of more scholarly attention.
- [2] M. Moss, *Manliness and Militarism: Educating Young Boys in Ontario for War* (Don Mills: Oxford University Press), pp.90–109, 131–4.
- [3] D.J. Bercusson, 'Century of Duty', *Legion Magazine* (Jan./Feb. 2000); M. Zuehlke and C. Stuart Daniel, *The Canadian Military Atlas: The Nation's Battlefields from the French and Indian Wars to Kosovo* (Toronto: Stoddart, 2001), pp.104–5.
- [4] P. Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830–1855* (London, 1978), p.129.
- [5] C. Howell, *Blood, Sweat and Cheers: Sport and The Making of Modern Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), p.50. Dr Arnold's 'muscular Christianity' is a concept that would not be foreign to the early amateur hockey player. See Moss, *Manliness and Militarism*, p.77; R. Gruneau and D. Whitson, *Hockey Night in Canada: Sport, Identities and Cultural Politics* (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1993), p.64; Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England*, p.129.
- [6] F. Cosentino, *The Renfrew Millionaires: The Valley Boys of Winter 1910* (Burnstown: General Store Publishing House, 1990), p.11; Moss, *Manliness and Militarism*, pp.23–5.
- [7] *The Renfrew Journal*, 15 Jan. 1909.
- [8] R.C. Watson and G.D. Rickwood, 'Steward of Ice Hockey: A Historical Review of Safety Rules in Canadian Amateur Ice Hockey', *Sports History Review*, 30 (1999), 28–9; D. Guay, *L'Histoire du Hockey au Quebec* (Quebec: G. Morin, 1980), pp.42, 65, 91.
- [9] B. Kidd, *The Struggle for Canadian Sport* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), p.31.
- [10] See D.S. Mason, 'The Origins and Development of The International Hockey League and its Effects on The Sport of Professional Ice Hockey in North America' (MA thesis, University of British Columbia, 1992), p.162; Howell, *Blood, Sweat and Cheers*, pp.59–63; Gruneau and Whitson, *Hockey Night in Canada*, p.57; Kidd, *Struggle for Canadian Sport*, p.29.
- [11] Gruneau and Whitson, *Hockey Night in Canada*, pp.79–86.
- [12] Transmission reprinted in D. Jenish, *The Stanley Cup: A Hundred Years of Hockey at Its Best* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1992), p.55.
- [13] Gruneau and Whitson, *Hockey Night in Canada*, p.85.
- [14] *Ibid.*
- [15] Cosentino, *The Renfrew Millionaires*, p.73; E. Whitehead, *Cyclone Taylor: A Hockey Legend* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 1977) p.71.
- [16] D. Morrow, M. Keyes, W. Simpson, F. Cosentino and R. Lappage, *A Concise History of Sport in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp.184–5.
- [17] Gruneau and Whitson, *Hockey Night in Canada*, p.55.
- [18] Kidd, *Struggle for Canadian Sport*, p.22.

- [19] A. Metcalfe, *Canada Learns To Play: The Emergence of Organized Sport, 1807–1914* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987), pp.61–73; Kidd, *Struggle for Canadian Sport*, p.25.
- [20] D.A.G. Seglins, *Just Part of the Game: Violence, Hockey and Masculinity in Central Canada, 1890–1910* (Kingston, Ont: Queen’s University, 1995), p.24.
- [21] *Ibid.*, pp.27–8.
- [22] J.T. Sutherland, *Origin of Hockey* (Kingston: 1923, microfilm article held at Toronto Reference Library).
- [23] M. Mott, ‘Inferior Exhibitions, Superior Ceremonies: The Nature and Meaning of the Hockey Games of the Winnipeg Vic, 1890–1903’, *5th Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education* (Toronto: University Press, 1982), p.11.
- [24] A. Farrell, *Hockey: Canada’s Royal Winter Game* (Montreal: 1899).
- [25] Metcalfe, *Canada Learns To Play*, p.69.
