

**THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE
INTERNATIONAL HOCKEY LEAGUE AND ITS EFFECTS ON
THE SPORT OF PROFESSIONAL ICE HOCKEY IN NORTH AMERICA**

by

DANIEL SCOTT MASON

B.P.E., The University of British Columbia, 1992

**A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS**

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

School of Human Kinetics

**We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard**

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

August 1994

© Daniel Scott Mason, 1994

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and study. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the head of my department or by his or her representatives. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

(Signature)

Department of SCHOOL OF HUMAN KINETICS

The University of British Columbia
Vancouver, Canada

Date AUGUST 29/1994

ABSTRACT

This study examined the development of the first professional ice hockey league, the International Hockey League, and its relationships with amateur and professional leagues and ideals, in both Canada and the United States, during the first decade of the twentieth century.

Following the historical method, relying primarily on newspapers reports from the towns involved with the League during that period, a chronological-thematic narrative was written to analyze the following hypotheses: a) the League played an important role in the development of professional hockey in Canada, b) the League and its members reflected and affected attitudes toward professional hockey in Canada and the U.S., c) the operations and play levels of the League were the direct result of several influential individuals and events.

The study was arranged into three distinct parts: an examination of background conditions existing in eastern Canada and ice hockey prior to the formation of the I.H.L.; a descriptive narrative of the I.H.L.'s towns, operations and influential individuals; and an interpretation of selected issues.

The study revealed that the formation and operations of the I.H.L. provided a significant influence on the trend toward the acceptance of professionalism in the Canadian senior hockey leagues. It was also determined that the factors associated with that acceptance led to the demise of the I.H.L.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	ii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	iii
LIST OF PLATES.....	ix
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	x
GLOSSARY.....	xi
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	xiv
Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Review of Relevant Literature.....	4
Statement of the Problem.....	6
Justification for the Study	7
Delimitations.....	8
Limitations	8
Hypotheses	9
Sources of Information.....	9
Definition of Terms.....	10
Methodology	10
II. BACKGROUND CONDITIONS RELATED TO THE STUDY	
Eastern Canada and Sport During the Late Nineteenth Century	12
The Emergence of Amateurism and Professionalism in Canadian Sport...	16
The Origins and Development of Ice Hockey	22
Rules.....	25
Equipment	28
Facilities	33
The Regulation and Formation of Associations.....	34
Amateurism and Professionalism in Ice Hockey.....	38

Chapter

III. THE INTERNATIONAL HOCKEY LEAGUE

A. Early Ice Hockey in the United States.....	41
Michigan.....	43
Houghton, Houghton County, Michigan.....	44
B. The Portage Lakes Hockey Club	
Early Team Success	48
The Amphidrome	50
The Organization and Success of the First Professional Hockey Team: The Portage Lakes Hockey club of 1903-04.....	54
C. The Formation of the International Hockey League	62
D. International Hockey League Innovations and Rule Changes: 1904-1907	65
E. The Organization and Success of the International Hockey League Teams: 1904-1907	70
Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan (Michigan Soo).....	71
Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario (Canadian Soo).....	76
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania	86
Calumet, Michigan	91
Houghton, Michigan (The Portage Lakes Hockey Club)	98
F. Potential League Expansions: 1904-1907.....	106
G. The Conclusion of I.H.L. Operations.....	111
H. The Influence of Selected Individuals	118
Administrators.....	119
James R. Dee.....	120
Edwin S. "Chaucer" Elliott	121
Dr. John L. "Doc" Gibson	124
John T. McNamara	127
Important Players.....	128

Chapter

Roy Brown	129
Lorne Campbell	130
James Henry "Jimmy" Gardner.....	132
Joe Hall.....	132
"Riley" Hern.....	135
"Chief" Jones	136
Edouard "Newsy" Lalonde	137
Jean Baptiste "Jack" Laviolette	140
Ken Mallen	141
Didier Pitre	142
Bruce Stuart	146
William Hodgson "Hod" Stuart	147
Fred Taylor	151
William "Lady Bill" Taylor.....	154
Jack Ward	155
Jack Winchester.....	156
 IV. AN ANALYSIS OF THE INTERNATIONAL HOCKEY LEAGUE	
A. Impact on Host Towns.....	157
Spectators	158
Business and Commerce	161
Participation in Ice Hockey	163
B. League Competition	164
The Advantages of Pittsburgh.....	165
Managerial Rivalries.....	166
Team Rivalries and Competition	169
C. Exhibition Games	171

Chapter

Canadian Exhibition Games	172
Stanley Cup Challenges	175
D. Referees	176
Administrative Problems	177
Referee Incompetence	184
E. Inappropriate Behavior.....	187
Administrative Behavior	187
Player Behavior.....	190
Newspaper Reporting	193
F. Violence in the International Hockey League	195
Hockey and "Manly" Sports	196
Acts of Brutality During I.H.L. Games	198
"Bad" Joe Hall.....	204
Spectator Violence	207
A Comparison of I.H.L. and Canadian Hockey League Violence.....	208
G. Finances	211
Attendance	211
Profits	214
Competition for Spectators.....	217
Socio-economic Trends.....	218
Player Salaries	220
V. INTER-LEAGUE RIVALRY AND TRENDS IN PROFESSIONALISM IN ICE HOCKEY	
A. Inter-league Rivalries and Influences.....	224
The Western Pennsylvania Hockey League.....	224
The Ontario Hockey Association	227
The Attempts of the O.H.A. to Discipline Professionals.....	229

Chapter

Attempts to Thwart Professional Clubs	234
The War Against the I.H.L. and Professionalism	240
Maintaining the Power of the Association	245
The Eastern Canada Amateur Hockey Association	246
B. Changes in Professionalism in Hockey in Canada	250
Commercialism in Spectator Sport and Perceived American Influences	250
Amateur Hockey Organizations and Hidden Professionalism	254
Amateurism in Senior Canadian Hockey	256
C. Professionalism During the I.H.L.'s Operating Years	257
Hypocrisy in Canadian Amateur Hockey	258
Resistance to Professionalism	260
Anticipation of Professional Hockey	262
D. Professional Ice Hockey in Canada	264
E. The International Hockey League and Canadian Professional Hockey	267
The Influence of American Ideals on Ice Hockey	267
Reactions of Canadian Teams and Associations to I.H.L. Success	272
Anti-professional Policy in Canadian Associations	274
Professional Hockey in Canada and the Disbanding of the I.H.L.	275
VI. SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS	
Summary	278
Conclusions	281
Recommendations	284
Recommendations for Further Study	284
Final Recommendations	285
BIBLIOGRAPHY	286
APPENDICES	291

A.	The Rules of Hockey - As Written by Arthur Farrell, Shamrock Hockey Club, 1899	292
B.	The Portage Lakes Hockey Club - Player, Team, and Referee Records, 1903-04.....	294
C.	International Hockey League Rules - 1904-05	298
D.	Rules Governing Play in the International Hockey League - 1904-05	299
E.	International Hockey League Officers, 1904-1907	301
F.	International Hockey league Team Uniforms.....	303
G.	International Hockey League All-Star Teams, 1904-1907	304
H.	International Hockey League Team Records, 1904-1907.....	307
I.	International Hockey League Player and Team Records, 1904-05	308
J.	International Hockey League Player and Team Records, 1905-06.....	313
K.	International Hockey League Player and Team Records, 1906-07	318
L.	International Hockey League Scoring Leaders By Year	323
M.	International Hockey League Referees	324
N.	Complete International Hockey League Player Records 1904-1907.....	325
O.	International Hockey League Career Leaders.....	331
P.	"Hockey By Si Plunkins"	332
Q.	Recorded Attendance at I.H.L. Games.....	335

LIST OF PLATES

Plate

I.	Skate Advertisement - 1900	29
II.	Hockey Equipment Advertisement, 1900	31
III.	Dr. John L. "Doc" Gibson	47
IV.	The Amphidrome Rink, Houghton, Michigan	51
V.	The Portage Lakes Hockey Club, Team Photo - 1903-04	57
VI.	The Portage Lakes Hockey Club and Montreal Wanderers - Series Advertisement, 1904.....	60
VII.	Fire Insurance Map of the Ridge Street Arena, Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan .	73
VIII.	Duquesne Gardens, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania	87
IX.	Fire Insurance Map of The Palestra, Calumet, Michigan	93
X.	The Calumet Hockey Club - I.H.L. Champions, 1904-05	96
XI.	a) Edwin "Chaucer" Elliott b) James R. Dee	122
XII.	Joe Hall	134
XII.	a) Edouard "Newsy" Lalonde b) "Jack" Laviolette.....	139
XIII.	a) Didier Pitre b) Bruce Stuart	145
XIV.	a) "Hod" Stuart b) Fred Taylor.....	152
XV.	John Ross Robertson, O.H.A. President, 1899-1905	230

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.A.A.C.	Amateur Athletic Association of Canada
A.A.H.L.	American Amateur Hockey League
A.H.A.C.	Amateur Hockey Association of Canada
C.A.A.U.	Canadian Amateur Athletic Union
C.A.H.L.	Canadian Amateur Hockey League
E.C.A.H.A.	Eastern Canada Amateur Hockey Association
E.C.H.A.	Eastern Canada Hockey Association
F.A.H.L.	Federal Amateur Hockey League
I.H.L.	International Hockey League
M.H.L.	Manitoba Hockey League
N.H.A.	National Hockey Association
N.H.L.	National Hockey League
O.H.A.	Ontario Hockey Association
O.P.H.L.	Ontario Professional Hockey League
P.C.H.A.	Pacific Coast Hockey Association
W.C.H.L.	Western Canada Hockey League
W.P.H.L.	Western Pennsylvania Hockey League

GLOSSARY

HOCKEY AND SPORT-RELATED TERMS

All-star. All-stars were those players who were determined to be exceptionally talented. All-star teams were usually determined following the conclusion of a specific hockey season, where athletes at each playing position were recognized from a specific league. Appendix G contains all-star teams that were selected during the I.H.L.'s operative years. In addition, Charles L. Coleman, following the compilation of data for his work The Trail of the Stanley Cup, chose an all-star team based on all those players who had competed for the Stanley Cup, between 1893 and 1926.¹

Body-checking. This act consisted of stopping an opposing player who had the puck by using the body. A player could not, in any way, hinder a player who did not have the puck.²

Combination Plays. Combination plays were the quick, successive passing plays that were required during games, due to the on-side nature of hockey at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Coverpoint. This player was situated directly in front of the point position, and, although a defence player, occasionally joined in rushes toward the opposing zone. The coverpoint position was usually held by a strong, fast skater who also could body-check, and, when in control of the puck, stickhandle with it long enough for the forwards to form a line of attack.³

Defenceman. The two defence players were called point and coverpoint, and were positioned one in front of the other, unlike the side-by-side method used in later years. Those playing defence were expected to stop attacks, pass the puck to a teammate, or lift the puck to the other end of the rink. These players rarely left the immediate vicinity of their own goals.⁴

Face (or Face-off). A face would be used to commence play. The puck would be placed between the sticks of two opposing players, who would try to gain control of the puck, upon the hearing the referee blow a whistle or shout "play".

Fence (or boards). The boundary around the ice surface was called the fence, or boards. The size of the fence would vary, according to the arena hosting games. In addition, players,

¹Coleman's all-star team is referred to in Chapter 3, where the careers of specific I.H.L. players are analyzed.

²Houghton Daily Mining Gazette, Mar 6/02, n. pag.

³Sault Star, Jan 21/05, n. pag.

⁴Foster Hewitt, Hockey Night in Canada (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1953), 38.

upon receiving a penalty, did not have a penalty box to report to, and instead would be "sent to the fence", to sit on the boards for the duration of the penalty.

Forward. There were four forwards during this period, a centre, two wings, and the now-defunct rover. Usually, the rover would initiate a rush up ice with the puck, and would be joined by the rest of the forwards, who formed a line across the width of the ice surface. A forward was usually a fast skater and good stickhandler, who could use a teammate well, and shoot the puck accurately, although many goals during this period occurred when a forward followed a puck shot on an opposing goal, and put the puck into the net if the goalkeeper was unable to control the initial shot.⁵

Goalkeeper (or goaltender). This was considered to be one of the most important positions on a team. A player at this position needed to be agile and quick on skates, and be able to block the shots directed at the goal. The goaltender could not fall to the ice, and so needed to be adept at "clearing", or removing the puck from the immediate vicinity of the goal area.⁶

Lifting. Lifting occurred when a player, usually at the defence position, raised the puck high into the air, and down the ice toward the opposing goal. This practice was used to relieve pressure around the goal net, and to also attempt scoring opportunities; the off-side rule forbade forward passing, but a lifted puck could be easily taken by a forward, should an opposing defence player be unable to control the lifted puck.

"Loafing" off-side. Because players were required to be on-side, that is, always behind the teammate with the puck, a player would be considered loafing if nearer the opposing goal. That player would be essentially taken out of the play, the referee calling an infraction should the loafing player touch the puck. Players who engaged in this practice would be scorned, and considered indolent, and in some cases, referees would call penalties on such players, in order to discourage this practice.

Off-side. This was a very important rule; should the puck be shot or passed in the direction of the opposing goal, a player could not touch the puck immediately after a teammate. That player would be considered off-side, and could only be placed on-side when an opposing player touched the puck. In some circumstances, a player could be placed on-side if the teammate who touched the puck immediately prior skated up ice to a point where the off-side athlete was located.⁷

Point. The point position was located immediately in front of the goalkeeper, and to prevent opposing forwards from shooting, and to remove the puck from the area near the goal. Traditionally, the point player was a big, strong athlete, capable of body-checking the opposing forwards.⁸

Rover. The rover was the most versatile of all the players on the ice, aiding the defence when opponents were attacking the goal, and skating up ice with the forwards for their own rushes on the opposite goal. The rover would usually be the fastest skater on the club, and

⁵Sault Star, Jan 21/05, n. pag.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Mining Gazette, Mar 6/02, n. pag.

⁸Sault Star, Jan 21/05, n. pag.

would also be required to assume the playing positions of any teammates who left the ice to serve penalties.⁹

Rush. This was the skill of skating toward the opposing goal with the puck. A rush could be done individually, or with teammates, who would stickhandle with the puck, or pass it back and forth.

Stickhandle. This was the act of controlling the puck with the stick.

Shutout. A shutout occurred when a team played an entire game without allowing the opponent to score a goal. Shutouts would be credited to the goalkeeper, and could be used as a means of determining the abilities of the goaltender.

⁹Ibid.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author would like to thank the thesis supervisor, Dr. Barbara Schrodt, for her guidance, contributions, and feedback during the writing of this thesis. The author would also like to recognize the efforts of Dr. Robert Morford and Dr. Wendy Frisby, whose input and assistance as examiners have been greatly appreciated.

Phillip Pritchard of the Hockey Hall of Fame is commended for his invaluable assistance in allowing the author access to important information at the Hall in Toronto, Ontario.

In addition, the moral and critical support of the author's parents, David and Marjorie Mason, the technical guidance of his sister, Denise Mason, and the emotional support of his partner, Anita Kagna, during the completion of this study, were greatly appreciated.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The first openly-acknowledged professional ice hockey team played its inaugural game in the town of Houghton, Michigan, in 1903. The competitiveness of the team that year led to the organization of the first professional hockey league, the International Hockey League (I.H.L.), in the fall of 1904.

The purpose of this study is to present a comprehensive written history of the International Hockey League. The study will provide a background on the research problem, information regarding the league, and the need for further research. The procedure for investigation will also be presented.

In the decades following Confederation, Canada enjoyed a rapid growth in sport, including ice hockey. The interest that the Canadian public held for hockey increased with the industrialization and urbanization of the late 1800's. These advances created more leisure time for workers and therefore the need for more leisure activities.¹

During this time, many amateur sport governing bodies were formed, adopting the stringent rules regarding the amateur status of athletes that were common in Britain.² One such association was the Ontario Hockey Association (O.H.A.), formed in the fall of 1890.³ However, despite pressures from the O.H.A. to retain amateurism in hockey, and the

¹Allan Cox, et al, "Sport in Canada, 1868-1900", in History of Sport in Canada 2nd edition. ed. Maxwell Howell and Reet Howell (Toronto: Stipes Publ. Co., 1985), 107.

²Alan Metcalfe, Canada Learns to Play: The Emergence of Organized Sport, 1807-1914 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987), 100.

³Scott Young, 100 Years of Dropping the Puck- A History of the O.H.A. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, Inc., 1989), 7.

apparent negative views about professionalism in sport, there were numerous instances in ice hockey where athletes were paid to participate.

Commonly referred to as "ringers", these paid players began appearing in hockey in the early 1890's,⁴ but hockey associations, particularly the O.H.A., continued to resist and deny any activities involving professional players. "Professionalism was seen to be the root of all the other problems. Rough play, the use of ringers, fan conduct, and any other evils all coalesced into one ailment - professionalism."⁵

The identification and subsequent reprimanding of professional hockey players involved the suspension of those athletes considered to be "non-resident" players by the associations governing a specific league,⁶ but professional practices continued despite the risks of being caught. An indicator that professionalism had truly arrived in ice hockey was the fact that games were now scheduled on weekdays; amateurs normally held positions of employment in other endeavors, and often required financial subsidization to compensate for work-time missed by playing or travelling to games during the week.⁷

The pressures from sport governing bodies continued to thwart the paying of players, but views on professionalism in society were beginning to change. By 1900, hockey was played and viewed by all classes of society in Canada,⁸ and was no longer considered to be a sport enjoyed only by affluent members of society.⁹ Also, as fan interest increased, it was now a possible business venture, and paying players was one way to ensure team competitiveness.

⁴Metcalfe, Canada Learns to Play, 70.

⁵Ibid., 71.

⁶Kevin Jones, "Sport and Games in Canadian Life, 1900-1920," in History of Sport in Canada, 195.

⁷Henry Roxborough, One Hundred-Not Out (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1966), 204.

⁸Cox, 145.

⁹Ibid., 117.

However, until 1903, professionalism was not visible to the public; players, who in the past had played for local teams, had now gone to other towns, and were secretly paid by their new clubs, or guaranteed high-paying positions within the community.¹⁰ Despite such occurrences, ice hockey was considered to be an "amateur" sport until 1903, when the Portage Lakes Hockey Club was formed.

The sport was gaining in popularity, during the first decade of the twentieth century, particularly in Eastern Canada. J.L. Gibson, a Canadian who had relocated in Houghton to practice dentistry, had played for the Berlin¹¹ team in the O.H.A. and was instrumental in introducing the sport to the Michigan mining town. However, Houghton did not have enough skilled players available locally to maintain the competitiveness of the club; as a result, the team management was forced to build the club from players in Canada. The team eventually paid players to come to Houghton, but had no interest in concealing this fact. Thus, from these transactions, the "Portage Lakes" Hockey Club was formed, the first professional ice hockey team in North America.¹²

The newly-formed professional club began playing exhibition games against Canadian and American clubs. The Houghton team, laden with talented players, soundly defeated their opponents in many of the games. Consequently, Canadian teams, often humiliated by the American team, began to seek out players of better calibre, or to retain players by paying them, regardless of the risks of being considered professional.¹³ Shortly thereafter, leagues in Eastern Canada began operating on a fully-acknowledged professional basis.

¹⁰Morris Mott, "Inferior Exhibitions, Superior Ceremonies: The Nature and Meaning of the Hockey Games of the Winnipeg Vics, 1890-1903", in 5th Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education (Toronto: University Press, 1982), 11.

¹¹Berlin was renamed Kitchener in 1916.

¹²J.W. (Bill) Fittell, "Tribute to Dr. J.L. (Jack) Gibson," speech given at the Hockey Hall of Fame Induction Dinner, Toronto, 26 Aug. 1976, n. pag.

¹³Nancy Howell, and Maxwell L. Howell, Sports and Games in Canadian Life (Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1969), 206.

The success of the Houghton club led several entrepreneurs to believe that a league in the eastern United States might prove to be a profitable venture. As a result, for the following season, the International Hockey League was formed,¹⁴ with teams playing out of Sault Ste. Marie, Houghton and Calumet, Michigan, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (the arena there had artificial ice), and Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario. Players were paid salaries of twenty-five to seventy-five dollars per week, with the league operating from December 14 to March 15.¹⁵ Referees were also paid to work in the new league; they were given a monthly salary and travelling expenses.¹⁶

The I.H.L. continued operating until it was disbanded in 1907. The reasons for the League's closure are not completely certain, although many have postulated that this was due to a lack of fan interest, or arena facilities not capable of hosting adequate crowds to make League operations profitable.¹⁷ Sport historian Alan Metcalfe suggested that the I.H.L. lacked the necessary conditions for a successful league, namely a large population and comparatively short distances between competing towns.¹⁸

Review of Relevant Literature

Most of the literature reviewed for this study has addressed the International Hockey League and its importance, but in little detail. Often, information on the League is limited to a simple paragraph within a larger work.

Frank Cosentino, in his thesis, "A History of the Concept of Professionalism in Canadian Sport", outlines some of the League's operations, but this constitutes only parts

¹⁴In many works the I.H.L. is referred to as the International Professional Hockey League, or the International Pro League.

¹⁵Frank Cosentino, "A History of the Concept of Professionalism in Canadian Sport" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Alberta, 1973), 226.

¹⁶Toronto Globe and Mail, Nov 2/1905, n. pag.

¹⁷Howell and Howell, 206.

¹⁸Metcalfe, 170.

of several pages in a thesis that exceeds five hundred pages. The reason for this apparent lack of emphasis might be that the I.H.L. was considered to be an American league, as Cosentino examined other professional leagues that emerged in eastern Canada shortly after the creation of the Portage Lakes Hockey Club and the I.H.L. It is unfortunate that the magnitude of historical sport research often forces the historian to contain research within specific geographical confines. In the case of the I.H.L., it may be that its operations in both the United States and Canada could make extensive research difficult, as the two countries are usually examined either separately, or in comparison with one another.

Kevin Jones also conducted extensive historical research on sport of this time period, but again, although the importance of the league is not overlooked, reference to the I.H.L. is limited.¹⁹ The extent to which the I.H.L. is examined by Jones and other sport historians is limited to a statement of the creation of the league by Gibson, its significance as the first professional hockey league, and its demise in 1907.

Perhaps the I.H.L.'s American origins are the reasons for the apparent lack of depth to which the league's operations are analyzed. Even Metcalfe barely details the I.H.L. in his work, Canada Learns to Play²⁰. Also, although Howell and Howell mention the genesis and existence of the I.H.L., in Sport and Games in Canadian Life, it is again, only briefly.²¹

The Trail of the Stanley Cup, Volume One, by Charles Coleman, provides an invaluable source of information for hockey historians. Coleman has meticulously compiled statistical and biographical information on the players of most of the teams and leagues that have competed for the Stanley Cup since 1893.²² Unfortunately, the Stanley Cup was not competed for by professional leagues, during the lifespan of the I.H.L., and therefore,

¹⁹Jones.

²⁰Metcalfe.

²¹Howell and Howell.

²²Charles L. Coleman, The Trail of the Stanley Cup Vol. 1 1893-1926 inc. (Dubuque: Kendall Hunt Publishing Company, 1966).

Coleman did not compile statistical information on this league. A majority of the authors who have written on specific events and players of this era use Coleman's book for statistical reference, and do not choose to research the data themselves. This practice has created a gap in the information that is available on the teams and players of this time period that are not included in Coleman's study.

Finally, the Hockey Hall of Fame, which carries an extensive collection of works pertaining to hockey, was contacted for information or artifacts relating to the I.H.L. Following discussion with Phillip Pritchard,²³ and a subsequent search for information at the Hall in Toronto, it was determined that little or no information was available on the I.H.L. However, the Hall does hold a scrapbook, containing newspaper clippings about the I.H.L., and several other miscellaneous artifacts.

This review of literature has determined that readily available information on the formation, operation and subsequent demise of the International Hockey League, although not insignificant, is limited.

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study is to compile a comprehensive written history of the International Hockey League from 1903 until its demise in 1907. The study will include the evaluation and examination of the following sub-problems, the extent to which will be determined by the availability of resources and the abilities of the researcher:

- a) the organization, administration, and operation of the I.H.L.
- b) the influences of other leagues, particularly the O.H.A., on the I.H.L., and the ways in which the I.H.L. may have influenced other leagues.
- c) the impact of public views about professionalism on the International Hockey League and its members.

²³Pritchard is the Manager of the Resource Centre and Acquisitions at the Hockey Hall of Fame and Museum, in Toronto, Ontario.

- d) the relationships between financial and competitive success or failure, the League's operations, and the influences of rival leagues.
- e) the impact of innovations, and rules changes on the I.H.L., and in particular, the sport of ice hockey in general.
- f) the influence of specific individuals on the League and its operations.

Justification for the Study

The review of literature has demonstrated that, to the best of this investigator's knowledge, no comprehensive written history of the International Hockey League has been undertaken, although brief references to the League are frequent in the relevant literature on the history of sport in Canada, and the history of ice hockey. Despite the lack of emphasis placed on the League in the literature, the significance of the I.H.L. is duly noted as the first professional hockey league in North America.

No works are concerned specifically with the I.H.L., although there have been some biographical analyses of players whose playing careers were at one time centered in the league. In such cases, references to the League are confined to specific occurrences and events during games of note, or related to the lives of the players in question, and, in some instances, proven to have been based on incorrect information.

As previously discussed, the work of Coleman, with its detail of the history of hockey in North America, has left a noticeable gap in useful information, particularly concerning the statistical compilation of leagues and players. Therefore, those hockey researchers relying on Coleman have, of necessity, been more general in their treatment of the I.H.L. than other leagues.

The fact that information is not as readily available for I.H.L. reference as for other leagues of the time period is, in itself, not reason enough to undergo a comprehensive written examination. Cosentino, among others, has hinted that the creation of the Portage Lakes Hockey Club, and the International Hockey League had a profound effect on the sport

of ice hockey in eastern Canada. This can be evidenced by the sudden creation of other professional leagues following the competitive success of the Portage Lakes team, and the I.H.L.. The importance of the I.H.L. in establishing and leading to the acceptance of professionalism in ice hockey must not be overlooked.

A comprehensive written history, and an understanding of the relationships between the I.H.L., competing leagues, and society can only be obtained through a detailed analysis of newspapers, artifacts, records, and reports available.

Delimitations

- a) The time limits for the study are from 1902 to 1907, that is, from the year before the creation of professional hockey in Houghton, to the demise of the International Hockey League. In order to establish a setting for the work, information regarding the formation and development of ice hockey, both amateur and professional, and the views on sport in society of the time period are examined. Much of this information was acquired from sources that are concerned with issues prior to or after the selected years.
- b) The geographic area for the study is the Province of Ontario, and the states of Michigan and Pennsylvania.

Limitations

- a) The availability and accessibility of resources will prove to be a limitation of this study.
- b) Most of the individuals involved with the operation of the International Hockey League are deceased. The whereabouts of those who remain are unknown, and may prove difficult to locate. Should it be possible to contact those who were involved with the I.H.L., it is not known if such persons would be willing or able to supply relevant information.

- c) The Hockey Hall of Fame, under most circumstances, would provide an invaluable source of information for a work of this nature. However, upon discussion with Craig Campbell, Phillip Pritchard and Jeff Davis, of the Hockey Hall of Fame in Toronto, it has been determined that the Hall's only source of information on the I.H.L. is one scrapbook.
- d) The information collected will rely heavily upon data reported in newspapers. The quality, and impartialness of the reporters of each paper will provide another limiting factor for this study. To obtain a more impartial and objective view of the events of each game, more than one account of the game will be analyzed, where possible.

Hypotheses

The nature of this study requires the development of several hypotheses, which will be examined in light of information gathered during the investigative phase of the study. Conclusions and interpretations will be made on the basis of all or some of the following hypotheses:

- a) The International Hockey League played an important role in the development of professional hockey in Canada.
- b) The activities and operations of the I.H.L. and its members reflected and affected attitudes toward professionalism in both Canada and the United States.
- c) The operations and levels of play of the I.H.L. were the direct result of the influence of several important individuals and events.

Sources of Information

The sources of information used in this study were as follows:

- a) All relevant secondary sources, such as studies and works on professionalism in sports, Canadian and American sport history, hockey history, and the interaction of sport and hockey with society, as found in theses, articles in periodicals, and books.

- b) Information regarding the methodology of sport history research, as well as works on the relationship between sport and society, specifically the time period 1895-1915.
- c) Newspapers, particularly those of the towns of Calumet, Houghton, Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, and Pittsburgh.
- d) The Hockey Hall of Fame in Toronto, and the Michigan State Library and Archives in Lansing, Michigan, which provided specific information on the towns, the I.H.L., and its members.

Definition of terms

In order to completely understand the study, the defining of certain terms is necessary. A number of terms relating to the rules and events that occur during the course of an ice hockey game will need clarification. For the purpose of this study "hockey" will be defined as the sport of ice hockey which was created in eastern Canada shortly after Confederation. A glossary of hockey and sport-related terms used during the period of I.H.L. operations has been compiled for this study, and can be found in the front matter of this thesis.

The term "professional" will be defined as the act of accepting money for playing a sport, or of using a sport as a means of livelihood. The terms surrounding the concept of professionalism and amateurism will be elaborated upon following the completion of data collection.

Methodology

The research conducted follows the historical method. To determine the validity and reliability of the information studied, the data was subjected to a rigorous critical examination. Corroborative evidence was sought in all instances to determine the trustworthiness of collected material. (Using such methods, the external and internal validity of all data collected will be investigated, where possible).

The format of the study is:

- a) a chronological-thematic narrative of the events and occurrences of the International Hockey League from its inception to its demise**
- b) an analysis and interpretation of the data collected, based on the criteria described earlier**
- c) an evaluation of the I.H.L., focussing on the apparent success or impact of the League.**

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND CONDITIONS RELATED TO THE STUDY

Eastern Canada and Sport during the Late Nineteenth Century

Both Canada and its sports were undergoing rapid changes during the latter half of the nineteenth century. While organized sport has been considered a consequence of the changes in Canadian society during this time, a more appropriate view would be to see sport as an integral part of society, reflecting the dominant social and political concerns of the period.¹ In order to limit this study, changes in Canadian society that occurred following Confederation will be noted only when the effects of such changes served to dramatically shape organized sport in Canada.

The period discussed witnessed the increased industrial development of Eastern Canada, which directly led to the development of organized sport.² The emergence of organized sport in Canada can be attributed to a number of factors. Metcalfe reasoned that the network of railways, combined with urbanization and industrialization,³ provided an environment suitable for the evolution of sport in Canada. Jobling further supports Metcalfe, by stating that "the technological changes which occurred throughout the nineteenth century, and the ramifications which they engendered, had the most profound effect on the development of sport in Canada."⁴

¹Metcalfe, 13.

²For a comprehensive view of the development of sport during this period, see Allan Cox, "A History of Sports in Canada, 1868-1900" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Alberta, 1969).

³Metcalfe, 21.

⁴Ian Jobling, "Sport in Nineteenth Century Canada: The Effects of Technological Changes on its Development" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Alberta, 1970), 3.

Many of the most critical technological advancements were made in the area of transportation and communication. The steam-powered engine linked towns, permitting easier intra- and inter-city competition, while the telegraph enabled accurate information on sporting events to become available, and aided in the advancement of the mass press in the form of newspapers.⁵ At approximately the same time as the appearance of the telegraph, railway construction had begun in earnest in eastern Canada.⁶ Cosentino identified the subsequent increase in inter-city sporting competition⁷ that became a possibility for early Canadian athletes following the construction of additional railway lines. An excellent account of the effects of the industrial revolution, leading to the development of industrialization and urbanization, and to improvements in transportation and communication, can be found in Jobling's doctoral dissertation "Sport in the Nineteenth Century Canada: The Effects of Technological Change on its Development".⁸

The absence of adequate railway lines prior to Confederation confined sport to local areas; athletes were unable to travel great distances, and therefore could not compete against a wide range of opponents, or become exposed to the different sports being developed in different parts of eastern Canada. This greatly contributed to the slow advancement of organized sports in Canada.⁹ However, the growth of Canadian industry led to increased urbanization in eastern Canada, and more leisure time for the working class.

The effects of these societal changes coincided with an increase in the number of sporting clubs in eastern Canada. From the formation of the first sporting club, changes in the social, cultural, economic, and technological patterns of society would greatly affect the

⁵Metcalfe, 51-52.

⁶Jobling, 32.

⁷Cosentino, 128.

⁸Jobling.

⁹Cox, "History of Sport", 20.

development of sport.¹⁰ According to Cox, railway travel and increased leisure time were not the only factors giving sport a more important role in Canadian society:

By 1900 sport had attained an unprecedented position in the Canadian social scene, and this remarkable development had been achieved in a relatively short period of time through the railroad, the telegraph, the penny press, the electric light, the bicycle, the camera, and the mass production of sporting goods.¹¹

Though such advancements led to an increase in the number of sporting clubs formed in the latter half of the nineteenth century, there were other conditions that would determine the types of sports to be pursued; the cold Canadian climate meant that between November and April, the winter shut down farms, froze the lakes of eastern Canada, and even slowed business.¹² Cox also recognized the unique features of Canada that pioneers had to contend with, when considering the development of sport:

Two of the major factors which influenced the development of sports were climate and terrain. The harsh winters, with snow on the ground for up to six months of every year, made it necessary for many settlers to become conversant with the use of snowshoes. Similarly, the use of ice-skates was often an economic, as well as social, necessity.¹³

The winters afforded more time for leisure activities for the rural families of Canada, whose farm duties were lessened, and "the Canadian winter sports scene [reflected] the ingenuity of the vigorous nineteenth century inhabitants of this northern land."¹⁴

The commercialization of Canadian sport began in the 1870's in the urban centres of Eastern Canada. The earliest evidence of this phenomenon occurred in Montreal, where an emphasis was placed on the provision of facilities for both spectator and participatory

¹⁰Cox, "History of Sport", 1.

¹¹Ibid., 461.

¹²Peter Waite, "Between Three Oceans: Challenges of a Continental Destiny (1840-1900)," in The Illustrated History of Canada, ed. Craig Brown (Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys Limited, 1987), 283.

¹³Cox, "History of Sport", 19.

¹⁴Ibid., 198.

sport.¹⁵ Montreal has been called the "birthplace of organized sport" in Canada,¹⁶ due in part to the spectator potential it held for sporting events.¹⁷ Examples of early facilities developed for social and sporting events during the cold Montreal winters were the Victoria Skating Rink, built in 1862, followed by Guilbault's Rink, in 1864.¹⁸

However, until the effects of industrialization and urbanization had become apparent, these facilities, along with most others, were not available for use by all members of Canadian society; "organized sport prior to Confederation was limited to the elite of a small but growing number of towns and was foreign to the lives of farmers, habitants, lumbermen, and fur traders, who typified the inhabitants of the country."¹⁹ While sport should be considered "one of the sub-systems of culture that transcends socio-economic, educational, ethnic, and religious barriers,"²⁰ it should be noted that before the onset of industrialization, sport was an exclusive domain of the social elite in society.²¹

The development of popular indigenous sporting activities was yet to occur, although immigrants had brought many leisure pursuits from Europe. It was these same immigrants who provided the funds to build facilities that could host athletic events, and many of the games and sports played were simply versions of the games played in Europe. However, the unique conditions of Canada resulted in variations of those same sports:

¹⁵Metcalfe, 134.

¹⁶Ibid., 22.

¹⁷Cox, "History of Sport", 275.

¹⁸Ibid., 6.

¹⁹Metcalfe, 29.

²⁰Ibid., 13-14.

²¹Ibid., 29.

Even though the trends were the same and Montreal's experience was repeated many times in the 1870's, local variations in the games played and the groups involved added to the richness and complexity of Canadian sport. What gave some coherence to sporting activity was the British influence; thus, cricket and curling were the most popular sports across English-speaking British North America²²

The influence of British ideals upon Canadian sporting pursuits was now evident. Sport in Canada was moulded in the image of the British aristocracy, and upheld in children through the private school system; "these young native-born 'Canadians' were to play an important role in the organization of sport."²³ As the British heritage of many Canadians continued to influence the development of sport, the urbanization and industrialization of Canadian society made the games of the Old Country more unique. "Increased pressure from land use resulted in skyrocketing land prices that in turn affected sport by leading to restricted spatial boundaries and the development of specialized athletic facilities."²⁴ Pre-industrial sports such as cricket, curling, and baseball had included the potential for endless contest; now, newer sports were forced into specific time constraints²⁵ necessitated by the scarcity of facilities, or by times available for competition in an urbanized environment.

The Emergence of Amateurism and Professionalism in Canadian Sport

As sport necessarily became more structured, "the dominant social groups moved to create a network of social sporting clubs that were available only to the elite of society."²⁶ In an attempt to preserve sport as an upper middle class activity, certain means to deny specific groups in Canadian society the right to participate in organized sport were devised by the leaders and operators of the early sporting clubs and associations of eastern Canada. The emerging middle class in Canadian society had tried to pattern itself after the social

²²Metcalfe, 26.

²³Ibid., 30.

²⁴Ibid., 48.

²⁵Ibid., 50.

²⁶Ibid., 32.

elite,²⁷ and in most instances, the British aristocracy provided the most plausible model for the new social class to follow. Thus, in sport, the concept of amateurism was adopted, though its value and effects were unique in the Canadian context.

Metcalf explains that because the concept of amateurism existed as a way of life in Britain, within a closed social system, no definition of an amateur was necessary until the middle class, and then the workers, emerged as members of society that were able to partake in leisure activities. Then, "it became necessary to institutionalize, in written form, the value system - thus the attempts to define the amateur code."²⁸ In Canada, there can be no doubt that the concept of amateurism was taken from Britain, and assimilated into Canadian society through the military, private schools, and universities.²⁹ Metcalfe points out that the process of transmitting the concept of amateurism into Canadian culture was difficult, as the sports organizations were attempting to implement ideals that had evolved in a different social system.³⁰ With the social gatherings afforded by their wealth, the upper classes enjoyed sporting activities such as hunting, horse-racing, and cricket. Sport then became a means through which this class could demonstrate gentlemanly conduct.³¹ By creating an amateur code that effectively separated the "gentleman" from the other classes in society, the middle and upper classes in Canada could continue to maintain sport as an activity exclusive to their own social group, "while systematically excluding non-Europeans, women, and the working class from sport".³² An example of this occurred in lacrosse, where all native Indians were declared professionals.³³ In doing this, the sports

²⁷Cosentino, 23.

²⁸Metcalf, 121.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Ibid., 120.

³²Richard Gruneau and David Whitson, Hockey Night in Canada: Sport, Identities, and Cultural Politics (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1993), 17.

³³Cosentino, 36.

organizations had essentially barred the natives from participating in gentlemanly competition. While social standing remained a factor when determining amateur status, the question of pecuniary gain from participation finally became an issue in the 1870's. Although accepting money for competing was already common, it only became significantly linked to professionalism in the early 1880's, when social distinction had waned as a criterion for the definition of an amateur.³⁴ Metcalfe would call the amateur definition the greatest and most destructive contribution that sport organizations made during this period : ³⁵

By 1884, an embryonic exclusionary system provided the foundation stone of all future definitions. Unfortunately, in doing so, the organizers of amateur sport, either consciously or unconsciously, failed to solve the real problem of defining the ideology itself and of developing a meaningful system to implement it. Instead, a system was created that effectively excluded professionals . . . in doing this it excluded large segments of the population and thus sowed the seeds of a class-based amateur code.³⁶

In 1884 the Amateur Athletic Association of Canada (A.A.A.C.) was formed, in response to concerns of professionalism in sports such as lacrosse.³⁷ An amateur definition was quickly forged, and subsequently revised over the years. The following is a partial list, compiled by Metcalfe, that shows the evolution of the A.A.A.C.'s amateur definition:

³⁴Cosentino, 76.

³⁵Metcalfe, 100.

³⁶Ibid., 122-123.

³⁷Ibid., 105.

1884: An amateur is one who has never[:] competed for a money prize . . . staked a bet. . . [competed] with or against any professional for any prize, . . . assisted in the practice of athletic exercises as a means of obtaining a livelihood.

1886 (Add) . . . entered any competition under a name other than his own.