- [26] For an overview of arguments regarding fighting in hockey see W. McMurtry, *Investigation and Inquiry into Violence in Amateur Hockey* (Government of Ontario, 1974); M.D. Smith, *Violence and Sport* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars’ Press, 1983); B. Pascall, *Eliminating Violence in Hockey* (Government of British Columbia, 2000).
- [27] J. Macdonald Oxley, *Harpers Young People*, reprinted in *The Montreal Star*, 26 Feb. 1891). See Seglins, *Just Part of the Game*, p.3.
- [28] Seglins, *Just Part of the Game*, p.79.
- [29] Testimony of Bernard O’Connor from the hearing of Allan Loney, Archives of Ontario, 24 Feb. 1905). See L. Kotylo, ‘Was It a Plot? The Alcide Laurin Hockey Death’, *Hockey Research Journal: A Publication of the Society for International Hockey Research*, 5 (2001), 29–31.
- [30] Gruneau and Whitson, *Hockey Night in Canada*, p.76; L. Kotylo, ‘Hockey and The Courts: Legal Action Off the Ice’, *Hockey Research Journal*, 5 (2001), 24.
- [31] Mason, ‘The Origins and Development’, p.197. In 2000 Marty McSorley of the Boston Bruins struck Donald Brashear of the Vancouver Canucks on the head with his stick – knocking him unconscious. McSorley was suspended for life by the NHL, marking the first time the league permanently suspended a player for life because of on-ice violence. See J. Duplacey, *Hockey’s Book of Firsts* (North Dighton: JG Press, 2003), p.156.
- [32] Hod Stuart, this time on the receiving end of the stick-work, lost his hearing for 24 hours. See J. W. Fittell, *Hockey’s Captains, Colonels and Kings: A Series of articles published in The Whig-Standard for the Kingston Hockey Centennial* (Erin: Boston Mills Press, 1987), p.121.
- [33] Revd N.H. McGillivray, ‘Church Sermon’ (Cornwall, 1905), cited in W. Upper, ‘Violence in Hockey: A Review’, *Hockey Research Journal*, 4 (1999), 88.
- [34] Gruneau and Whitson, *Hockey Night in Canada*, pp.175, 180–6.
- [35] *Ibid.*
- [36] See P. Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), p.27; N. Ferguson, *The Pity of War: Explaining World War I* (New York: Basic Books, 1999), p.360.
- [37] C. Smythe and S. Young, *If You Can’t Beat ‘Em in the Alley: The Memoirs of the Late Conn Smythe* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1981), p.48.
- [38] Apart from owning 50 NHL records, Gretzky was a five-time winner of the ‘Lady Byng Trophy’ awarded for most ‘gentlemanly conduct’ on the ice. D. Diamond, J. Duplacey, R. Dinger, E. Fitzsimmons, I. Kuperman and E. Zweig (eds.) *Total Hockey: The Official Encyclopaedia of the National Hockey League*, 2nd edn (Toronto: Dan Diamond and Associates, 2000), pp.188, 1132–3; ‘Wayne Gretzky: The Great One’ (A & E [USA], television biography, 2002).
- [39] C. Veitch, ‘Play Up! Play Up! And Win The War! Football, The Nation and The First World War’, *Journal of Contemporary History* [UK], 20 (1985), 426–51.
- [40] J.T. Sutherland, ‘Address to OHA members’, 30 Dec. 1915, Hockey Hall of Fame.

- [41] Frank McGee was the nephew of Thomas D'Arcy McGee, a father of Canadian Confederation and prophet of Canadian nationality, who was victim of a political assassination in 1868. See T.P. Slattery, *The Assassination of D'Arcy McGee* (Toronto: Doubleday, 1968); J. Phelan, *The Ardent Exile: The Life and Times of Thos. D'Arcy McGee* (Toronto: McMillan Company of Canada, 1951). McGee averaged an unheard-of three goals a game with the Silver Seven. See D. Diamond, *The Official National Hockey League Stanley Cup Centennial Book* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1992), pp.32–4; D. Reddick, 'Killing Frank McGee', *Hockey Research Journal*, 4 (1999), 25–31; L. Kemmett, 'The Life and Times of Frank McGee: A Synopsis', *Hockey Research Journal*, 4 (1999), 22–4; D. Reddick and J.J. Wilson, 'Dawson's Stanley Cup Challenge', in Diamond et al., *Total Hockey*, 2nd edn, pp.37–9; Hockey Hall of Fame (Toronto), Frank C. McGee: Player Files.
- [42] L. MacDonald, *They Called it Passchendaele: The Story of Ypres and of the Men Who Fought in It* (London: Joseph, 1978), p.xiii.
- [43] Ferguson, *The Pity of War*, pp.356–66.
- [44] Upon enlistment, Canadian soldiers agreed to 'serve in the Canadian Over-Seas Expeditionary Force, and to be attached to any arm of the service therein, for the term of one year, or during the war now existing between Great Britain and Germany should that war last longer than one year, and for six months after the termination of that war provided His Majesty should so long require [their] services, or until legally discharged'. National Archives of Canada, 'Original Attestation Paper, 27 May 1916', Military Records of CPT Rocque Francis Beaudro, Vol. 558 (Ottawa).
- [45] National Archives of Canada, 'Casualty Report, Major D. Donald, London, 18 January, 1916', Military Records of Lt. Frank McGee, Vol. 6829 (Ottawa).
- [46] D. Morton and J.L. Granatstein, *Marching to Armageddon: Canadians and The Great War 1914–1919* (Toronto: Lester and Orpen Dennys, 1989), p.116.
- [47] National Archives of Canada, 21st Battalion War Diary, Sept. 1916, cited in D. Reddick, 'Killing Frank McGee', 30.
- [48] McGee's brother Charles was killed in action on 26 May 1915 at Festubert. McGee's other brother Walter was wounded just one month after Frank's death, 1,000 yards from the Sugar Factory. Walter McGee survived the war and received a Military Cross. See Reddick, 'Killing Frank McGee', 31.
- [49] Indeed, no team west of Hamilton, Ontario, competed for the Grey Cup, Canadian Football's highest honour, until 1921. In that year, the Toronto Argonauts defeated the Edmonton Eskimos 23–0 in the championship game. See 'Grey Cup Records', *Canadian Football League: Facts, Figures and Records* (Toronto: Canadian Football League, 1985), p.2. Each of the 'Big Four' cities of the Interprovincial Rugby Football Union had established a military team by 1916 – Toronto (the 180th Battalion), Hamilton (the 205th), Ottawa (the 207th) and Montreal (the 244<sup>th</sup>). See Kidd, *Struggle for Canadian Sport*, p.40; Howell, *Blood, Sweat and Cheers*, p.47.
- [50] S. Young, *100 Years of Dropping the Puck* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1989), p.118.
- [51] Smythe and Young, *If You Can't Beat 'Em in the Alley*, pp.30–31.
- [52] *Ibid.*, p.41.
- [53] M. McKinley, *Putting a Roof on Winter: Hockey's Rise from Sport to Spectacle* (Vancouver: Greystone Books, 2000), p.91.
- [54] At least one of Smythe's team-mates, Jack Pethick from Regina, perished at the front.
- [55] Young, *100 Years of Dropping the Puck*, p.127.
- [56] Smythe and Young, *If You Can't Beat 'Em in the Alley*, p.41.
- [57] *Ibid.*, p.50.
- [58] Smythe raised his own Sportsmen's Battery in the Canadian Army in the Second World War. After being wounded and invalided back to Canada, Smythe led a public crusade against Prime Minister Mackenzie King for his hesitation in implementing conscription. J. Batten, *The Leafs:*

- An Anecdotal History of the Toronto Maple Leafs* (Toronto: Key Porter Books, 1994), pp.13–15; D. Hunter, *War Games: Conn Smythe and Hockey's Fighting Men* (Toronto: Viking, 1996).
- [59] Smythe and Young, *If You Can't Beat 'Em in the Alley*, p.52.