1902(Add): [received] private or public gate receipts; . . . directly or indirectly, received any bonus or a payment in lieu of loss of time while playing as a member of any club, or any money considerations whatever for any services as an athlete except his actual travelling and of selling or pledging his prizes.³⁸

While sports organizations such as the A.A.A.C. attempted to regulate sports in Canada on the British model, Canada was developing a sporting identity of its own; although "organized sport was created by men and thus was rooted in their own life experiences and cultural traditions, its particular form and characteristics were related to changes in the nature of Canadian society."³⁹ For this reason, some of the traditional British games, such as cricket and curling, began to lose popularity, as they were identified with Britain, and not with the emerging Canadian ideals.⁴⁰ Cox stated that "the social life of Canada underwent several upheavals during this period, for the British traditions began to weaken. British North America was becoming a nation with a distinctive character."⁴¹ The emergence of North American pastimes was evidenced by the popularity of baseball, which, other than rowing, was the first sport to be characterized as professional in Canada. . . .⁴² "Baseball had taken root among the working class and was to remain, for the most part, outside the jurisdiction of amateur sport organizations dominated by the middle class that were to emerge later."⁴³ Baseball's affinity for professionalism was tied to its class origins, but was also due to its popularity in rural areas. "Rural baseball teams sometimes found it difficult to compete on an equal footing with urban teams without some kind of commercial sponsorship or financial

³⁸Metcalfe, 123, citing Lansley, (University of Alberta, 1971), 290, 295, and 300.

³⁹Ibid., 47-48.

⁴⁰Ibid., 21.

⁴¹Cox, 39.

⁴²Cosentino, 135.

⁴³Metcalfe, 26.

inducements to skilled players."⁴⁴ The resistance that the sports organizations were receiving was no doubt the result of attempts by the lower classes, whose best interests were not recognized by the amateur code, to participate in athletics under the conditions that were forced upon them.

Cox has noted that, with some sports existing outside the control of the sports organizations, and with some resistance to the implementation of the amateur code, there was a stronger movement towards a return to amateurism during the final decades of the nineteenth century.⁴⁵ Gruneau and Whitson postulated that the:

. . . spirit of regulation was also being driven by a more widespread public anxiety about the perceived threats, uncertainties, and dislocations of a society developing a modern urban and industrial culture: social unrest, psychic disorders, disease, vice, and cultural decline. In this context the regulation of leisure and popular culture became heavily influenced by an evangelistic spirit of moral entrepreneurship.⁴⁶

While it could be presumed that the "gentlemen" feared that their lower-class professional counterparts could equal them in competition, there was another reason for the upholders of amateurism to try to stop professionalism:

Nineteenth-century custodians of amateurism feared that commercialism in sport would put an overly great premium on spectacle rather than play, that it would lead to inflamed passion and violence rather than moral discipline and self-improvement, and that it would deflect people from participating in sport fairly and 'for its own sake.'⁴⁷

One factor that was constant through sport, amateur or commercial, was the presence of money.⁴⁸ As the popularity of sport increased during the 1870's and 1880's, the larger number of teams and spectators, combined with the rising price of land, made sport facilities more expensive to maintain. The answer to this problem was to recognize

⁴⁴Gruneau and Whitson 66.

⁴⁵Cox, "History of Sports", 469.

⁴⁶Gruneau and Whitson, 42.

⁴⁷Ibid., 69.

⁴⁸Metcalf, 141.

sport as a means of income, and to market teams in order to sustain their operation.⁴⁹ The presence of the potential for sport as a means of monetary gain became apparent, and essential, for even the staunchest supporters of the amateur code:

Even the most self-righteous proponents of the amateur game were not above charging spectators a fee in order to make money for their teams and associations. However, for many people, both within and outside the amateur associations, this simply dramatized the arbitrary and hypocritical character of existing regulations defining the limits of amateurism and professionalism.⁵⁰

Jones explained that the increase in loyal spectators, which resulted in increased club revenue, ultimately lead to the rise of professionalism in several sports.⁵¹ Cox noted that by the end of the nineteenth century, the A.A.A.C. "seemed to be fighting a losing battle against professionalism in those team sports which drew large, paying crowds."⁵² The battle against professionalism was made even more complicated when it became apparent that each sport had developed its own concept of amateurism.⁵³ By 1900, most team sports had begun accepting "professionalism as a means of maintaining or enhancing their popularity."⁵⁴ The influence of spectators upon professional and amateur team sport was far greater than simply providing clubs and organizations with a means of revenue. The spectators demanded better quality teams and players, and competition increased for talented players.⁵⁵ The emergence of professional team spectator sports seemed to be inevitable, the result of a changing Canadian society, from pre-industrial to industrial.⁵⁶

⁴⁹Metcalfe, 133-134.

⁵⁰Gruneau and Whitson, 71.

⁵¹Jones, 1.

⁵²Cox, "History of Sport", 420.

⁵³Keith Lansley, "The Amateur Athletic Union of Canada and Changing Concepts of Amateurism" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Alberta, 1971), 22.

⁵⁴Jones, 7.

⁵⁵Ibid., 27-28.

⁵⁶Metcalfe, 130.

With the increase in professional spectator sport, the control that amateur organizations had exhibited over the various sports would be weakened, unless appropriate changes to the amateur code were made. By 1900, sport was no longer a privilege of affluent members of society, but a social expectation of almost all Canadians,⁵⁷ and this made regulation by the affluent operators of the sporting clubs and amateur bodies increasingly difficult. As the century ended, amateur status was no longer determined by social position; a player was declared professional based on the monetary rewards received for his athletic performance.⁵⁸ Team spectator sport had become the most troublesome sport to control, because of the potential profitability of teams or leagues. Consequently, the A.A.A.C. revised its constitution in 1896, to reflect the changing attitudes towards professionalism, created by the presence of athletes receiving money for their participation in sports. However, "the problem of professionalism in amateur sport was escalating at such a pace that within six years it would become the only meaningful issue facing the C.A.A.U. The denouement came in lacrosse and hockey."⁵⁹

The Origins and Development of Ice Hockey

The cold winter climate found in Canada led to the development of a number of popular winter sports, both indigenous and adopted from European pastimes. In the years following Confederation, ice hockey quickly became one of the most popular sports, played in a number of different settings and under the influence of the rules of several other sports. To gain a greater understanding of the important events considered for this study, an analysis of the developments in ice hockey, its rules, equipment, and facilities is required.

Skating had been introduced in North America as early as the seventeenth century, "but this activity did not become popular until prepared ice surfaces were provided and

⁵⁷Cox, "Sport in Canada", 117. Sport was pursued as both an physical and viewing activity.

⁵⁸Jones, 434.

⁵⁹Metcalf, 111.

spring skates were invented during the [1860's]."⁶⁰ Early forms of ice hockey were played in the 1850's by members of the military garrisons, in both Kingston and Halifax.⁶¹ Because of the variations in rules, and the lack of evidence to distinctly determine the actual origins of the sport, "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."⁶²

The development of ice rinks in eastern Canada is somewhat more easily documented. Rinks were a British North American innovation, with the first covered rink built in the early 1850's, in Quebec City.⁶³ "The origins of the first ice rinks lay within the upper middle class who formed semi-commercial rinks in order to enjoy skating, masquerades, and balls. Thus the creation of ice rinks preceded hockey."⁶⁴ With Montreal acting as an early pioneer, by the 1870's, Canada featured a dozen covered rinks.⁶⁵

In Montreal, the Victoria Skating Rink was built in 1862, and served as a playground for the social and business elite of that city.⁶⁶ While other cities may lay claim to the first matches, Montreal must be considered the city most critical in the development of the sport. The importance of Montreal in the development of ice hockey has been widely acknowledged; "sport historians are virtually unanimous in their recognition that hockey's organizational roots, early written rules, and formally regulated codes of conduct first took hold in Montreal during the 1870's."⁶⁷ The earliest mention of an organized game of hockey

⁶⁰Cox, "History of Sport", 5-6.

⁶¹Cox, "History of Sport", 226.

⁶²Gruneau and Whitson, 37.

⁶³Cox, "History of Sport", 6.

⁶⁴Metcalfe, 145.

⁶⁵S.F. Wise and Douglas Fisher, Canada's Sporting Heroes (Don Mills: General Publishing Company Limited, 1974), 1974.

⁶⁶Metcalfe, 135.

⁶⁷Gruneau and Whitson, 37.

occurred at the Victoria Skating Rink, on March 3, 1875.⁶⁸ Towards the end of the 1870's, interest in the sport had increased, and "by 1877 there were at least three formally organized hockey clubs in Montreal, and a set of rules borrowed from English field hockey had been published in the Montreal Gazette."⁶⁹ Rules were compiled by several McGill University students, who used the new regulations during a tournament at the Montreal "Winter Carnival", held in 1883.⁷⁰ As hockey became firmly entrenched in the Montreal sports setting, other towns began organizing teams.⁷¹ "Hockey had no visible competitors and was well placed to become the winter game of choice for young anglophone professionals and businessmen with an emergent sense of national belonging."⁷² In 1890, hockey teams were organized in Ottawa and Winnipeg,⁷³ and "by 1895, Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, Halifax, St. John, Quebec City, Peterborough and Ottawa all boasted intra-city leagues."⁷⁴

Despite the expansion of the sport in the mid 1890's, hockey was still available to only select social groups and locations, but "by 1905 it had invaded all corners of Canada."⁷⁵ The rapid growth of the sport in the 1890's had stimulated the building of covered rinks in the smaller towns across Canada.⁷⁶ This was crucial to the survival of hockey, as most winter sports that did not go indoors did not survive by the turn of the

⁶⁸Metcalfe, 61. Players played nine to a team.

⁶⁹Gruneau and Whitson, 38.

⁷⁰Cox, "History of Sport", 230-231.

⁷¹Cox, 236. Toronto had adopted the sport by 1888.

⁷²Gruneau and Whitson, 41.

⁷³Cox, "History of Sport", 233.

⁷⁴Metcalfe, 63.

⁷⁵Ibid., 64.

⁷⁶Ibid., 145.

century.⁷⁷ "Hockey had, by 1900, progressed rapidly from the game of shinny-on-your-own-side to a popular sport played and watched by all classes of society in Canada."⁷⁸

The effects of urbanization were already effecting a sport which was only in its developmental stages. "Originally played on open bays, rivers, or any open space, ice hockey was a free-wheeling, far-ranging game whose boundaries were determined by the availability of clear ice."⁷⁹ Movement into the defined spatial boundaries of the city rinks coincided with the increase in players and leagues. The standardization of rules was necessary to facilitate inter-city and inter-provincial competition.⁸⁰

Rules

The first game organized in Montreal, in 1875, featured two nine-player teams composed of members of the Montreal Football Club, and "by 1879 the number of players per side had been reduced from nine to seven and a standardized set of rules had been adopted. These rules were the foundation of all future rules."⁸¹ Montreal cannot be given exclusive credit for the development of the rules of ice hockey, however, for some other innovations had been tried earlier in Halifax.⁸² Many variations of playing rules were created in the 1890's, coinciding with the formation of various associations. The Ontario Hockey Association published its first set of rules in 1890, including several codes of conduct that would remain in the sport for many years.⁸³ Later in that decade, Arthur Farrell of the Shamrock Hockey Club wrote a hockey manual, and included a brief set of

⁷⁷Jones, 214.

⁷⁸Cox, "History of Sport", 244.

⁷⁹Metcalf, 48.

⁸⁰Ibid.

⁸¹Ibid., 63.

⁸²Hugh Hoyles, "The History and Development of Hockey", (Unpublished paper, University of Alberta, 1968), 19.

⁸³Ibid., 19-20.

regulations,⁸⁴ but because the game was constantly developing, rule changes were made almost every year.

Play was governed by a single referee, who was assisted by a number of other officials. Two timekeepers monitored the length of each of the thirty-minute halves, stopping the time clock for various reasons: injuries to players, equipment problems, a lost puck or any other delays; the timekeepers would also notify players when they could return to the ice after they had been penalized by the referee.⁸⁵ Certain activities resulted in the stoppage of time; a game would stop for a player who had broken a skate, but not for a broken stick.⁸⁶ Goal judges stood directly behind each goal,⁸⁷ always exposed to possible injury, or to potential interference with the play. The decisions of the goal judge (also called the umpire) would be final, "though in case of manifest unfairness he [could] be removed by the referee and a successor chosen."⁸⁸ An intermission of ten minutes separated the two thirty-minute halves; a tie at the end of play would result in two more five-minute halves to decide a victor in the contest.⁸⁹

The puck would be "faced" to commence play - placed between the sticks of two opposing players, who would "draw" at the sound of the referee's whistle or bell.⁹⁰ The puck would also be "faced" to commence halves, or following the scoring of a goal, at the center of the rink. Should a foul occur, or the puck leave the ice area, a "face" would occur at the point which the last shot was made.⁹¹

⁸⁴Coleman, 1. See Appendix A for a complete list of Farrell's rules.

⁸⁵Houghton Daily Mining Gazette, Mar 6/02, n. pag.

⁸⁶Sault Ste. Marie Evening News, Dec 24/04, n. pag.

⁸⁷Eric Whitehead, Cyclone Taylor: A Hockey Legend (Toronto: Doubleday Canada Limited, 1977), 29.

⁸⁸Mining Gazette, Mar 6/02. n. pag.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*

⁹⁰*Ibid.*

⁹¹Mining Gazette, Mar 6/02, n. pag..

Of the few rules that regulated the sport at the start of the twentieth century, the most obvious was the "off-side" rule.⁹² A player could not, under any circumstances, precede the puck when travelling towards the opposing goal. A newspaper from that period reported that "the most difficult thing in connection with a hockey game from the spectator's point of view is the off-side play, that is, it is difficult for the spectator to detect during the swiftly moving incidents during the game."⁹³ While the off-side rule would later become more refined in the game of hockey, it was considered integral to the game at the turn of the century:

This [off-side rule] develops team play, which makes the game so spectacular and prevents fluke scoring of goals, which might result if there were no rule to prevent a man from loafing in front of his opponents' goal, waiting for a chance to bat the puck in should it be 'lifted' to that vicinity by another member of his own team.⁹⁴

The act of "loafing off-side" was treated with severe condemnation by many involved with the sport. A Winnipeg man, Mitchell Hartstone, explained the nuances of such an act:

If an official is not strict and a player who is poor in training allows the puck to get away from him and [the puck] is carried back up the ice he is liable to lie down and rest until his men get it back even with him and put him on side. The officials do not permit this at all and after warning a man once they put him off the ice for three or four minutes.⁹⁵

There were a number of other rules that were subsequently altered; touching the puck with the hand would only be introduced at the turn of the century, and the goalkeeper could not, under any circumstances, fall to the ice to stop the puck.⁹⁶ In addition,

⁹²Sault Star, Jan 21/05, n. pag.

⁹³Mining Gazette, Dec 18/03, n. pag.

⁹⁴Sault Star, Jan 21/05, n. pag.

⁹⁵Sault Ste. Marie Evening News, Dec 24/04, n. pag. An example occurred in Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, where a player, Westcott, was penalized for loafing; Mining Gazette, Jan 26/04, n. pag.

⁹⁶The Ontario Hockey Association: Constitution, Rules of Competition and Laws of the Game (Ottawa: Department of Agriculture, as amended, 1900).

substitutions were generally forbidden; if a player was forced to leave the ice because of injury, his team was forced to play with one less player; more generally, however, good sportsmanship prevailed, and the opposing team would remove a player from the ice to even the teams.⁹⁷

Teams consisted of seven players, each having a particular duty on the ice, determined by the position which was taken. Positions could be divided into three areas: the goalkeeper, who played directly in front of the goal and was responsible for stopping the puck from passing between the poles; the defence men, consisting of the point, who played directly in front of the goalkeeper, and the cover point, who assumed a position in front of the point; and the forwards; two wings, a center, and a rover.⁹⁸

By the turn of the century, the standardization of rules was almost complete. The sport had evolved to the point where only minor changes were made in rules through the first decade of the twentieth century. However, "there were minor differences in the rules governing the play of teams in Ontario and Quebec but major differences did not arise until the formation of the Pacific Coast Hockey Association [in 1911-12]."⁹⁹

Equipment

Because hockey was a newly-developing sport, equipment innovations were occurring constantly. The mass production of sporting goods was beginning to have an impact in the other more established sports. Consequently, many early efforts to make the sport of hockey easier on its players were the result of using or modifying existing equipment used in other sports. During the early part of the nineteenth century, skates consisted of a piece of wood with a broad iron blade set into them,¹⁰⁰ but by 1900, the

⁹⁷ Mining Gazette, Mar 6/02, n. pag.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

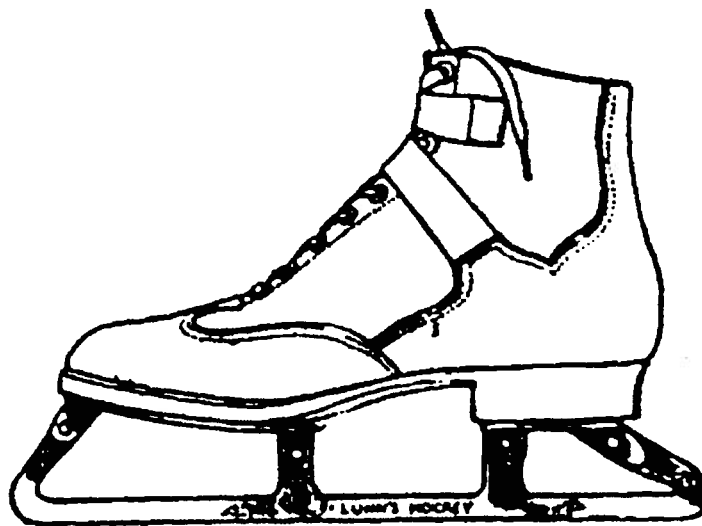
⁹⁹ Coleman, 1.

¹⁰⁰ Jobling, 234.

The Harold A. Wilson Co.,

Outfitters of Every Known Pastime,

35 KING ST. WEST, TORONTO.



Wilson Hockey Boots \$3.00 pair.
Lunn's Skate and Wilson Boot, complete, \$8.00.