- [60] T. Reed, *The Blue and White: A Record of Fifty Years of Athletic Endeavour at the University of Toronto* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1944) p.196; L. Kotylo, letter addressed to Martin C. Harris, 2 Dec. 1999, from the private collection of Len Kotylo (Toronto: Society of International Hockey Research, 1999).
- [61] C.J. Morris, 'Where Sturdy Canadianism is Built of Military Training: A Review of the Work that is being done at the Royal Military College of Canada', *Maclean's Magazine*, April 1914, 38–40.
- [62] Sutherland, 'Address to OHA members'; Hockey Hall of Fame (Toronto), James Sutherland: Builder Files; National Archives of Canada, Military Records of Cpt James Sutherland, Box 9435–24 (Ottawa).
- [63] In a *Maclean's* article nearly ten years after his death, Davidson was the right-wing selected for the 'All-Star, All-Time Canadian Hockey Team' (*Maclean's Magazine*, March 1925, from Hockey Hall of Fame (Toronto), Gerard O'Rourke: Personal Scrapbook).
- [64] 'He was discovered lugging the officer back to his own line and German machine guns snuffed out a life that might have contributed one of the most glorious chapters in hockey history', *Montreal Daily Star* article by Baz O'Meara attached to Hockey Hall of Fame (Toronto), Allan 'Scotty' Davidson: Player Files. Also See National Archives of Canada, 'Allan Davidson: Statement of Service in the Canadian Armed Forces', National Personnel Records (Ottawa).
- [65] As the Stanley Cup became more and more a trophy for the professional game, the Allan Cup came to symbolize amateur hockey supremacy in Canada. See Diamond et al., *Total Hockey*, 2nd edn, p.1946.
- [66] Eyewitness account from a member of the 2nd Canadian Battalion. See Hockey Hall of Fame (Toronto), W.A. Foad, 'Letter Addressed to Mr. W. Hewitson', George B. Richardson: Player Files, 24 Aug. 1964.
- [67] Sutherland, 'Address to OHA members'.
- [68] Kidd, *Struggle for Canadian Sport*, p.40; 'Cobourg Hockeyists Send Men to Front', (*Toronto Daily Star*, 5 Feb. 1916), p.14.
- [69] Kidd, *Struggle for Canadian Sport*, pp.38–40.
- [70] *Toronto Daily News* 12 Dec. 1915.
- [71] Fittell, *Hockey's Captains, Colonels and Kings*, pp.53–4, 75, 90.
- [72] F. Cosentino, *Afros, Aborigines and Amateur Sport in Pre World War One Canada* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1998), p.5.
- [73] In the 1914/15 season, 12 teams operated in the three top professional leagues; the NHA, the PCHA and the EPHL. By the 1917/18 season, there were only six teams operating in two leagues. Each team had an average number of 12 players on their roster. Compiled from Diamond et al., *Total Hockey*, 2nd edn, pp.615–30, 647–831; C. Coleman, *The Trail of The Stanley Cup: Volume I* (Dubuque: Kendall and Hunt Publishing, 1964), pp.522–83.
- [74] Hockey Hall of Fame (Toronto), Harry 'Punch' Broadbent: Player Files; National Archives of Canada, Military Records of Sgt. Harold L. Broadbent, Box 1083–12 (Ottawa).
- [75] *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 15 April 1975; Hockey Hall of Fame (Toronto), Art Duncan: Player Files.
- [76] G. Goodhand, 'Hockey's Other Heroes: Adventures Off The Ice', *Hockey Research Journal*, 5 (2001), 63–4.
- [77] Hockey Hall of Fame (Toronto), Cooper J. Smeaton: Player Files; National Archives of Canada, Military Records of Sgt. Cooper J. Smeaton, Box 8996–35 (Ottawa).
- [78] McKinley, *Putting a Roof on Winter*, p.86.

- [79] Whitehead, *Cyclone Taylor*, p.164.