Wilson Hockey Boots \$3.00 pair.
Mic Mac Skate and Wilson Boot, complete, \$8.00.

~~~~~  
**The Harold A. Wilson Co., 35 King st. W., Toronto**

evolution of the skate had reached the point where tubular skates<sup>101</sup> were being introduced into league play in all parts of Canada. Poor skate construction led to the frequent breaking of the skate blades during games, resulting in extended stoppages of play.<sup>102</sup> Jobling provides a more detailed view of the development of the ice skate in his work "Sport in the Nineteenth Century Canada: The Effects of Technological Changes on its Development."<sup>103</sup>

Some equipment innovations were implemented during the games played throughout Canada, and effective ones were quickly adopted by players in most leagues. Early goalkeepers wore shin pads, but the padding was similar to those worn by other skaters until 1896, when Winnipeg player G.H. Merritt wore cricket pads for the first time.<sup>104</sup> Soon, cricket pads would become standard equipment for all goaltenders in hockey, until the 1920's.<sup>105</sup> By 1900, goalkeepers would also wear "an unpadded buckskin gauntlet with a long cuff."<sup>106</sup> This, along with a padded leather glove, would protect the arms and hands of the players in goal. The pants worn by goalkeepers were similar in style to those worn by the other players on the ice. This was probably because the goalkeepers did not drop to the ice to stop the puck, and therefore did not require any additional protection. A unique goaltender's stick did not appear until 1907, when Riley Hern began using one while playing for the Montreal Wanderers.<sup>107</sup>

---

<sup>101</sup>Jones, 258.

<sup>102</sup>An example occurred when Taylor of the Sault Ste Marie, Ontario team broke his skate in a match against Houghton. Mining Gazette, Jan 14/05, n. pag.

<sup>103</sup>Jobling.

<sup>104</sup>Coleman, 5. This fact has been disputed; in many instances different leagues or players have been credited with similar innovations.

<sup>105</sup>Jeff Davis, et. al., "Evolution of Equipment", (Unpublished paper, Toronto: Hockey Hall of Fame, 1991), n. pag.

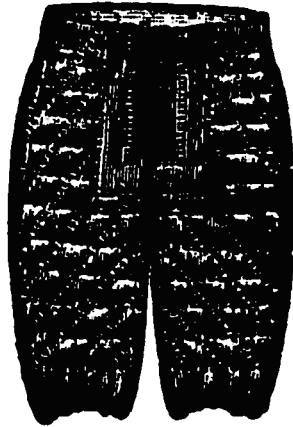
<sup>106</sup>Ibid.

<sup>107</sup>Hoyles, 13. The stick had a noticeably wider blade, unlike those used by earlier goalkeepers.

# The Harold A. Wilson Co

35 King St. West, Toronto.

---



## Hockey Knickers.

No. 1, extra quality, white, \$1.50 pair. No. 2, good quality, white, \$1 pair. Made in following colours at 25c pair extra: black, navy, royal, maroon, grey.



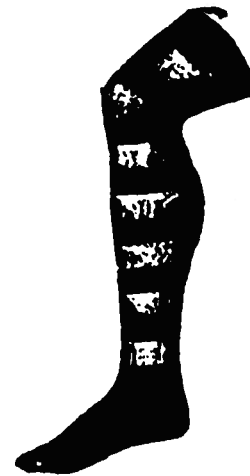
## Hockey Jerseys and Sweaters

made in any style or colour to order. Prices on application.



## Athletic Emblems

made to order in any design. Prices on application.



## Hockey Stockings.

Any colour or combination of colours to order. Prices on application.

---

The Harold A. Wilson Co., 35 King St. W., Toronto

The other skaters on a hockey team wore very little equipment in hockey's formative years. Shin guards were developed separately from knee pads, and eventually the two were merged into one guard, made of aluminum, or of fibrous material. The pads were lined with felt and leather for comfort, and eventually worn inside the stockings rather than on the outside of the uniform.<sup>108</sup> The earliest pants were cotton britches or football pants with little or no padding, but by the early 1900's, quilted padding of cotton batting or felt was sewn into the pants. Most models of "hockey knickers" contained padding on the hips, and were later made with canvas for greater durability.<sup>109</sup> Helmets, shoulder and elbow pads were not used regularly until a few decades into the twentieth century.<sup>110</sup> Players such as Fred Taylor introduced many equipment refinements through experiments with their own uniforms. While in Listowel, Ontario, Taylor began sewing felt around the shoulders and back of his jersey, and also had bone stays, similar to those used in ladies' corsets, sewn into his pants to protect his thighs.<sup>111</sup>

Sticks were made from a single piece of wood, and were shaped more like those used in field hockey. They were traditionally hand-made, but eventually wood specialists in Quebec and Ontario could produce sturdy sticks in greater quantities for public consumption.<sup>112</sup> Jobling noted that "by 1900, the sticks in use were not unlike the basic hockey stick of today as, over several decades, the handles became longer and the blades

---

<sup>108</sup>Davis.

<sup>109</sup>Ibid.

<sup>110</sup>Ibid. Sticks made during this period were heavier and thicker than those used today, and, although breakage occurred with far less frequency, players may have found it more awkward to stickhandle with such a bulky piece of wood.

<sup>111</sup>Whitehead, 27.

<sup>112</sup>Davis.

flatter."<sup>113</sup> The stick blade would remain flat, however, as it would be at least another fifty years before players began curving their blades to increase the velocity of their shots.<sup>114</sup>

### Facilities

As discussed earlier, the rinks built in eastern Canada shortly following Confederation were not initially developed for hockey use. As a result, there was little incentive to construct rinks of universal dimensions. This would create potential problems as teams began to travel to other arenas to play, only to discover vastly different playing conditions. It would not be until at 1895 that rinks were built specifically for the purpose of hosting hockey games,<sup>115</sup> but even then, the structures were not always conducive for play:

The 'boards' or hockey cushions of the early days were only about twelve inches high so that the spectators had a few extra hazards from flying pucks and bodies. They did facilitate the passage of players who occasionally found it necessary to wade into the crowd after some fan who had been too liberal with his abuse.<sup>116</sup>

The low boards did affect the games in other ways. Many times, players would lift the puck into the seats in order to delay the progress of the match,<sup>117</sup> and these "lifts" were a useful strategy to many players during this period. There was as yet, no "icing" rule, so a player could send the puck from one end of the ice to the other to relieve pressure, should the puck be contained in the defensive zone for a prolonged period of time. Because a player could not pass the puck forward to a team mate, lifting also provided a means by which the puck could be advanced, as players would skate down the ice and hope to take the puck from the opponent who was having trouble controlling the lifted puck. The arenas

---

<sup>113</sup>Jobling, 245.

<sup>114</sup>Hoyles, 12.

<sup>115</sup>Cox, "History of Sport", 238.

<sup>116</sup>Coleman, 6-7.

<sup>117</sup>Roy Brown reportedly did this twice in a match in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, in 1907. Soo Evening News, Feb 9/07, n. pag.



of the period also became a factor, as the goaltender would lose sight of the puck when it was carried high into the air:

In the meanwhile the forwards would skate themselves dizzy trying to be in position for the puck descending from the gloom overhead. In rinks that were festooned with flags and bunting, the high lifts could be trapped and the puck might drop anywhere.<sup>118</sup>

The goalkeepers would often lose sight of the puck, only to find it behind them, in the goal.<sup>119</sup>

Ice surfaces were maintained only as long as freezing temperatures were present - artificial ice rinks would not appear in Canada until the Patrick family built the Denman Arena in Vancouver in December of 1911.<sup>120</sup> Late in the season, the ice would often become soft and slow during the progress of the game, since the ice was not resurfaced or flooded between the halves of games. Rink sizes also fluctuated widely, although Arthur Farrell stated, in his 1899 rule book, that a rink size must be at least 112 by 58 feet.<sup>121</sup> By 1905, the minimum length of a rink had grown to one hundred and fifty feet.<sup>122</sup>

### The Regulation and Formation of Associations

By the beginning of the twentieth century, hockey had evolved into a sport with standardized rules, equipment, and specialized facilities. It was continually growing in terms of participants and spectators, necessitating the creation of more leagues and organizations to oversee hockey operations. Organized sport, in general, equalled its own country in levels of expansion, for "one of the defining characteristics of the emergence of organized sport was the development of local, provincial, national and international organizations to

---

<sup>118</sup>Coleman, 5-6.

<sup>119</sup>Billy Baird of Pittsburgh made a habit of scoring in this manner by lifting the puck from the center of the ice toward the opponent's goal; Soo Evening News, Feb 3/06, n. pag.

<sup>120</sup>Metcalfe, 67.

<sup>121</sup>Coleman, 1. See also Appendix A.

<sup>122</sup>I.H.L Game Program and Score Card, Michigan Soo vs. Calumet, Feb 23-24, 1905. (Privately published.)

administer and control sport."<sup>123</sup> The moral entrepreneurs recognized by Gruneau and Whitson had seen the need for hegemony in sport. "A civilizing national culture might then require that educated elites use their resources to create institutions and cultural programs that were socially beneficial and morally uplifting."<sup>124</sup>

Until the early 1880's, hockey was played almost exclusively in Montreal. By 1886, Montreal was organizing a tournament to determine the championship of the city,<sup>125</sup> and in December of that year, representatives from Montreal, Ottawa, and Quebec City met to form the Amateur Hockey Association of Canada, facilitating more inter-city competition.<sup>126</sup> "Hockey was effectively administered by the Amateur Hockey Association of Canada, formed in 1886, the Ontario Hockey Association, [formed] in 1890, and the Manitoba and Northwestern Amateur Hockey Association [were] formed in 1892."<sup>127</sup> Gruneau and Whitson noted that "hockey was the only other sport [along with baseball] that had comparably broad patterns of recruitment or was being promoted by such diverse organizations."<sup>128</sup> This was evidenced by the variety of different associations developed to oversee the teams organized in Eastern Canada.

Hockey was in a constant state of growth, but the success of teams was not always guaranteed. "Leagues were formed, shrank, were enlarged, revamped, folded and reformed. Teams moved, changed names, and players drifted about the landscape like snowflakes in a lazy prairie breeze."<sup>129</sup> Despite the presence of the A.H.A.C., "there was no dominant

---

<sup>123</sup>Alan Metcalfe, "Power: A Case Study of the Ontario Hockey Association, 1890-1936", in Journal of Sport History Vol. 19, no.1 (Spring 1992), 5.

<sup>124</sup>Gruneau and Whitson, 42.

<sup>125</sup>Ibid., 38.

<sup>126</sup>Metcalfe, Canada Learns to Play, 63.

<sup>127</sup>Jones, 259.

<sup>128</sup>Gruneau and Whitson, 66.

<sup>129</sup>Whitehead, 35.

league or association . . . or any truly national governing body."<sup>130</sup> Another need for associations was evidenced by the desire to have a universal champion in the sport:

. . . the emergence of teams in various cities and provinces led to a proliferation of so-called 'champions.' These 'championships' were primarily regional, but sometimes organizations attempted to establish more broadly based championships and laid claim to the title 'Champion of Canada.' The activities of these organizations brought some degree of cohesion to the growing chaos in sport. . . . Within this small group of organizations Canadian amateur sport was formed.<sup>131</sup>

By the late 1880's, interest in hockey had spread to Toronto, Winnipeg, and Halifax. In 1892, and in response to the growing number of teams, the A.H.A.C. then adopted a league, rather than the challenge format for competition.<sup>132</sup> In Toronto, hockey did not appear until around 1887, but the sport grew in popularity "so quickly that within two years five sporting clubs were conducting regular matches."<sup>133</sup> In response to the interest in the sport, a meeting was arranged in November of 1890, "with the aim of bringing some order to the game that at the time was blooming in parts of eastern Canada but had no overall organization."<sup>134</sup> Thus, the Ontario Hockey Association was formed, which quickly became one of the most powerful sporting organizations in Canada.<sup>135</sup>

The threat of professionalism became the main concern of the O.H.A., and "the protection of amateurism that lay at the heart of the O.H.A. . . . was the foundation of its power."<sup>136</sup> John Ross Robertson assumed the presidency of the Association, and adopted a strict anti-professional Constitution. Robertson was quick to professionalize any teams or players who, knowingly or unknowingly, had played with or against any alleged

---

<sup>130</sup>Whitehead, 35..

<sup>131</sup>Metcalf, 99.

<sup>132</sup>Ibid., 63.

<sup>133</sup>Bruce Kidd and John Macfarlane, The Death of Hockey (Toronto: News Press, 1972), 101.

<sup>134</sup>Young, 100 Years, 7.

<sup>135</sup>Metcalf, "Power".

<sup>136</sup>Ibid., 7.

professionals.<sup>137</sup> Through its stance on professionalism; "the O.H.A. influenced who played, where hockey was played, and how it was played. . . . through their control of amateur status, residence requirements, etc., they waged an ongoing battle to control who played hockey."<sup>138</sup> A consequence of the control that the O.H.A. had on hockey in eastern Canada was the fact that, in the first decade of the twentieth century, many of the amateur teams affiliated with that association were the equal of, if not better than, the professional teams that had become organized.<sup>139</sup> Because of this, and because of the power that the O.H.A. held over all levels of hockey, the growth of the professional game was directly related to the actions of the amateur associations, particularly the O.H.A.<sup>140</sup>

Later in this study, the extent to which the O.H.A. affected the development of both professional and amateur ice hockey will be examined in greater detail. An example of the impact of the O.H.A.'s amateur stance on hockey was seen in the expulsion of the Cornwall team in 1903. Subsequently, Cornwall, along with three other disgruntled clubs, formed the Federal Amateur Hockey League. Cosentino states that this "Amateur" title was in name only; the league allowed payments to players.<sup>141</sup> The formation of the Federal League also led to increased competition for players, particularly with the dominant Eastern Canada Amateur Hockey Association (E.C.A.H.A.), formed in 1905. By 1907, the E.C.A.H.A. recognized and allowed payments to players.<sup>142</sup>

---

<sup>137</sup>Metcalfe, "Power", 7.

<sup>138</sup>Ibid., 23. Other leagues included: the A.H.A.C., operating from 1893-1898; the C.A.H.L., from 1899-1905; and the F.A.H.L., from 1904-1907.

<sup>139</sup>Metcalfe, Canada Learns to Play, 168.

<sup>140</sup>Ibid.

<sup>141</sup>Cosentino, 224.

<sup>142</sup>Metcalfe, 170.

### Amateurism and Professionalism in Ice Hockey

A more detailed examination of the developments of professionalism in ice hockey in Canada is required, to understand the conditions that led to the development of hockey into a professional team spectator sport. Through the early 1880's, hockey remained a sport exclusive to the upper classes.<sup>143</sup> At this time, "hockey was one of the few sports which was not beset with the problems of amateurism versus professionalism. Profits to teams were meagre, as crowds were generally small, and prices for admission low."<sup>144</sup>

However, developments in other sports would have an influence on hockey:

Baseball thus provided an early model for the possibility and legitimacy of professional team sport in Canada. Given the immense popularity of professional and semi-professional baseball in Canadian communities in the summers of the late nineteenth century, the odds were not good that the proponents of amateurism would gain full control over hockey.<sup>145</sup>

Lacrosse, which was also becoming professionalized, had an effect on hockey as well; "since their seasons were not in conflict, in fact they complimented each other, it was a natural arrangement for many athletes to play both sports."<sup>146</sup>

Significant problems with professional players arose in the mid 1890's, with claims of amateur clubs using "ringers".<sup>147</sup> Metcalfe indicated that the intrusion of professionals emerged in response to the expansion of different teams and groups playing hockey, which in turn led to the emergence of hockey as a commercial and spectator sport.<sup>148</sup> Cosentino postulated that the introduction of the Stanley Cup led indirectly to professionalism in hockey; "the opportunity to gain the prized trophy was reason enough for many teams to offer jobs, or situations, and/or financial awards to players who it was felt could win the

---

<sup>143</sup>Metcalfe, 65.

<sup>144</sup>Cox, "History of Sport", 243.

<sup>145</sup>Gruneau and Whitson, 67.

<sup>146</sup>Cosentino, 204.

<sup>147</sup>Metcalfe, Canada Learns to Play, 70.

<sup>148</sup>Metcalfe, Canada Learns to Play, 169.

Cup."<sup>149</sup> Gruneau and Whitson also sensed the change in attitude toward the pursuit of victory; "it began not to matter if the home team was made up of players from outside the community or city. What mattered was that the team be successful, and that the community was able to identify with that success."<sup>150</sup> Hockey had also become a means through which Canadian men of more humble origins could achieve both fame and wealth, through achievement in sport.<sup>151</sup> Thus the alleged ideals proclaimed by the upper class leaders of the hockey associations began to be ignored by many of the participants, as well as the organizational leaders themselves:

Pseudo-amateurism and shamateurism were the order of the day, but because of hockey's roots in amateurism and vested interests of clubs seeking the Stanley Cup, the premier amateur clubs were able to avoid the consequences of their actions.<sup>152</sup>

The means through which clubs could avoid detection were varied; "some of the stronger clubs did attract players by securing them attractive employment in their town or city."<sup>153</sup> Ultimately, professionalism took on new definitions and meanings, as the means through which players received rewards for playing became more complex; being paid under-the-table would remain one of the simplest ways of being considered a professional.

An example of the methods used to entice players was the transfer of employees to different locations by larger businesses or corporations. When Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, player "Bucky" Freeman was transferred to Winnipeg by the Bank of Commerce, the Toronto Globe and Mail reported that "it is now generally understood that when a bank hockey player is transferred in the early winter season his ability to handle the hockey stick is one of the reasons for his being moved."<sup>154</sup> To aid in detecting such practices, residency

---

<sup>149</sup>Cosentino, 161-162.

<sup>150</sup>Gruneau and Whitson, 72.

<sup>151</sup>Ibid., 85.

<sup>152</sup>Metcalfe, Canada Learns to Play, 169.

<sup>153</sup>Cox, "History of Sport", 243.

<sup>154</sup>Globe and Mail, Jan 8/04, n. pag.

rules were developed, to identify players who were in towns solely for the purpose of playing hockey. However, it was not long before teams and players devised ways to avoid being discovered by the associations:

Other illegal ways were much more complicated, being based simply on fraud. Let's say a man with impeccable residence credentials couldn't play the game for sour apples, but now could be induced to lend his name, birth certificate, and other records temporarily (long enough for O.H.A. inspection) to another man who could skate like the wind, had a deadly shot, and was unlikely to be spotted as a fake by a strange crowd in an away game.<sup>155</sup>

In addition to the O.H.A., other respected leagues such as the E.C.A.H.A. and the F.A.H.L. were constantly facing accusations of professionalism with their league clubs, "but the authorities were able to avoid the consequences by collusion and evasion."<sup>156</sup> Too often, evidence appeared suggesting that these apparently amateur leagues were, hypocritically, knowingly supporting their players in a financial manner. In 1898, Ottawa goalkeeper Frank Chittick refused to dress for a playoff game because he had not been given his share of complimentary tickets to the game. Presumably, he would have been able to sell these tickets to earn money.<sup>157</sup>

For many, the professionalization of ice hockey seemed to be inevitable:

It was a very short step from the idea of marketing teams for the purpose of expanding gate receipts in amateur hockey to the formation of teams that included professionals - specialists whose livelihoods depended upon fulfilling customers' expectations for skilled play and winning performances.<sup>158</sup>

By 1904, open professionalism had arrived in Canada with the Sault Ste Marie, Ontario, team joining the openly-professional International Hockey League.

---

<sup>155</sup>Young, 100 Years, 36-37.

<sup>156</sup>Metcalfe, Canada Learns to Play, 169.

<sup>157</sup>Kidd, 103.

<sup>158</sup>Gruneau and Whitson, 71.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE INTERNATIONAL HOCKEY LEAGUE

This chapter is concerned with the International Hockey League, formed in the fall of 1904. However, for the purpose of this study, an examination of the conditions that led to the development of the I.H.L. is necessary, before an analysis of the events of the International Hockey League can be made. Therefore, an investigation into the developments in ice hockey prior to the formation of the I.H.L., as well as overviews of the various towns that hosted I.H.L. games is required. In addition, those individuals whose achievements directly affected the operation and success of the I.H.L. should be recognized, and their contributions noted.

#### Early Ice Hockey in the United States

Just as Canada had undergone drastic changes during the latter half of the nineteenth century, so had the United States. The industrialization of North America influenced sports in both countries, but "sport in Nineteenth-century America was as much a product of industrialization as it was an antidote to it."<sup>1</sup> Like Canada, the United States had borrowed many of the sporting ideals that were prevalent in Britain. However, the adoption of this class-oriented system of sport was less pronounced in America:

The United States was different. This is not to accept that there were no divisions based on social class in America, but it is to accept that such divisions were less profound and that there were cultural tendencies that worked against such divisions.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>John Rickards Betts, "The Technological Revolution and Rise of Sport, 1850-1900", in The American Sporting Experience: A Historical Anthology of Sport in America ed. Steven A. Riess (New York: Leisure Press, 1984), 156.

<sup>2</sup>S. J. S. Ickringill, "Amateur and Professional Sport in Britain and America at the Turn of the Twentieth Century", in Sport, Culture and Politics. eds J.C. Binfield and John Stevenson (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 42.



For this reason, amateur sport did not gain as strong a foothold in sport as it had in Canada; this became obvious in spectator sport, where class segregation was difficult to regulate by sport organizations or governing bodies, and "the bleachers [were] equally cordial to coal-miners, politicians, and bank presidents."<sup>3</sup> Entire communities, of all socio-economic backgrounds, were then able to identify with the sporting teams representing their towns. Thus, sport functioned as a means of integration for both the participants and those they represented in the community.<sup>4</sup>

Although the development of amateur and spectator sport differed between Canada and the United States, industrialization had made the cultural distance between the two countries much closer:

The strengthening of communication links between Canada and the United States as a result of telegraphy and new train lines after mid-century, and growing levels of literacy among the working classes in the following decades, further increased Canada's cultural ties with the United States.<sup>5</sup>

While many team sports enjoyed success as spectator sports in the last years of the nineteenth century in the United States, hockey had remained a sport confined mainly to the eastern provinces of Canada. A roller skating fad had emerged in the U.S. that created a number of popular sports during that period, including roller polo, a sort of ice hockey on wheels. Roller polo sport was played professionally in the U.S. for approximately twenty years, but the sport disappeared as interest in roller skating waned in the late 1890's.<sup>6</sup>

Towards the end of that decade, hockey started to be played, as a hybrid of the same roller polo game.<sup>7</sup> In Pittsburgh, ice polo emerged, but after arranging a number of

---

<sup>3</sup>Frederick Cozens and Florence Scovil Stumpf, "Spectator Sports - The Cement of Democracy", in Sports in American Life edited by Frederick Cozens and Florence Scovil Stumpf (New York: Arno Press, 1976), 299.

<sup>4</sup>Gunther Luschen, "The Interdependence of Sport and Culture", in Sport, Culture and Society. ed.s John W. Loy, jr., and Gerald S. Kenyon, (Philadelphia: Lea and Febinger, 1981), 292.

<sup>5</sup>Gruneau and Whitson, 65.

<sup>6</sup>John Durant and Otto Bettman, Pictorial History of American Sport - From Colonial Times to the Present. (new York: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1965), 100.

<sup>7</sup>Herbert Manchester, Four Centuries of Sport in America, 1490-1890. (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1931), 214.

different matches against the Queen's University hockey club of Kingston, Ontario, local teams began playing the Canadian game.<sup>8</sup> Meanwhile, in New York City, a four-team hockey league also began operations in the mid 1890's, playing out of St. Nicholas' Rink.<sup>9</sup> Although play was infrequent, and the sport was not widely participated, the American Amateur Hockey League (A.A.H.L.) was formed in 1896.<sup>10</sup>

### Michigan

While hockey was being introduced in other parts of America, the harsh winter conditions found in the Upper Peninsula of the state of Michigan provided an opportunity for a number of winter sports. Like most of the Canadian provinces, the winters in the Upper Peninsula were long and very cold, and provided little diversions for the miners working in the northern Michigan towns. Such conditions allowed Houghton, located in Michigan's famous Copper Country, to become regarded as the birthplace of organized hockey in the United States.<sup>11</sup>

However, there were several conditions that saw hockey develop in the Upper Peninsula in a manner far different from eastern Canada. Because hockey was played in a more advanced form, and not played by the locals, players would need to be imported in order to have competitive teams. This practice would be in direct conflict with the regulations of the amateur hockey leagues in Canada, who had no jurisdiction over games organized in the United States. As a result, the stringent amateur regulations of leagues such as the O.H.A. were of no consequence to those in Michigan interested in watching the new Canadian winter sport. Any player, regardless of professional or amateur status in Canada, could play in Michigan, and in order to view a competitive level of hockey, it was

---

<sup>8</sup>J. W. Fittell, Captains Colonels & Kings (Erin: Boston Mills Press, 1987), 108. Queens travelled to Pittsburgh as early as the 1895-96 and returned many times before the turn of the century.

<sup>9</sup>Foster Hewitt, Hockey Night in Canada (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1953), 33.

<sup>10</sup>Durant and Bettman, 100.

<sup>11</sup>Rene E. Adams, "Historic Houghton," in Hockey Pictorial Vol. 6, No.7, March, 1961. Ed Fitkin, ed.(New York: Hockey Illustrated Ltd.), 32.

necessary for the Houghton spectators to have experienced Canadian players come to Michigan to play.

#### Houghton, Houghton County, Michigan

Located in the Upper Peninsula and acclaimed Copper Country<sup>12</sup> of Michigan, the town and county were named after Douglass Houghton, a medical doctor and State Geologist.<sup>13</sup> The County was established in 1845,<sup>14</sup> and the town, "like its neighboring towns, [owed] its birth and subsequent growth to the discovery and mining ventures in copper."<sup>15</sup> Although the Upper Peninsula had a small population base, the area enjoyed considerable wealth and prosperity, due to mining ventures. Several mining companies emerged as giants of the copper industry, as the discovery of amygdaloid and conglomerate deposits started a copper boom, similar in scope to the California gold rush.<sup>16</sup> The twin cities of Houghton and Hancock were settled in the early 1850's, and the town of Houghton was incorporated on November 4, 1861, with a population of 854.<sup>17</sup> The settlement of the Upper Peninsula also coincided with the completion of the Sault Canal in 1855, which opened up Lake Superior.<sup>18</sup>

Like the rest of North America, technological changes also affected the Upper Peninsula. In 1899, the Copper Range Railroad was completed in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan:

---

<sup>12</sup>Copper Country was the term used to describe the Houghton County area, due to the mining success the region enjoyed during this period.

<sup>13</sup>Fuller, George N., ed. Historic Michigan (N.p.: National Historical Association, Inc.,1924), 255-258.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., 480.

<sup>15</sup>Wilbert B.Maki, Visions of Houghton, Yesterday and Today (N.p.: n.p., n.d.), 5.

<sup>16</sup>The Quincy, and Calumet and Hecla mines were two of the major mining operations in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan at the beginning of the twentieth century; *ibid.*

<sup>17</sup>Ibid.

<sup>18</sup>Fuller, 407.

The line opened a vast territory, rich in minerals, timber and arable soil, which had lain in idleness because of inaccessibility. The completion of this line was an event of equal importance with the building of the first railroad between Houghton and Calumet, and with the advent of the first railroad connecting the copper district with the outside world.<sup>19</sup>

Similarly, advancements in transportation also made inter- and intra-town travel more convenient in the Copper Country. In 1900, the Houghton County Street Railway was incorporated, with cars running from Houghton to the nearby town of Calumet, and from Calumet to the town of Lake Linden.<sup>20</sup> Now, travel between the neighboring towns in Houghton County was far more accessible to those living there, and by 1900, the population of Houghton County had grown to the considerable number of 66,063, with over three thousand living in the town of Houghton.<sup>21</sup>

Sports were a welcome diversion for the hard-working miners of the Copper Country. Houghton had undergone a baseball craze at the turn of the century, and the town was determined to win the Upper Peninsula championships at any cost. To do so, salaries of up to \$225 a month were paid for baseball players to come to the isolated town. The local supporters were rewarded for this, as the team won the Upper Peninsula pennant in 1899.<sup>22</sup> Baseball was also played indoors during the winter months, as were boxing and bowling.<sup>23</sup> Hockey was also played, though not regularly, and ice polo was popular in the Houghton area.<sup>24</sup>

In the meantime, Dr. John L. Gibson, who had played hockey in Canada, had settled in Houghton to pursue a profession in dentistry. Gibson would become one of a small circle of pioneers who helped develop hockey into an outright professional sport.<sup>25</sup> With Gibson's

---

<sup>19</sup>Maki, 27.

<sup>20</sup>Maki, 27.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., 7.

<sup>22</sup>Houghton Daily Mining Gazette, January 19, 1904, n. pag.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., Oct. 4/03, n.pag.

<sup>24</sup>Fitsell, Captains, Colonels & Kings, 116.

<sup>25</sup>J. W. (Bill) Fitsell, "Tribute to Dr. J. L. (Jack) Gibson," Annual Induction Dinner, Hockey Hall of Fame. August 26, 1976. photocopied, n. pag..

assistance, Houghton would organize the first openly-admitted professional team in ice hockey, the success of which would serve to greatly influence the development of hockey in Canada and the United States. However, a closer analysis of the events that formed this team is required, as "few people are aware of Gibson's exploits or his contribution to the game and yet every person . . . owes him a small debt of gratitude."<sup>26</sup>

A native of Berlin, Ontario, Gibson played for that town's team in the O.H.A.'s new intermediate series. Inevitably, Gibson encountered the O.H.A.'s militant anti-professionalism practices. After defeating Waterloo 6-4, the Mayor of Berlin, D. Rumpel, who also served as the team's manager, rushed onto the ice and awarded Gibson and his teammates each a ten-dollar gold piece.<sup>27</sup>

Rumpel had apparently won a substantial amount betting on the outcome of the game, but due to his spontaneous generosity, Berlin was declared professional and banned by the O.H.A. Some of the players claimed that they were to have the gold pieces mounted as watch fobs - therefore the gold pieces were souvenirs, not payments. However, the excuse did not appease the O.H.A., who banned the team and management indefinitely.<sup>28</sup>

Following a successful athletic and academic career in the Berlin-Waterloo area, Gibson then left for the United States, to attend the Detroit College of Medicine.<sup>29</sup> While there, he starred for the College's soccer team, and captained the hockey team for two years, where one of the team's exhibition games was held in a small town in Michigan named Houghton.<sup>30</sup> Graduating from the Detroit College of Medicine in 1900, Gibson

---

<sup>26</sup>ibid.

<sup>27</sup>Young, 40.

<sup>28</sup>The ban turned out to be for the remainder of the season; *ibid.*, 40-41.

<sup>29</sup>Biographical Record - Houghton, Baraga, and Marquette Counties, Michigan (Chicago: Biographical Publishing Co., 1903), 343.

<sup>30</sup>Fitsell, Captains, Colonels & Kings, 114.

PLATE III



Dr. John L. "Doc" Gibson (Biographical Record obtained from Michigan State Library and Archives)

"immediately thereafter located in Houghton, Houghton County, where he [became] firmly established in the confidence and esteem of the people,"<sup>31</sup> practicing dentistry.

Upon the arrival of Gibson, local interest in hockey began to grow. Merv Youngs, a cub reporter for the Houghton Daily Mining Gazette, inadvertently discovered that Gibson was a former hockey player from Canada,<sup>32</sup> when he unearthed a scrapbook of newspaper clippings, recounting the athletic exploits of Gibson, in the dentist's office. "Being a good reporter the young man borrowed the book and wrote a series of stories telling the public about the great sports figure in their midst."<sup>33</sup>

### The Portage Lakes Hockey Club

#### Early Team Success

The discovery of Gibson by Youngs led to the organization of the first-ever Portage Lakes Hockey Club.<sup>34</sup> As there were not many living in the Houghton area who knew how to play the game of hockey, the need to obtain players from Canada became apparent. Thus, the newly organized team's management began acquiring better players from the Dominion, becoming a fully-fledged professional hockey team that would beat any team, amateur or professional, that dared play against the mighty Portage Lakes Hockey Club.

The nickname "Portage Lakers" originated from the nearby body of water in the Keeweenaw Peninsula, which juts into Lake Superior.<sup>35</sup> Other references to the team in its early years called it the "Portage Lakes YMCA" team, and credited the club with the Upper Peninsula league championship in its inaugural season.<sup>36</sup> Initially, the team's players were all

---

<sup>31</sup>Biographical Record, 343.

<sup>32</sup>Youngs would later become editor of the Mining Gazette; Hockey Hall of Fame Biography-"J.L. Gibson".

<sup>33</sup>"Hero of Early Sports Era Will Be Long Remembered", photocopy, (Hockey Hall of Fame, Toronto).

<sup>34</sup>John W.Rice, "A Record Hard to Beat", in National Hockey Guide 1933-34 (New York: National Hockey Guide, Co., 1933), 93.

<sup>35</sup>Fitsell, Captains, Colonels & Kings, 117. The team was also call the Portage Lakes

<sup>36</sup>Fitsell, "Tribute to Dr.J.L. (Jack) Gibson," n. pag.

locals,<sup>37</sup> and, by 1902, there were three doctors playing for the club. Two of them, Gibson and Earl Hay, were dentists, while P. H. Willson was a doctor of medicine. All three were natives of Canada who had been educated in the United States.<sup>38</sup>

Games were played at the Palace Ice Rink in nearby Hancock, Michigan. The increase in ice hockey interest led to the enlargement of the ice surface to two hundred feet in length for the opening of the 1901-02 season.<sup>39</sup> John L. Gibson, by this time nicknamed "Doc" by Houghton residents, had captained the team since its inception, and organized tryouts for the upcoming season.<sup>40</sup> At this time, games were played with other teams from the Upper Peninsula area, and some exhibition games were arranged against a team from Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario.<sup>41</sup> Games against the Canadian team were well received in Houghton County, and attendance at the Palace Ice Rink usually exceeded the arena's seating capacity. Crowds continued to grow, as interest in the sport increased; therefore, when Portage Lakes Manager C. E. Webb announced that a Pittsburgh club would be arriving late in the 1901-02 season to play, plans were made to alter the interior of the Palace Rink, to accommodate more spectators.<sup>42</sup>

Games were still considered amateur; the Canadian Soo team would be risking expulsion from the O.H.A. if it played any professional teams. In fact, in a game at Hancock in early 1902, referee Hay expelled Howell, of Guelph, Ontario, for allegedly being a professional.<sup>43</sup> At the end of the 1901-02 season, a semi-professional team from Pittsburgh

---

<sup>37</sup>Players for the 1900-01 season included: Wally Washburn, Andy Haller, and Dr. Earl Hay of Hancock; E. Delaney of Ripley; Gibson and Burt Potter of Houghton; Dr. Wilson of Quincy; Mining Gazette, Nov 30/01, n. pag.

<sup>38</sup>Rene E. Adams, "the Oldest Living Pro," in Hockey Pictorial (March, 1961). Ed. Ed Fitkin. (New York: Hockey Illustrated Ltd., 1961), 34.

<sup>39</sup>Mining Gazette, Nov 30/01, n. pag.

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*, Dec 4/01, n. pag.

<sup>41</sup>The town, and its teams were often referred to as the Canadian Soo (Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan was also referred to as the Michigan or American Soo).

<sup>42</sup>Mining Gazette, Feb 28/02, n. pag.

<sup>43</sup>Sault Star, Feb 6/02, n. pag.



arrived in Houghton to play the Portage Lakes Hockey Club, for what was described as the "Championship of the United States."<sup>44</sup> On March 10, 1902, at the Palace Ice Rink, the Portage Lakes, wearing their brown team sweaters, won the game, 5-4, in front of a sell-out crowd of one thousand spectators.<sup>45</sup> The second game of the two-game, total-goal series, played in Hancock, resulted in a 3-2 win by Pittsburgh, which left the championship undecided. The loss was the first suffered by the local team in twelve games during the 1901-02 season.<sup>46</sup> No extra game was played to decide a winner in the series, and therefore one victor was not determined.

### The Amphidrome

The competitiveness of the Portage Lakes Club, and the increase in interest in the sport, had led to the inability of many fans to witness the games in the Houghton-Hancock area, due to the inadequate size of the Palace Ice Rink. If hockey interest was to grow, a new facility would be needed to accommodate the large numbers of spectators who wished to see the Portage Lakers play. Therefore, in the fall of 1902, local businessmen in the Houghton area began plans to build a new skating rink. A stock company, led by local business magnate James R. Dee, was created to build a facility that could house approximately twenty-five hundred spectators, and also be used for a variety of other events. The rink was built two blocks from the Copper Range railroad depot, one block from the South Shore depot, and one block from the Street Railway, to ensure easy spectator access.<sup>47</sup>

---

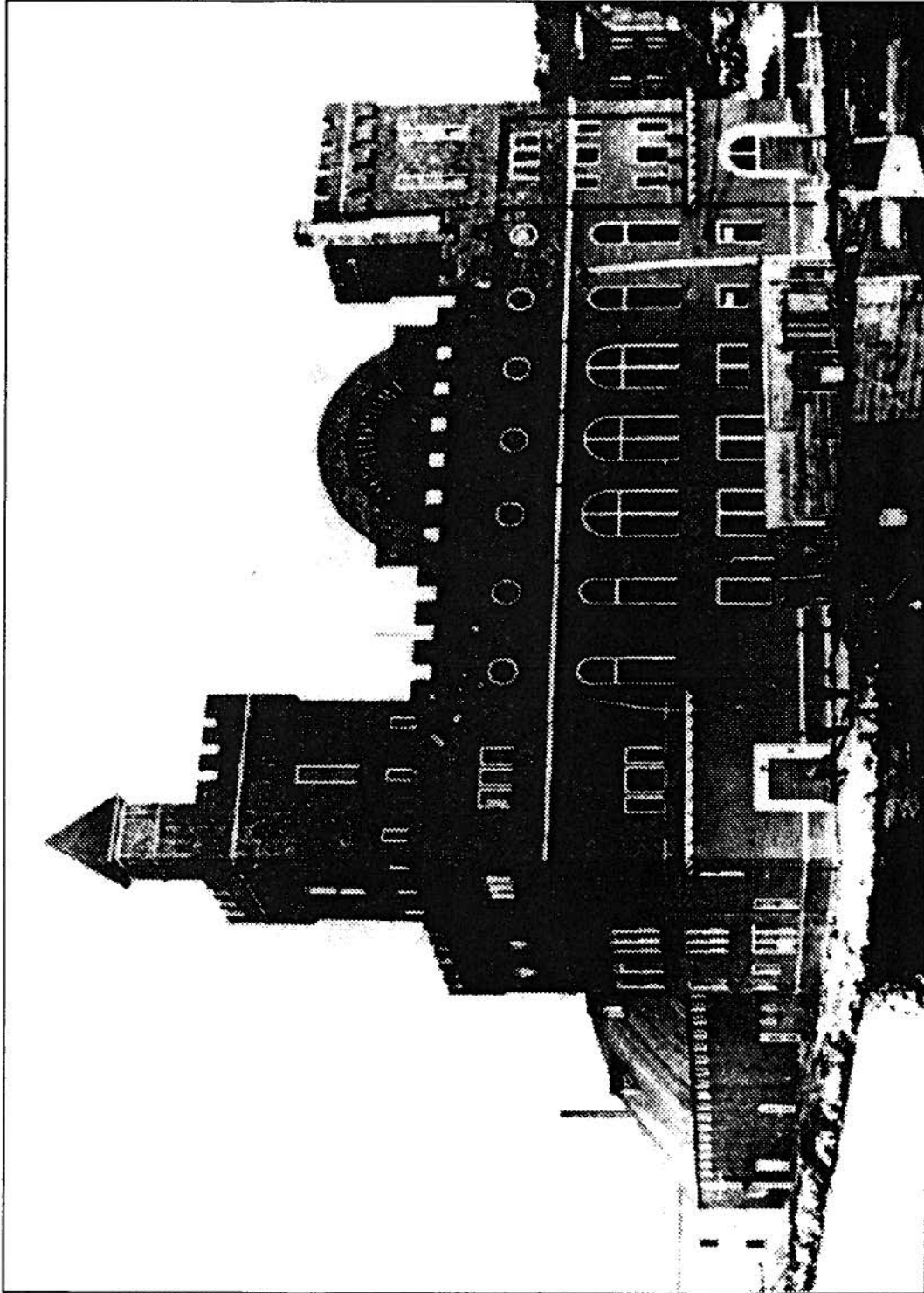
<sup>44</sup>The Pittsburgh team had defeated Yale University, Keystone Athletic Club, Frontenac, Royal Military College, and Queens, to earn the honor of "Western" champions, and were to play the Portage lakes, which was considered the "Eastern" champions; Mining Gazette, Mar 11/02, n. pag.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid.

<sup>46</sup>Mining Gazette, Mar. 12/02, n. pag.

<sup>47</sup>The plans also included a second storey, that would contain an area thirty feet by eighty feet for ice dancing; ibid., Oct. 19/02, n. pag.

PLATE IV



The Amphidrome Rink, Houghton, Michigan (Michigan Tech Archives and Copper Country Historical Collections. Obtained from the Michigan State Library and Archives)

This site of the new facility was ideal for spectators to travel to games by the means available at that time, as it was built in an area that allowed the access of a number of the different railway companies servicing the Copper Country. The management could then prepare special travel arrangements with the railway companies to ensure that spectators would reach the rink.<sup>48</sup>

To finish construction in time, the largest number of carpenters ever to work on a building in the Houghton area was employed.<sup>49</sup> With the completion of the arena, which was subsequently named the Amphidrome, the need for two rinks in the Houghton-Hancock area was not necessary. Thus, the Palace Ice Rink in Hancock was closed permanently on December 26, 1902, and the manager of the Palace accepted a new position at the 2,500-seat Amphidrome.<sup>50</sup> Although there were still many details of the arena to be completed, the Portage Lakers began practicing on the Amphidrome ice on December 26, in preparation for the upcoming games against the Toronto Varsity. A special train was announced by the Duluth, South Shore and Atlantic railroad, providing round trip fares for fifty cents, and serving many of the surrounding towns, including Calumet, Osceola, and Lake Linden.<sup>51</sup> This allowed spectators from the entire Houghton region to travel to the Amphidrome to watch the Portage Lakes play.

The Amphidrome itself could almost contain the entire population of the town of Houghton; a full rink would indicate that the majority of the town would be watching the local team. Such support made the Amphidrome "the social and recreational center of the Portage Lake district for more than a quarter of a century."<sup>52</sup> With the new rink able to

---

<sup>48</sup>Peter R. Shergold, "The Growth of American Spectator Sport: A Technological Perspective" *Sport in History*, Ed.s Richard Cashman, Michael McKernan (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1979), 25.

<sup>49</sup>*Mining Gazette*, Nov 23 and Dec 11/02, n. pag.

<sup>50</sup>*Mining Gazette*, Dec 27/02, n. pag.

<sup>51</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup>Maki, 17.

house a larger number of spectators to watch the dominating Portage Lakes play visiting clubs, it was now up to the team to maintain a level of excellence that would keep the local interest in hockey growing.

In 1902-03, the Portage Lakes team won fourteen straight games, in exhibition play against American and Canadian clubs.<sup>53</sup> Crowd support for the team continued through the season, with up to three thousand spectators filling the Amphidrome for each game.<sup>54</sup> The Mining Gazette acknowledged the popularity of hockey and noted that "it seems destined to be the great winter sport of the northern tier states as it is already of the provinces of Canada."<sup>55</sup>

The Pittsburgh Bankers arrived at the end of the season to determine the championships of the United States. The Portage Lakes remained undefeated, with a 1-0 victory at the Amphidrome.<sup>56</sup> The game was hotly contested, as Pittsburgh was led by the talented "Hod" Stuart.<sup>57</sup> Following the victory, James R. Dee presented the team with one hundred dollars, to be used for a team victory party.<sup>58</sup> There were obviously no concerns on the part of any of the players on the team over being banished for "professionalism."