- [80] B.A. Craig, *Blades On The Bay: One Hundred Years of Hockey in North Bay and Area* (North Bay: Project Hockey, 1997), pp.41–3.
- [81] Kidd, *Struggle for Canadian Sport*, p.40.
- [82] Spencer and Spencer, *The Pocket Hockey Encyclopaedia* (Toronto: Pagurian Press, 1976). p.115.
- [83] Coleman, *Trail of The Stanley Cup*, p.337.
- [84] Hockey Hall of Fame (Toronto), Reg Noble: Player Files.
- [85] Zweig, 'Searching For Bernie Morris: The Other Stanley Cup Story of 1919', *Hockey Research Journal*, 5 (Fall 2001), 67.
- [86] B. McFarlane, 'The Making of the NHL', *The Official NHL 75th Anniversary Commemorative Book* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1991), p.10.
- [87] Coleman, *Trail of The Stanley Cup*, p.312. For an in-depth overview of the 228th Battalion's hockey operations, see M. Holzman and J. Nieforth, *Deceptions and Doublecross: How the NHL Conquered Hockey* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2002), pp.103–130.
- [88] Kidd, *Struggle for Canadian Sport*, p.184.
- [89] McKinley, *Putting a Roof on Winter*, p.97.
- [90] Craig, *Blades On The Bay*, p.43.
- [91] National Archives of Canada, Military Records of CPT. Rocque Francis Beaudro; National Archives of Canada, Military Records of MAJ. Howard Dennis McNamara, Vol. 7139 (Ottawa).
- [92] Hunter, *War Games*, p.105.
- [93] J. Lichfield, 'Local Hero – From Old Trafford to a Corner of a Foreign Field: The Mystery of the Footballer who went to War', *The Independent* [UK], 8 Nov. 2002), Review, 4–5.
- [94] 111 rugby internationals were killed on the battlefields of France and Belgium, while Scottish football giants Celtic and Heart of Midlothian each lost seven regular players during the war. See 'Six Nations: The History – Part I', online at [www.planet-rugby.com](http://www.planet-rugby.com); [www.heartsfc.co.uk](http://www.heartsfc.co.uk);
- [95] M. Harris, 'Oxford Canadians Defended Country', *SIHR-PLUS* (Society for International Hockey Research newsletter, Toronto), 11 (March 2001), 5; Kidd, *Struggle for Canadian Sport*, p.24.
- [96] S. Gwyn, *Tapestry of War: A Private View of Canadians in the Great War* (Toronto: Harper Collins, 1992), p.94.
- [97] Morton and Granatstein, *Marching to Armageddon*, p.6.
- [98] All of Papineau's Oxford Canadian team-mates volunteered during the war. John Mitchell, who was awarded the Military Medal, was killed on the Somme in September 1916. Walter Pearce was awarded the Military Cross and was killed at Vimy Ridge in April 1917. See Harris, 'Oxford Canadians', 5.
- [99] Morton and Granatstein, *Marching to Armageddon*, p.28.
- [100] Gwyn, *Tapestry of War*, p.322; *Canadian Nationalism and The War* (McLaughlin Library Restricted Collection, University of Guelph, Montreal, 1916).
- [101] Gwyn, *Tapestry of War*, p.323.
- [102] *Toronto Globe*, cited in Gwyn, *Tapestry of War*, p.327.
- [103] The title of Hugh MacLellan's award-winning book about a French-Canadian family who struggle with cultural identity during the First World War, See H. MacLellan, *Two Solitudes* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1945), *passim*.
- [104] Gwyn, *Tapestry of War*, p.399; Talbot Papineau's war correspondence with his mother and Beatrice Fox figured prominently in two of Heather Robertson's books. Papineau was also the central figure in a 1998 McKenna brothers film entitled *The Killing Ground*. See H. Robertson, *Willie: A Romance* (Toronto: Lorimer, 1983); H. Robertson, *A Terrible Beauty* (Toronto: J. Lorimer, 1977); T. McKenna and B. McKenna, *The Killing Ground* (CBC

- Canada film, June 1998); National Archives of Canada, Talbot Papineau Papers, MG30 E52 (Ottawa); National Archives of Canada, Papineau Family Collection, MG24 B2.