The Portage Lakes Hockey Club had finished the season undefeated. However, the close match against the Pittsburgh Bankers indicated that the semi-professional players of Pittsburgh were of high-calibre. Even more talented players would need to be secured for the next season if the Portage Lakes hoped to dominate its opposition as it had during 1902-03.

---

<sup>53</sup>Fitsell, "Tribute to Dr.J.L.(Jack) Gibson", n. pag.

<sup>54</sup>Mining Gazette, Jan 31/03, n. pag.

<sup>55</sup>Mining Gazette, Dec 17/02, n. pag.

<sup>56</sup>*Ibid.*, Mar 4/03, n. pag.

<sup>57</sup>Fitsell, Captains, Colonels & Kings, 116.

<sup>58</sup>Mining Gazette, Mar 4/03, n. pag.

**The Organization and Success of the First Professional Ice Hockey Team: The Portage Lakes Hockey Club of 1903-04**

In order to improve the team, the Portage Lakes Hockey Club would be forced to acquire more players from Canada, and pay these men to come to the Copper Country. Gruneau and Whitson suggested that, while many Canadians wrestled with the morality of being paid to play hockey, the citizens of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan were more receptive to professional sports, at this time:

There was considerably less antiprofessional rhetoric in the United States, and a significant number of Canadian players migrated to Michigan and Pennsylvania hoping to make a living from the hockey skills they had developed playing for "amateur" teams in Ontario and Quebec.<sup>59</sup>

While leagues in Canada were attempting to either thwart or overlook professional practices, the American cities interested in promoting the sport were more than willing to pay for Canadian talent. Thus, in the fall of 1903, the managers of the Portage Lakes Hockey Club began eagerly pursuing talented players from other cities. Gibson and Charles E. Webb embarked on a ten-day excursion to Canada "for the purpose of arranging games with Canadian teams and also to pick up a player or two to fill out the Portage Lakes line."<sup>60</sup>

With players wanting to play for the team, and a concerted effort by management to sign good players, the Mining Gazette was confident of the prospects for the coming season:

The Portage Lake Hockey Club will be the strongest team in the United States this year and there is little question that it will not have a superior in the world, a fact which will be very prominent when the full personnel of the team is made known.<sup>61</sup>

However, not all players were eager to play for the powerful Michigan squad. The Globe and Mail reported that three of Queen's senior hockey players had received tempting offers to play in both Houghton and Pittsburgh, but all offers were refused.<sup>62</sup>

---

<sup>59</sup>Gruneau and Whitson, 74.

<sup>60</sup>Mining Gazette, Oct 2/03, n. pag.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid., Oct 4/03, n. pag.

<sup>62</sup>Globe and Mail, Nov 30/03, n. pag. The players probably wanted to maintain their amateur status.

Four former Berlin players - Gibson, Meinke, Stephens, and Siebert - had played for Houghton the previous season, but only Gibson was expected to return. "Hod" Stuart, who had played in Pittsburgh, for the Bankers team, had written to the Portage Lakes and expressed his desire to play in Houghton. The talented Stuart could easily replace any of the players not returning,<sup>63</sup> and Stuart's brother, Bruce, most recently of the Pittsburgh Victorias, had already signed with the Portage Lakes.<sup>64</sup> Thus, on November 1, 1903, the Mining Gazette announced that "Hod" had signed with the club, and along with brother Bruce and "Cooney" Shields, represented the new talent secured by the club thus far.<sup>65</sup>

Goaltender Riley Hern of Stratford, Ontario, also signed with the Portage Lakes, claiming that Houghton paid better than Pittsburgh.<sup>66</sup> Hern had played the past four seasons for the Pittsburgh Keystones, including 1901, when the team won the U.S. Championship,<sup>67</sup> and had also played forward for London, Ontario, when that team won the Intermediate championship of the O.H.A.<sup>68</sup>

With the completion of the team's roster, the Portage Lakes Hockey Club was ready to compete in one of the greatest seasons in the history of ice hockey. However, the club management was also interested in making a number of changes prior to the start of the 1903-04 season that did not involve the player roster. The heavy team sweater of the previous season was discarded and replaced by a similar green jersey, retaining the familiar winged Portage Lakes emblem. The new jerseys lacked the white neck and arm bands of the earlier sweaters.<sup>69</sup> Also, to improve the playing and viewing conditions at the Amphidrome, six new arc lights were installed to increase the amount of light at the rink.<sup>70</sup>

---

<sup>63</sup>Mining Gazette, Oct 8/03, n. pag.

<sup>64</sup>*Ibid.*, Oct 3/03, n. pag.

<sup>65</sup> Shields, formerly of the Pittsburgh Athletic Club, was originally from Orangeville, Ontario; *ibid.*, Nov 10/03, n.pag. and Nov 1/03, n. pag.

<sup>66</sup>Globe and Mail, Nov 16/03, n. pag.

<sup>67</sup>Mining Gazette, Nov 10/03, n. pag.

<sup>68</sup>*Ibid.*, Nov 22/03, n. pag.

<sup>69</sup>*Ibid.*, Dec 16/03, n. pag.

Expectations for a successful season in 1903-04 were very high among followers of hockey in Houghton. Management had assembled the best possible team, and had spared little cost in an effort to bring a high-calibre of hockey to the Copper Country. Because the team did not compete in a specific league, exhibition matches were arranged with various clubs. However, one-sided victories over teams from St. Paul and St. Louis, in December of 1903,<sup>71</sup> led the Houghton team management to seek more competitive clubs for the Portage Lakes to play; consequently, games were arranged with the Algonquin Hockey Club of Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, to be played on Houghton ice. Travelling with the Algonquin team would be Roy D. Schooley, an O.H.A. referee from Massey, Ontario.<sup>72</sup>

The Portage Lakes again proved poor hosts, and defeated the Algonquins by a score of 16-1 on January 1, 1904.<sup>73</sup> The defeat did not weaken the spirited Canadian team, as plans were made for another game at the Amphidrome. However, the second game ended with as similar result - a 7-0 victory for the Houghton team.<sup>74</sup> The Portage Lake fans had seen their team win handily thus far, but the large score differential between the teams had become monotonous; better competition would be needed to maintain local interest in the club.

Following two more decisive victories, over the visiting Michigan Soo team,<sup>75</sup> the Portage Lakes prepared to host a series against the Pittsburgh Keystones. The semi-professional players from Pittsburgh would surely provide better competition for the Houghton team, and the visiting team's chances of victory were further enhanced when it

---

<sup>70</sup>Ibid., Dec 18/03, n. pag.

<sup>71</sup>For a complete list of the results of the games played by the Portage Lakes Hockey Club, during the 1903-04 season, see Appendix B.

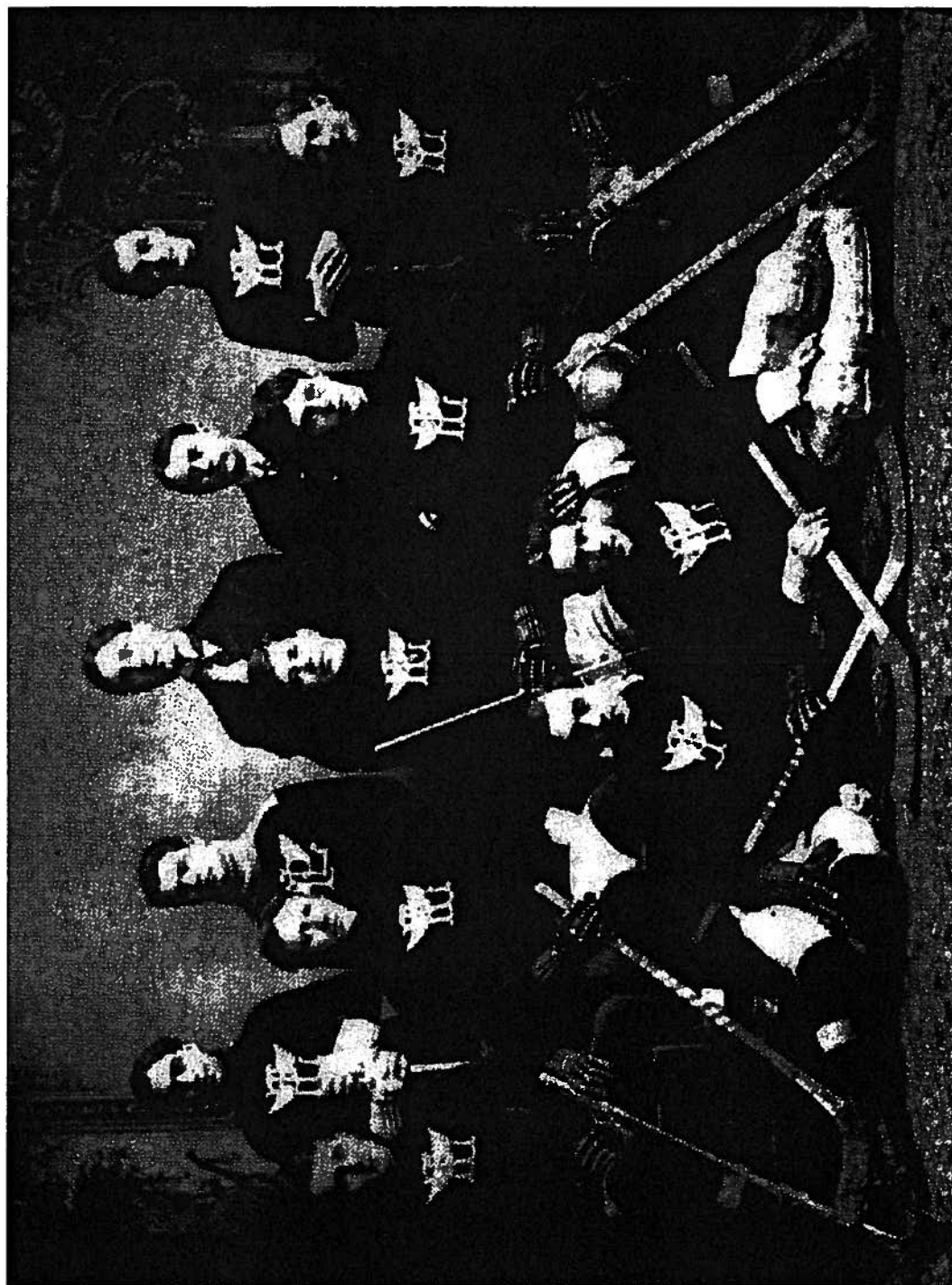
<sup>72</sup>Mining Gazette, Dec 31/03, n. pag.

<sup>73</sup>Mining Gazette, Jan 1/04, n. pag.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid., Jan 3/04, n. pag.

<sup>75</sup>The Soo was a name given to both the Sault Ste. Marie towns, in Michigan, and in Ontario. 6-1 and 12-1 wins on January 13 and 14; *ibid.*, Jan 15/04, n. pag.

# PLATE V



The Portage Lakes Hockey Club - 1903-04. Front row: E. Westcott and R. Hern; middle row, B. Morrison, C. Shields, J.L. Gibson, H. Stuart, B. Stuart. Back row, N.F. Westcott, J. Duggan (Trainer), C.E. Webb (manager), J. R. Dee (President), J. Linder



was announced that Gibson would not be able to play due to an injured ankle.<sup>76</sup> The first game against the Pittsburgh team was closer than the Portage Lakes' previous games, ending 9-4 for the locals. However, the next game was a rout, with Houghton winning the match 11-1.<sup>77</sup>

The next games for the Portage Lakes were played in the Michigan Soo, where the team lost for the first time during the 1903-04 season, 7-6.<sup>78</sup> However, the Portage Lakes were more concerned with the coming series in Pittsburgh, to be played against the Pittsburgh Victorias. For the first few years of the twentieth century, the winner of the four-team Western Pennsylvania Hockey League was crowned the champions of the eastern United States, and would be challenged by a team from the west, usually the Portage Lakes Hockey Club. The winner would be awarded the U.S. Championship. The Victorias had beaten the other three Pennsylvania teams, the Bankers, Keytones, and Pittsburgh Athletic Club, who all played their games in the Duquesne Gardens, Pittsburgh's artificial ice rink.

The first game, between the W.P.H.L. champions and the Portage Lakes, resulted in a 5-2 victory for the Victorias. Eddie Roberts of Pittsburgh managed to score three times before losing five teeth and a portion of his upper lip when body checked "up against the seat along the side of the rink."<sup>79</sup> Facing a hostile crowd of four thousand, the Portage Lakes won the second game by a score of 5-1,<sup>80</sup> leaving one game to decide the U.S. championship. The Portage Lakes continued their superb play in the third and final game, defeating the Pittsburgh team 7-0, to become the undisputed champions of the United States, for the 1903-04 season.<sup>81</sup>

---

<sup>76</sup>Ibid., Jan 16/04, n. pag.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., Jan 19 and 20, n. pag.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., Jan 24/04, n. pag.

<sup>79</sup>Mining Gazette, Mar 12/04, n. pag.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid., Mar. 13/04, n. pag.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid., Mar 16/04, n. pag.

As the victorious Houghton club returned to the Copper Country, a large crowd waited for their train to arrive at the Mineral Range depot, and shop owners decorated their store fronts in the team's green and white colors. After the team arrived, a banquet was held at the Douglass House in Houghton, followed by a reception held at the Amphidrome.<sup>82</sup>

However, the season would not be over as expected, the Mining Gazette reporting that "C.E. Webb, manager of the Portage Lake hockey team, received a communication last night from the manager of the Wanderers of Montreal in which he challenged the Portage Lakes for the championship of the world", to be played at the Amphidrome.<sup>83</sup> Portage Lakes supporters paid admission prices of up to two dollars<sup>84</sup> to see the Wanderers defeated by a score of eight goals to four, on March 21, 1904.<sup>85</sup> "The game was unquestionably the fastest article of hockey ever exhibited in the Copper Country and naturally then the greatest game ever played in the United States".<sup>86</sup> The following evening, Houghton repeated the feat, besting the Wanderers 9-2. "The game had all the features which go to make hockey the most exciting sport in the world. There was slashing, body checking, terrific shooting, marvelous speed, injuries to players, combination plays . . .".<sup>87</sup>

The Portage Lakes had won twenty-three of twenty-five games during the 1903-04 season, outscoring their opponents 257 to 49. Individual goal-scoring totals for that year have been listed in Appendix B. The team played a total of eighteen games in Houghton, remaining undefeated there, as both losses occurred away from the Amphidrome.

While the record of the team would seem irrefutable, the fact that the team had not played the very best teams in Canada meant that any claims that the Portage Lakes Hockey

---

<sup>82</sup>Ibid., Mar 19/04, n. pag.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid., Mar 18/04, n. pag.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid., Mar 20/04, n. pag.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid., Mar 22/04, n. pag.

<sup>86</sup>Ibid.

<sup>87</sup>Mining Gazette, Mar 23/04, n. pag.

**HOCKEY!  HOCKEY!**

**WANDERERS OF MONTREAL,**  
CHAMPIONS OF CANADA,  
**VS. PORTAGE LAKES**  
UNITED STATES CHAMPIONS,  
**FOR WORLD'S CHAMPIONSHIP.**

**MONDAY AND TUESDAY,**  
**MARCH 21 AND 22**  
**at AMPHIDROME.**

**These will be the Greatest Hockey Games that were ever seen in America**

Just think of it! A chance to see Canada's Champion Hockey Team go against Portage Lakes, United States Champions. You are not likely to have another chance to see such a game.

***SPECIAL RATES AND TRAINS***

***FROM ALL PARTS OF THE STATE.***

***See Railroad Advertisements for Rates and Leaving Time.***

**SEATS ON SALE**

At Barry's Drug Store, Houghton; Nichols' Drug Store, Hancock;  
Sodergren & Sodergren's Drug Store, Calumet.

**Prices--First three rows on side \$2.00. Balance of sides \$1.50. General Admission \$1.00**

***Wire all Orders to Manager Amphidrome.***

The Portage Lakes Hockey Club and Montreal Wanderers - Series Advertisement, 1904  
(Houghton Daily Mining Gazette, Mar 20/04)

Club was the best team in the world could not be validated. However, the Houghton club had made every effort to challenge the top amateur teams in Ontario and Quebec, but were refused. "Hod" Stuart expressed the sentiments of the players themselves:

We do not want to make any strong assertions about being the champions of the world. We have won the championship [of the United States] all right but we want to demonstrate that we can play the big Canadian teams on their own ice and beat them. It is the ambition of every member of the Portage Lake team to play the Ottawas on their own ice next season.<sup>88</sup>

Unfortunately, it seemed unlikely that the Portage Lakes would be able to play the best teams in Canada, due to the risks the Canadian teams would face, should they be banned from playing in the Canadian leagues for competing against a professional club. John R. Robinson, a sports writer for the Detroit Journal, concluded that the Canadian teams were aware that the Portage Lakes was the best team, but, by not playing the Houghton club, could cast doubt on any claims of the American team's invincibility.<sup>89</sup> Thus, the Canadian teams could refute the claims of the U.S. club, and also avoid any potential humiliation incurred by a loss to the professional team.

However, the Portage Lakes Hockey Club had easily defeated all their opponents during the 1903-04 season. The fans of the Portage Lakes were demanding better competition, and according to the Globe and Mail, "the people of the Copper Country will not be contented until they see their seven in action with the best Canada can produce. Almost any price would be given to any Canadian champion team to come here".<sup>90</sup> When the fans did not get the opportunity to watch the Portage Lakes play the best possible competition, interest in the team waned. It was no longer entertaining to watch opposing teams lose by scores of 24-0 at the Amphidrome. Despite the record of the team in 1903-04, the Mining Gazette reported that the "season, by the way, was not the greatest season

---

<sup>88</sup>Ibid., Mar 26/04, n. pag.

<sup>89</sup>Ibid., Mar 23/04, n. pag.

<sup>90</sup>Globe and Mail, Jan 7/04, n. pag.

in the history of the game in Houghton, in the opinion of many enthusiasts. The majority of the games were tame, the attendance and the enthusiasm were not so great".<sup>91</sup>

Up until this time, the games that the Portage Lakes played in were considered to be exhibitions, and not part of a recognized league.<sup>92</sup> If teams would not come to Houghton to play, then perhaps Houghton would need to join a league that would be able to provide consistent, high calibre play for the fans at the Amphidrome. As interest in hockey was spreading to other areas of the United States, James R. Dee, president of the Houghton Amphidrome Company, had written to Pittsburgh suggesting that a national hockey association be formed in the United States, with up to a dozen cities involved. Dee also suggested "invading Canada and making the organization international."<sup>93</sup>

Dee's scheme spread among other potential hockey magnates, and by March, 1904, the Pittsburgh Times announced that there was now talk of forming a national hockey league for the next season, with teams from Houghton and Calumet definitely committed, and possible entries from Chicago, Pittsburgh, and Milwaukee.<sup>94</sup>

#### The Formation of the International Hockey League

The success of the Portage Lakes Hockey Club indicated to entrepreneurs in other U.S. cities that hockey could be a viable business venture. The attendance at the games at the Amphidrome remained high, despite the low population base in the Copper Country. Therefore, the example of professional hockey organized in Houghton may have fueled the desires of business magnates in other similar towns to assemble teams of their own to play.

In the fall of 1904, the talk of creating a newly-organized professional league became a reality. A meeting was arranged for October 15, in St. Louis, where discussions

---

<sup>91</sup>Mining Gazette, Mar 24/04, n. pag.

<sup>92</sup>Earl J. Gagnon, (Houghton Daily Mining Gazette Association editor), Letter to the Hockey Hall of Fame, Sept. 26, 1976.

<sup>93</sup>Mining Gazette, Dec 20/03, n. pag.

<sup>94</sup>*Ibid.*, Mar 17/04, n. pag.

were to be held between interested parties to determine the prospects of organizing an "American hockey league." Despite the postponement of the St. Louis meeting until November, due to the possible inclusion of a club from the Canadian Soo,<sup>95</sup> James R. Dee, of Houghton, had already assumed the role of secretary and treasurer of the American Hockey League. The Canadian Soo was still interested in becoming a part of the new league, and hoped for acceptance at the Chicago meeting. It was anticipated that the "Sault will ask that visiting clubs get 40 per cent of the gate and guarantee expenses".<sup>96</sup>

Although the number of teams to be entered into the proposed league had not yet been determined, Dee felt that the League would "not want more than six teams because of the fact that the season is necessarily a short one and it would be impossible to arrange a schedule for more than that number."<sup>97</sup> This would not become a problem, as only five towns expressed genuine interest in hosting professional hockey games. The following is a list of those attending the Chicago meeting, their positions outside of hockey interests, and their respective towns:

A.L. MacSwiggan - Manager, Duquesne Gardens, Pittsburgh  
A.D. Ferguson - Manager, Soo Curling Club, Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan  
J.C. Boyd - Superintendent, Canadian Ship Canal, Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario  
Charles Thompson - Agent, Copper Railroad, Laurium [Calumet]  
James R. Dee - President, Amphidrome Co., Houghton<sup>98</sup>

At the two-day meeting, McSwiggan was named League President, and Ferguson Vice President, to work along with Dee's already determined duties. The "Quebec rules" were officially adopted, and games would operate under a two referee system.<sup>99</sup> The decision to not use the rules of the Ontario Hockey Association, and to follow those of the Quebec Hockey Union, was taken because, according to the I.H.L. officers, the Quebec

---

<sup>95</sup>Mining Gazette, Oct. 4/04, n. pag.

<sup>96</sup>Sault Star, Nov 3/04, n. pag.

<sup>97</sup>Mining Gazette, Oct 8/04, n. pag.

<sup>98</sup>Mining Gazette, Oct. 30/04, n. pag.

<sup>99</sup>Copper Country, Nov 8/04, n. pag.

rules<sup>100</sup> were "more conducive to team play, which makes the game of hockey more spectacular".<sup>101</sup> In addition, with the inclusion of the Canadian Soo, the League's American name became improper, and so the word "International" was substituted. Thus, the International Hockey League was formed, with four U.S. teams: Houghton, Sault Ste. Marie, Pittsburgh, and Calumet, and the lone Canadian entry from Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario.

Several other matters were considered at the Chicago meeting, including concerns over the level of rough play. James R. Dee quickly explained the means through which the League would attempt to control this potential problem:

Special provisions will also be made for keeping the games free from roughness. For this purpose referees will be given power similar to that held by umpires in the big baseball leagues, where he rules supreme during the progress of a game.<sup>102</sup>

The acquisition of players for the new professional League would be the sole responsibility of the individual teams, which, with the League's formation now definite, began contacting players from the Dominion. Team managers began assembling their squads and making the necessary arrangements to bring professional hockey to their prospective towns, all of which had experienced games of hockey, but never at the level that the I.H.L. promised. Anticipation of the high-calibre of competition to be exhibited in the I.H.L. filled the sporting sections of the local newspapers:

The towns in the International Hockey League will see the best hockey in the world this winter. There is no doubt about the quality being better than will be seen anywhere else, and it would be a question whether five teams as good as those that will take part in the series could be picked from among the players not now on those teams.<sup>103</sup>

---

<sup>100</sup>The major difference between the "Quebec" rules and the rules of the O.H.A. lay in the interpretation of the off-side rule. Under O.H.A. rules, a player could pass the puck forward to a teammate, as long as he skated quickly ahead so that he was ahead of the pass receiver by the time the puck reached his teammate. Under "Quebec" rules, passes could not, under any circumstances, be made toward the opposing goal.

<sup>101</sup>Mining Gazette, Nov 5/04, n. pag.

<sup>102</sup>Soo Evening News, Nov 3/04, n. pag.

<sup>103</sup>Soo Evening News, Dec 2/04, n. pag.

### International Hockey League Innovations and Rule Changes: 1904-1907

Shortly after the initial meetings to form the I.H.L., a set of rules was released to govern League play, unique to the League. The rules were similar to those written by Arthur Farrell in 1899, and can be found in Appendix D. The League also released rules governing League operations, which can be seen in Appendix C. However, a number of amendments were made to both the playing and administrative regulations of the International Hockey League, over the course of the League's three-year existence. In this section, such changes will be noted, in addition to several instances where the hockey played in the I.H.L. can be seen to be different from the other leagues in operation during the same time period.

Despite the fact that the playing rules of hockey remained consistent through the first few years of the twentieth century, several minor changes to various rules that occurred before or during the I.H.L.'s operating years were universally adopted by most leagues in Canada and the United States. Morris Mott noticed that, at the turn of the century, hockey was very similar in nature throughout the Canadian leagues, and concluded that "it seems that across the country hockey was played in essentially the same fashion with virtually the same kinds of equipment and the same rules and strategies . . . ,"<sup>104</sup> despite some minor differences in rules between leagues or associations.

For this reason, several rule changes, usually implemented by the Ontario Hockey Association, were quickly adopted by the Portage Lakes Hockey Club, and later by the International Hockey League. In 1903-04, a line was drawn across the goal posts for the first time, making the umpire's duties of determining goals far easier.<sup>105</sup> A few seasons later, the O.H.A. amended its off-side rule, permitting a player to receive a forward pass from his goalkeeper within three feet of the goal.<sup>106</sup> The change was quickly adopted for International Hockey league play, as the new rule would greatly hasten the play of the

---

<sup>104</sup>Mott, 2.

<sup>105</sup>Coleman, 94.

<sup>106</sup>Hewitt, Down the Stretch (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1958), 192.



game. Before this rule was instituted, the referee would be forced to stop play when the puck rebounded off the goalkeeper to a teammate.

However, there were a number of different interpretations of the playing rules displayed by the referees of the contests played in Michigan, prior to the formation of the I.H.L., as well as by the means through which games were refereed. The cold winter conditions at the natural-ice arenas meant that using a bell would be easier for referees; when conditions grew too cold, the referees' lips would freeze to their whistles,<sup>107</sup> and the bell was substituted. In addition, referees would not always make consistent rulings during games; for example, during a game in December of 1903, Portage Lakes player Bruce Stuart was penalized for kicking the puck.<sup>108</sup> Such behavior was not universally endorsed or condemned; the play was either called a penalty or allowed at the discretion of a particular games's referee. Similarly, there was also confusion over players touching the puck with their hands, illustrated by comments found in the Houghton Daily Mining Gazette, in December of 1903:

It is a great temptation when the rubber is flying over player's head for him to grab it, throw it on the ice and start off with it at the end of his stick. In some games this has been allowed, but never is the player allowed to carry the puck past the place where he stops.<sup>109</sup>

Once International Hockey League operations had commenced, adherence to the League's established rules was more pronounced. However, this led to several distinct situations and penalty calls. An example occurred on December 14, 1904, when Canadian Soo player Milne was penalized for one minute for stopping the puck in the air with his stick.<sup>110</sup> In another instance, in accordance with Section 10 of the League rules, goalkeeper

---

<sup>107</sup>Ibid., 190-191.

<sup>108</sup>Daily Mining Gazette, Dec 27/03. n. pag.

<sup>109</sup>Ibid., Dec 5/03, n. pag.

<sup>110</sup>Daily Mining Gazette, Dec 15/04, n. pag. See Appendix D, Section 8. The newspaper report did not indicate how high the puck was in the air when Milne stopped it.

McKay of Pittsburgh was penalized two minutes for dropping to his knees to stop a shot.<sup>111</sup> Substitutes could not be given for goalkeepers who were penalized; they had to serve their own penalties. When Michigan Soo goalkeeper "Chief" Jones was penalized during a game against Pittsburgh, his opponents were able to score twice into the empty net created by his absence.<sup>112</sup>

Unfortunately, the brevity of I.H.L. rules led to situations where the legality of certain actions not covered by League regulations was questioned, prompting arguments amongst players, referees, and management alike. In a game in February, 1905, Pittsburgh captain "Baldy" Spittal took his team off the ice, in response to the referee's failure to penalize a Houghton player, Bruce Stuart. Stuart had apparently, during the course of the game, sat on the puck so that the Pittsburgh players could not retrieve it from him. Spittal demanded that a penalty be awarded to Stuart, but none was given. However, there were times when referees would make adjustments to the rules in order to stop unwanted behavior. For example, while it was often customary for players to shoot the puck into the seats to delay the game, I.H.L. referees occasionally found it necessary to give players penalties to stop this practice.<sup>113</sup> Referees also made other changes to the ways by which games were officiated. In December of 1906, referee "Cooney" Shields reportedly dropped the puck to commence a face, rather than the traditional method of placing the puck between the players and shouting "play" to start game action.

Some activities ultimately resulted in the amendment of I.H.L. rules. The frequent delays during matches led to the creation of a new rule, prior to the start of the 1906-07 season. It was decided by League officers that play during the course of a match could not be delayed, for any reason, longer than three minutes. Should a player break a skate or

---

<sup>111</sup>Copper Country, Dec 16/04, n. pag.

<sup>112</sup>Soo Evening News, Mar 8/05, n. pag.

<sup>113</sup>Soo Evening News, Jan 31/07, n. pag; in a game on January 30, referee Shields gave Joe Stephens a penalty for lifting the puck into the crowd.

stick, or be injured, his team would be forced to continue to play short until such time that he could recover.<sup>114</sup>

Also, in order to curtail overly rough conduct by the players, referees were given the right to fine players for their actions, which referee "Chaucer" Elliott considered an effective means of keeping I.H.L. games under control.<sup>115</sup> Elliott fined Billy Taylor of the Canadian Soo two dollars after he deliberately hit Fred Lake of the Portage Lakes across the head with his stick, in a game on January 22, 1906.<sup>116</sup> Elliott, along with any other referee, had been given the authority to fine a player between two and ten dollars, depending on the perceived severity of the infraction.<sup>117</sup>

Unfortunately for I.H.L. officials, referees would remain a problem throughout all three years of League operations. To aid in combatting disputes arising over the choice of referees, the League began appointing referees, rather than allowing captains or clubs to determine the choice of a referee prior to a game. In addition, in the fall of 1905, the practice of penalizing a repeat offender (see Appendix D, Section 8) at least twice the time of the previous offense was dropped. Therefore, the decision to penalize a player was placed more strongly in the control of the referee.<sup>118</sup>

Control was not the only aspect of I.H.L. operations that League officials were afraid of losing. The salaries of the players were high, and team owners were likely to lose money on their hockey investments, should the salaries continue to climb. As a result, a salary limit was implemented in the fall of 1905, and set at three thousand dollars.<sup>119</sup> While the limit

---

<sup>114</sup>Ibid., Nov 14/06, n. pag.

<sup>115</sup>Sault Star, Jan 11/06, n. pag.

<sup>116</sup>Pittsburgh Gazette, Jan 23/06, n. pag.

<sup>117</sup>Sault Star, Feb 8/06, n. pag.

<sup>118</sup>Copper Country, Oct 25/05, n. pag.

<sup>119</sup>Sault Star, Oct 12/05, n. pag.

may not have helped keep salaries low, as accusations were rampant of I.H.L. teams exceeding the maximum, the restriction showed the I.H.L.'s concern over its own financial viability.

The I.H.L. ceased operations in the fall of 1907, following three seasons of professional ice hockey. While the discussed changes and innovations displayed by League management, players and referees are easily identified, the impact that changes or styles of play had on the sport itself are difficult to discern, and even more so to illustrate. One example of such a change would be the practice of lifting the puck, as discussed in Chapter Two of this study. While lifts were a common occurrence in hockey at this time, as described by Coleman, Mott, and others, it occurred to several of those involved in I.H.L. affairs that lifting was not a popular activity for most I.H.L. players. The Copper Country Evening News of Calumet reported comments made by Manager MacSwiggan of the Duquesne Gardens, on the subject of lifting:

I have watched hockey from its inception and have witnessed several of the fastest games in Canada, in the first place I saw the lifting cut out was right here in this building. It seemed natural to the players in this city to do without this play, I attribute this chiefly to the size of the Duquesne rink.<sup>120</sup>

Frank Danahey, assistant manager of the Pittsburgh team, concurred with MacSwiggan's remarks, adding that he considered lifting to be an outdated activity, and could not foresee the act remaining a part of the sport in the future.<sup>121</sup>

While I.H.L. players may have partially determined the popularity of certain playing techniques, the style of play found in I.H.L. games had also become distinct. The League displayed a highly-skilled, fast-paced style of game, that may have exceeded that found in eastern Canada at that time.<sup>122</sup> One way which the International Hockey League teams may have achieved this was through the modification of the point player's position:

---

<sup>120</sup>Copper Country, Feb 26/07, n. pag.

<sup>121</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>122</sup>*Ibid.*, Feb 17/07, n. pag.

The tendency in the International League is to put the speedy man at point. It is no longer the thing to have the big, heavy men in front of the goaltender. What they want is a man who can get away with the puck. The goaltender can do all the stopping necessary and the body-checking is left for the coverpoint.<sup>123</sup>

In recalling his arrival in the I.H.L., Fred "Cyclone" Taylor noted that "it was obvious right away that there was more accent here on skating and stickhandling than in the Canadian Leagues."<sup>124</sup>

Although the impact that innovations and changes in rules and playing styles in the I.H.L. had on ice hockey as a sport in North America cannot be determined with certainty, the changes that did occur had an influence on the continued operation and development of the International Hockey League.

#### The Organization and Success of the International Hockey League Teams: 1904-1907

While professional hockey was a new concept to players and spectators alike in most areas of North America, hockey had been played at various levels and times in all five I.H.L. locations. However, prior to the I.H.L.'s inaugural season in 1904-05, not all of the towns were ready to host hockey at the level of play that the I.H.L. entrepreneurs had promised, and therefore many changes and preparations were necessary. Once League operations had commenced, the fortunes of the different clubs proved to be varied and, in some instances, highly irregular.

The fortunes of the five different I.H.L. teams will be examined separately, as each enjoyed varying degrees of success during the three years that the League operated, both in comparison with the other League teams, and from season to season. A brief history of hockey in the five towns is also required, in order to consider the impact that I.H.L. operations had on the different teams, towns, and their spectators.

---

<sup>123</sup>Mining Gazette, Feb 20/07, n. pag.

<sup>124</sup>Whitehead, 42.

Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan (Michigan Soo)

At the beginning of the twentieth century, hockey had already been firmly established in the Michigan Soo. Before the formation of the I.H.L., local teams had competed with Canadian teams, including the Canadian Soo, at an amateur level.<sup>125</sup> By 1903, the Michigan Soo had organized what was considered by many of the Canadian newspapers to be a professional club, as the team was comprised mainly of former Pittsburgh and Houghton players. The Toronto Globe and Mail anticipated that the O.H.A. would not allow the Michigan Soo team to play against Canadian clubs, as the players from Houghton and Pittsburgh had already been declared professionals.<sup>126</sup>

However, the threats of the O.H.A. did not deter all Canadian teams from engaging in exhibitions with the Michigan Soo. Manager Harry Chown of the Toronto Varsity agreed to travel to the Soo, if the Soo team would put up four hundred dollars to cover the Varsity team's expenses, and guarantee that the American club would ice a strictly amateur Michigan Soo team.<sup>127</sup> The Globe and Mail ridiculed the Michigan Soo's amateur claims, stating that "all are under salary, and everybody in both Soos knows it. . . ."<sup>128</sup> Of the team's salary structure, the newspaper continued:

It is not a uniform one, however, as that in Pittsburgh. Each man has his own price. . . . Fabulous figures are named as salaries. The outside populace will tell you that they range from \$150 a month down. With the Pittsburgh men commanding \$15 a week it is safe to say that it is the outside figure here, and that \$10 is received by more than the larger amount.<sup>129</sup>

Although the anti-professional policies of associations like the O.H.A. did not completely deny the Michigan Soo any competition, the exhibitions that the team did manage to arrange were sporadic. The organization of the International Hockey League in

---

<sup>125</sup>One instance had an All-Soo team, comprised of players from both the Canadian and American Soo, playing the Toronto Varsity, in February of 1902; Sault Star, Feb 20/02, n. pag.

<sup>126</sup>Globe and Mail, Dec 2/03, n. pag.

<sup>127</sup>*Ibid.*, Jan 1/04, n. pag.

<sup>128</sup>*Ibid.*, Jan 6/04, n. pag.

<sup>129</sup>*Ibid.*

the fall of 1904 allowed the Michigan town the opportunity to compete with high-calibre teams, without the need to deny or cloak the practice of paying players.

In addition to the acquisition of players for the team, the Michigan Soo team management needed to prepare its rink, a curling rink located on Ridge Street, for the I.H.L.'s inaugural season in 1904-05.<sup>130</sup> Team Manager Ferguson announced that a re-arrangement of the seats at the rink would, unlike in the past, allow fans to view the entire ice surface without visual obstruction.<sup>131</sup> On December 10, 1904, the curling rink opened for public skating, and in order to help finance players' salaries and other expenses, management decided to charge a ten-cent admission price for those wanting to watch the team practice.<sup>132</sup>

In subsequent seasons, additional adjustments were made to the rink on Ridge Street, including the lowering of seats in the arena to further improve spectator viewing.<sup>133</sup> In addition, the Sault Ste. Marie Evening News reported that a plank flooring would be placed on the floor of the rink:

This will enable the players to have much more pleasure, as the rink will always be level. When ice is built on the ground the frost always raises some spots, which makes a very uneven rink. By putting in a floor this will be eliminated.<sup>134</sup>

However, after some debate, it was decided that the rink would be left in its original state for the coming 1906-07 season.<sup>135</sup>

Unfortunately, during the three years of I.H.L. operations, the arena manager, George Coomb, was constantly attempting to remedy problems caused by spectators at the Michigan Soo rink. The rink itself was covered in sheet iron and men and boys would often

---

<sup>130</sup>In many instances, this rink would be referred to as the Ridge Street Ice-A-Torium.

<sup>131</sup>Copper Country, Nov 29/04, n. pag.

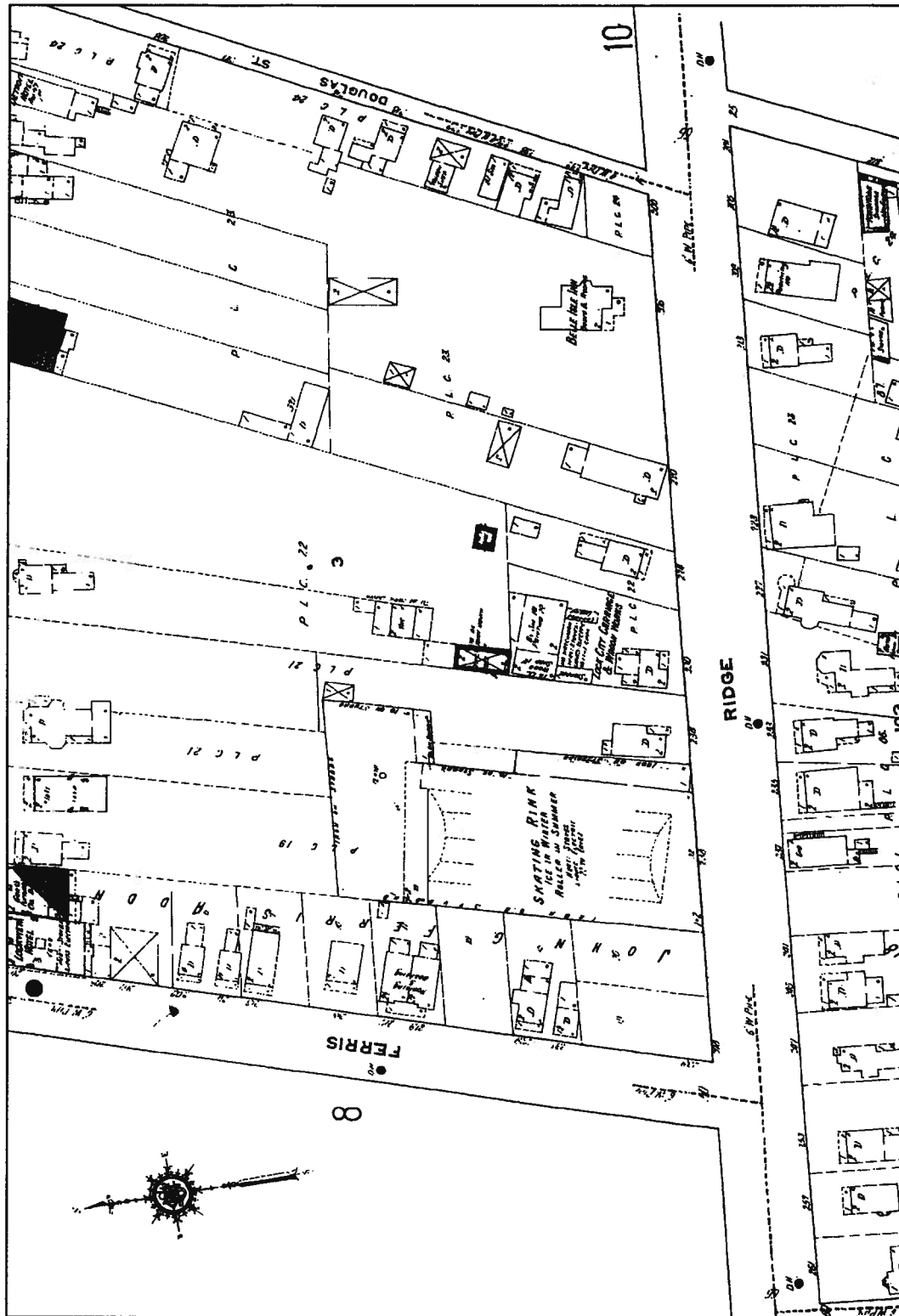
<sup>132</sup>Soo Evening News, Dec 8/04, n. pag.

<sup>133</sup>Mining Gazette, Oct 26/05, n. pag.

<sup>134</sup>Soo Evening News, Nov 10/06, n. pag.

<sup>135</sup>*Ibid.*, Nov 14/06, n. pag.

PLATE VII



Fire Insurance Map of The Ridge Street Arena, Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan (Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, Chadwyck-Healey, Inc.)



remove pieces from the outside wall in order to gain free admission to the hockey games.

To stop this practice, Coomb boarded up the inside of the rink.<sup>136</sup>

Coomb also reported that boys smashed nearly two hundred panes of glass at the rink each year, in addition to pulling down the electric wiring, and smashing light sockets. The rink manager explained that if these practices alone could be stopped, expenses would be decreased between two and three hundred dollars annually.<sup>137</sup> However, the vandalism at the Michigan Soo rink did not cease, as Coomb reported later in the 1905-06 season that his efforts to board up the rink were done in vain; people were still entering the arena through holes that were made in the sides of the building. On January 4, 1906, a boy was jailed for trying to get into the arena illegally.<sup>138</sup> Coomb stated to the Soo Evening News that: "a public place of amusement such as the ice rink seems to be thought legitimate prey for these people, and I shall stop it if possible. A close watch will be kept and anyone caught will be prosecuted".<sup>139</sup>

Despite the actions of a few unruly spectators, interest and support for the hockey team remained high in the Michigan Soo throughout its affiliation with the International Hockey League. Before the first game was played in 1904, hockey fans in the Michigan town organized themselves into a group, called the Rooters, which met at city hall and tried to devise cheers that would drown out the shouting of Canadian Soo fans, who would often cross the border to support any clubs opposing the Michigan team.<sup>140</sup> The zealotry of the Rooters reflected the anticipation the town shared for the local team's chances of winning in the I.H.L. Jimmy Ryan, former manager of the Soo baseball team, became an

---

<sup>136</sup>Ibid., Nov 14/05, n. pag.

<sup>137</sup>Soo Evening News, Nov 14/05, n. pag.

<sup>138</sup>Ibid., Jan 5/05, n. pag.

<sup>139</sup>Ibid.

<sup>140</sup>Ibid., Dec 13/04, n. pag.

ardent supporter of the hockey team, and observed the excitement of the Michigan Soo fans, before the first I.H.L. game was even played:

To hear them tell it the Soo team is going to beat every other team in the league and never lose a game. In the Hotels, clubs, stores, on the street, in the street cars, coming home from church, in the saloons . . . there is nothing talked but hockey.<sup>141</sup>

One reason for the continuing support by Michigan Soo residents was the fact that the local I.H.L. team remained a consistent championship contender throughout the three I.H.L. seasons. Unfortunately for the fans of the team, an I.H.L. championship was not won by the Michigan Soo. The closest opportunity the team had was a second-place finish behind the Portage Lakes Hockey Club, in 1905-06. The Michigan Soo club finished the season with sixteen wins in twenty two games, losing the I.H.L. pennant by one game.<sup>142</sup> The team was favored to win the League championship that year, according to reports before the opening of the 1905-06 season,<sup>143</sup> and was involved in a heated battle with both the Pittsburgh and Houghton teams. The rivalry between the Portage Lakes, and the "Wolverines" of the Michigan Soo, as the Sault Evening News had nicknamed the team,<sup>144</sup> continued throughout the entire season. Following the Michigan Soo's victory at Houghton on January 14, one third of the way into the season, League President A.L. Ferguson of the Soo, showing an obvious bias toward his own team, offered to bet one thousand dollars that on neutral ice, his Michigan Soo team could defeat the Portage Lakes in five out of six games.<sup>145</sup> As the season progressed, the "Wolverines" won seven of eight contests, and occupied first place in the I.H.L. standings through January 24. The race for the pennant

---

<sup>141</sup>Mining Gazette, Dec 27/04, n. pag.

<sup>142</sup>See Appendix H for win-loss records for all five I.H.L. teams, in all three seasons.

<sup>143</sup>Mining Gazette, Dec 17/05, n. pag.

<sup>144</sup>Soo Evening News, Dec 27/05, n. pag.

<sup>145</sup>*Ibid.*, Jan 15/06, n. pag.

remained very close. However, a loss to the Portage Lakes on January 25 dropped the Michigan Soo from first to third, trailing both Houghton and Pittsburgh.<sup>146</sup>

In the three years of I.H.L. operations, the team from Sault Ste. Marie had provided consistent, talented competition for the other four teams. However, the instability of team ownership following the conclusion of the 1906-07 season may have contributed to the demise of the League in the fall of 1907. In the spring of 1907, the Michigan Soo franchise was acquired by two Soo businessmen, Max Schoenman, and Dave Lee. Ferguson and Murdock, who had operated the team since its inception, allowed the transaction, on the condition that the new owners enter a team into the I.H.L. for 1907-08, thus perpetuating the civic pride and interest that Ferguson and Murdock deemed was created by the team.<sup>147</sup>

#### Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario (Canadian Soo)

Meanwhile, across the border in Canada, the town of Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, also prepared to enter a professional team into the I.H.L. Like most other Ontario towns at the beginning of the twentieth century, hockey had already become a well-established sporting activity for local residents. By 1902, the Canadian Soo had an entry in the Ontario Hockey Association, the Soo Hockey Club, operating out of the Soo Curling Club rink.<sup>148</sup> The senior team was not the only organized hockey in the town; Sault Ste. Marie also had its own three-team intermediate league, and a junior league made up of Y.M.C.A. and high school teams.<sup>149</sup>

Competition for the local senior team would be provided by the Michigan Soo, but games were often one-sided. In an exhibition game on January 22, 1903, the Canadians beat the Michigan Soo 18-1.<sup>150</sup> Other teams that would play the Canadian Soo were the

---

<sup>146</sup>Ibid., Jan 26/06, n. pag.

<sup>147</sup>Sault Star, May 2/07, n. pag.

<sup>148</sup>Mining Gazette, Nov 22/02, n. pag.

<sup>149</sup>Sault Star, Dec 4/02, n. pag.

<sup>150</sup>Ibid., Jan 29/03, n. pag.

Toronto Varsity, Smith's Falls, and the Toronto Wellingtons.<sup>151</sup> The Wellingtons were more than a match for the locals; the Canadian Soo found it difficult to compete against the other established Canadian teams. The Canadian Soo had also played against the Portage Lakes Hockey Club, when the Americans were still considered to be amateur, before the Amphidrome was built in Houghton.

The Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, team was also considered amateur, although each season made it more difficult for the operators of the local club to finance the team. In the fall of 1903, at the third annual meeting of shareholders of the Sault Ste Marie Skating Rink and Athletic Co., Limited, President T. S. Durham revealed that although the company had paid off over \$725 of its debt, it still owed \$3,400. Durham further explained that hockey was just not as prosperous as it had been in previous years.<sup>152</sup> Many of the teams that had provided competition for the Sault club had started paying for hockey talent, but for the 1903-04 season, despite the impending financial woes that the club faced, the Canadian Soo team chose to organize a team, and remain amateur.<sup>153</sup>

Shortly after that decision, the Canadian Soo Hockey Club realized that it would prove too costly to travel the extra distance to meet amateur clubs. The team withdrew from the O.H.A.'s intermediate series and was renamed the Algonquins. The team would now try to arrange exhibitions with the alleged professional teams, which were much closer, as well as any amateur teams that might risk O.H.A. expulsion to play the Soo team.<sup>154</sup> The team's withdrawal from the O.H.A. had caused a sensation in the Canadian newspapers, but the management had determined that the Canadian players wanted to get paid like their

---

<sup>151</sup>The Varsity made their third annual visit to the Soo in January of 1903; *ibid.*, Jan 1, Feb 12, Mar 5/03, n. pag.

<sup>152</sup>Sault Star, Oct 8/03, n. pag.

<sup>153</sup>Globe and Mail, Dec 22/03, n. pag.

<sup>154</sup>*ibid.*, Dec 25/03, n. pag.

Michigan Soo counterparts, and was growing tired of seeing the healthy gates that the Michigan Soo was receiving for its high-calibre games.<sup>155</sup> In 1903-04, despite the fact that games were arranged with the Portage Lakes and Michigan Soo teams, the Algonquins vehemently denied that it was a professional team.<sup>156</sup> This may have been due to an interest in being re-entered into the O.H.A. in the future.

As the 1903-04 season ended, there was already speculation of the forming of a professional league for the fall of 1904. Though the Algonquins were still considered by the O.H.A. to be amateur, no doubt the prospects of appeasing the local players through remuneration, as well as the potential for larger crowds and higher ticket prices, would tempt the local management to join the professional hockey ranks. The success of the Portage Lakes had shown that there was a possible future in the professional game. Thus, in the fall of 1904, a decision needed to be made by the Canadian Soo team management:

There are of course a good many people in the Soo who are averse to severing connections with the Ontario Hockey Association, but on account of the fact that the town is so far away from other hockey centers [in Canada] it is [difficult] to maintain a team entered into that association. . . .<sup>157</sup>

John P. Mooney of the Canadian Soo club stated that fans would not be content to see a team compete against clubs from Thessalon, Blind River, "and such small places, especially when citizens could cross the river and see fast games," between the Michigan Soo and other quality professional teams.<sup>158</sup> Mooney's statement revealed another dilemma that influenced the Canadian Soo's foray into professionalism; the rivalry that existed between the two Soo towns. The Canadian Soo would be far behind its American counterpart should

---

<sup>155</sup>With the addition of former Pittsburgh and Houghton players, the Michigan Soo provided a higher calibre of hockey, and drew larger crowds; Globe and Mail, Dec 26/03, n. pag.

<sup>156</sup>Ibid., Dec 30/03, n. pag.

<sup>157</sup>Copper Country, Sep 30/04, n. pag.

<sup>158</sup>Sault Star, Oct 13/04, n. pag.

the Michigan Soo join the new professional league. J. C. Boyd, president of the Rink Company admitted that "the town wanted a team that could lick the American Soo."<sup>159</sup>

Despite indications that it would be in the best interests of the team and the town to join the I.H.L., uncertainty led to the organization of a meeting at the Soo town hall on October 10. "Those who advocate the idea are requested to be on hand, as well as those who oppose it."<sup>160</sup> The meeting proved that there was overwhelming support for professional hockey. Also witnessed at the meeting was the emergence of local curlers interested in financing the team. Therefore, a committee, composed of prominent Soo businessmen, was formed to oversee team operations,<sup>161</sup> and would also call upon local citizens for additional financial assistance.<sup>162</sup> The new team would cost an estimated \$125 a week, and the Sault Star predicted that an average gate of \$275 would pay the team's expenses, with an additional \$75 going to the visiting team's expenses. The rink would take over club operations with a \$500 guarantee raised by the citizens.<sup>163</sup> The remainder of the money needed to commence club operations was provided by the committee, who raised a total of one thousand dollars for the club. J. C. Boyd, T. S. Durham, and W. O'Brien subscribed \$250 each for club stock, with the remaining \$250 taken by G. S. Cowie, J. P. Mooney, George Reid, and John G. Sutherland.<sup>164</sup>

Other costs would be incurred before team play could commence. Similar to operations at the Michigan Soo, the rink at the Canadian Soo was used primarily for, and owned and operated by, local curlers. Changes to the rink would be necessary to accommodate the larger crowds that were anticipated for hockey games. To accomplish

---

<sup>159</sup>Ibid.

<sup>160</sup>Ibid., Oct 6/04, n. pag.

<sup>161</sup>Soo Evening News, Oct 11/04, n. pag.

<sup>162</sup>Ibid.

<sup>163</sup>Sault Star, Oct 13/04, n. pag.

<sup>164</sup>Ibid, Oct 20/04, n. pag.

this, a new waiting room with a glass front was constructed at the east end of the rink, while a gallery installed at the south end increased seating capacity by two hundred.<sup>165</sup>

To recover the costs of operating the team and building, ticket prices were determined as follows; seventy-five cents for the best seats, fifty cents for general admission, and twenty-five cents for children.<sup>166</sup> Not everyone was happy with the proposed ticket prices, evidenced by the complaints of one Canadian Soo woman to the

Sault Star:

As ladies going without escorts have to go to the higher priced place, they will have to pay 75 cents, while a gentleman without a lady, can see a match for 50 cents. This is hardly fair . . . . A lady should not be charged more than 25 cents admission to any part of the rink.<sup>167</sup>

Despite the preparations of the club management, from the onset of the 1904-05 season, the Canadian Soo team showed signs that the players they had organized were unable to compete with the other strong I.H.L. teams. Some of the Pittsburgh players stated that the Canadian Soo team was the fastest team in the League, but that the team's players were too light, and not able to contend with the strong checking and rough play that was already evident early in the season.<sup>168</sup> The team was led by William "Lady Bill" Taylor, who was considered to be the fastest player in the League. The Houghton Daily Mining Gazette agreed that "he undoubtedly is, but it remains to be seen if he is a star of the big league."<sup>169</sup>

Management's response to this dilemma was to try to acquire additional players who could help the team win. Despite the fact that the Canadian Soo team had won only one game through early January of 1905, team manager J. P. Mooney claimed to be happy with

---

<sup>165</sup>Copper Country, Nov 30/04, n. pag.

<sup>166</sup>Sault Star, Dec 1/04, n. pag.

<sup>167</sup>Ibid.

<sup>168</sup>Soo Evening News, Dec 28/04, n. pag.

<sup>169</sup>Mining Gazette, Jan 3/05, n. pag.

the progress he had seen in his club so far.<sup>170</sup> "Texas" Gillard had arrived on January 6, and, if little else, would add size and strength to the smaller Canadian Soo team.<sup>171</sup> A large salary was also offered to another player, George D. Gittus, but he refused Mooney's offer.<sup>172</sup>

Mooney continued to attempt to sign players, as, with only three victories in ten games to date, the Canadians were preparing for a two-game series against Calumet. On February 1, Oliver Seibert, of Berlin, and Frank Clifton, of Brantford, had arrived, but neither new team member played in the Soo's 6-4 loss to Calumet that evening.<sup>173</sup> Seibert had played with "Doc" Gibson in Berlin,<sup>174</sup> and would later be enshrined as a member of the Hockey Hall of Fame. Both Seibert and Clifton were inserted into the Canadian Soo lineup the following evening, but the visiting Calumet team won again, 6-1.<sup>175</sup> Seibert's tenure with the Canadian professional club would be a short one; his wrist was broken during the game by Calumet's "Hod" Stuart,<sup>176</sup> and Seibert would never play in another I.H.L. contest.

These management efforts proved futile, as the team ended a dismal 1904-05 season with only six wins in twenty four games. The following season, the management continued to pay high prices for talented players, despite the imposition of a salary limit on teams by the League officers. The acquisition of better players for the Canadian Soo team led to speculation in the newspapers that the Soo had exceeded the salary limit.<sup>177</sup> The Houghton Daily Mining Gazette reported that Roy Brown had signed for fifty dollars per

---

<sup>170</sup>Soo Evening News, Jan 7/05, n. pag.

<sup>171</sup>ibid.

<sup>172</sup>Mining Gazette, Jan 11/05, n. pag.

<sup>173</sup>ibid., Feb 2/05, n. pag.

<sup>174</sup>ibid., Feb 3/05, n. pag.

<sup>175</sup>Mining Gazette, Feb 3/05, n. pag.

<sup>176</sup>ibid.

<sup>177</sup>ibid., Nov 26/05, n. pag.



week, and that "Baldy" Spittal, formerly of Pittsburgh, was receiving the same amount. The newspaper noted, however, that there were a number of Canadian Soo players who were paid only fifteen or twenty dollars for each week.<sup>178</sup> Salary speculations were even higher in the Soo; the Sault Star claimed that Brown was paid one hundred dollars for each game he played.<sup>179</sup>

Keeping under the salary limit would seem to be of little concern to the Canadian Soo club, considering the other problems that arose for the team during the 1905-06 season. Unfortunately, one of these problems was beyond the control of the team, its fans, or its management. In the Canadian Soo, warm weather conditions were beginning to affect the rink and threaten the I.H.L.'s scheduled games there. A series between Pittsburgh and the Soo was to be postponed, should the warm conditions continue, at the end of December, 1905. Two games, scheduled for December 27 and 29, were cancelled, because the ice was in a state that was deemed unsuitable for play.<sup>180</sup> One of the games was replayed on February 3, at a time when Pittsburgh was playing in the Michigan Soo.<sup>181</sup>

In addition, while the League was enjoying adequate attendance at its rinks, the Canadian Soo was encountering the same difficulties that plagued the team the previous season; it could not compete with the other I.H.L. clubs. On December 26, the Ontario team lost to the Michigan Soo, in Michigan. The Michigan team, led by Didier Pitre's eight-goal performance, scored sixteen times against the Canadian Soo's goaltender, Darcy Regan.<sup>182</sup>

Perhaps the lack of competitiveness displayed by the Canadian Soo team resulted in dissension amongst its team members, as the season progressed. The Pittsburgh Gazette

---

<sup>178</sup>Ibid, Dec 27/05, n. pag.

<sup>179</sup>Sault Star, Dec 28/05, n. pag.

<sup>180</sup>Sault Star, Dec 28/05, n.p ag., and Pittsburgh Gazette, Dec 30/05, n. pag.

<sup>181</sup>Pittsburgh Gazette, Feb 4/06, n. pag.

<sup>182</sup>Soo Evening News, Dec 27/05, n. pag.

announced, following a 9-3 loss by the Soo at Pittsburgh, that Soo player-manager "Baldy" Spittal was leaving the team, and considering pursuing refereeing duties. Spittal then claimed that the Canadian Soo was "an aggregation that would make a manager seek nerve tonics hourly."<sup>183</sup> The Daily Mining Gazette later concurred with the Pittsburgh newspaper, adding that Spittal, who was serving as Canadian Soo team captain, was to be replaced as captain by Darcy Regan.<sup>184</sup> Spittal then returned to his home in Ottawa. He was apparently offered terms to play for the Portage Lakes, but his desires to become a referee outweighed Houghton's offer. The dissension that resulted in the departure of team captain Spittal also led to speculation of the imminent loss of other talented Canadian Soo players. Roy Brown was rumored to be signing with Calumet, but the Soo steadfastly refused to give him his release.<sup>185</sup>

With all of the problems team management was encountering, and with performance on the ice not improving, public interest in the Soo had begun to wane. The Sault Ste Marie Evening News could not find fault with the local fans' lack of enthusiasm for the team:

The attendance at the games is much better than could be expected under the circumstances and the way people have stood by the team through thick and thin shows that a winning team would be a big money maker here.<sup>186</sup>

In early February, attendance was continuing to decrease. On February 6, the Canadian Soo hosted the Michigan Soo, and "the game started with not more than one-quarter of the seats filled."<sup>187</sup> Attendance for a game between the two rival towns would normally generate above average-attendance for games, but the future of professional hockey in the Canadian Soo now seemed unstable.

---

<sup>183</sup>Pittsburgh Gazette, Jan 17/06, n. pag.

<sup>184</sup>Mining Gazette, Jan 26/06, n. pag.

<sup>185</sup>Copper Country, Jan 20/06, n. pag.

<sup>186</sup>Soo Evening News, Jan 24/06, n. pag.

<sup>187</sup>*Ibid.*, Feb 7/06, n. pag.

Throughout the month of February, 1906, the Canadian Soo continued its poor play, and, on February 8, the team lost in the Michigan Soo by a score of 16-4. Each member of the American team scored at least once on the hapless Canadians, with the exception of goaltender "Chief" Jones. The Canadian Soo correspondent at the game, frustrated with the team's performance, was quoted in the Sault Ste. Marie Evening News as saying: "you won't catch me writing anything about this game, we've got one funny column and that's enough. I'll resign before I sling ink over that game. All I want is for you fellows to leave me alone, so I can forget it."<sup>188</sup>

With only one victory in fifteen games, and having been outscored by 138 goals to 57, the management of the Canadian Soo decided to withdraw from the I.H.L., following the humiliating loss to the Michigan Soo. When the League compiled its figures to determine the League championships, the nine remaining games against the other I.H.L. clubs were awarded to the other teams as 1-0 victories. The presence of International League hockey in the Canadian Soo would be over for the season, and, in the minds of many, forever. The absence of the Canadian Soo meant that the I.H.L., except for its pool of talent, no longer had a Canadian affiliation. A newspaper in Duluth speculated that the I.H.L. would be dismantled, and that the Canadian Soo would never again be the site of professional hockey games. The newspaper further reported: "that the Canadian team will not be in the International League next season is practically a foregone conclusion."<sup>189</sup>

In the fall of 1906, and in anticipation of the 1906-07 season, I.H.L. owners were questioning the abilities of the League to operate without the inclusion of a Canadian Soo team, as the Canadian Soo's absence might lead League management to renaming, or reorganizing the League. In September of 1906, the Sault Star predicted that the formation of an I.H.L. team in the Canadian Soo would not occur in 1906-07. The newspaper did

---

<sup>188</sup>Ibid., Feb 9/06, n. pag.

<sup>189</sup>Sault Star, Mar 1/06, n. pag.

report that there was enough capital available to finance a team, but new players would need to be acquired now to ensure the team's success.<sup>190</sup> The newspaper further stated that the team management might wait for the conclusion of the professional lacrosse season; many hockey players were also competing in lacrosse, and would become available after they were released from their lacrosse contracts.<sup>191</sup>

A meeting was organized later in September, to determine the viability of entering into the I.H.L. again. Everyone who wanted a team in the Soo was invited to bring a cheque,<sup>192</sup> as an estimated twenty-five hundred dollars would be needed to begin operations.<sup>193</sup> The Canadian Soo had already been re-accepted into the League, according to a vote taken in a Detroit meeting by I.H.L. officers, should enough interest arise in the Ontario town. All other teams were to resume operations.

A week after the Detroit meeting, the Canadian Soo's entry was still in doubt. Should the Canadians not enter, the League was prepared to change its name to the American Hockey League. A schedule meeting was arranged for November 11, by which time the League had hoped that the teams to be involved would be known.<sup>194</sup> Meanwhile, in the Canadian Soo, a team was finally organized. In response to repeated questions as to the team's organization, the Sault Star was finally able to respond "you bet your boots."<sup>195</sup> The elected officers were announced in the local newspaper,<sup>196</sup> and Roy Brown was then

---

<sup>190</sup>Ibid., Sep 13/06, n. pag.

<sup>191</sup>Ibid.

<sup>192</sup>Ibid., Sep 20/06, n. pag.

<sup>193</sup>Among the supporters were D. D. Lewis, W. O'Brien, M. F. Goodwin, J. G. Sutherland, and A. H. Chitty; Sault Star, Oct 4/06, n. pag..

<sup>194</sup>Sault Star, Nov 1/06, n. pag.

<sup>195</sup>Ibid., Oct 4/06, n. pag.

<sup>196</sup>The officers were elected as follows: President, J. H. D. Browne; Vice President, Thomas E. Simpson; Secretary, Malcolm Laughton; Treasurer, William O'Brien; Executive Committee, J. Culbert, R. H. Sweetser, M. F. Goodwin, J. Hockshaw, Geo. Millington, and Geo. Fisher; *ibid.*

called upon to manage the team. Brown had apparently contacted at least eighteen men, and was taking a very serious approach to hockey operations. The Sault Star would settle for no less an effort from Brown, or from the rest of the Canadian Soo management:

. . . the organization is formed on a strictly business basis. They will pay the price for fast men who will have to get up and dust, or else unhang their coats from the hockey management's peg here . . . .The Canadian Soo is a hockey town, and will give liberal support to a good hockey organization- only give us a team.<sup>197</sup>

The management did give the Canadian Soo a team for the 1906-07 season, which finished second in the League standings behind the Portage Lakes Hockey Club.

Expectations and support for the club peaked during the 1906-07 season in the Canadian Soo and the postponement of League operations in the fall of 1907 would be sadly accepted by hockey fans in the I.H.L.'s only Canadian town.

#### Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Of all the I.H.L. team sites, Pittsburgh seemed the most capable of supporting professional hockey during the first decade of the twentieth century. With a large population base, the city did not need to depend on a large percentage of its inhabitants to fill its rink. In addition, the artificial ice arena, the Duquesne Gardens, provided an opportunity for hockey to develop in Pittsburgh during the early 1900's. For several years before the commencement of I.H.L. operations, hockey had become popular in Pittsburgh, with the Gardens frequently filled to capacity.

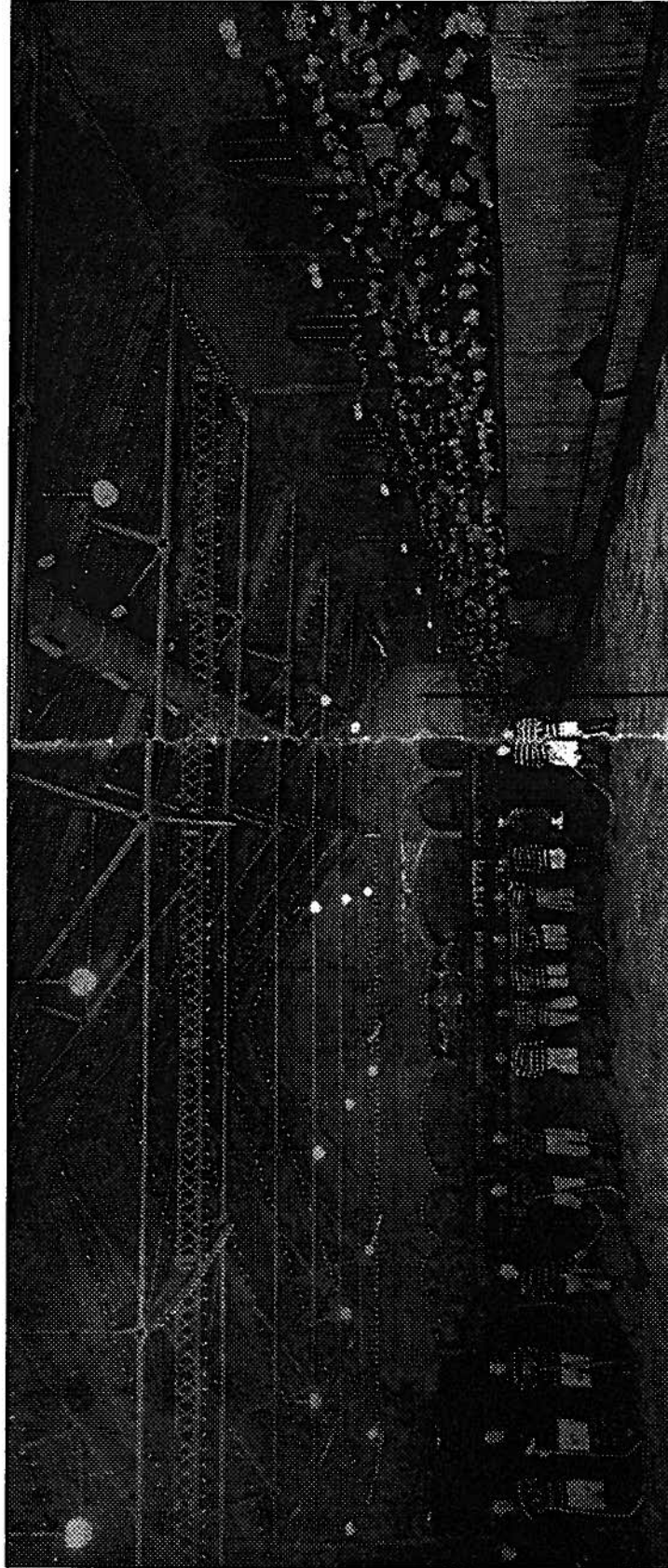
A four-team circuit called the Western Pennsylvania Hockey League (W.P.H.L.) had been developed, featuring the Bankers, Keystones, Victorias, and Pittsburgh Athletic Club, with all teams playing at the Duquesne Gardens. The players who participated in the W.P.H.L. were of Canadian origins, and the Pittsburgh teams needed to provide some inducement to lure the players to Pennsylvania. The Canadian players were provided jobs, which were supplemented by salaries of fifteen to twenty dollars per week.<sup>198</sup> Because of

---

<sup>197</sup>Ibid.

<sup>198</sup>Fitsell, Captains, Colonels & Kings, 117.

PLATE VIII



Duquesne Gardens, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (Captains, Colonels & Kings)

these practices, the W.P.H.L. was considered to be a semi-professional league during the early 1900's.

The 1903-04 season proved to be pivotal for hockey in Pittsburgh. The Portage Lakes, utilizing the same techniques that Pittsburgh clubs used to acquire players, offered more money and signed some of the best players from the W.P.H.L.. Goaltender Riley Hern, Ernie Westcott, and Bert Morrison were all former Pittsburgh Keystone players, who moved to Houghton at the beginning of the season.<sup>199</sup> "Hod" Stuart was also lured away from the Pittsburgh Bankers by the Portage Lakes management. Thus, the W.P.H.L. was decimated for the 1903-04 season, and the success of the Portage Lakes Hockey Club that year only proved that professional hockey would be necessary in Pittsburgh, in order to get the "crack" Canadian players back to Pennsylvania.

In the fall of 1904, the prospects of a new professional league became a reality. Pittsburgh, which had maintained four teams in the W.P.H.L., had lost a number of its better players with the professionalization of the Portage Lakers. Due to the lack of available talent, joining the I.H.L. would allow Pittsburgh fans to continue to witness high-calibre hockey games, with Pittsburgh represented by one strong club, instead of four weaker semi-professional teams.

The Pittsburgh team management could concentrate solely on the acquisition of players, as the Duquesne Gardens, with its large ice surface, was already suited to host professional games. Also, because the ice was artificial, it allowed players to practice long before the opening of the I.H.L. season. Many considered this to be an unfair advantage for the Pennsylvania team; other teams were forced to wait until winter conditions made practice possible, and often teams were forced to prepare for the season at local gymnasiums.<sup>200</sup>

---

<sup>199</sup>Mining Gazette, Jan 9/04, n. pag.

<sup>200</sup>Soo Evening News, Nov 14/06, n. pag.

Supporters of the Michigan Soo team felt that the Soo team lost its opportunity to win the League championship in 1905-06 because of the ability of the Pittsburgh club to practice early. In December of 1905, the Michigan team was able to practice only three times before leaving for the season-opening three-game series in Pittsburgh.<sup>201</sup> Jack Laviolette of the Michigan Soo team later explained that, "when we went to Pittsburgh for the opening games we were practically without any preliminary work, the ice at the Soo not being in condition for practice before we left."<sup>202</sup> The Pittsburgh team, having the opportunity to prepare for the series by practicing at the Duquesne Gardens' artificial ice, won the first two games before the visitors could find their playing form and win the final match.<sup>203</sup> The Michigan Soo team eventually lost the League championship to Houghton, by one game.

Competitively, Pittsburgh remained a strong team through the final two years of I.H.L. operations. This was achieved despite several problems between players and the team management. According to the Pittsburgh Gazette, one of the Pittsburgh players, Allan Kent, was released by acting player-manager Arthur Sixsmith, for unspecified reasons. Another of the Pittsburgh players, Billy Baird, who was a friend of Kent's, quit the team as a result of Kent's release. The newspaper reported that "the opinion is prevalent that Kent, who is older, exerted influence over Baird, who is but a youth."<sup>204</sup> The disagreement was soon resolved, however, as Baird returned to the team,<sup>205</sup> and played for Pittsburgh for the remainder of the 1905-06 season.

---

<sup>201</sup>Mining Gazette, Dec 17/05, n. pag.

<sup>202</sup>Soo Evening News, Mar 13/06, n. pag.

<sup>203</sup>Mining Gazette, Dec 17/05, n. pag.

<sup>204</sup>Pittsburgh Gazette, Feb 24/06, n. pag.

<sup>205</sup>Mining Gazette, Feb 28/06, n. pag.



The following season, expressed displeasure by Pittsburgh players regarding the refereeing of I.H.L. games eventually led to the release of one of the best players in the I.H.L., "Hod" Stuart.<sup>206</sup> Stuart refused to send the team onto the ice during a game against the Michigan Soo, in order to demonstrate the team's displeasure over the choice of referee for that game. Pittsburgh management, facing a potential fine for forfeiting the game, released Stuart for his act of insubordination. The loss of Stuart to Montreal greatly affected the Pittsburgh team, as the departure of players to Canadian teams had not often occurred in the previous seasons. Pittsburgh lost another important player, Billy Baird, on January 22; he signed with the Ottawa team for a reported sixty-five dollar-per-week salary.<sup>207</sup>

To bolster the Pittsburgh roster for the remainder of 1906-07, the team management pursued more Canadian players for the remainder of the season. Rowley Young was recruited, and paid two hundred dollars for a three game series, at the Duquesne Gardens, against Calumet.<sup>208</sup> Young was also retained for the series against Houghton, along with goaltender Mark Tooze. Regular goaltender Jack Winchester was apparently feuding with team management, and Tooze might be needed to play. Both Tooze and Young were from a newly-formed Toronto professional team.<sup>209</sup>

It was unfortunate that problems between players and management arose in a city that supported professional hockey in large numbers. The Duquesne Gardens was almost always filled to capacity for I.H.L. games, but the distance between Pittsburgh and the other I.H.L. teams aided in the demise of League operations in the fall of 1907.

---

<sup>206</sup>This specific incident will be discussed in a Chapter 4.

<sup>207</sup>Mining Gazette, Jan 23/07, n. pag.

<sup>208</sup>*Ibid.*, Feb 20/07, n. pag.

<sup>209</sup>Mining Gazette, Mar 5/07, n. pag.

### Calumet, Michigan

Also located in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, Calumet was similar in size to Houghton. Living approximately thirty miles from the Houghton-Hancock township, Calumet's residents relied heavily on the copper mining operations of the Calumet and Hecla Company. Perhaps civic rivalry in the Copper Country led to Calumet's interest in joining the International Hockey League, as the town's neighbors in Houghton gained attention through the efforts of the Portage Lakes Hockey Club.

Prior to the turn of the century, hockey was not an overly popular sport in Calumet, although the first ice rink opened in the Calumet region in nearby Laurium, in approximately 1890.<sup>210</sup> After a few years of operations, it was dismantled and replaced by the Park rink, which was in current use at the time the I.H.L. formed.<sup>211</sup> Unfortunately, the conditions in the available rinks were not conducive to the playing of hockey:

The games played in the Park and Laurium rinks were not devoid of interest, although the players were placed somewhat at a disadvantage by the presence of the poles in the center. These interfered considerably with combination plays.<sup>212</sup>

Obviously, such conditions would not be adequate for play in the new professional hockey league. A new arena would need to be constructed, with a large and unobstructed ice surface. Seating capacity would have to be large enough to ensure gates that would support the players' salaries, and, of course, the rink would have to be the better of nearby Houghton's rink, the Amphidrome.

In November of 1904, local businessmen organized the Laurium Storage and Warehouse Company,<sup>213</sup> to prepare for the construction of such a large arena, one that would have a seating capacity in excess of thirty-five hundred.<sup>214</sup> The new arena contract

---

<sup>210</sup>Ibid., Dec 9/06, n. pag.

<sup>211</sup>Ibid.

<sup>212</sup>Ibid., Nov 8/04, n. pag.

<sup>213</sup>Copper Country, Nov 28/04, n. pag.

<sup>214</sup>Ibid., Nov 8/04, n. pag.

was awarded to Charles A. Anderson, a carpenter contractor, who built the rink with the aid of almost thirty carpenters. The rink would need over thirty train cars of lumber for its construction,<sup>215</sup> and upon completion was named the Palestra, defined as a place where boys are trained, under official direction, in athletics.

The Palestra was built directly in front of the Copper Range depot, one-half block from that railway's station.<sup>216</sup> The locale would allow spectators access to the arena from various townships in the Copper Country. The rink itself was much larger than the Park or Laurium rinks; in addition to its large seating capacity, the Palestra's ice surface was 180 by 78 feet.<sup>217</sup> The seating capacity was arranged into the following areas:

| Section                                                             | Seating Capacity | Total capacity |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Reserved seats                                                      | 1632             | 4332           |
| Gallery                                                             | 900              |                |
| Back of goals                                                       | 1000             |                |
| Back of reserved seat section and other vacant portions of the rink | 800              |                |

While the arena was nearing completion, the Calumet team was busily acquiring players. "Hod" Stuart had been already been named Captain and Manager,<sup>218</sup> and was also hired to manage the Palestra.<sup>219</sup> Stuart was apparently paid the sum of eighteen hundred dollars for his many duties.<sup>220</sup> As team manager, it was his responsibility to seek out the remaining players. One of the first players Stuart pursued was "Paddy" Moran, who was offered one hundred dollars a month, in addition to a position as an electrician, but Moran declined Stuart's offer.<sup>221</sup> Stuart was successful in acquiring the remainder of the club's

---

<sup>215</sup>Ibid.

<sup>216</sup>Ibid., Dec 14/04, n. pag.

<sup>217</sup>Ibid., Dec 16/04, n. pag.

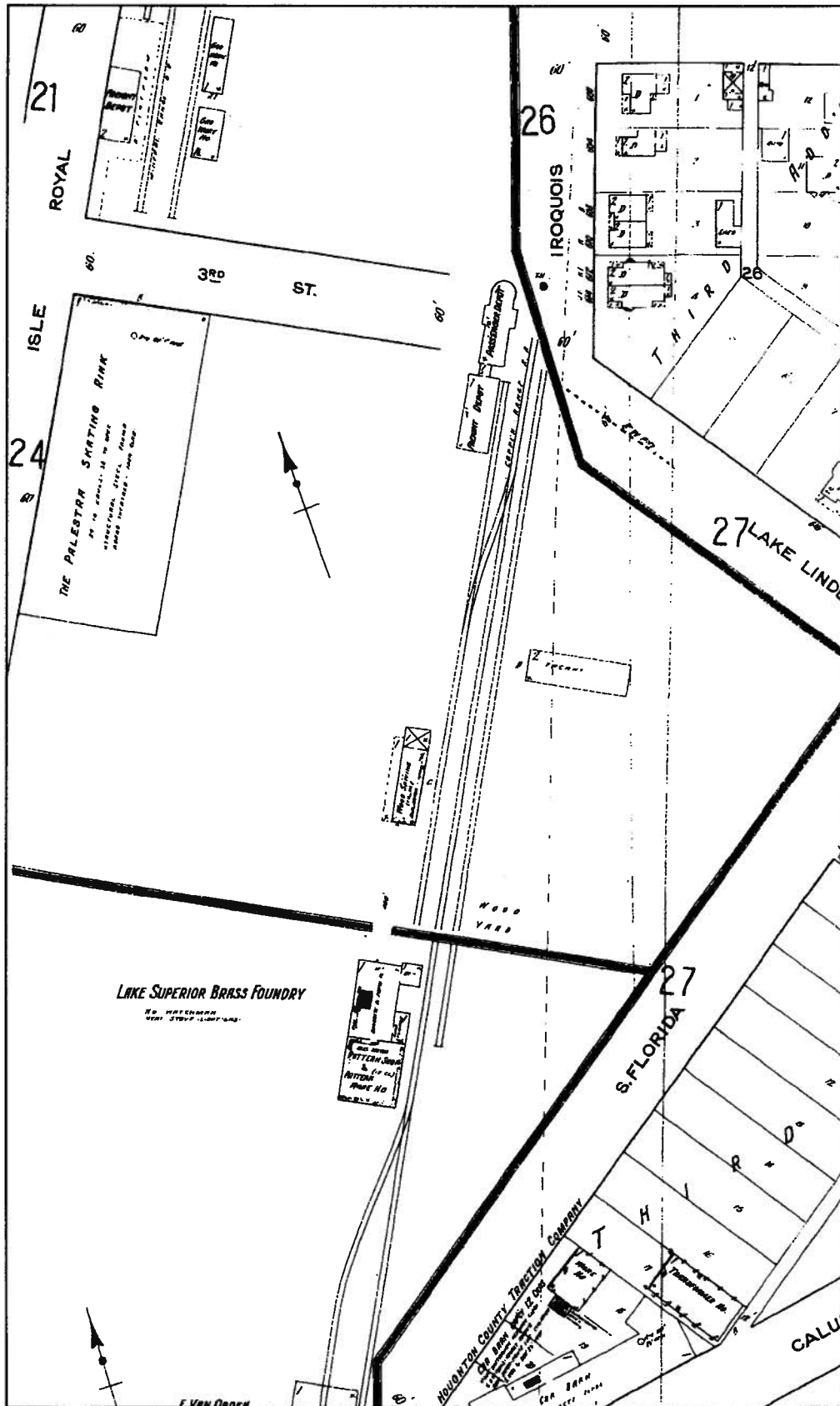
<sup>218</sup>Soo Evening News, Oct 10/04, n. pag.

<sup>219</sup>Mining Gazette, Oct 13/04, n. pag.

<sup>220</sup>Ibid., Jan 10/05, n. pag.

<sup>221</sup>Soo Evening News, Oct 10/04, n. pag.

PLATE IX



Fire Insurance Map of the Palestra, Calumet, Michigan. Note proximity to railway lines. (Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps. Chadwyck-Healey, Inc.)

players, and was well respected for his abilities as a player, as well as a manager. Author J.

W. Fittsell had this opinion of "Hod" Stuart:

If Dr. Gibson made professional hockey possible, Hod Stuart assured respectable salaries and playing conditions. 'He has great influence with [the players],' said a Pittsburgh reporter. 'He never fails to go before the league and fight their battles. He sticks out for a good salary for himself and also for other players.'<sup>222</sup>

As the first game of the I.H.L. season approached, the Palestra was not yet completed, and arrangements were made for the Calumet team to practice at nearby Houghton.<sup>223</sup> By mid-December, the team was able to practice at the new rink. The Palestra would not be completely finished until January 1, 1905, two weeks into the I.H.L.'s first season. A dancing pavilion was to be finished, as well as a steam heating plant to make it easier for the spectators to endure the cold winter conditions in the seating areas.<sup>224</sup> Despite the arena's incomplete state, the grand opening of the rink would be held in connection with the team's first League game, on December 16.<sup>225</sup>

In preparation for the season, Calumet played an exhibition game against the local Crescent Hockey Club.<sup>226</sup> Interest in hockey was beginning to grow in the Calumet township, and the Copper Country Evening News considered what would occur if the popularity of the sport continued: "it is expected that it will not be necessary to go to Canada for players after a while if Calumet boys take an interest in the sport and perfect themselves in the intricacies of the great game".<sup>227</sup>

---

<sup>222</sup>Fittsell, Captains, Colonels & Kings, 120.

<sup>223</sup>Copper Country, Dec 1/04, n. pag.

<sup>224</sup>Mining Gazette, Dec 22/04, n. pag.

<sup>225</sup>Copper Country, Dec 13/04, n. pag.

<sup>226</sup>Copper Country, Dec 14/04, n. pag.

<sup>227</sup>*Ibid.*, Nov 12/04, n. pag.

With the guidance of the talented "Hod" Stuart, Calumet emerged as the top team in the I.H.L. in its inaugural season. One method, used by the Portage Lakes Hockey Club, to try to defeat the powerful Calumet club, was to acquire top players from other clubs.

The I.H.L. schedule resulted in the completion of Pittsburgh's twenty-four games earlier than the other teams. A rumor then arose that two of Pittsburgh's players, who had been released at the conclusion of that club's season, would be signing with the Canadian Soo for the remainder of the Canadian team's schedule. An official representing the Canadian Soo denied the rumor, claiming that "we believe we can win the four remaining games with the men we have and so it will be all the more credit to the team."<sup>228</sup> However, the gallant gesture by the Canadian Soo team only provided an opportunity for the Portage Lakes Hockey Club, currently in second place in the League standings, to pursue talented Pittsburgh players. Houghton then signed Lorne Campbell, who had led Pittsburgh in scoring with twenty-nine goals.

Despite scoring five goals in four games played, Campbell could not help the Portage Lakes overtake Calumet, which won the I.H.L. championship and pennant for the 1904-05 season. The final games between the two teams were hard-fought by both clubs. The misgivings towards the other I.H.L. teams were overlooked by the Calumet townspeople, who held a banquet to honor the local pennant winners. Players were awarded gold medals for their efforts, and given the adulation of the town's hockey fans.<sup>229</sup> The team had won eighteen of its twenty-four games, and outscored its I.H.L. opponents 131-75. Calumet teammates Fred Strike and Ken Mallen led the League in goal scoring, with Strike tallying forty-four, and Mallen finishing second with thirty-seven.<sup>230</sup>

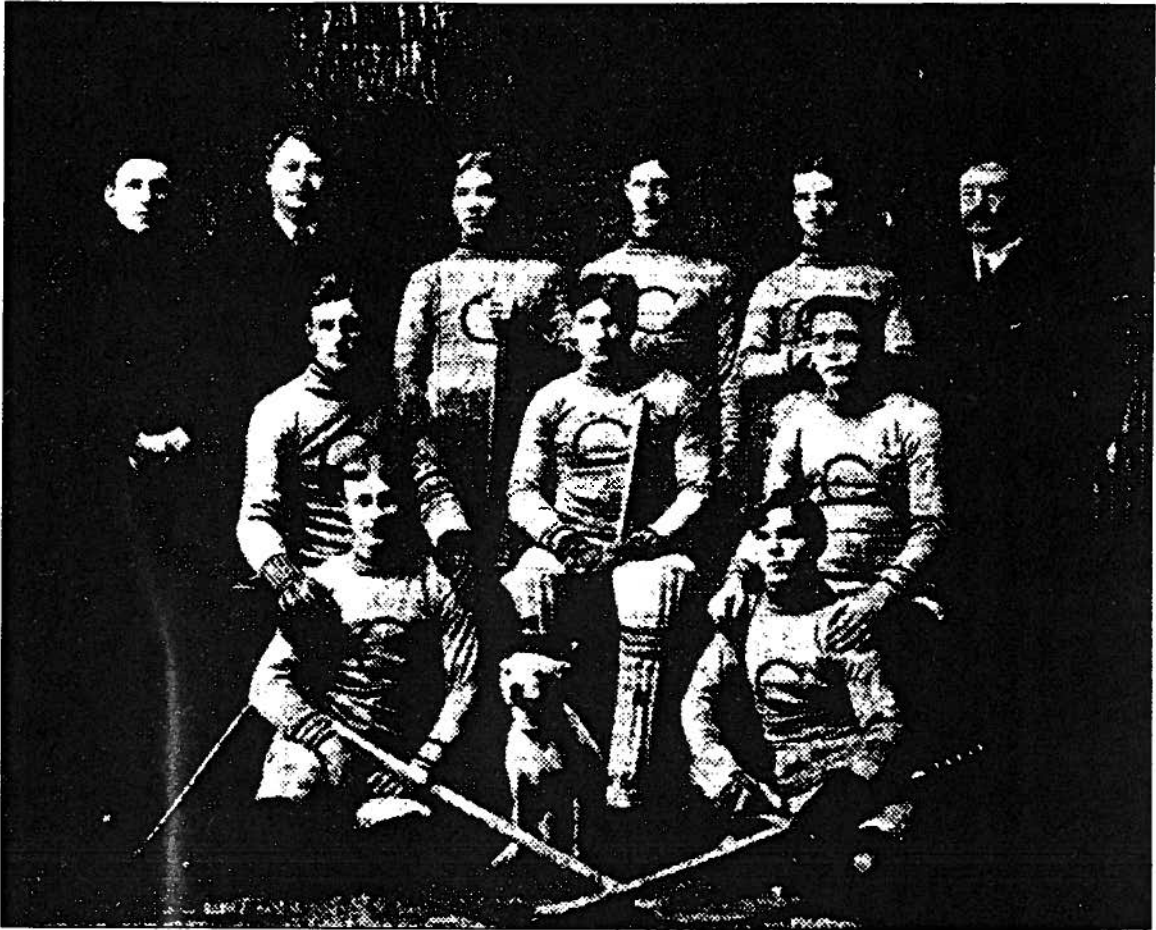
---

<sup>228</sup>Soo Evening News, Mar 6/05, n. pag.

<sup>229</sup>Copper Country, Mar 21/05, n. pag.

<sup>230</sup>Pittsburgh's Lorne Campbell, playing four extra games with Houghton, had finished with 34.

PLATE X



The Calumet Hockey Club - I.H.L. Champions, 1904-05. Front row: Fred Strike and Ken Mallen; middle row: Robert Scott, Billy Nicholson, and Jimmy Gardner; back row: Joseph Ziehr (trainer), Charles Thompson (Manager), Reddy McMillan, "Hod" Stuart, Lal Earls, Johnson Vivian, Jr.(President) (Copper Country Evening News, Feb 13/05)

Before the opening of the 1905-06 season, the pennant that signified the League championship of 1904-05 finally arrived in Calumet. Eighteen feet long, and made of silk, the pennant showed the word "champions", along with the intertwined flags of the United States and the Union Jack.<sup>231</sup> The pennant would be proudly displayed at the Palestra, to signify Calumet's claim to the championship of professional ice hockey.

The Calumet team would be hard pressed to repeat as League champions in 1905-06, due to the increased preparations of the other four teams. In addition, financial considerations were also weighing on the decisions of management in Calumet, where a salary dispute had led to "Hod" Stuart's departure. The Calumet team would also feature several new players, as "dissension in the team last season [seemed] to make for the result that Gardner, Nicholson, Mallen, and Strike [would] not be back."<sup>232</sup> The team would be operated by a group of twenty men this year, with hockey matters to be kept separate from the Palestra rink's business operations.<sup>233</sup> However, the efforts of both management and the players were in vain, as the team won only four times during the 1905-06 season.

The 1906-07 season opened on December 11, with games played in both Calumet and Pittsburgh. Calumet emerged as an early contender for the League championship, posting three consecutive victories in December. Goaltender Billy Nicholson did not allow a goal in all three games.<sup>234</sup> However, despite such a promising start, the over-achieving team began losing to the other, more talented I.H.L. clubs; the team managed to win only three times in the last twenty-one games of the season, finishing in last place, and, according to Michigan Soo sports writer Frank Cleveland, did not possess an all-star-calibre player on its

---

<sup>231</sup>Copper Country, Oct 26/05, n. pag.

<sup>232</sup>*Ibid.*, Oct 31/06, n. pag. Nicholson and Mallen would play for the team.

<sup>233</sup>Sault Star, Nov 1/06, n. pag.

<sup>234</sup>Mining Gazette, Dec 29/06, n. pag.



roster. Soon after the season had ended, the Daily Mining Gazette reported that Calumet was unlikely to enter a team into the League next year:

The support given by the public has been wretched. The game has been a losing venture almost from the start [of the season] . . . The Calumet hockey fans refused to see a losing team play and at some of the games there were less than 500 people present.<sup>235</sup>

However, the play of the team was not the only cause attributed to the decline in attendance at the Palestra. During the course of the season, there were a number of other activities in the town during the evening that would attract viewers. An example would be a show at the local theatre.<sup>236</sup> The Copper Country Evening News had also reported that interest in the sport of hockey in general, had waned:

Good amateur hockey has been noticeably lacking in the copper country this winter. With the exception of an occasional game between local teams in the smaller rinks nothing has been done to further the interest of amateur junior hockey in the county. A Houghton business man announced early in the winter that if there was sufficient interest shown he would bring up a cup to represent the upper peninsula high school championship. So far, the trophy has not materialized, because of the lack of interest in high school hockey.<sup>237</sup>

The strong start the team enjoyed in its first season, under the direction of "Hod" Stuart, may have led to unfair expectations of the Calumet club, which resulted in a significant decrease in support for the team in its final two years in the I.H.L. The importance of Calumet in determining the success of the League, as a whole, will be analyzed in a later chapter.

#### Houghton, Michigan (The Portage Lakes Hockey Club)

Unlike the other four cities preparing for the opening of the 1904-05 I.H.L. season, the Portage Lakes Hockey Club had far fewer problems to consider. The team had already built an arena that was suited for the new professional game, and was already well-versed in the methods of acquiring high-calibre Canadian players.

---

<sup>235</sup>Ibid., Mar 14/07, n. pag.

<sup>236</sup>Ibid., Jan 23/07, n. pag.

<sup>237</sup>Copper Country, Jan 11/07, n. pag.

However, the loss of "Hod" Stuart to Calumet would prove to be a problem, for he was considered to be one of the best players at his position in the world at that time. Fortunately for the club, "Hod"'s brother, Bruce, who had scored a large number of the team's goals during the 1903-04 season, returned to Houghton to play center.<sup>238</sup> "Hod" Stuart, in an effort to obtain the rights to his brother for the Calumet club, had threatened to fold the Calumet team if Bruce was not released by Houghton, so he could play with his brother. Fortunately for Houghton, and the League, "Hod" did not carry out his threat; Bruce Stuart would play for the Portage Lakes in 1904-05.<sup>239</sup>

With the winter conditions suitable for ice making not yet present, the Portage Lakes players commenced preliminary training for the 1904-05 season in November at the Y.M.C.A.<sup>240</sup> The players were all working in the Houghton area, to supplement their hockey income, which sometimes made it difficult to prepare for the upcoming season. However, this was not seen as a problem by the local newspapers:

The fact that with one exception they are all holding positions, has made it impossible for them to do any very great amount of preliminary training, but as they will have about two weeks before the season opens they will have plenty of time to get in condition as despite the fact that hockey is a strenuous game it does not require the rigorous training that other athletic games compel.<sup>241</sup>

The Amphidrome, despite its recent construction, would undergo renovations throughout the I.H.L.'s years of operation. In the fall of 1904, a new vestibule was installed, following the removal of the old visitors' dressing room. A new dressing room would now be available for the Houghton players, with the old one used by visiting teams.<sup>242</sup> Two seasons later, a large boiler was installed to heat the new rooms that had been constructed inside the building. As well, alterations were made to the exterior of the rink, in the form of

---

<sup>238</sup>Mining Gazette, Nov 10/04, n. pag.

<sup>239</sup>Ibid.

<sup>240</sup>Ibid.

<sup>241</sup>Copper Country, Nov 30/04, n. pag.

<sup>242</sup>Mining Gazette, Dec 3/04, n. pag.

an electric sign, mounted on the side of the structure, with three-and-one-half foot letters spelling out the word "Amphidrome".<sup>243</sup>

Prior to the start of the 1904-05 season, "Doc" Gibson was named team captain of the Portage Lakes Hockey Club, with John T. McNamara as team manager. Gibson was then given the title of player-manager, and to lessen his duties with the team, Gibson awarded the team captaincy to Bruce Stuart.<sup>244</sup> As the team readied for the season opener in Pittsburgh, Gibson worried about the work habits of his fellow players. Shortly after the season began, on December 26, he imposed a mandatory fine against those players who did not attend practices, stating that "any member of the team not appearing at the Amphidrome daily for practice at 4:30 p.m. would be fined \$5. One player came under the penalty for non-appearance yesterday."<sup>245</sup>

Once the season began, it became obvious to followers of the Houghton team that the Portage Lakes Hockey Club would not dominate its opposition as it had in previous years. A home-and-home series between the Portage Lakes and Calumet resulted in two victories for the Calumet team, marking the first Portage Lakes loss ever at the Amphidrome.<sup>246</sup> The loss also showed Houghton fans the higher level of competition that the other I.H.L. teams could provide.

In early January, 1905, a milestone occurred when Houghton travelled across the Upper Peninsula to meet the Canadian Soo. This game would mark first time in three years that the Portage Lakes had been in Canada to play, due in part to the ban placed on Houghton by the O.H.A. Only "Doc" Gibson of Houghton, and Jack Ward of the Canadian team remained from past seasons when the two clubs had met.<sup>247</sup> The small, quick team

---

<sup>243</sup>Ibid., Nov 8/06, n. pag.

<sup>244</sup>Ibid., Nov 30/04, n. pag.

<sup>245</sup>Mining Gazette, Dec 27/04, n. pag.

<sup>246</sup>Mining Gazette, Dec 18/05, n. pag.

<sup>247</sup>Ibid., Jan 5/05, n. pag.

that the Canadian Soo supported would be a good match with the Portage Lakes team; "the Lakes play a game in which they rely upon their speed and stick handling ability, taking the puck rather than the man as some of the heavy teams do. . . ."248

However, despite the moderate success of the Portage Lakes Hockey Club, its management decided to seek more players that would help its chances of winning the I.H.L. championship. Because the team remained in the Sault Ste. Marie area following the games against the Canadian Soo, the management attempted to lure talented players from Canada to come in time for games against the Michigan Soo team. On Thursday, January 9, Charles Liffiton arrived to play for the Portage Lakes, having played the previous Saturday night with the Montreal Wanderers of the F.A.H.L., in a game at Ottawa.