- [105] E. Zweig, 'The Winnipeg Falcons: From World War to World Champions', *Hockey Research Journal*, 4 (1999), 71; F. Thordarson (ed. Shirley Thordarson McCreedy), 'The Romance of the Falcons', *The Icelandic Canadian Magazine* (Fall 1996); Hockey Hall of Fame (Toronto), Frank Fredrickson: Player Files; Hockey Hall of Fame (Toronto), Frank Fredrickson: Personal Scrapbook; National Archives of Canada, Military Records of Frank Fredrickson, Box 3297-24, (Ottawa); Hockey Hall of Fame (Toronto), Chris Fridfinnson: Player Files; Hockey Hall of Fame (Toronto), Slim Halderson: Player Files.
- [106] Zweig, 'The Winnipeg Falcons', p.72.
- [107] Ibid.
- [108] Olie Turnbull and Buster Thorsteinson were among the other Falcons players that had made it overseas. Both men were killed at the front. See P. Wilton, 'Hockey in World War I', in D. Diamond, J. Duplacey, R. Dinger, I. Kuperman and E. Zweig (eds.) *Total Hockey: The Official Encyclopaedia of the National Hockey League*, 1st edn (Toronto, 1998), p.42.
- [109] S. Fischler and S. Fischler, *Heroes and History: Voices From NHL's Past* (Whitby: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1994), p.94.
- [110] Ibid.
- [111] Zweig, 'The Winnipeg Falcons', p.74.
- [112] Diamond et al., *Total Hockey*, 1st edn, pp.481-2, 493.
- [113] Phelan, *The Ardent Exile*, p.155.
- [114] J.J. Wilson, 'Hockey's Famous Shamrock: The Story of Harry Trihey', in Diamond et al., *Total Hockey*, 2nd edn, pp.40-3; T.P. Slattery, *Loyola and Montreal* (Montreal: Palm Publishers, 1962) p.205; Hockey Hall of Fame (Toronto), Harry Judah Trihey: Player Files; National Archives of Canada, Military Records of LCl. Henry Judah Trihey, Vol. 9785, (Ottawa).
- [115] H. Trihey, 'An Open Letter to the Editor of the New York Post', reprinted in *Montreal Gazette*, 3 July 1917.
- [116] *Montreal Daily Star*, 2 March 1899.
- [117] R. Burns, 'Who Shall Separate Us? The Montreal Irish and The Great War', in R. O'Driscoll and L. Reynolds (eds.), *The Untold Story: The Irish In Canada* (Toronto: Celtic Arts of Canada, 1988), pp. 571-3.
- [118] Hunter, *War Games*, p.10.
- [119] Burns, 'Who Shall Separate Us?', 571.
- [120] *Montreal Gazette*, 10 Aug. 1914.
- [121] Burns, 'Who Shall Separate Us?', 574.
- [122] *Montreal Gazette*, 3 July 1917.
- [123] See Wilson, 'Hockey's Famous Shamrock', p.42; Hockey Hall of Fame, Harry Judah Trihey: Player Files.
- [124] Trihey, 'Open Letter'.
- [125] 'How Canada Views Ireland: Canadian Opinion on the Crisis that has Arisen', *Macleans Magazine*, Aug. 1920, 20.
- [126] Burns, 'Who Shall Separate Us?', 578.
- [127] *Montreal Gazette*, 3 July 1917.
- [128] M. Janowitz and E.A. Shils, 'Cohesion and Disintegration in the Wermacht in WWI', in M. Janowitz (ed.), *Military Conflict: Essays in the Institutional Analysis of War and Peace* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1975); J.G. Fuller, *Troop Morale and Popular Culture in the British and Dominion Armies, 1914-18* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), pp.45, 70; Ferguson, *Pity of War*, pp.353-7.
- [129] Batten, *The Leafs*, pp.13-15.