The Daily Mining Gazette, in an effort to illustrate the calibre of player that Liffiton apparently was, explained the circumstances through which he arrived in Ottawa to play. According to the Mining Gazette, Liffiton had missed the regular train from Montreal to Ottawa, which the rest of his team had taken. A special train was chartered by the Montreal club to ensure that he would arrive in Ottawa, in time for the game, at a cost of one hundred and fourteen dollars. The Mining Gazette's sports writer reasoned that surely this player was of unparalleled abilities if a team would pay such a large sum to guarantee his arrival for a single game.<sup>249</sup>

According to the Sault Ste. Marie Evening News, Liffiton was the highest paid player in the I.H.L., during the 1904-05 season.<sup>250</sup> He was reportedly paid \$1350 for the remainder of the season, to coincide with a high wage-paying position in the Houghton community.<sup>251</sup> The Portage Lakes, in acquiring Liffiton during the season, may have realized

---

<sup>248</sup>Ibid.

<sup>249</sup>Mining Gazette, Jan 10/05, n. pag.

<sup>250</sup>Soo Evening News, Mar 18/05, n. pag.

<sup>251</sup>Mining Gazette, Jan 17/05, n. pag.

that the other strong teams in the League would not allow Houghton to dominate its opposition as it had in the past. The team therefore needed to acquire players who were even better than the ones already under contract, and had to pay far more for this increase in talent. In Calumet, the Copper Country Evening News noticed the lack of domination displayed by the Houghton team:

The Portage Lakes are experiencing some very hard lines in some of their games, and the glamour that once surrounded them as masters of the Canadian game is fast leaving them. . . . the team is not the team of a year ago, or else the sensible conclusion must be drawn that they have [encountered] faster and better [competition] this season.<sup>252</sup>

The acquisition of Liffiton did provide immediate assistance to the Portage Lakes; he scored twice to lead the team to a 8-3 victory over the Michigan Soo on January 10. His presence would be sorely needed in Houghton's efforts to outplay the Calumet club, which was leading the I.H.L.'s pennant race. Unfortunately for Houghton fans, the team could not catch the powerful Calumet team, and finished second in the 1904-05 I.H.L. standings.

In the fall of 1905, expectations were increased, when it was reported that Fred Whitcroft was to arrive to strengthen the Portage Lakes Club,<sup>253</sup> but Whitcroft decided not to play for the team. Goalkeeper Riley Hern was named captain of the club, but declined, explaining that the captaincy should belong to a player on the forward line, and Bruce Stuart was then named in Hern's place for the 1905-06 season.<sup>254</sup> Thus, under the guidance of the experienced and talented Stuart, Houghton fans were reassured that the club would be a contender for the 1905-06 I.H.L. championship.

As the season began, Houghton emerged as a favorite to win the League championship. Not content with the current roster, the Portage Lakes again tried to improve their team by signing a new player, at the rover position. The Daily Mining Gazette reported

---

<sup>252</sup>Copper Country, Jan 11/05, n. pag.

<sup>253</sup>Mining Gazette, Nov 2/05, n. pag.

<sup>254</sup>Mining Gazette, Nov 4/05, n. pag.

that the team would add a player who was rumored to be "one of the fastest and highest priced men in the Dominion."<sup>255</sup> This player was apparently a good friend of Portage Lakes player "Grindy" Forrester, and would only play for the organization with which Forrester was affiliated.<sup>256</sup>

On January 31, 1905, the name of the new player was finally revealed; Fred Taylor, of Listowel, Ontario, would be arriving in Houghton via Portage La Prairie. According to the Daily Mining Gazette, Taylor "was raised with the hockey stick in his hands and skates on his feet."<sup>257</sup> He had reportedly signed with both the Calumet and Sault Ste Marie, Ontario, clubs earlier in the season, but had failed to report to either club.<sup>258</sup> On the first of February, Taylor finally became a member of an I.H.L. team, when he practiced with the Portage Lakes for the first time. The Daily Mining Gazette reported that Taylor had shown signs of his talent, and "was proving much better than when he came to the Copper Country three years ago with the Pirates of Detroit". To make room for Taylor on the Houghton roster, Walter Forrest was given his release from the club.<sup>259</sup>

On February 6, 1906, Taylor played in his first I.H.L. game, scoring twice in an 8-2 victory over Calumet. Taylor's efforts were partially overshadowed by teammate Joe Hall, who scored five times.<sup>260</sup> The addition of Taylor and other experienced hockey talent ensured that Houghton would be a contender for the I.H.L. championship in 1905-06.

The closeness of the championship race increased interest in the three towns whose clubs had an opportunity to win the pennant. Several proprietors of the Houghton township's hotels and saloons installed private telephones that could receive direct reports

---

<sup>255</sup>Ibid., Jan 30/06, n. pag.

<sup>256</sup>Ibid.

<sup>257</sup>Ibid., Jan 31/06, n. pag.

<sup>258</sup>Ibid., Feb 2/05, n. pag.

<sup>259</sup>Ibid.

<sup>260</sup>Mining Gazette, Feb 7/06, n. pag.

from the Amphidrome. Dunn Brothers, of Fifth Street, announced that returns of all future hockey games, wherever they were played, would be received at that establishment, so that Portage Lakes Hockey Club followers could be updated on the progress of their team as it played in other I.H.L. towns.<sup>261</sup>

On February 21, 1906, the Michigan Soo visited the Portage Lakes, in a game that would likely determine the League championship.<sup>262</sup> Should there be a tie at the end of the season, a three-game series would be played between the two tied teams to determine a winner.<sup>263</sup> Despite two goals from former Canadian Soo player "Lady Bill" Taylor, the visitors could not defeat the Portage Lakes at the Amphidrome, losing by a score of 7-2.<sup>264</sup>

With a win over their closest rival in the pennant race, and only a few games remaining in the League schedule, the Portage Lakes seemed likely to win Houghton its first I.H.L. championship. The Daily Mining Gazette reported that the other clubs were willing to lend players to Calumet, who played the Portage Lakes in the two final League games. Similar to what had occurred in the spring of 1905, when Lorne Campbell of Pittsburgh played for the Portage Lakes in an effort to defeat Calumet, Campbell joined Calumet late in the 1905-06 season to try to beat the Houghton team. This would be done in an effort to allow either Pittsburgh or the Michigan Soo to overtake Houghton.<sup>265</sup> The Copper Country Evening News also acknowledged the plans of the other clubs, and stated that "it would appear from this that all of the teams are against Portage Lake as they seem to be doing all they can to help the Soos win out."<sup>266</sup> Despite the efforts of the other clubs, Houghton

---

<sup>261</sup>Copper Country, Jan 5/06, n. pag.

<sup>262</sup>*Ibid.*, Feb 21/06, n. pag. Both teams were ahead of the other clubs, and, should the two clubs continue to win their remaining games, the result of the series between the two clubs would determine the I.H.L. champions.

<sup>263</sup>Mining Gazette, Feb 18/06, n. pag.

<sup>264</sup>*Ibid.*, Feb 22/06, n. pag.

<sup>265</sup>Mining Gazette, Feb 15/06, n. pag. This example of the inappropriate behavior of League managers will be analysed in greater detail in Chapter 4.

<sup>266</sup>Copper Country, Feb 15/06, n. pag.

won the I.H.L. championship in 1905-06, finishing one game ahead of the second-place Michigan Soo club.

The following season, the team was again considered a favorite, and, as the 1906-07 League schedule progressed, Houghton was almost certain to win its second consecutive League championship, with only the Canadian Soo posing a possible threat. The Portage Lakes made a number of roster movements in order to ensure another pennant win. The team had acquired "Tuff" Bellefeuille from the Kenora Thistles in January, who had left that team after a disagreement with management.<sup>267</sup> In the same month, the Houghton management signed "Goldie" Cochrane, who was paid six hundred dollars to play the remainder of the season.<sup>268</sup> Houghton also obtained the services of Edmund Decarie, who had been released from Calumet. Houghton, the League-leading team, obviously believed that Decarie could help the Portage Lakes, despite the fact that Calumet, the worst team in the League, did not deem him capable of playing.<sup>269</sup>

In Pittsburgh's final series of the season, Houghton arrived to play at the Duquesne Gardens. The Portage Lakes would win all three contests, to become the first team to beat Pittsburgh, at home, three times in a series.<sup>270</sup> The victories had guaranteed Houghton the League championship, and as the Portage Lakes players journeyed back to Houghton from Pittsburgh, fans in the mining town prepared to celebrate the arrival of the team:

Following the time honored and laudable custom of last year, all the various factories, foundries and establishments which are provided with large and small whistles are requested to pull the string when the train arrives and to let them blow, long and loud, thus to proclaim to the world at large that the Portage Lake hockey team has once more upheld its reputation and has come victorious out of three hard fought battles.<sup>271</sup>

---

<sup>267</sup>Mining Gazette, Jan 24/07, n. pag.

<sup>268</sup>Copper Country, Jan 5/07, n. pag.

<sup>269</sup>*Ibid.*, Feb 27/07, n. pag.

<sup>270</sup>Mining Gazette, Mar 10/07, n. pag.

<sup>271</sup>Mining Gazette, Mar 12/07, n. pag.



The local band, and artillery, who fired off a cannon in celebration, were present for the team's return, along with half of the population of the town. The team was later honored at dinner at the Douglass House.<sup>272</sup>

Shortly after the celebrations in Houghton had concluded, many of the Portage Lakes players left for Canada. Goaltender Darcy Regan worked as a bartender, while Fred Taylor was employed in a musical instrument factory.<sup>273</sup> Most of the players were confident that they would return to the Copper Country to play during the 1907-08 season, but I.H.L. operations would not continue beyond 1907.

The Portage Lakes Hockey Club, in winning the last two International Hockey League championships, had regained its position as the dominant team in professional ice hockey. While interest in the sport remained high in Houghton, the town was not given another opportunity to show support for a professional hockey club, for, with the folding of the I.H.L., hockey fans in that area would only be able to see amateur games in the future.

#### Potential League Expansion - 1904-1907

Even prior to the first I.H.L. game, in the fall of 1904, talk of possible League expansion had been reported in the I.H.L. town newspapers. Although the League did not add or drop any franchises during its three-year existence - except for the temporary withdrawal of the Canadian Soo in 1905-06 - the I.H.L. often entertained ideas of expansion to some of the larger U.S. and Canadian cities. Rumors of this were regularly reported by the local newspapers, who grew weary of grandiose announcements of team additions, and reported that; "this story grows monotonous, however, as it is told every fall, through the winter, and till late into the summer. It serves to the purpose, however, of killing much space in the newspapers of the hockey world."<sup>274</sup>

---

<sup>272</sup>Ibid., Mar 13/07, n. pag.

<sup>273</sup>Ibid., Mar 16/07, n. pag.

<sup>274</sup>Mining Gazette, Oct 28/06, n. pag.

One means through which other interested parties entertained ideas of joining the I.H.L. was to watch games played in the Copper Country. Prior to the formation of the I.H.L., groups interested in forming hockey clubs in other U.S. cities had visited Houghton to view hockey, as played by the mighty Portage Lakes Hockey Club. Chicago, which was connected to the Upper Peninsula by railway, was a potential professional hockey site from as early as 1904. E. S. Averill, general superintendent of the United States Express Co., visited Houghton in January of that year, to watch the series between the Portage Lakes and the Pittsburgh Athletic Club. Averill had hoped to organize an exhibition game between the Portage lakes, and a Canadian team in Chicago, to determine the amount of spectator interest in the sport.<sup>275</sup>

Chicago persisted as a possible site of the professional game, and, in the fall of 1904, plans were made to introduce the sport there again. Charles Donnelly, secretary of the Calumet Athletic Club, of Chicago, was considering bringing Manager Commiskey, of Chicago's American League Baseball team, and American League President Ban Johnson, to view some of the I.H.L. games that winter. The purpose of the visit would be to determine if the two guests were interested in organizing an I.H.L. team in Chicago.<sup>276</sup>

The completion of railway lines throughout the United States had made cities such as Chicago ideal for the I.H.L.'s executive, when contemplating expansion:

The railroads are offering advantageous rates and they extend to Milwaukee and Chicago. Chicago sportsmen interested in the game have promised to bring up a party of wealthy men who are interested in sport to witness the game with a view of bringing hockey to Chicago. The same holds good of the Milwaukee athletic associations.<sup>277</sup>

In the fall of 1905, rumors continued regarding I.H.L. expansion to Chicago. Now, rather than having wealthy business magnates organize the team, the I.H.L.'s own "Hod" Stuart was apparently prepared to travel to Illinois to form a team for the 1906-07

---

<sup>275</sup>Ibid., Jan 31/04, n. pag.

<sup>276</sup>Ibid., Nov 9/04, n. pag.

<sup>277</sup>Ibid., Jan 17/05, n. pag.

season.<sup>278</sup> The Chicago-Stuart rumor continued into early 1906, according to the Pittsburgh Gazette. The newspaper also predicted that Buffalo would be a candidate for expansion, and that the Pittsburgh team would arrange to play exhibition games there to determine fan interest.<sup>279</sup> By the conclusion of the 1905-06 I.H.L. season, however, Stuart was no longer involved, and "Pop" Anson, of baseball fame, was rumored to have taken to the sport, and to be organizing an I.H.L. team, in Chicago, for the fall of 1906.<sup>280</sup>

While many of the reports of expansion included U.S. sites, the International Hockey League also considered several Canadian cities as possible I.H.L. sites. Montreal, despite its distance from the other towns, emerged as a potential League city in 1905-06. In the spring of 1905, several Calumet players who were natives of Montreal were apparently planning to organize an I.H.L. entry there during the summer.<sup>281</sup> Montreal would seem to be an unlikely site for I.H.L. expansion, despite the more liberal regulations of professionalism there than in other Canadian towns under the jurisdiction of the O.H.A. A.L. Ferguson did not view Montreal as a feasible site for I.H.L. operations, and was quoted in the Mining Gazette as saying: "Montreal is too far away to become a member of the league. . . It would prove an expensive proposition to take a team from that part of the country, and I don't think there is any truth to the story."<sup>282</sup>

An examination of the newspapers from the five I.H.L. towns indicates that there were a number of potential I.H.L. cities; the names of Detroit, Toronto, Chicago, St. Paul, Milwaukee, Cleveland, and Duluth would occasionally appear in the sports sections, over the years of I.H.L. operations, as possible expansion sites. Duluth seemed to be a likely town,

---

<sup>278</sup>Ibid., Dec 21/05, n. pag.

<sup>279</sup>Pittsburgh Gazette, Feb 4/06, n. pag.

<sup>280</sup>Soo Evening News, Mar 15/06, n. pag.

<sup>281</sup>Sault Star, Mar 9/05, n. pag.

<sup>282</sup>Mining Gazette, Nov 15/04, n. pag.

due to that city's cold climate and interests in winter sports, but problems arose that would not allow a team to be formed there. In the spring of 1905, five prominent businessmen from Duluth had travelled to Calumet, to: "inspect the Palestra for the purpose of gathering information relative to the cost and construction of a skating palace, also to gather any and all information applying to the game of hockey and its players."<sup>283</sup> One year later, an exhibition game between the Portage Lakes and Calumet was organized in Duluth, at the curling rink located there:

Through the courtesy of the Duluth curling rink directors permission for the use of the building has been obtained and the only drawback is that according to the constitution of the club all the members and their families are entitled to free admission on all occasions, so that the earning capacity of the building for the night may not be sufficient to cover the expense of the men while at the city.<sup>284</sup>

Thus, a new rink would be needed before a team could be organized in Duluth, and arrangements were finally made for the erection of such a facility in that city in the fall of 1907. The agreement to construct the rink could not be made, as the lack of finances to organize a team there became apparent.<sup>285</sup> However, the problems would become irrelevant, when considering expansion, as the I.H.L. ceased operations later that fall.

Despite all the reports of visiting business magnates, managers and owners from other sports in other cities, attendance by representatives at I.H.L. meetings, and the construction of new facilities in other cities, no expansion was ever undertaken in the I.H.L.'s brief existence. Typically, each fall, other cities would express interest in the League, before seasonal operations had commenced. Reports would usually culminate with a statement by one of the local papers, as evidenced by an example found in the Sault Star(Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario):

---

<sup>283</sup>Copper Country, Mar 15/05, n. pag.

<sup>284</sup>Mining Gazette, Mar 19/06, n. pag.

<sup>285</sup>Copper Country, Oct 30/07, n. pag.

Until a few weeks ago the indications were bright that Chicago, Duluth, and possibly Minneapolis or St. Paul would affiliate with the league, but as no steps towards entering have been taken, the prospects are not very encouraging.<sup>286</sup>

In addition to expansion, each year of I.H.L. operations saw reports of the dismantling of the League, with certain teams to be eliminated, and others to be added. One such report out of Calumet stated that the Canadian Soo, and Pittsburgh, would withdraw, and a new six-team league would be formed, with teams from Duluth, Chicago, St. Paul, Calumet, Houghton, and the Michigan Soo. The League would then be renamed the Northwestern Hockey League.<sup>287</sup>

Of all the rumored sites of expansion, perhaps the one city that seemed the most likely to host I.H.L. play was Toronto. Interest in professional hockey had grown there during the three years of I.H.L. operations. Former I.H.L. referee, "Chaucer" Elliott, was planning to organize a professional team in Toronto following the 1905-06 season. Portage Lakes player, Walter Forrest, had already signed a contract with Elliott to play there, starting the following season. A number of Canadian players, not affiliated with the I.H.L., had also organized a professional team for 1905-06, but seemed likely to sign with Elliott's squad instead. The former team had ceased operations, because the club could not find many Canadian teams that were willing to schedule games against them,<sup>288</sup> whereas, this would not pose a problem for a professional team that joined the I.H.L.

The new Toronto professionals were granted a franchise in the I.H.L. during the fall of 1906, but would not have a rink prepared in time for the opening of the season; accordingly, the team then vowed to enter a club for the 1907-08 season.<sup>289</sup> Certain that Toronto would be entering the League in 1907, "Doc" Gibson wrote to Berlin in the spring of that year, offering that town a team. Gibson attempted to generate interest, by explaining

---

<sup>286</sup>Sault Star, Oct 12/05, n. pag.

<sup>287</sup>Copper Country, Feb 6/06, n. pag.

<sup>288</sup>Mining Gazette, Mar 15/06, n. pag.

<sup>289</sup>Copper Country, Nov 13/06, n. pag.

that "Toronto is almost sure to come in next year, and Columbus, Ohio, and New York have their franchises already, so you can see we are spreading. . . ."290

Columbus, another unlikely site, had long since decided to not pursue professional ice hockey. This decision was made in spite of attempts to build an arena and form a team; other sports were too popular, "their experiment with the introduction of roller skating having proved too profitable to drop it even for the winter season, although the ice plant is completed."291

When the League ceased operations in December of 1907, the teams and interested parties who had hoped to enter the I.H.L. no longer had a league to enter. The former I.H.L. players returned to Canada, many to play in the newly-formed Ontario Professional Hockey League. Interested groups in Cleveland, Toronto, Boston, Buffalo, Pittsburgh, and Columbus were already planning to form a professional league, for 1908. Rosters for these teams would be filled, as they had in the I.H.L., by Canadian players.<sup>292</sup> Perhaps the failures of the I.H.L. and business men from other cities to bring professional hockey to other U.S. sites had shown that the United States was not yet ready for the professional game, at such an elite level.

#### The Conclusion of I.H.L. Operations

As in other years, with the conclusion of the 1906-07 I.H.L. season, the usual discussion of the future of the League occurred. However, no indication that the League would halt operations was given, and, in the fall of 1907, plans began for another year of professional hockey in the I.H.L. towns. Thus, the annual I.H.L. meeting for the 1907-08 season was planned for late September, 1907. "Holding the meeting earlier than usual [was]

---

<sup>290</sup>Sault Star, Mar 14/07, n. pag.

<sup>291</sup>Soo Evening News, Nov 14/06, n. pag.

<sup>292</sup>Calumet News, Oct 30/07, n. pag.

to give opportunity for the settling of league membership questions and thus give managers an opportunity to be getting players for their teams early."<sup>293</sup>

As in past seasons, the potential for expansion meant that the teams to be entered had not yet been determined. Toronto was now being considered a legitimate and practical entry into the League, with professional players being organized there.<sup>294</sup> Therefore, a League schedule could not be arranged at the meeting.

The Michigan Soo's entry was to contain a number of new players, as Laviolette and Pitre, as they had threatened the previous fall, were apparently not willing to return to the I.H.L. The Daily Mining Gazette reported that the two players were making exorbitant salary demands. Laviolette's summer business interests had reportedly become so profitable that only an outrageously high salary to play hockey would lure him away from his work.<sup>295</sup>

The rumours that Calumet would no longer support professional hockey that had arisen at the conclusion of the 1906-07 season, were quickly extinguished by the team management, who claimed that interest in the professional game would be revived in that town for the 1907-08 season. Only the Portage Lakes Hockey Club was reportedly disinterested in I.H.L. play.<sup>296</sup>

Bruce Stuart, who had been one of the team's best players, and had competed in Houghton for all three years that it had entered an I.H.L. team, was not going to report to Houghton. Stuart explained that he was far too busy with business interests that he shared with his father, and was unlikely to play for any I.H.L. team during the coming season. The Daily Mining Gazette, however, suggested that if Stuart "was offered a sum large enough to make it worth while he would get into the game once more."<sup>297</sup>

---

<sup>293</sup>Mining Gazette, Sep 26/07, n. pag.

<sup>294</sup>Sault Star, Sep 26/07, n. pag

<sup>295</sup>Mining Gazette, Oct 12/07, n. pag.

<sup>296</sup>*Ibid.*, Sep 26/07, n. pag.

<sup>297</sup>*Ibid.*, Oct 6/07, n. pag.

Problems with the formation of the Houghton team were further complicated by team manager John T. McNamara's claim that he was not informed of the approaching League meeting in Chicago. McNamara stated that the meeting could not be the I.H.L.'s annual affair, in which case he would surely have been informed.<sup>298</sup> The I.H.L. executive did, in fact, consider the Chicago meeting to be the annual one, which was arranged to coincide with the Shriner's meeting to be held in the same city, at the same time.<sup>299</sup> Obviously, Houghton's potential absence from I.H.L. play was not due to any disinterest in the sport in that town, but to the desires of the other teams not to have the club represented at the League meeting.

The managers of the other clubs determined that a Cleveland team would be likely to join the League, as a team from that city would be a valuable addition. According to the Daily Mining Gazette, the withdrawal of Houghton could then be easily offset by the inclusion of a Cleveland club:

Cleveland if she gets in, will be another Pittsburgh for the league, as far as attendance goes. The big towns turns [sic] out big crowds and the more big towns in the circuit the better for the league from a financial point of view.<sup>300</sup>

For the same reasons that a Cleveland team was actively pursued by the I.H.L. executive, the League wanted to keep a Pittsburgh team; "the [trips via railways] are long but certainly pay with the crowds that Pittsburgh turns out to the games."<sup>301</sup>

However, the Chicago meeting included managers from only three cities; Calumet, and the two Soos. Despite the lack of representation, League officers were elected and plans were made to commence operations. Contrary to the opinions of those at the meeting, many felt that the League could not operate without Houghton, or Pittsburgh. Unlike the

---

<sup>298</sup>Ibid., Sep 27/07, n. pag.

<sup>299</sup>Acting I.H.L. President, James T. Fisher, was a member of the Shriners and hoped to attend both meetings; *ibid.*, Sep 26/07, n. pag.

<sup>300</sup>Ibid, Sep 27/07, n. pag.

<sup>301</sup>Ibid.



Daily Mining Gazette, who felt the future of the I.H.L. lay in big cities that could draw the larger crowds, the Sault Star (Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario) reported that the future of the League was dependent upon Houghton, because without the Portage Lakes, "it would be impossible to make the league go."<sup>302</sup>

Unlike past seasons, the success of the Canadian Soo team in 1906-07 had buoyed interest in that town. Usually, the Canadian Soo was the last to be admitted to the I.H.L. at the annual meetings, or became organized only in time for the season's opening. However, in the fall of 1907, the team eagerly prepared for the coming year. Roy Brown had returned, and had helped sign quality players Tom Phillips, Si Griffis, and Alf Smith. Some of these players had been acquired as early as September.<sup>303</sup> By early November, the Canadian Soo roster was almost complete, with the signing of Hugh Lehman, E. J. Schafer, John Marks, Degray, and Edouard "Newsy" Lalonde. A rumour arose that the former Pittsburgh player, Lorne Campbell, was also to play for the Canadian Soo.<sup>304</sup> The acquisition of good players, such as those listed, raised expectations of the team in the Canadian Soo:

At the end of the season the Canadians expect to hold both the Corby and Stanley Cups, and this task is practically completed if the team is chosen from the men who have already applied for positions on the team.<sup>305</sup>

With preparations well under way at the two Soos, the League itself had to contend with the potential teams who, as in past seasons, expressed an interest to become affiliated with the professional League. Eddie Roberts, a former Pittsburgh player, reported that the I.H.L. was to expand drastically, and would be divided into two divisions. A northern division was to contain teams from Toronto, Houghton, Calumet, Pittsburgh, and the two Soos, while the other division would include Chicago, Columbus, and another Toronto club. However, Roberts' report was not feasible, according to the current state of League

---

<sup>302</sup>Sault Star, Oct 3/07, n. pag.

<sup>303</sup>Mining Gazette, Sep 27/07, n. pag.

<sup>304</sup>*Ibid.*, Nov 3/07, n. pag.

<sup>305</sup>*Ibid.*, Oct 6/07, n. pag.

operations. Another League meeting was scheduled for October 19, in Marquette, Michigan. Manager McNamara of Houghton would need to be appeased before he would enter his team into the League again. In addition, Pittsburgh had now officially declined to compete, which left only four towns still interested in entering teams.<sup>306</sup>

The meeting at Marquette was a triumph for the League, in terms of reuniting the managers of the different teams. McNamara had apparently forgiven the other managers, and League President Michael Kemp predicted that "the managers of each of the four teams can be expected to all pull together instead of apart as looked quite possible for a time."<sup>307</sup>

Meanwhile, Pittsburgh was intent on forming another league, and began discussions with other interested parties in New York, Toronto, Columbus, and Cleveland. To compensate for the loss of Pittsburgh, and to return the League to five teams, the I.H.L. executive then looked to Duluth as a possible I.H.L. franchise site. McNamara had received a letter from the Minnesota city, explaining that a new large outdoor rink was under construction, and an I.H.L. team was demanded for the coming season.<sup>308</sup>

The League officers that were elected in Chicago were upheld in Marquette, despite the fact that Houghton representatives had not been present.<sup>309</sup> The schedule for the coming season had yet to be determined, due to the possible addition of Duluth. That city was now trying to convert an old warehouse into a rink, for there had been no rink since its Central rink had been dismantled.<sup>310</sup> However, in addition to expansion concerns, the executive did decide that more exhibition games would be scheduled with Canadian professional clubs.<sup>311</sup>

---

<sup>306</sup>Ibid., Oct 12/07, n. pag.

<sup>307</sup>Ibid., Oct 23/07, n. pag.

<sup>308</sup>Ibid., Oct 23, 24/07, n. pag.

<sup>309</sup>Sault Star, Oct 24/07, n. pag.

<sup>310</sup>Calumet News, Nov 9/07, n. pag.

<sup>311</sup>Mining Gazette, Nov 3/07, n. pag.

Another important decision made at the Marquette meeting was the imposition of a salary limit on teams. The management of the Canadian Soo was upset by this ruling, and demanded to be exempt from the limit. The team had already signed the majority of its players, before the salary cap was even proposed. The Michigan Soo would also have to make adjustments; some salaries and contracts would have to be cancelled, and less expensive players would need to be sought.<sup>312</sup>

In a surprise move, the ownership of the Michigan Soo team, W. Murdock and A. Ferguson, announced that, due to outside pressures, they would not be involved with professional hockey for the coming season. The pair claimed to retain the franchise, and the options which they held on the players that had been signed, but did state that they would allow any other interested parties to take over the team's operations, and enter the club into the I.H.L..<sup>313</sup> The reasons for the sudden announcement were given by each of the men in the Daily Mining Gazette. Ferguson stated that:

Our business interests furnish the principal reason for our abandoning the proposition. Neither of us can afford to spend the time away from our business necessary for looking after a hockey team. Murdock will be away a great deal this winter, which will have it so that he could not give the matter as much attention as heretofore and I, myself, cannot give it the personal attention that I have given it other seasons, because of the demands of my business.<sup>314</sup>

Murdock explained that professional hockey would not necessarily be absent from the Michigan Soo. The team could continue, if others were willing to be responsible for operations:

---

<sup>312</sup>Sault Star, Nov 7/07, n. pag.

<sup>313</sup>Mining Gazette, Nov 6/07, n. pag.

<sup>314</sup>Ibid.

There are a number of others who in times past have expressed a desire to take hold of the matter by securing our franchise, and it is very possible that some of those people will be ready to undertake the venture now. If they are still willing we will give them every possible encouragement in so far as turning matters over to them is concerned. I will probably attend every good hockey game that is pulled off in the Soo when I am here. . . .<sup>315</sup>

Regardless of the availability of other parties interested in assuming management responsibilities with the Michigan Soo team, the I.H.L. appeared unlikely to operate for the 1907-08 season. The I.H.L. executive determined that League operations would only cease for the current season; the I.H.L. would not disband, only postpone operations for the year. The Calumet News reported that:

The magnates of the several teams are of the opinion that none of the towns in the league would furnish the attendance that would warrant such an expenditure and it may be decided within a few days to drop professional hockey for this season.<sup>316</sup>

However, the League had not informed all its members of this decision; John McNamara had been in Duluth, and upon return to Houghton, was informed by League Secretary Laughton that professional hockey would no longer operate in the Copper Country.<sup>317</sup> Following the announcement, McNamara notified the Portage Lakes players, Regan, Taylor, Forrester, Cochrane, and Decorie, that they had been released. At the Marquette meeting, the League executive, in anticipation of a possible cessation of operations, agreed that players who had already signed with teams would remain the property of those clubs when the League later resumed play.<sup>318</sup>

The announcement was not well received by many in Houghton County; "the hockey games throughout the winter seasons have been one of the principal sources of recreation and relief from the monotony of the long winters up here and the public will miss the games sorely."<sup>319</sup> Meanwhile, the Calumet News had anticipated the demise of the I.H.L., and had

---

<sup>315</sup>Ibid.

<sup>316</sup>Calumet News, Nov 5/07, n. pag.

<sup>317</sup>Mining Gazette, Nov 8/07, n. pag.

<sup>318</sup>Ibid., Nov 10/07, n. pag.

<sup>319</sup>Calumet News, Nov 9/07, n. pag.

earlier reported that an amateur league would be organized to replace the professional one.<sup>320</sup>

The loss of the I.H.L. was not unanimously mourned by inhabitants of all League towns; other sports and events could now enjoy greater exposure. In the Michigan Soo, "many persons interested in curling believe that without professional hockey this game will assume an unusual importance here and already many ideas are being advanced relative to plans for the winter."<sup>321</sup> In addition, local theatres would enjoy greater attendance levels now that professional hockey had ceased. The Calumet News predicted that many new local talent attractions would be offered in the Michigan Soo.<sup>322</sup>

The I.H.L. executive's claim that professional hockey operations had only been postponed in the five League towns would not prove correct. The International Hockey League, as named, would not resume operations. A number of different reasons can be attributed to this, which will be addressed in detail in Chapter 4.

#### The Influence of Selected Individuals

Throughout the three seasons of International Hockey League operation, several individuals contributed to the formation and success of the League and its teams. Unfortunately, information is not readily available for some of these, as many who were involved with the operations of the I.H.L. did not necessarily continue their involvement with the sport. However, through an analysis of the information collected for this study, it has become apparent that a number of those involved with the League, in both playing and administrative capacities, have emerged clearly as individuals who had a profound effect on the success of the League. Therefore, it is important to identify the following players and administrators, and their contributions to the I.H.L., and, where possible, to the sport of ice

---

<sup>320</sup>Ibid., Nov 5/07, n. pag.

<sup>321</sup>Ibid., Nov 8/07, n. pag.

<sup>322</sup>Ibid., Nov 6/07, n. pag.

hockey. In addition, biographical information and other significant data will be provided, where the author has been able to obtain additional material regarding these important contributors.

### Administrators

The fact that professional ice hockey arrived in the International Hockey League towns was a tribute to the efforts of a few entrepreneurs who wanted to offer an alternative form of amusement for the inhabitants of those small, industry-oriented communities. Not all of the organizers of the International Hockey League teams had been hockey enthusiasts prior to their affiliation with the I.H.L.; many were simply prominent citizens in their towns who had both the means and the desire to introduce the sport at a professional level.

Regardless of past experiences with the sport, the administrators, owners, and managers were forced to become astute business operators, in addition to being knowledgeable hockey directors. For many, the commitment to organizing the League became a full-time occupation, and their duties would exceed that of financiers or entrepreneurs, even to the point of acting as "missionaries [sent] through the country looking for hockey timber."<sup>323</sup> Unfortunately for some, including A. Ferguson and W. Murdock of the Michigan Soo, the duties became too great a burden for their connection with the League to continue. Thus, the entrepreneurs who originally had the funds and time to bring the I.H.L. to their towns were forced to sever ties with the League for the same reasons they were able to affiliate with it: success and commitment in other local business ventures.

Perhaps the most prominent reason why hockey was able to develop so quickly in northern Michigan was the boom in the copper industry that coincided with League operations. The Marquette Mining Journal once described Houghton County as "the richest copper region in the world. . . . [a] haven for the miner and a land of promise for the

---

<sup>323</sup>Soo Evening News, Oct 14/04, n. pag.

capitalist."<sup>324</sup> Another factor that led to the appearance of entrepreneurs and business investors was the attitude of the monopolistic mining companies toward business. Despite the fact that companies such as the Calumet and Hecla employed most of the County's workers, the mining companies disapproved of company owned and operated stores, thus allowing other private business interests to prosper.<sup>325</sup>

James R. Dee. One prominent Houghton citizen, James R. Dee, made a significant contribution to the formation of the first professional hockey team, the Portage Lakes Hockey Club, and ultimately to the International Hockey League. Dee was not familiar with the sport until the turn of the century, but was instrumental in organizing the Houghton team, and in ensuring the club's competitive and financial success.

One of Dee's most crucial contributions to professional hockey was the formation of the Houghton Amphidrome Co., which built and operated the rink that hosted Portage Lakes Hockey Club matches. The reputation that the Amphidrome held at that time was a tribute to Dee's efforts, as the Houghton Daily Mining Gazette reported that "outside of Pittsburgh, New York and Brooklyn, there is not a rink or hockey business in the United States run on as high a scale as the Amphidrome."<sup>326</sup> In addition to his duties as president of that stock company, Dee also acted as President of the Portage Lakes Hockey Club, and aided in the signing of Canadian players who came to the Copper Country to try the professional game.

---

<sup>324</sup>Arthur W. Thurner, Calumet Copper and People: History of a Michigan Mining Community 1864-1970 (Chicago: n.p., 1974), 66.

<sup>325</sup>Ibid.

<sup>326</sup>Mining Gazette, Jan 10/04, n. pag.

It was also "Jimmy" Dee who first wrote to Pittsburgh in December of 1903, suggesting the formation of a professional league. His affiliation with the I.H.L. only began there, as he became the first Secretary and Treasurer of the League, and was responsible for the League's scheduling. Despite his duties with the League as a whole, Dee remained an ardent supporter of the Houghton team. At the conclusion of the 1904-05 season, Calumet had been crowned champions of the I.H.L.'s inaugural season. However, Dee felt that the Portage Lakes Hockey Club was in fact the superior team. To show his appreciation, Dee sent the following message to team captain Bruce Stuart:

"Dear Sir: Enclosed herewith please find my check for \$100, which I take pleasure in handing you with the request that you divide it up equally among the members of your Portage Lake team, the best team in the league. Yours very truly, James R. Dee."<sup>327</sup>

Along with the award to the team, Dee also presented the retiring "Doc" Gibson with a diamond ring for his services with the Portage Lakes.<sup>328</sup>

Unfortunately, at the beginning of the 1905-06 season Dee's other business interests forced him to resign from the positions of Secretary and Treasurer of the I.H.L.:

It takes more time and trouble than may be imagined, and it will not be convenient for me to give it the attention that it deserves during the coming winter. I was anxious to get the league organized and started on a successful and permanent basis, so we could look forward to one of the best winter sports ever introduced in this section of the country. Now that it is a go I wish to have some one in our company who can devote the time to it and who can keep in closer touch with the business.<sup>329</sup>

However, Dee did not relinquish his duties as President of the Amphidrome Co., and remained active in I.H.L. affairs throughout the three years of League operations, albeit in a reduced administrative capacity.

Edwin S. "Chaucer" Elliott. Although "Chaucer" Elliott's involvement with the International Hockey League was arguably not in an administrative capacity, his efforts and influence must be recognized. Appointed as an official referee of the League for the 1905-06 season, Elliott's work in the League, and his views of its operations, were widely respected by followers of hockey in both Canada and the United States.

---

<sup>327</sup>Copper Country, Mar 16/05, n. pag.

<sup>328</sup>Ibid.

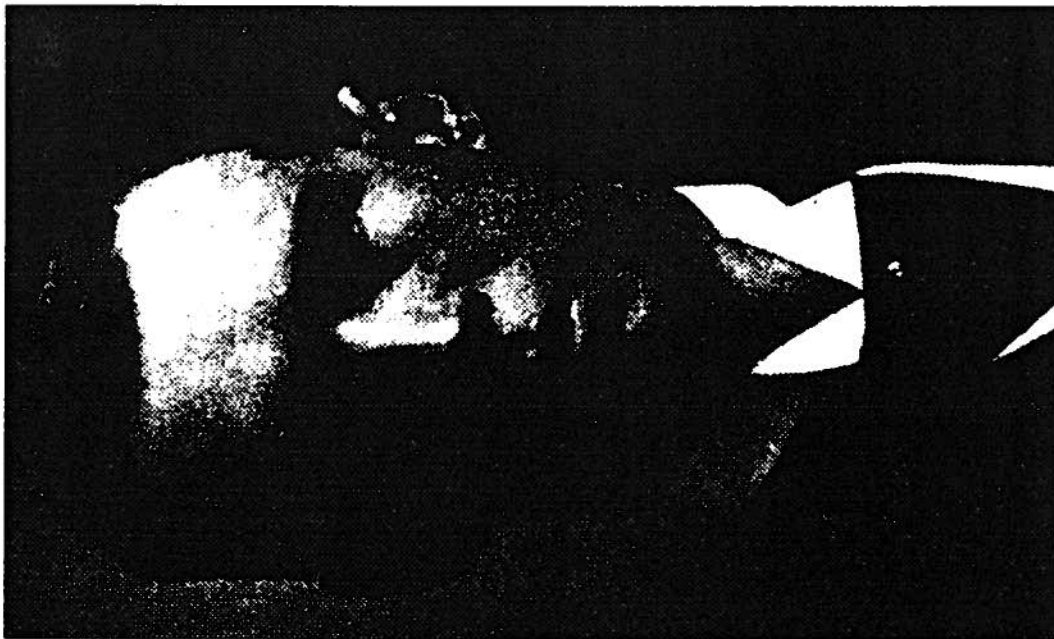
<sup>329</sup>Mining Gazette, Oct 22/05, n. pag.



PLATE XI



b) James R. Dee (Captains, Colonels & Kings)



a) Edwin S. "Chaucer" Elliott (Hockey Hall of Fame)

Born in Kingston in 1879, Elliott gained his nickname because of a school project where he was required to recite the life and works of Geoffrey Chaucer.<sup>330</sup> Excelling in many sports as a youth, he attended Queen's University, where he captained both the hockey and the rugby football teams.<sup>331</sup> Eventually, Elliott began refereeing hockey, where he became so proficient that he little time to play the sport itself.<sup>332</sup>

A talented baseball player, Elliott was banned by the Ontario Rugby Football Union in 1902 for playing baseball professionally,<sup>333</sup> affording him more opportunity to referee and coach. His reputation as a capable hockey referee in Canada led International Hockey League executives to seek out his services following the 1904-05 season. "Elliott made friends and held them with a magnetic personality. As a referee, he enjoyed the complete confidence of the players, and as a result was always in great demand."<sup>334</sup>

Elliott's arrival in the International Hockey League signalled that the League interested in signing not only the best players available, but also the most qualified and proficient referees. However, Elliott, along with most followers of hockey in Eastern Canada, was under the impression that the I.H.L. was a violent League known for its rough play. Elliott was dispelled of this notion, during his time as an official I.H.L. referee:

I have had no more trouble in this league than I used to have in the O.H.A. The executive of the International Hockey league comprise a bunch of good, shrewd business men - the best people in the towns they represent. They are fair-minded men, who are looking for nothing but fair play and protection for the players . . . . All the instructions I have ever received from the Executive is to make the players produce clean hockey.<sup>335</sup>

---

<sup>330</sup>Sault Star, Dec 28/05, n. pag.

<sup>331</sup>Pittsburgh Gazette, Mar 1/06, n. pag.

<sup>332</sup>Sault Star, Dec 28/05, n. pag.

<sup>333</sup>Pittsburgh Gazette, Mar 1/06, n. pag.

<sup>334</sup>Diamond, 23.

<sup>335</sup>Sault Star, Feb 8/06, n. pag.

Elliott refereed twenty-seven I.H.L. games in 1905-06, and, following the conclusion of the hockey season, reported to New York to play catcher for a baseball team there.<sup>336</sup> The 1905-06 season would be the only year Elliott would referee in the I.H.L., as he chose to remain in Canada the following winter. A list of the I.H.L. referees, the number of games they officiated, and the seasons in which they worked can be found in Appendix M.

Elliott had commenced his career as a referee in 1903, but tragically, he died of cancer on March 13, 1913.<sup>337</sup> Despite only being involved with the I.H.L. for one season, Elliott provided consistent refereeing for the League, a problem which will be discussed in Chapter 4. Although brief, his ten-year career as a referee was so brilliant that his efforts earned him a position in the Hockey Hall of Fame.

Dr. John L. "Doc" Gibson. The most influential of all those involved with the creation of professional ice hockey in northern Michigan, Gibson excelled as an organizer, team manager, referee, and player throughout the years of I.H.L. operations. It was Gibson's actions both on the ice and in organizing the Portage Lakes Hockey Club that earned him the title of "Father of Hockey" in Michigan,<sup>338</sup> and a berth in the Hockey Hall of Fame, in the Builder's category.

Born on September 10, 1879, Gibson developed his athletic skills in the Berlin-Waterloo area. He played or competed in most sports, and by the time he had matured, he weighed 217 pounds and could run one hundred yards in eleven seconds.<sup>339</sup> A biographical record of prominent citizens in Houghton County claimed that "he [excelled] in every line of athletics, and [had] a drawer full of medals won in rowing, swimming, skating and

---

<sup>336</sup>Soo Evening News, Mar 22/06, n. pag.

<sup>337</sup>Diamond, 23.

<sup>338</sup>Rice, "A Record Hard to Beat", 93.

<sup>339</sup>"Hero of Sports Era. . ."

running."<sup>340</sup> Eventually, Gibson settled in northern Michigan to practice dentistry. The circumstances through which Gibson arrived were explained by the Houghton Daily Mining Gazette:

After his graduation from the dental college four years ago he set out to find a live town that had never heard of hockey so that he could practice his profession and get out of the game for good. But as soon as he struck Houghton he started the game, with the result that Houghton is the hockey center of the United States . . . .<sup>341</sup>

Gibson quickly immersed himself in all aspects of Houghton community life, becoming a member of the Knights of Pythias, Fraternal Order of Eagles, and Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks. He also belonged to Company G, Third Regiment, Houghton Light Infantry, of the Michigan National Guards.<sup>342</sup> In addition to his social affiliations, Gibson actively pursued many other sports and pastimes. He played football, as both kicker and back, for the Houghton football team in games held at the Hancock driving park,<sup>343</sup> as well as serving as captain of the Houghton team in the Houghton County Bowling League,<sup>344</sup> and acting as that league's official scorer.<sup>345</sup>

Because of his active participation in many of the town's organizations and affairs, as well as his position as a dentist, Gibson was already prominent socially prior to the formation of the Portage Lakes Hockey Club. His influence upon the team only heightened his position in the Houghton community.

Following the organization of the Portage Lakes Hockey Club, Gibson became one of the most talented players on the team, even after Canadian players began to arrive to play

---

<sup>340</sup>Biographical Record, 344.

<sup>341</sup>Mining Gazette, Mar 26/04, n. pag.

<sup>342</sup>Biographical Record, 345.

<sup>343</sup>Mining Gazette, Nov 3/01, n. pag.

<sup>344</sup>Ibid., Nov 22/03, n. pag.

<sup>345</sup>Ibid., Dec 14/02, n. pag.

professionally. Despite his imposing physical size, Gibson had a reputation as a gentlemanly player, and played three seasons before he was awarded a penalty during a match.<sup>346</sup> By the time the first professional team had been organized in 1903-04, Gibson had attained an international reputation as an athlete and administrator. In 1904, Gibson received a written offer from an old acquaintance to relocate in Johannesburg, South Africa, to operate a hockey team to be organized there.<sup>347</sup>

Following a successful season in the I.H.L. in 1904-05, as both player and manager of the Portage Lakes Hockey Club, Gibson was recognized as an all-star at the point position.<sup>348</sup> Despite his obvious success as a player in the League, Gibson decided to retire from active play. James R. Dee then presented Gibson with a diamond ring, and made the following announcement:

A number of your friends who are admirers of the game take pleasure in presenting to you the package which accompanies this in token of their appreciation of your efforts in introducing the game in this community and in bringing it to its present high standing and repute, both here and in elsewhere in the United States.

We regret your contemplated retirement from active participation in the sport and wish you all success in your future life. On behalf of the subscribers, yours very truly, James R. Dee.<sup>349</sup>

Although Dee's announcement seemed to predict that Gibson would no longer be affiliated with the I.H.L., Gibson would continue to be involved in capacities other than playing. The following season, Gibson, along with "Chaucer" Elliott, was appointed as an official I.H.L. referee. While maintaining his dental practice, Gibson managed to officiate in twenty-one League games. In 1906-07, Gibson relinquished his refereeing duties to return

---

<sup>346</sup>Mining Gazette, Jan 26/04, n. pag.

<sup>347</sup>Ibid., Mar 3/04, n. pag.

<sup>348</sup>Appendix G contains all-star teams as selected by various sources throughout the three years of I.H.L. operations.

<sup>349</sup>Copper Country, Mar 16/05, n. pag.

briefly as a player. The Portage Lakes were having difficulty in signing players, and Gibson played in two games to start the season before the team's roster could be completed.<sup>350</sup>

Following the demise of the I.H.L., Gibson relocated to Republic, Michigan, and then later moved to Calgary, Alberta.<sup>351</sup> He would be elected to the Hockey Hall of Fame in 1976, in addition to election in the Halls of Fame in Houghton, Michigan, and Waterloo County, as well as the United States Hockey Hall of Fame.<sup>352</sup> Despite his return to Canada, Gibson's influence remained in Houghton, as seen in 1939, when a trophy given to the champion of the Northern Michigan and Wisconsin Hockey league was awarded in his name.<sup>353</sup>

Dr. John L. Gibson continued his dental practice in Calgary until his retirement in 1950. He passed away on October 7, 1955. His exploits in the community of Houghton at the turn of the century had a profound effect on the development of professional ice hockey in North America, and his achievements have been recognized by his election to the Hockey Hall of Fame.

John T. McNamara. Another prominent figure in the development of professional ice hockey was John T. McNamara. McNamara, like Gibson, was a Canadian who had subsequently moved to the Houghton area. McNamara's efforts helped the Portage Lakes Hockey Club remain one of the more competitive teams in the I.H.L. through all three years of League operations.

Born in Seaforth, Ontario, McNamara arrived from Brandon, Manitoba, to assume the position of Sheriff of Houghton County.<sup>354</sup> "A fine tall figure of a man with a big,

---

<sup>350</sup>See Appendix N for a complete list of all players, their games played, and goal totals.

<sup>351</sup>Fitsell, "Tribute", n. pag.

<sup>352</sup>Roger J. Proule, personal letter.

<sup>353</sup>Fitsell, "Tribute", n. pag.

<sup>354</sup>Copper Country, Mar 9/07, n. pag.

drooping moustache,"<sup>355</sup> he also assumed a prominent role in the Houghton community. Along with his position as manager of the Amphidrome, and later Secretary-treasurer of the I.H.L., he acted as secretary for both the Houghton County Agricultural Society, and the Copper Country Poultry and Pet Stock Association.<sup>356</sup>

John T. McNamara was one of several men who helped operate the International Hockey League. Each town was dependent upon similar people who were willing to devote theirs efforts to ensuring that the League could function. While the other managers, administrators, and trainers have not been mentioned, their labours had a direct effect on the success of the League as a whole.

#### Important Players

Despite the fact that the League operated for three full seasons, and included five teams, only ninety-seven men played hockey in International Hockey League games.<sup>357</sup> Of those players, several had a major impact upon the League, and the sport of ice hockey. In fact, thirteen skaters who played in the League have been elected to the Hockey Hall of Fame, along with two I.H.L. goaltenders and referee "Chaucer" Elliott. Nine of the players elected to the Hockey Hall of Fame, along with seven others, made contributions to the sport and the League significant enough to merit inclusion in this section. Unfortunately, little information is known about some of these players, but their efforts will be noted with as much detail as the limited data permits.

Of the eighty-nine men who did not play the goalkeeper position, thirty-six remained with the League for two or more seasons. However, thirty-five other players played ten games or less in the I.H.L. This would indicate that there was a high turnover for several

---

<sup>355</sup>Whitehead, 42.

<sup>356</sup>Soo Evening News, Jan 24/07, n. pag.

<sup>357</sup>Eighty-nine were skaters, and eight were goal keepers.

positions on the rosters, usually due to clubs trying to improve their line-ups, and keep salaries low. As shown by the large percentage of returning players, once a position had been won by a player, he tended to return to the League to pursue his professional hockey career. Another reason for the high number of returning players would be that these players would be unable to resume amateur careers in Canada, and therefore had little option but to continue playing in the I.H.L.

The author has determined that sixteen I.H.L. players had an impact significant enough upon the League and the sport to warrant individual attention. Although most of these players distinguished themselves through lasting and outstanding service to the League, a few had short and, in some cases, unwanted effects upon I.H.L. affairs. Each player will be recognized individually, and, where information limitations permit, a background of the athlete's life outside of the I.H.L. will be given.

Roy Brown. Roy Brown played the point position for the Canadian Soo hockey team in 1904-05, and 1906-07. A standout lacrosse player from Brantford, he had experienced the wrath of the amateur-governing associations in both sports. In the fall of 1905, Brown was suspended by the Canadian Lacrosse Association, for playing Sunday lacrosse in Chicago.<sup>358</sup>

Brown's ability to play defense earned him recognition as an all-star in both seasons he played in the I.H.L., and, in 1908, following the demise of the League, he was quickly signed by Brantford of the newly-formed Ontario Professional Hockey Association.<sup>359</sup> Perhaps the greatest praise that Brown received during his tenure with the International League was given by A. W. Dunn, a Montreal commercial traveller, who visited the Soo in March of 1905. After watching the Canadian Soo team play twice, he gave the following comment to a Sault Ste. Marie Evening News correspondent: "I have seen all the big games

---

<sup>358</sup>Sault Star, Oct 19/05, n. pag.

<sup>359</sup>Coleman. 776.



in Canada play this season excepting Ottawa, but including the Montreal teams, Rat Portage, Brandon, Winnipeg and others, and the best point player I have ever seen is Roy Brown."<sup>360</sup>

Lorne Campbell. Lorne Campbell merits significant consideration as the most dominant player in the I.H.L.'s brief existence. Unfortunately, little is known about this talented athlete, other than what can be drawn from the accounts of the International Hockey League matches found in the I.H.L. town newspapers. He finished among the top three goal scorers in the League in all three seasons, and completed his three seasons in the I.H.L. as the League leader in both career-games played and career-goals scored. Campbell was also named to all-star teams in both 1905-06 and 1906-07.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, Campbell's talent was so sought after that in two years he signed with another I.H.L. team, following the conclusion of his season with Pittsburgh. After playing all twenty-four of Pittsburgh's games in 1904-05, Campbell signed with the Portage Lakes Hockey Club, a team that was trailing the then-League-leading Calumet club, led by "Hod" Stuart. The following season, he was joined by Stuart, by that time a teammate in Pittsburgh, in an effort to help the Calumet team defeat the Portage Lakes.

As in to the previous season, the 1905-06 Pittsburgh team had finished its season earlier than the remaining three clubs. The team had played the Canadian Soo six times before the Canadians had disbanded, and therefore had been able to play all twenty-four of their scheduled games. Lorne Campbell again led the team in goals, scoring thirty-two times. It was reported in the Daily Mining Gazette that he, along with the famed "Hod" Stuart, would play for the Calumets in the final series against Houghton.<sup>361</sup>

---

<sup>360</sup>Soo Evening News, Mar 8/05, n. pag.

<sup>361</sup>Mining Gazette, Mar 4/06, n. pag.

The two players were unable to reach the Copper Country in time for the first match, which resulted in a 7-1 victory for the Portage Lakes.<sup>362</sup> Stuart and Campbell did arrive for the next game, on March 10, to be held at the Palestra. Stuart was quoted in the Daily Mining Gazette as saying "we will surely be at the Palestra tonight, unless the train is blockaded. We are going to get even for all the season too."<sup>363</sup>

Because Stuart was suffering from the effects of an earlier injury, he was unable to make a significant contribution during the game. Campbell, however, scored three times against the Portage Lakes, but could not help the Calumet team win. Houghton won the game, 10-5, and the League championship, by one game, over the Michigan Soo.<sup>364</sup>

Campbell, along with "Hod" Stuart, was considered to be one of the two best players in the I.H.L., and perhaps of all the hockey players of that time period. The Daily Mining Gazette reported that both Stuart and Campbell were "two of the greatest hockey generals in the game [at that time]."<sup>365</sup> Unfortunately, because Campbell was never elected to the Hockey Hall of Fame, little has been written about him.

Before the 1906-07 I.H.L. season had commenced, Manager Boon of the Montreal club was rumored to be interested in signing Campbell. However, Campbell was reportedly content in Pittsburgh, and enjoyed the occupation he had secured outside of his hockey duties in that city.<sup>366</sup> Therefore, he was not interested in leaving Pennsylvania, and finished his International Hockey League career in Pittsburgh. When it became apparent that I.H.L. operations would not continue the following winter, Campbell signed with Winnipeg of the Manitoba Hockey League, to play the 1907-08 season, where he led that league in scoring

---

<sup>362</sup>Ibid.

<sup>363</sup>Ibid., March 10/06, n. pag.

<sup>364</sup>Ibid., Mar 11/06, n. pag.

<sup>365</sup>Mining Gazette, Mar 4/06, n. pag.

<sup>366</sup>Mining Gazette, Nov 30/06, n. pag.

with thirty goals in only fifteen matches.<sup>367</sup> The author contends that more information on this talented hockey player needs to be collected, and, upon subsequent evaluation, Campbell deserves consideration as a member of the Hockey Hall of Fame.

James Henry "Jimmy" Gardner. James Gardner played three seasons in the International Hockey League: two seasons for Calumet, and one with Pittsburgh in 1906-07. While not scoring as prolifically as some of the other recognized players, Gardner provided a consistent, determined effort at the forward position for any of the teams that he played for, and was selected as an I.H.L. all-star following the 1904-05 season.

Gardner was born on May 21, 1881, in Montreal, where he learned the sport of hockey alongside another legend of that period, "Dickie" Boon. Success in hockey arrived quickly for Gardner as he played for the 1902 Stanley Cup winners, the Montreal A.A.A.'s "Little Men of Iron".<sup>368</sup> Following the demise of the I.H.L., he was again on a Stanley Cup-winning team, with the 1910 Montreal Wanderers club.<sup>369</sup> After finishing his career as a player, Gardner became a referee, where he eventually became an official for Western Canada Hockey League games. He died in Montreal, on November 7, 1940. Twenty-two years after his death, Gardner was elected to the Hockey Hall of Fame.

Joe Hall. Joe Hall played only one season in the I.H.L., but the impact he made upon the League during his year with the Portage Lakes Hockey Club in 1905-06 warrants acknowledgment. Although his abilities as a hockey player have gained him fame, and a place Hockey's Hall of Fame, it was his aptitude for drawing the ire of both the League executive and his opponents on the ice that gave Hall notoriety in the I.H.L.

---

<sup>367</sup>Coleman, 688.

<sup>368</sup>"Player Biographies" (Toronto: Hockey Hall of Fame, unpublished, n.d.), n. pag.

<sup>369</sup>Ibid.

Regardless of the questionable means through which Hall played the sport, he was highly successful during his year as a member of the Portage Lakes Hockey Club. Playing twenty games, he scored thirty-three times, leading the Houghton team, and finishing third in League goal scoring. His efforts also earned him an all-star selection at the right wing position.

Despite an outstanding playing record, Hall drew attention for other activities that occurred during the course of the season. One incident involved suspension from the League due to his behavior during one game. This will be discussed in Chapter 4, as the circumstances that resulted in the suspension, and the means through which the I.H.L. officers attempted to confront Hall's alleged behavior, reflected on the Executive's capacity to operate the League.

Hall's exploits outside of his brief experience in the I.H.L. are worthy of note. He was born in Staffordshire, England, on May 3, 1882. After moving to Canada at the age of two, Hall began playing ice hockey in 1897.<sup>370</sup> He signed with Winnipeg of the M.H.L. in 1904, and was chosen to the All-Canadian team by the O.H.A. for his efforts in Winnipeg during the 1904-05 season.<sup>371</sup> Following his year in Houghton, Hall travelled to Quebec to play for that city's E.C.A.H.A. team, and he later returned to Manitoba, to play for Brandon.<sup>372</sup> During his seasons in Quebec, Hall was fined and suspended for attacking referee Tom Melville, and he later developed several feuds, with such talented players as "Newsy" Lalonde.<sup>373</sup>

Eventually becoming the property of the Montreal Canadiens, Hall continued his Hall of Fame career through 1919, when his team made the Stanley Cup finals. That series was

---

<sup>370</sup>"Player Biographies"

<sup>371</sup>Mining Gazette, Nov 2/05, n. pag.

<sup>372</sup>Coleman, 600.

<sup>373</sup>Coleman, 599.

PLATE XII



Joe Hall (Hockey Hall of Fame)

to be played in Seattle, against that city's P.C.H.A. team. During the fifth game of the series, played on March 30, Hall became ill and had to retire from the match. The championship was abandoned when it was learned that Hall, along with several teammates, had contracted influenza, a world-wide epidemic of that period. Hall died a few days later, while receiving treatment at a local hospital.<sup>374</sup>

"Riley" Hern. William Milton "Riley" Hern was born in St. Mary's, Ontario, on December 5, 1880.<sup>375</sup> He played forward for London's intermediate team during his early playing career, and later became affiliated with the movement toward professionalism, when he switched to the goalkeeper position, and played for the Pittsburgh Keystones of the semi-professional Western Pennsylvania Hockey League.<sup>376</sup> However, when the Portage Lakes Hockey Club began organizing a professional team in 1903, Hern was among the first to sign with the club, for no other reason than the higher salary he was to receive for playing there.<sup>377</sup> That season his team won twenty-three of twenty-five games, and he allowed an average of only 1.96 goals per game, shutting out his team's opponents five times.

When the I.H.L. was formed the next season, he remained in Houghton, to help the Portage Lakes Hockey Club try to win the new League's inaugural championship. Despite leading the I.H.L. in shutouts, and being selected as a League all-star, Hern could not help the team win the championship. However, he led the Portage Lakes Hockey Club to the League title the following season, before deciding to return to Canada to resume his career. In the fall of 1906, he signed with the Montreal Wanderers, leaving Houghton, his team of the last three seasons, to play in the E.C.A.H.A. The Wanderers eventually signed Hern as a

---

<sup>374</sup>Coleman, 600.

<sup>375</sup>"Player Biographies"

<sup>376</sup>Mining Gazette, Nov 10/03, n. pag.

<sup>377</sup>Globe and Mail, Nov 16/03, n. pag.

professional,<sup>378</sup> where he helped them win three Stanley Cup championships. Hern retired in 1911, and was later inducted into the Hockey Hall of Fame.<sup>379</sup>

J. "Chief" Jones. As in the case of Lorne Campbell, it is unfortunate that there is so little information available regarding "Chief" Jones, a player who had such a significant effect on the I.H.L.; even the first name of this great goalkeeper was not revealed. Jones played his entire I.H.L. career with the Michigan Soo team, and had played in that city prior to the formation of the League. Jones had signed with the Michigan Soo team as an alleged professional, for the 1903-04 season. His ability and playing style immediately gained him the attention of many Michigan hockey supporters. For instance, in a game played in February of 1904, Jones decided to take the puck himself, and attempt to score against the Portage Lakes Hockey Club. His efforts did not amuse the opposition, as "Doc" Gibson of Houghton knocked Jones forcibly to the ice before the Michigan Soo goaltender could get close enough to the Portage Lakes' goal.<sup>380</sup>

Despite such unorthodox playing practices, Jones was selected as an I.H.L. all-star in both the 1904-05 and 1905-06 seasons. His play during 1905-06 was particularly noteworthy, as he allowed only 2.6 goals per game, almost one full goal less per game than any other I.H.L. goalkeeper. Jones also had two shutouts during that season, tying Pittsburgh's Jack Winchester for the League lead in that statistical area.

Following his three seasons for the Michigan Soo club, Jones signed with Cobalt of the National Hockey Association, where he played goal for the 1910-11 season. After only one year with that club, his playing rights were acquired by Waterloo of the O.P.H.L., where he finished his professional career.<sup>381</sup>

---

<sup>378</sup>Coleman, 132.

<sup>379</sup>Ibid., 766.

<sup>380</sup>Mining Gazette, Feb 18/04, n. pag.

<sup>381</sup>Coleman, 767.

Edouard "Newsy" Lalonde. The International Hockey League provided "Newsy" Lalonde with an opportunity to commence one of the most celebrated and successful careers of any Canadian athlete, in any time period. Throughout the first two decades of the twentieth century, Lalonde dominated both ice hockey and lacrosse, and although only nineteen years of age when signing with the Canadian Soo hockey team in 1907, Lalonde immediately became one of the League's most talented and boisterous players.

Lalonde was born in Cornwall, Ontario, on October 31, 1887. An outstanding athlete as a youth, he became a goalkeeper in lacrosse, for the local Cornwall Colts club,<sup>382</sup> before his abilities as a goal scorer emerged and he was switched to the inside home position. His talents were already evident in hockey, where he began his career with the Cornwall team of the F.A.H.L.,<sup>383</sup> and before he had reached the age of twenty, his reputation had reached managers of the I.H.L. teams.

In 1906-07, the Canadian Soo's I.H.L. club was experiencing greater competitive success than it had during the I.H.L.'s first two seasons. The acquisition of new talent would only help the team's chances of winning its first League championship. A newspaper report then noted that "Newsy" Lalonde was to arrive in the Soo on January 3, 1907, by train, from Cornwall. Lalonde was "said to be very fast and possessed of an abundance of nerve."<sup>384</sup> When Lalonde arrived, he was not expected to play, until an injury to Canadian Soo rover Marty Walsh forced Lalonde into the lineup. The long trip did not affect Lalonde's play significantly; he scored twice to lead the Soo to a 3-1 victory over the visiting Calumet team.<sup>385</sup>

---

<sup>382</sup>The Ottawa Citizen, July 31/05, n. pag.

<sup>383</sup>Coleman, 604.

<sup>384</sup>Soo Evening News, Jan 3/07, n. pag.

<sup>385</sup>Ibid., Jan 4/07, n. pag.



Though not yet twenty years of age, Lalonde had already established himself in both ice hockey and lacrosse. His reputation for "nerve" was tested in the violent professional leagues; while in the I.H.L., he would also continue rivalries that had started in his lacrosse games. In a series against Pittsburgh, Lalonde renewed a feud that he had started in lacrosse with a Pittsburgh player, Horace Gaul. Gaul had played the inside home position for the Ottawa lacrosse team, and he and Lalonde had met when Lalonde had been the Cornwall goalkeeper. During an I.H.L. hockey series, the two had engaged in fisticuffs, in addition to receiving frequent penalties for altercations with one another.<sup>386</sup>

Despite his young age, and penchant for incurring the wrath of opponents and the referee, Lalonde managed to score twenty-six goals in eighteen games for the Canadian Soo, during the 1906-07 season. The following season, Lalonde signed with Toronto of the O.P.H.L.<sup>387</sup> He would lead that league in goal scoring, and throughout the remainder of his hockey career, would lead the N.H.A., P.C.H.A., and W.C.H.L. in goal scoring in various seasons.<sup>388</sup>

In addition to his scoring exploits, Lalonde was "frequently referred to in the east and west as the greatest player in the game. He had a fiery temper and was an outstanding leader."<sup>389</sup> He would score in excess of 450 goals during his hockey career, and, as Charles Coleman explained following an extensive review of newspapers from the early decades of the twentieth century, "more has been written about this athlete, both in praise and abuse, than possibly any other."<sup>390</sup>

---

<sup>386</sup>Sault Star, Feb 7/07, n. pag.

<sup>387</sup>Coleman, 611.

<sup>388</sup>*ibid.*, 611-612.

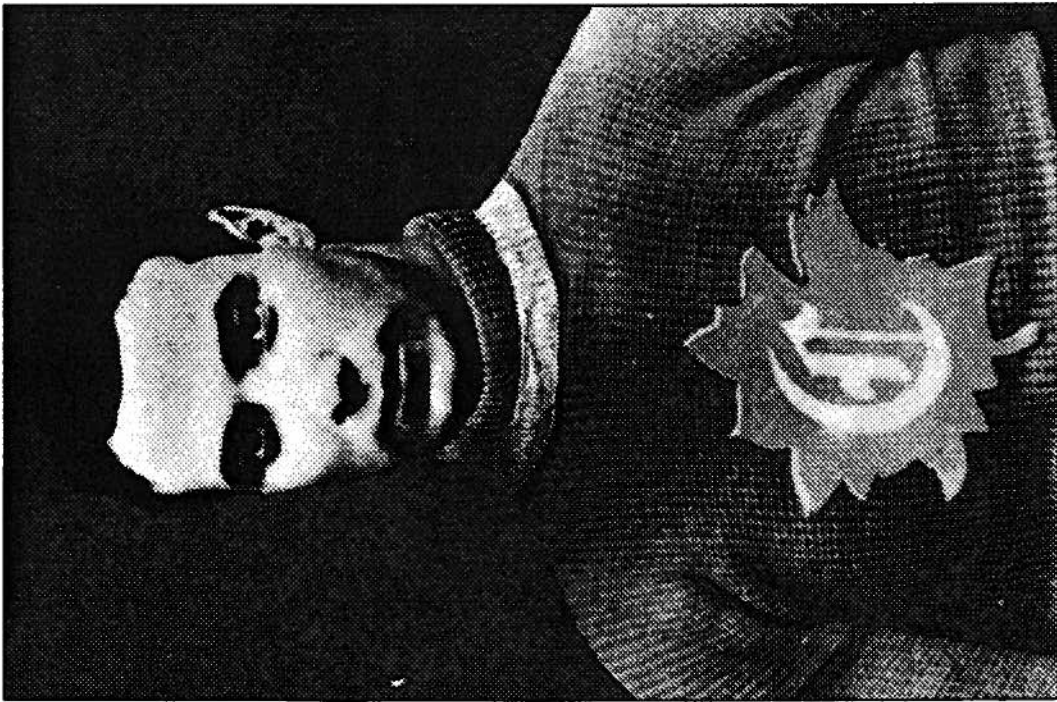
<sup>389</sup>*ibid.*, 795.

<sup>390</sup>*ibid.*, 609.

PLATE XIII



b) "Jack" Laviolette (Hockey Hall of Fame)



a) Edouard "Newsy" Lalonde (Hockey Hall of Fame)

Lalonde was inducted into the Hockey Hall of Fame, and was also voted the best lacrosse player of the first half of the twentieth century.<sup>391</sup> Perhaps his greatest praise came from Charles Coleman, who chose Lalonde for an all-star team selected from all the hockey players who had competed through 1926. Lalonde was selected as the best rover of that era, over other notable players such as Fred "Cyclone" Taylor and Mickey Mackay.<sup>392</sup>

Jean Baptiste "Jack" Laviolette. Laviolette was one of several prominent athletes who played three full seasons in the International Hockey League. Born in Belleville, Ontario, on July 27, 1879, Laviolette later moved to Valleyfield, Quebec. He played his amateur hockey with Overlands, and the Canadian Pacific Telegraphs hockey teams.<sup>393</sup> In 1903-04, Laviolette played his first senior-level hockey with the Nationals of the C.A.H.L.,<sup>394</sup> before signing with the Michigan Soo for the 1904-05 season. While in Valleyfield, Laviolette also began what would become a successful lacrosse career, and befriended Didier Pitre, who joined Laviolette in the Michigan Soo for the I.H.L.'s inaugural season.

Although Laviolette did not score as many goals as many of the other renowned I.H.L. players, he was considered to be one of the best players in the League in all three seasons he played in the I.H.L. He was selected as an all-star player during each season; also, in naming an all-star team for the 1906-07 season, Frank Cleveland, sports editor for the Sault Ste. Marie Evening News, proclaimed Laviolette as the League's best player at any position.<sup>395</sup>

Laviolette's importance to the Michigan Soo team was demonstrated prior to the opening of the 1906-07 season, when the team, having finished the previous season

---

<sup>391</sup>Vancouver News-Herald, Sep 23/50, n. pag.

<sup>392</sup>Coleman, 795.

<sup>393</sup>"Player Biographies"

<sup>394</sup>Coleman, 612.

<sup>395</sup>Soo Evening News, Mar 18/07, n. pag.

strongly and almost winning the League championship, began operations in the fall of 1906 with a significant roster problem. Two of the team's best players, Laviolette, and Pitre, both of whom would be later named to the Hockey Hall of Fame, were doubtful to report to the team. The Sault Star reported that the close friendship between the two men meant that if one were to be lost to another team, then the other would leave as well; "they have received very flattering offers from a new professional club, which is being organized in Montreal. Wherever one plays, the other will go, too, as they have played hockey together for years, and will not separate".<sup>396</sup> Fortunately for the Michigan Soo club, Laviolette and Pitre did return for the 1906-07 season, although the team could not win the League championship.

Following his years in the I.H.L., Laviolette assisted in the formation of the Montreal Canadiens team, aided by the financial support of T.C. Hare, and J. Ambrose O'Brien.<sup>397</sup> Laviolette would be reunited with Pitre with the Canadiens, who also gained the services of "Newsy" Lalonde. Laviolette eventually retired from play at the conclusion of the 1917-18 season, and, despite losing a foot in an accident in the summer of 1918, managed to referee hockey games afterwards. He was elected to the Hockey Hall of Fame in 1962.

Ken Mallen. Kenny Mallen began his hockey career in 1903-04, with both Cornwall and the Wanderers teams of the F.A.H.L. A great stickhandler and a fast skater,<sup>398</sup> Mallen was one of the best players in the International Hockey League during the 1904-05 season. Playing rover for the championship-winning Calumet team, Mallen scored thirty-seven goals in twenty-four games, finishing second in League goal scoring behind teammate Fred Strike. For his outstanding play in 1904-05, Mallen was selected as the all-star at the rover position on all three all-star teams that were selected.

---

<sup>396</sup>Sault Star, Nov 1/06, n. pag.

<sup>397</sup>"Player Biographies"

<sup>398</sup>Coleman, 615.

The International Hockey League was known for the violence that occurred during League games, and it is unfortunate that such rough tactics led to Ken Mallen leaving the Calumet team shortly after the start of the 1905-06 season. Because of his small stature, and his exceptional playing skills, Mallen was a target of physical abuse by the players of opposing teams. After enduring several injuries due to such practices, Mallen decided to leave the League. The Copper Country Evening News explained the reason for Mallen's departure:

If hockey was played as it should be Mallen would still be in the game, but when deliberate attempts are made to him irrespective of whether the injuries would be permanent or not, he [Mallen] states it is high time to quit.<sup>399</sup>

Mallen did return to play for Calumet one month later, but only due to an injury incurred by a teammate. However, he agreed to remain with the club, and served as a spare for the remainder of the season.<sup>400</sup>

Mallen returned to Calumet for the 1906-07 season, but only managed to play eleven times during the twenty-four game season. He then signed with Morrisburg of the E.C.A.H.A., and would continue to change teams throughout the remainder of his playing career. He would eventually play for eleven different teams in five leagues over thirteen seasons. Despite the fact that I.H.L. teams could not compete for the Stanley Cup, Mallen would help win the trophy in 1915, while playing for the Vancouver club in the P.C.H.A.<sup>401</sup>

Didier Pitre. Didier Pitre was born in Valleyfield, Quebec, on September 1, 1883. A large man, weighing in excess of two hundred pounds, Pitre was a fast skater who began his hockey career in 1903-04 with the Nationals of the F.A.H.L.<sup>402</sup> After starting the 1904-05

---

<sup>399</sup>Copper Country, Dec 27/05, n. pag.

<sup>400</sup>Mining Gazette, Jan 28/06, n. pag.

<sup>401</sup>Coleman, 615.

<sup>402</sup>"Player Biographies"

season with the Nationals of the C.A.H.L., Pitre was approached by his close friend, Jack Laviolette, who had recently signed with the Michigan Soo of the newly-formed I.H.L.

The circumstances through which Pitre left the Nationals to report to the Michigan Soo were the subject of excited reports in the I.H.L. town newspapers. According to the Mining Gazette, the Nationals, fearing that Pitre would leave the club, tried to keep Pitre out of sight while Laviolette was in Montreal. Laviolette did find Pitre, and after making necessary negotiations, the two men arranged to meet at the train station, to travel to the Michigan Soo. However, upon arriving at the station, Laviolette found the manager and directors of the Nationals, who asked Jack if he was taking Pitre with him to the Soo. Laviolette responded that he was, but as the train arrived, Pitre had still not reached the station. Laviolette was given no choice but to board the train, while being loudly ridiculed by the Nationals management. As the train departed, with Laviolette on board, he quickly dropped off the train on the opposite side of the platform which the Nationals management were standing, and walked past the round house, without being seen.

After searching Montreal for two more days, Laviolette finally located Pitre, whereupon the Nationals' player was signed. In order to avoid further confrontation with the Nationals management, who desperately wanted to retain the services of Pitre, Laviolette hid Pitre in the basement of the Montreal train station until the train arrived, and then put his friend on the sleeper car, and inferred that the man on board (Pitre) was suffering from influenza. No one recognized Pitre, and the two hockey players were able to reach the Michigan Soo undetected.<sup>403</sup>

Upon arrival to the Soo, Pitre provided immediate help to the Michigan Soo club, scoring eleven times in thirteen games during the 1904-05 season. Despite playing in only eleven games, Pitre was named as an all-star in 1904-05. The following season, playing a full season with the club, Pitre led the Michigan Soo and the I.H.L. in goals, scoring thirty-

---

<sup>403</sup>Mining Gazette, Jan 25/05, n. pag.

six times. He was named an all-star in both the 1905-06 and 1906-07 seasons, playing for the Michigan Soo in both years. Although Pitre played in only fifty-eight games over three seasons in the I.H.L., only Billy Taylor and Lorne Campbell would score more career goals in the League.

Pitre's prolific goal totals, in both the I.H.L. and other leagues, can be attributed to his abilities to skate, and to shoot the puck. Charles Coleman explained that "there were many players over the years who were rated as possessing a hard and accurate shot. It is doubtful if any player was better qualified than Didier Pitre in this regard."<sup>404</sup> In addition, it was the skating style of Pitre, along with teammate Laviolette - both of whom later played for the Montreal Canadiens - that led sports writers to describe that team as the "Flying Frenchmen".<sup>405</sup>

Pitre joined "Newsy" Lalonde and Laviolette on a forward line with the Canadiens, who helped the team win the Stanley Cup in 1916.<sup>406</sup> Pitre continued to play for the Canadiens through 1923, but had trouble maintaining acceptable levels of fitness in his later years with the Montreal team.<sup>407</sup> However, despite the weight problem, Coleman selected Pitre as an all-star finalist at the forward position. Coleman justified his choice by explaining that, "inclined to run overweight, he had to be occasionally disciplined to get him in shape but when in form he was a star. A great scorer he was popular with the fans and closed his career with an outstanding performance in the 1923 playoffs."<sup>408</sup> He was elected to the Hockey Hall of Fame in 1962.

---

<sup>404</sup>Coleman, 636.

<sup>405</sup>"Player Biographies"

<sup>406</sup>Coleman, 637.

<sup>407</sup>Ibid.

<sup>408</sup>Ibid., 801.

PLATE XIV



a) Didier Pitre (Hockey Hall of Fame)



b) Bruce Stuart (Hockey Hall of Fame)



Bruce Stuart. Both Bruce and his older brother, "Hod", had a profound effect upon I.H.L. operations during their affiliation with the League. While both men enjoyed success in the sport outside of the I.H.L., their efforts in the first professional League maintained or heightened their reputations as hockey legends.

Bruce was born in Ottawa in 1882, where he began his hockey career with the Senators in 1898. Following two seasons with Ottawa, he played for Quebec in 1900-01, another C.A.H.L. team, and then returned to Ottawa for one more season.<sup>409</sup> In the fall of 1902, Stuart travelled to Pittsburgh to play for the Victorias of the W.P.H.L. He signed professionally with the Portage Lakes Hockey Club for the 1903-04 season, where he played alongside his older brother. After the formation of the I.H.L., Stuart remained in Houghton to play for the Portage Lakes Hockey Club, and finished three strong seasons with that team, winning two league championships. Stuart's ability to help his team win championships continued throughout his career, until his retirement in 1910-11. Over an eight-year period between the 1903-04 and the 1910-11 season, Stuart helped his teams win a U.S. championship, two I.H.L. championships, and played for three Stanley Cup winning clubs.

In terms of individual accomplishments, Stuart was a consistent scoring threat throughout his career, finishing among the top ten scorers in the International Hockey League in all three seasons, and was selected to an all-star team for the 1905-06 season. He would play for the Montreal Wanderers and later the Ottawa Senators, until his retirement from active play.

Stuart was also able to maintain a good salary for his services, due not only to his athletic attributes, but also to his success in business which gave him bargaining power when he needed to negotiate a new contract. Stuart's father operated a large contracting business, in which Bruce would assist during the summer months. However, the business

---

<sup>409</sup>Coleman, 755.

sometimes required his services during the course of the hockey season, and on one occasion, late in the 1904-5 season, it was rumored that Stuart asked for his release from the Portage Lakes Hockey Club in order to help his father with a large building contract in Nova Scotia.<sup>410</sup> Stuart denied the rumor, but management was aware that Bruce could always pursue other interests should he feel that he was not earning enough money from playing professional hockey. However, Stuart did continue to play hockey, and "developed into an all-round forward, capable of playing any of the positions, although he excelled as a rover."<sup>411</sup> Stuart died on October 28, 1961, the same year he was inducted into the Hockey Hall of Fame.

William Hodgson "Hod" Stuart. "Hod" Stuart must be considered one of the most talented and certainly the most influential player that appeared in the International Hockey League. His play, actions and comments greatly affected the operation of the League in all three years of its existence. He has been described as one of hockey's first great defence men, and should be considered one of the best defence players of all time.<sup>412</sup>

Stuart was born in 1879, and began his career alongside his brother Bruce, with the Ottawa Senators during the 1898-99 season. He went with his brother to the Quebec Bulldogs two years later, where he played two seasons for that C.A.H.L. team.<sup>413</sup> He moved to Pittsburgh late in 1902, where he joined an old Ottawa teammate, Arthur Sixsmith, secretary to Andrew W. Mellon, a bank manager who later became U.S. Secretary of the Treasury. The hockey team was appropriately named "Bankers".<sup>414</sup>

---

<sup>410</sup>Mining Gazette, Feb 8/05, n. pag.

<sup>411</sup>"Player Biographies"

<sup>412</sup>Dan Diamond and Joseph Romain, Hockey Hall of Fame: The Official History of the Game and its Greatest Stars (Toronto: Doubleday, 1988), 55.

<sup>413</sup>Coleman, 755.

<sup>414</sup>Fitsell, Captains, Colonels & Kings, 117.

Following a season in Pittsburgh, Stuart signed with the Portage Lakes Hockey Club, rejoining brother Bruce; however after the formation of the I.H.L. the following season, Stuart left Houghton to play for nearby Calumet, and also to manage the newly built Palestra ice arena. He helped the Calumet team win the inaugural League championship, but did not return to the club the following season, because, despite his talent, his violent activities on the ice were scrutinized by both the League and local newspapers:

'Hod' Stuart, captain of the team last winter, and who, outside of his rough tactics, is considered one of the best players who has ever stepped on ice, has been debarred from the International league, and the indications are he will quit the game for good. Stuart last season plainly evidenced his grudge against Portage Lake, and throughout the entire season was bitterly condemned for his rough and brutal tactics.<sup>415</sup>

With his unwarranted banishment by League officials, Stuart reportedly signed on to coach the hockey team at Yale University in 1905-06.<sup>416</sup> After rumours arose that he would be signing with Pittsburgh, "Hod" acknowledged that he had in fact been banned, and would not participate in I.H.L. games for the 1905-06 season.<sup>417</sup> Meanwhile, the sports writers in Pittsburgh, sensing that Stuart might sign with the local team, were outraged by the League's decision to not allow him to play:

Those managers of the west [the other I.H.L. teams] who have put the Indian sign on Hod Stuart must have had some old score to settle or were trying to keep back the progress of hockey in this country. Stuart is universally acknowledged one of the greatest players in the United States, if not the best, not alone on account of his playing, but his executive ability as well.<sup>418</sup>

Perhaps realizing what the loss of Stuart would mean to I.H.L. profitability, League officials began discussing Stuart's reinstatement in the latter half of December, 1905,<sup>419</sup>

---

<sup>415</sup>Sault Star, Oct 12/05, n. pag. The grudge was likely caused by the Portage Lakes Hockey Club management's refusal to allow Bruce Stuart to leave Houghton to play with "Hod" in Calumet, as "Hod" had asked prior to the start of the season.

<sup>416</sup>Mining Gazette, Oct 20/05, n. pag.

<sup>417</sup>Copper Country, Dec 11/05, n. pag.

<sup>418</sup>Pittsburgh Gazette, Dec 21/05, 2.

<sup>419</sup>Ibid., Dec 18/05, n. pag.

and on December 30, it was announced that he was allowed back into the League.<sup>420</sup>

Stuart subsequently signed with the Pittsburgh team, and claimed that he did not return to Calumet because the club was attempting to cut players' salaries.<sup>421</sup> With the addition of Stuart in the line-up, Pittsburgh improved its record from eight wins the previous season, to fifteen in twenty-four games in 1905-06. However, the team could not overtake the Portage Lakes Hockey Club, who won their first of two consecutive League championships.

In the fall of 1906, talk of Stuart's return to Canada began to appear in the newspapers. According to reports, Stuart wanted to leave Pittsburgh and join the Montreal Wanderers. "Dickie" Boon, manager of the Wanderers, had apparently given Stuart a contract that would make him the highest paid player in hockey, an offer that Pittsburgh manager MacSwiggan could not match.<sup>422</sup> However, Stuart did arrive in Pittsburgh, and prepared to begin the 1906-07 season.

Shortly after the season began, rumours again arose of Stuart's imminent departure from Pittsburgh. Nevertheless, the Pittsburgh Press received confirmation from Stuart that he did not intend to do so, due to contractual commitments in Pittsburgh. Said Stuart:

I am not an unprincipled man. Of course, I am always out to be there financially, if I can, but I have signed a contract to captain and play for Pittsburgh this winter, and I expect to remain here for the remainder of the season. I think the Pittsburgh team has bright prospects of capturing the International pennant, and I want to be in on the glory. I have a very warm feeling in my heart for Montreal and I would rather be playing with the Wanderers than any other team. I have received an offer to play with them, but I can't see my way clear to do so, in view of my contract with manager MacSwiggan of this city.<sup>423</sup>

---

<sup>420</sup>Mining Gazette, Dec 30/05, n. pag.

<sup>421</sup>Fitsell, Captains, Colonels & Kings, 120.

<sup>422</sup>Mining Gazette, Nov 30/06, n. pag.

<sup>423</sup>Copper Country, Dec 20/06, 10.

Although Stuart seemed resigned to finish the season in Pittsburgh, an incident occurred during a game on December 27, 1906, when the Pittsburgh team was to play the Michigan Soo club, that led to his abrupt departure. Pittsburgh players, in protest of the choice of referee for the match, refused to go onto the ice. The game was subsequently awarded to the Michigan Soo, but the incident led to much criticism of the League, its handling of referees, and the Pittsburgh team itself.<sup>424</sup> Following the game, it was revealed that "Hod" Stuart had been the instigator of the game boycott, and the Pittsburgh team immediately released him. The reason given by management was Stuart's refusal to play against the Michigan Soo, but Stuart was already prepared to join the Montreal Wanderers hockey club.<sup>425</sup> Stuart had been paid four hundred dollars to this point of the season, but longed to return to Canada to play.<sup>426</sup> Manager McSwiggan of Pittsburgh was furious with the behavior of Stuart: "well, we will not have any more trouble with his whims and kicks from now on. We have treated Mr. Stuart with great courtesy all through, and this is the way he repays us. He is simply a contract-breaker."<sup>427</sup>

Stuart immediately departed for Montreal, where six thousand spectators watched his debut with the Wanderers against the Montreal Victorias.<sup>428</sup> Finishing the season with the Wanderers, Stuart helped that team win the Stanley Cup. Despite the victory, Stuart claimed to have little enthusiasm about returning to play hockey the following season.<sup>429</sup>

Unfortunately, Stuart would not be able to decide his own future, as he died on June 23, 1907, in a swimming accident. While diving from a lighthouse into shallow water,

---

<sup>424</sup>These problems will be analysed in greater detail in Chapter 4.

<sup>425</sup>Mining Gazette, Dec 28/06, n. pag.

<sup>426</sup>Soo Evening News, Jan 9/07, n. pag.

<sup>427</sup>*Ibid.*, Jan 5/07, n. pag.

<sup>428</sup>Fitsell, Captains, Colonels & Kings, 121.

<sup>429</sup>*Ibid.*

Stuart struck his head on rocks, fracturing his skull, and was killed instantly. "Hockey Fans mourned the loss of 'the king of hockey.' Said one Montrealer; 'His reputation as a player throughout Canada and the northern States was greater than that of any living player.'"430

In two full seasons in the I.H.L., "Hod" Stuart had been listed on every all-star team that was named: the three chosen in 1904-05, and two in 1905-06. "Chaucer" Elliott, who saw Stuart play for Pittsburgh while he refereed I.H.L. games, considered Stuart to be the greatest hockey player in the world.<sup>431</sup> The Mining Gazette reported in early 1905 that "Stuart is in hockey what Jim Jefferies is in the prize ring, the greatest of them all."<sup>432</sup>

Stuart was one the most dominant players through the early years of the twentieth century, and he attained this through talent, and intimidation. In 1907, sports writer John R. Brady reported that "Stuart reigned for a couple of seasons king of the hockey world. During all this time he had most of his opponents scared to death, and he won many games by his personal prowess alone."<sup>433</sup> Regardless of the means through which Stuart played the game, he remained one of the best players until his untimely death in 1907. Although he only played for a few years, in 1945 Stuart was among the first players elected to the Hockey Hall of Fame.

Fred Taylor. Fred Taylor is perhaps the most acclaimed player of hockey's early decades. He was born on June 23, 1884 in Tara, Ontario.<sup>434</sup> Shortly before he turned seven years of age, his family relocated in nearby Listowel, where he began playing hockey, soccer, and lacrosse for local teams.<sup>435</sup> At the age of eighteen, Taylor was invited to play in an

---

<sup>430</sup>Ibid., 123.

<sup>431</sup>Sault Star, Mar 29/06, n. pag.

<sup>432</sup>Mining Gazette, Jan 8/05, n. pag.

<sup>433</sup>Soo Evening News, Jan 30/07, n. pag.

<sup>434</sup>Whitehead, 8.

<sup>435</sup>Ibid., 14.

PLATE XV



a) "Hod" Stuart (Hockey Hall of Fame)



b) Fred Taylor (Hockey Hall of Fame)

exhibition series in Houghton, Michigan, along with former Listowel teammates who were attending school in the U.S.<sup>436</sup>

In the fall of 1905, Taylor reportedly signed with the Canadian Soo, and was to report to the team during the winter to try out for the professional club.<sup>437</sup> According to other reports, Taylor had also signed with the Calumet team,<sup>438</sup> but as the 1905-06 I.H.L. season began, Taylor was not affiliated with any I.H.L. club. At that time, he was in Portage La Prairie, and later decided to try the professional game. In January of 1905, Taylor was signed by John T. McNamara, whose Portage Lakes Hockey Club was in need of a versatile player.<sup>439</sup>

Although playing in only six games through the remainder of the 1905-06 season, Taylor scored eleven times to aid the Houghton team to its first I.H.L. championship. Despite his participation in only a few games, Taylor played so well that he was recognized as a League all-star for 1905-06. The following year, he returned to Houghton, where he scored fourteen goals in twenty-three games, helping the team to repeat as League champions.

Taylor's seasons in the I.H.L. were only the beginning of a long and successful playing career. In 1908 he joined Ottawa, where, in 1909, along with Houghton teammate Bruce Stuart, he would help the team win the Stanley Cup. In 1910, he signed with the famed Renfrew "Millionaires", before travelling west to play in the newly-formed P.C.H.A.<sup>440</sup> While in Vancouver, Taylor participated on his second Stanley Cup-winning team in 1915, and led the P.C.H.A. in goal scoring twice before retiring in 1923.<sup>441</sup>

---

<sup>436</sup>Ibid., 31.

<sup>437</sup>Sault Star, Nov 2/05, n. pag.

<sup>438</sup>Mining Gazette, Feb 2/06, n. pag.

<sup>439</sup>Whitehead, 39.

<sup>440</sup>Coleman, 662.

<sup>441</sup>Ibid.



Although he was an accomplished goal-scorer, it was Taylor's playing style that brought him his fame. His reputation for speed and daring on the ice, while with Ottawa, gave him the nickname "Cyclone", which stayed with him throughout an outstanding playing career.<sup>442</sup> An entertaining account of Taylor's life is found in Eric Whitehead's book Cyclone Taylor - A Hockey Legend.<sup>443</sup>

William "Lady Bill" (Billy) Taylor. Taylor was another little-known athlete whose exploits in the International Hockey League deserve recognition. One of the fastest<sup>444</sup> and most talented players to play in the League, he finished fourth in goal scoring in 1904-05 and led the League in that category for the 1906-07 season, with forty-three goals in twenty-four matches. Following his three seasons in the I.H.L., Taylor was second in career scoring with ninety-two goals, behind Lorne Campbell, despite the fact that Taylor had played in fifteen fewer games. Former I.H.L. player Charles McClurg once stated that Taylor "was the greatest stickhandler in that galaxy of stars".<sup>445</sup>

After starting his career in the I.H.L. with the Canadian Soo, Taylor played a portion of the 1905-06 season with the Michigan Soo, following the Canadian Soo's decision to stop hockey operations. However, when the Canadian Soo re-entered the League in 1906-07, Taylor returned to play for the I.H.L.'s Ontario team.

After the 1906-07 season, Taylor signed with Brantford of the O.P.H.L., where he scored twenty-seven goals in only twelve games. The following season he played for both the St. Kitts and Berlin clubs of the O.P.H.L.<sup>446</sup> Despite the fact that Taylor's career has only

---

<sup>442</sup>Coleman, 661.

<sup>443</sup>Whitehead.

<sup>444</sup>Mining Gazette, Jan 3/05, n. pag.

<sup>445</sup>MacDougall, "McClurg was Versatile", in The Hockey Book, edited by Bill Roche (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1953), 19-20.

<sup>446</sup>Coleman, 756.

been documented through the discussed seasons, his talent should earn him consideration for a position in the Hockey Hall of Fame.

Jack Ward. Ward was a highly-skilled player who began his hockey career in the Canadian Soo. His early playing experiences included exhibition games against the Portage Lakes Hockey Club, several years before the formation of the I.H.L.<sup>447</sup> When the Algonquin Hockey Club was formed during the 1903-04 season, Ward, a left winger, was named team captain.<sup>448</sup>

Despite obvious success as an amateur in the Canadian Soo, when that town entered an I.H.L. team, it was not known whether Ward could compete against the other players. Several newspapers, including the Copper Country Evening News, reported that Ward was too small, in both height and weight, to play in the professional League.<sup>449</sup> The Houghton Daily Mining Gazette recognized Ward's talent, but only considered him a substitute player; "Ward's handicap is his lack of weight. Otherwise he is as fast and clever a player as in the league, while even at that many are of the belief that he is capable of doing as good work as any."<sup>450</sup>

Ward joined the team as a regular player shortly after the season had begun, and, despite his diminutive stature, scored eleven times in twenty-two matches. He returned to the team in 1905-06, but following the team's demise, decided not to play for the Canadian Soo in 1906-07. Instead, Ward signed with the rival Michigan Soo club, where he finished third in League goal scoring with thirty-four in twenty-three games.

---

<sup>447</sup>Mining Gazette, Jan 5/05, n. pag.

<sup>448</sup>Ibid., Jan 2/04.

<sup>449</sup>Copper Country, Oct 30/05, n. pag.

<sup>450</sup>Mining Gazette, Nov 4/05, n. pag.

Ward's small stature did not, as predicted, stop him from enjoying a successful career as a professional in the I.H.L. He scored a goal in almost every game he played, and was thought to be "perhaps the most popular player that ever wore a Soo uniform", prior to the commencement of I.H.L. play.<sup>451</sup>

Jack Winchester. The final player to be recognized in this chapter is Jack Winchester, goalkeeper for the Pittsburgh team. He joined the club during the 1904-05 season, as a replacement for goalkeeper McKay, and played to the conclusion of 1906-07. He tied for the League lead in shutouts in both 1904-05 and 1905-06, and allowed the lowest average of goals-per-game during the 1906-07 season. For his efforts, Winchester was named an all-star in 1904-05 and 1906-07, and finished his I.H.L career as the League's leader in shutouts through three seasons. Following the demise of the League, Winchester was able to play three more seasons of hockey in Canada. In 1908, he signed with Winnipeg, before completing his career in 1910, with both an independent Edmonton team and the Shamrocks of the N.H.A.<sup>452</sup>

---

<sup>451</sup>Mining Gazette, Dec 19/04, n. pag.

<sup>452</sup>Coleman, 774.

## CHAPTER IV

### AN ANALYSIS OF THE INTERNATIONAL HOCKEY LEAGUE

The International Hockey League operated for only three years, beginning with the 1904-05 season. There is little evidence in the literature to suggest that sufficient reasons have been determined for the League's demise in 1907. This chapter will analyze the relationships between the I.H.L. and its communities, spectators, players, and administrators. In addition, this study has determined a number of reasons that can be attributed to the success or failure of the League, in terms of its popularity, financial stability, managerial competence, and other activities that had an impact on League operations.

#### Impact on Host Towns

With the exception of Pittsburgh, a city with a large population base, the I.H.L. towns were smaller, industry-oriented communities. Sport was a welcome diversion from the work day, whether in a spectator or participative capacity, particularly in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, where many of that region's inhabitants worked for the large mining companies.

Houghton, shortly after the beginning of the twentieth century, "was a bustling, wide-open town known as a great Saturday night fun place for miners who prefer to patronize something other than art museums or the opera house."<sup>1</sup> As these townspeople attempted to find alternate means of entertainment, an increased awareness of hockey had begun, with the formation of the Portage Lakes Hockey Club. Interest in the sport quickly

---

<sup>1</sup>Whitehead, 40.

grew in the Houghton region, and, as "Doc" Gibson explained, hockey had many qualities that endeared itself to the locals:

It has much to commend it to public favor, with its requirements of swiftness, grace, dash, and adroitness . . . . Every facility is kept alert and the demands on the brain as well as on the nerves and sinews, are constant. Strategy and daring, ingenuity and nimbleness are requisites for success.

The zest of it, the snap of it, the rapid changes, the ever varying scenes and incidents, the clash of honorable rivalry, the breathless rushes, the sudden turns and curves, the friendly battles of young men, trained and disciplined, all in earnest, all full of the best impulses, the flashing, fascinating contests of hockey are certain to bring together large multitudes of gratified enthusiasts and zealously applauding spectators each season.<sup>2</sup>

Following the formation of the I.H.L., communities were now able to watch the sport, and perhaps indulge in the spectacle so colorfully described by Gibson. Through the three years of I.H.L. operations, the League did have an effect on those inhabitants whose towns were able to host professional hockey, and, in addition to providing entertainment to the locals, affected business and social behavior in the respective communities.

### Spectators

As in most other areas of the United States, spectator sport had emerged as a principal source of entertainment for residents of the I.H.L. towns. Thus, sport became a prominent component of community life:

The American citizen with time on his hands and money to spend is also free to choose what he shall do with both. The answer as to why he has singled out sports for the attention he has may be an unconscious tribute to the part such activities play in the successful functioning of the culture.<sup>3</sup>

Therefore, in the small I.H.L. towns with little other diversions, hockey became a means through which the locals could integrate their various social and ethnic backgrounds.

Gunther Luschen noticed this occurrence, and explained that:

---

<sup>2</sup>Mining Gazette, Dec 17/02, n. pag.

<sup>3</sup>Cozens and Stumpf, "Spectator Sports", 284.

It is obvious in spectator sports where the whole community identifies with its representatives in a contest. Thus, sport functions as a means of integration, not only for the participants, but also for the represented members of such a system.<sup>4</sup>

This would be particularly important in the Copper Country towns, where many different ethnic peoples worked together in the mines. In 1903, in addition to the Copper Country Evening News, the township of Calumet alone circulated eight different foreign-language newspapers, with five published in Finnish.<sup>5</sup>

With townspeople uniting to support local teams, the I.H.L. enjoyed significant spectator support, despite its low population bases, and the relative unfamiliarity of the sport in some of the towns. In Calumet, where organized hockey was in its infancy, the local newspaper reported that the game was popular because its rules were simple to follow, and the game was much more exciting to watch than the traditional games of football and baseball.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, many in Calumet attended games, even though their comprehension of the sport was rudimentary.<sup>7</sup>

Despite the varied knowledge of the game, crowds usually filled the different rinks to capacity for I.H.L. matches. The Pittsburgh team, and its fans, were nicknamed "Coal Heavers" by the other spectators,<sup>8</sup> and, similarly, those in the Soo were nicknamed "Lock City Men", and in the Copper Country called "Miners".<sup>9</sup> Hockey enthusiasts in the different communities also met to organize cheers, and devise other ways of supporting their respective teams.

---

<sup>4</sup>Luschen, "Interdependence", 292.

<sup>5</sup>Turner, 21.

<sup>6</sup>Copper Country, Dec 2/04, n. pag.

<sup>7</sup>See Appendix P for an interesting account of a hockey game at the Palestra, written by a Calumet farmer, Si Plunkins.

<sup>8</sup>Mining Gazette, Dec 8/05, n. pag.

<sup>9</sup>Soo Evening News, Dec 24/04, n. pag.

Inevitably, gambling became a common element in I.H.L. games, as civic pride and alleged hockey knowledge became the subject of disputes among spectators. Gruneau and Whitson considered gambling to be an important part of the spectator experience:

Any sporting competition that ended with a clear-cut winner or loser. . . provided opportunities for spectators to participate vicariously in the drama of competitive struggle. People could invest their emotions in the contest to a point where they could worry about the threat of loss and anticipate the joys of victory. . . . A financial wager on the outcome elevated the risk and the excitement to an even higher level.<sup>10</sup>

Thus, the outcome of many I.H.L. games affected the spectators in more ways than simple civic pride. During one game between Calumet and the Portage Lakes Hockey Club, a man wagered two thousand dollars on a Houghton victory. The Copper Country Evening News estimated that for that game alone, total wagers exceeded ten thousand dollars.<sup>11</sup> The gambling that occurred at I.H.L. rinks was looked upon disapprovingly by League officials. While the League would be happy to have the games providing entertainment for the spectators, the outcomes of games weighed too heavily on fans who gambled on them. James R. Dee tried to discourage the gambling, as he explained that "losers of bets are usually the ones who find the most fault with the referees and umpires and create more or less general bad feeling instead of friendly rivalry."<sup>12</sup>

The spectators would also provide additional unwanted behavior, throughout the years of I.H.L. operations. As discussed in Chapter 3, fans in Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, often entered the rink illegally to watch games, and some vandalized the arena facility. However, despite the presence of a few unwanted incidents, spectator support in the I.H.L. towns should not be considered unruly, or significantly different from fans who watched similar games in Canada.

---

<sup>10</sup>Gruneau and Whitson, 56.

<sup>11</sup>Copper Country, Jan 23/05, n. pag.

<sup>12</sup>Mining Gazette, Jan 19/05, n. pag.

This is evidenced in Fred Taylor's recollections of his playing days in the I.H.L., as he fondly remembered the spectators who filled the rinks:

The wind would howl and the temperature would get way down below zero, but out they'd come in the bitter cold, packing those draughty arenas, and loving every minute of it . . . dressed in furs and mufflers, and [sitting] huddled under blankets.<sup>13</sup>

In addition to the allegiance that the fans expressed for the I.H.L. clubs, Taylor also believed that the townspeople were supportive of the Canadian players, who often had to travel great distances to the I.H.L. towns. Taylor recalled how "the people opened up their homes to us, and a player could walk into a tavern and walk out again a couple of hours later without it having cost him a nickel."<sup>14</sup> Thus, the I.H.L. players were celebrated in the small I.H.L. communities, both on and off the ice.

#### Business and Commerce

While having an obvious affect on spectators of games, the I.H.L. also had an impact on business and commerce practices in the five League cities. Just as the owners of the teams had recognized the potential to earn a profit from hockey operations, so did the entrepreneurs who saw the opportunity to gain through affiliation with the League.

Gruneau and Whitson explained the means through which businesses could profit from enterprises like the I.H.L.:

Hotel, theatre, and newspaper owners quickly came to realize the financial and public relations value of telegraphed accounts and made facilities of varying types available for fans to gather and 'hear' the game. The popular press then routinely began to publish game reports, often including a transcript of the telegrapher's complete account.<sup>15</sup>

All of the town newspapers would assign correspondents to games, and would provide play-by-play (and sometimes blow-by-blow) accounts of the I.H.L. matches. In addition,

---

<sup>13</sup>Whitehead, 21.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., 52.

<sup>15</sup>Gruneau and Whitson, 84.



local establishments would also provide more immediate information on games played abroad, so locals could gather to find the results of matches, and, of course, spend their money at the particular establishment.<sup>16</sup>

Hotel businesses were also profiting from tourism generated by League operations, as spectators travelled to rival towns to watch their teams play. During a series between Houghton and Calumet, many Calumet fans attempted to make the thirty-mile journey to Houghton to watch a game. However, both the Douglass House and the Hotel Dee had no vacancies left, as they had been already booked many days in advance of the game. "Late comers had the prospect of sleeping in the street, unless [they were] strangers, they were taken in by somebody."<sup>17</sup>

Of all local businesses to benefit from I.H.L. games, railway companies felt the biggest impact from League operations. In addition to teams travelling to other towns, special trains were often arranged for the spectators to watch games. For example, the Copper Range Railroad provided transportation for fans in Calumet and surrounding towns to travel to Houghton to see games, and would return immediately following the match.<sup>18</sup> The railway would charge a fee of fifty cents for this trip, and would travel the reverse route when the Portage Lakes Hockey Club visited the Calumet team, carrying up to eighteen cars of hockey enthusiasts.<sup>19</sup>

However, the enterprising rail companies would not limit special trains for towns that were as close as Houghton-Calumet, and the two Soos. When the Portage Lakes Hockey Club prepared to travel to the Michigan Soo in February of 1904, an agent for the Duluth, South Shore and Atlantic railway arranged for a round-trip ticket, for a fee of six

---

<sup>16</sup>An example of this occurred when Dunn Bros. in Houghton installed telephones to receive updates from games played at the Amphidrome, and returns on games played abroad.

<sup>17</sup>Mining Gazette, Jan 22/05, n. pag.

<sup>18</sup>Copper Country, Dec 12/04

<sup>19</sup>Mining Gazette, Jan 10/05, n. pag.

dollars, that would allow fans to watch the games in the Michigan Soo.<sup>20</sup> By the time the I.H.L. had formed, team owners were aware of the profits that could be made by having fans follow teams abroad, and made similar arrangements for travel to games. In December of 1904, the Michigan Soo club management negotiated a club rate of \$6.50 for fans to travel to Calumet to watch a game, and arranged for fans to purchase tickets directly from the Michigan Soo team.<sup>21</sup>

Because railways serviced spectators travelling between League towns, fans from other cities were also able to watch I.H.L. games. Special trains were sent to cities as far away as Milwaukee, to allow spectators to enjoy professional hockey games.<sup>22</sup> Meanwhile, other more proximate towns, such as Marquette, Michigan, were also serviced by the major railway lines.<sup>23</sup>

#### Participation in Ice Hockey

In most instances, particularly the Copper Country teams, the advent of professional hockey heightened participation, at various levels, in the sport. Many teams were organized at a scholastic level in both Houghton and Calumet, and continued beyond the years of I.H.L. play. In both the Soos, and in Pittsburgh, amateur teams had already been established prior to the formation of the I.H.L., and so it is difficult to ascertain the effects of the League on local hockey interest. However, concrete evidence exists for Houghton and Calumet, since, with the construction of both the Amphidrome and the Palestra for professional play, other teams were able to use new facilities to organize teams and leagues in Houghton County. Local newspapers there noticed the increased interest in the sport, and noted that "hockey enthusiasts in northern Michigan believe that in a few years this

---

<sup>20</sup>Mining Gazette, Feb 12/04, n. pag

<sup>21</sup>Soo Evening News, Dec 27/04, n. pag.

<sup>22</sup>Mining Gazette, Dec 27/04, n. pag.

<sup>23</sup>Mining Gazette, Jan 18/05, n. pag.

Canadian game will come to be looked upon with as great favor, this side of the border as baseball."<sup>24</sup> Less than two years after this claim, the Houghton Daily Mining Gazette reported that college teams, including the University of Michigan, had organized clubs, with most of the rosters consisting of former high school players from the Copper Country.<sup>25</sup>

When the I.H.L. ceased operations in the fall of 1907, some newspapers viewed the absence of professionals as an opportunity for amateurs to become more prominent in local hockey:

The amateur players will now come to the front and some exciting games will be seen. There is an abundance of amateur players and all that is needed is an opportunity for the men to show their abilities. It is expected that many of them will be capable of entering professional hockey by next season as a result of the opportunities afforded them this season. . . .<sup>26</sup>

While professional hockey did not return to the Upper Peninsula of Michigan following the decision by I.H.L. managers to disband, hockey continued to be a popular winter sport in the Copper Country towns.

#### League Competition

The I.H.L. featured intense competition on several different levels. Just as players and teams battled on the ice to determine supremacy, so did the managers of the clubs, in order to gain financial or competitive success or advantage. The sometimes abherrant behavior of the team mangers should not be considered uncommon, according to William Sadler:

Americans often are less concerned about what they actually experience than about the recognition they receive for having certain kinds of experiences. The American way of life has developed a style of competitive consumption to 'keep up with the Joneses' and perhaps to outshine them.<sup>27</sup>

---

<sup>24</sup>Copper Country, Dec 2/04, n. pag.

<sup>25</sup>Mining Gazette, Feb 24/06

<sup>26</sup>Mining Gazette, Nov 8/07, n. pag.

<sup>27</sup>William A.Sadler, jr., "Competition out of Bounds: Sport and American Life", in Sport in the Sociocultural Process, edited by Marie Hart, (Dubuque: Wm. C. Brown, Co. Pub., 1978), 168.

Thus, the rivalries between clubs, the desire to beat other teams, and, therefore, their towns, led management to partake in unfair practices. Unfortunately, certain conditions existed that made operations more difficult for some teams, giving an advantage to teams even before unscrupulous managers further tried to help their teams win.

### The Advantages of Pittsburgh

While most of the towns employed similar facilities, and could provide equal amenities to players, Pittsburgh was different from the other four I.H.L. towns. The city featured one of only two artificial ice arenas in North America at that time, the other located in New York City.<sup>28</sup> This superior facility, the Duquesne Gardens, gave the Pittsburgh club what was considered an unfair advantage over the opposing teams.

Because of its artificial ice surface, Pittsburgh hockey teams could play year-round, and local teams were able to prepare for the season long before ice was available for opponents to practice. As discussed in Chapter 3, this advantage was believed to have contributed to the Michigan Soo's failure to win the I.H.L. championship in 1905-06.<sup>29</sup> Despite complaints of the ice surface's "stickiness", players agreed that the extra preparation time afforded by the artificial ice aided the Pittsburgh team in their home games.

Another advantage that the Pittsburgh club held was related to the established length of games. While other I.H.L. matches consisted of two thirty-minute halves, most games played at the Duquesne Gardens had halves of twenty minutes. The reasons for this practice was not explained; however, a Pittsburgh club could train to play a more fast-paced style of game, and take advantage of teams used to playing longer matches. Conversely, this difference could also be a detriment when a Pittsburgh team traveled away for games;

---

<sup>28</sup>Whitehead, 46.

<sup>29</sup>Jack Laviolette blamed a lack of preparation time in the Michigan Soo to two losses against a set Pittsburgh squad at the Duquesne Gardens; Soo Evening News, Mar 13/06, n. pag.

when the Pittsburgh Bankers visited Houghton in February of 1904, team manager Stoebener claimed that his club could not play intensely for a full hour of play.<sup>30</sup>

The final advantage that Pittsburgh held over the other four teams was the size of the city, when compared to the smaller communities hosting I.H.L. games. The Duquesne Gardens held over four thousand spectators, and there was more than enough hockey fans to fill the arena nightly for exciting games. In contrast, the population of Houghton itself was only three thousand. In addition to population base, Pittsburgh provided more social amenities for players signing with I.H.L. clubs; in the fall of 1905, the Houghton Daily Mining Gazette reported that "Pittsburgh is getting the cream or almost the cream of all the players. This might be owing to the fact of Pittsburgh offering so many attractions for players that cannot be found in the other small cities of the league."<sup>31</sup>

#### Managerial Rivalries

During the course of I.H.L. operations, only a handful of business magnates controlled the League teams. However, it was the inabilities of these men to function together that may have had a significant effect on the failure of the League to continue past 1907. Management problems arose on a variety of levels, but were consistently derived from the failure of managers to view League operations as a whole, and not just the individual teams that they represented.

The first and perhaps most important error that the teams' management made was the failure to regulate player contracts throughout the League. When the League was initially formed, the executive "forgot to formulate any rule which would prevent players from signing contracts with more than one club."<sup>32</sup> Thus, players would negotiate with other teams in the League, and then abandon the initial club when a higher salary was offered.

---

<sup>30</sup>Mining Gazette, Feb 6/04, n. pag.

<sup>31</sup>Mining Gazette, Nov 2/05, n. pag.

<sup>32</sup>Sault Star, Feb 14/07, 1.

This only served to drive player salaries higher, and to create animosity among managers who were accused of taking players from one another.

In the fall of 1905, prior to the first scheduled League game, the managers agreed not to bid against each other for the same players.<sup>33</sup> Unfortunately, teams were still trying to assemble the best possible rosters, and often ignored the agreement. Because of these practices, fans were often not aware of who was to play for their local club until the season had almost begun. Newspapers, anxious to obtain information about player acquisitions, would receive no information from the management. According to Calumet managers, there was a good reason for this lack of cooperation with the newspapers; "the theory is taken up that if publicity is given the fact that management is after certain players other teams will offer extra inducements to secure the players should they be a good man."<sup>34</sup> The self-serving practices of the individual managers continued, despite the potential effects upon other teams; this prompted the Pittsburgh Sun to suggest a mutual agreement be signed among managers of professional teams in both the U.S. and Canada, to not allow players to switch teams during the season.<sup>35</sup>

As different teams scrambled to sign the same players, using the tactics described above, dislike between managers inevitably emerged. When Calumet arrived to play Houghton in January of 1905, Calumet fans, who had travelled with the team to watch the game at the Amphidrome, complained that the Portage Lakes management had been discriminatory in the allotment of seats for the game. The visiting fans claimed that they were not given the opportunity to buy good seats, and were forced to sit in other less desirable parts of the rink.<sup>36</sup> However, Calumet management was not devoid of

---

<sup>33</sup>Mining Gazette, Oct 26/05, n. pag.

<sup>34</sup>Copper Country, Nov 1/05, n. pag.

<sup>35</sup>Sault Star, Feb 4/07, n. pag. It is not known if such an agreement was made.

<sup>36</sup>Mining Gazette, Jan 21/05, n. pag.

unscrupulous practices, and when manager Thompson of that team announced that Pittsburgh needed to be dropped from the League, it was revealed that one of the reasons for the statement was the apparent unpopularity of Pittsburgh's management.<sup>37</sup>

The bickering between teams continued through the conclusion of League operations, culminating in the League annual meeting, in the fall of 1907, about which Manager McNamara of Houghton was not notified. Elected President Fisher apparently had an ulterior motive in hosting the meeting, without representation of the Portage Lakes Hockey Club:

It has been hinted by several of the International league members that the reason Houghton was not given a look-in of the important I.H.L. offices was because the management was a chronic trouble-maker all during the past season and tended to disrupt the affairs of the league.<sup>38</sup>

In addition to management feuds, and the selfish pursuit of players, teams also made every effort to defeat one another during games, regardless of the means. The most obvious example occurred with the movement of the Pittsburgh player, Lorne Campbell, who signed with the Portage Lakes in 1904-05, when that team was trying to win the League pennant. In 1905-06, Campbell signed with Calumet in an effort to defeat the Portage Lakes Hockey Club, even though Calumet had no hope of winning the pennant, and many conceded that the other clubs would settle for a League championship won by any team other than the one from Houghton. The Copper Country Evening News reported that; "it would appear from this that all of the teams are against Portage Lake as they seem to be doing all they can to help the Soos win out."<sup>39</sup>

---

<sup>37</sup>Sault Star, Mar 9/05, n. pag.

<sup>38</sup>Sault Star, Oct 17/07, n. pag.

<sup>39</sup>Copper Country, Feb 15/06, n. pag.

### Team Rivalries and Competition

While the managers of the teams feuded, the teams developed keen rivalries with one another. Interest in the games peaked when nearby clubs competed, and when the outcome of the game was in question. However, some incidents led to speculation that not all games were played with the same intensity, due to the motives of the managers.

The close proximity of the two Soos and the short distance between Calumet and Houghton generated increased interest when these clubs played one another. From the onset of League operations, the natural rivalries between these clubs were recognized.<sup>40</sup> When Pittsburgh played in the Michigan Soo on December 23, 1904, the local newspaper noted that the Michigan Soo crowd was not as excited as it had been during matches against the rival Canadian Soo club.<sup>41</sup>

In the Copper Country, competition between the two I.H.L. teams there peaked early in 1905. On January 21, the Portage Lakes would be hosting Calumet, at the Amphidrome. The rivalry between the two mining towns further incited the local newspapers to write about the importance of the game. The Daily Mining Gazette called the game "the most important hockey match that was ever played in the United States."<sup>42</sup> The newspaper elaborated on the reasons for such bold claims, stating that "the game tonight is most important because on it hinges a national championship which can be conferred by a regularly organized league, the controlling body of professional ice hockey in the United States."<sup>43</sup>

Calumet had only lost once to that point of the season, and had beaten Houghton in both games in which the two teams had met. In recent games, Houghton had been playing

---

<sup>40</sup>Soo Evening News, Dec 2/04, n. pag.

<sup>41</sup>Soo Evening News, Dec 24/04, n. pag.

<sup>42</sup>Mining Gazette, Jan 21/05, n. pag.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid.



well, and, with the aid of having played several more League games, had almost the same number of victories as Calumet.

The game would be a guaranteed sellout; there would also be a large number of Calumet fans who would try to make the thirty-mile jaunt to Houghton to watch the match. "The reserve seats for the match were so in demand that all were taken up within half an hour after being placed on sale and the spectators are now getting as high as \$5 and \$6 for the good ones."<sup>44</sup>

Portage Lakes Hockey Club manager McNamara had other problems with the Amphidrome; he decided to impose a no-smoking regulation for the match, because the danger of a fire was greatly increased by the anticipated overcrowding of the arena. McNamara also stated that the arena would "have a large force of ushers and reserved seat ticket holders [would] find at the main entrance, two head ushers and a head usher at the head of each seat avenue, with another usher to every seat section."<sup>45</sup>

With all seats taken, and necessary precautions completed at the arena, the town of Houghton eagerly anticipated the start of the game:

By supper time people were looking at their watches and figuring out how long it would be before the game commenced. There was nothing else but hockey, in stores, hotels, saloons, the air, the past, present, and future.<sup>46</sup>

The game itself was as exciting as those in the Copper Country had anticipated. Houghton won the closely-contested match by a score of 2-1, edging closer to the league-leading Calumet team. The Portage Lakes now needed to win the return match at Calumet, on January 25.

The demand for seats to witness the second game of the two-game series matched the previous one; within forty-five minutes, all tickets to the Palestra were sold out at all but

---

<sup>44</sup>ibid.

<sup>45</sup>ibid., Jan 21/05, n. pag.

<sup>46</sup>ibid., Jan 22/05, n. pag.

one outlet in the Calumet township.<sup>47</sup> The Palestra, which had a larger capacity than the Amphidrome, would be filled with supporters for both teams. An estimated four thousand spectators witnessed the Calumet team humiliate Houghton by a score of 12-2, and take a commanding lead in the race for the I.H.L. pennant.<sup>48</sup>

Unfortunately, games that resulted in such one-sided scores were not popular, and attendance was low for games where one team was considered a strong favorite. For this reason, rumors arose throughout the 1904-05 season that some teams purposely lost games, in order to guarantee large crowds for the following matches. Before a game in December of 1904, the Houghton Daily Mining Gazette insinuated that the Portage Lakes would deliberately lose in Calumet in such a manner, to guarantee a large crowd at the Amphidrome the following night. In response to this report, Bruce Stuart replied that "you can say that the Portage Lakes don't do business that way, that if the Calumets defeat us tomorrow it will be because they are a better team."<sup>49</sup> Similarly, Calumet was alleged to have lost the second of a three-game series in Pittsburgh, in January of 1905, in order to swell gate receipts for the final game. Calumet players denied the charge, blaming the loss on injuries to several team players.<sup>50</sup>

#### Exhibition Games

It should be noted that, despite the apparent lack of cooperation among the League teams, the I.H.L.'s operators made many efforts to improve the League's financial stability, image, and playing conditions. The organization of exhibition matches was one means by which the I.H.L. attempted to do so, and could be seen as the League arranged games in Canada and the United States, providing both inter- and intra-league competition. To give

---

<sup>47</sup>Copper Country, Jan 23/05, n. pag.

<sup>48</sup>Mining Gazette, Jan 26/05, n. pag

<sup>49</sup>Mining Gazette, Dec 16/04, n. pag.

<sup>50</sup>Mining Gazette, Jan 11/05, n. pag.

further exposure to the League and its players, other exhibitions were staged during the three I.H.L. seasons, in order to increase awareness of the League and its players.

Other exhibitions were arranged, as well; several times during I.H.L. games, skating races were held to increase the popularity of both hockey and skating. One such race was held at the Palestra in early 1906, including several Calumet players, with the winner receiving a fifty-dollar cash prize.<sup>51</sup> Managers had earlier considered hosting a fastest-skater competition, featuring the best I.H.L. players on all teams. It is not known whether the race was held or not; however, Portage Lakes players felt that "Hod" Stuart would win the race easily.<sup>52</sup> Exhibitions were held that did not feature I.H.L. players; during the League's inaugural season, skater James W. Troyer of the Michigan Soo had given an exhibition of backward skating over a half-mile distance at the Ridge Street arena, between periods of a Pittsburgh-Michigan Soo game.<sup>53</sup>

#### Canadian Exhibition Games

Exhibition games were frequently held throughout the three years of I.H.L. operations, most of them against Canadian teams. The I.H.L. schedule was often organized, and, in some cases altered,<sup>54</sup> to allow any of the five teams to arrange games with non-I.H.L. clubs.

It was often difficult for games to be arranged with Canadian clubs, since, through the first year of I.H.L. play, several associations in Canada continued to forbid teams to compete against the American professionals. However, by the fall of 1905, the Daily Mining Gazette announced that plans were made for exhibitions that coming season, as several

---

<sup>51</sup>Mining Gazette, Feb 1/06, n. pag.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., Jan 19/05, n. pag.

<sup>53</sup>Soo Evening News, Mar 6/05, n. pag.

<sup>54</sup>Copper Country, Feb 17/06, n. pag. Following the demise of the Canadian Soo team in 1906, the schedule was changed to allow more games against Canadian professional teams.

teams were apparently to be allowed to play against I.H.L. clubs.<sup>55</sup> According to the Sault Star, a group of "O.H.A. Outlaws", who had not signed with I.H.L. teams, had formed a club of their own, and wished to arrange matches with the Canadian Soo team.<sup>56</sup>

In 1906-07, perhaps feeling that the Canadian Soo team was the weakest of the I.H.L. teams, a team from Barrie, Ontario, arranged to host games against the Soo club in December of 1906. The Barrie team provided little competition, as the Canadian Soo team won easily, 12-4, posting its first victory away from home in that team's history.<sup>57</sup>

Later in the 1906-07 season, representatives from Cobalt, Ontario, contacted both Soo teams, interested in arranging exhibitions games. The organizers, rich from silver mining ventures in the Cobalt region, would spare no expense to have quality hockey games played there. The Canadian Soo was to play three matches, and wear Cobalt uniforms. The team was guaranteed a substantial amount of money, with other bonuses should attendance exceed a certain pre-determined number.<sup>58</sup> On February 20, the Canadian Soo defeated a team comprised of professional players from Toronto, held in New Liskeard, in the Cobalt area.<sup>59</sup> Two weeks later, the Michigan Soo club defeated a team of Toronto and Ottawa players, a game also played in Cobalt.<sup>60</sup>

In Pittsburgh, exhibition games had been organized with Canadian teams during the 1905-06 season. Playing a team from Toronto in February, 1906, the Pittsburgh club easily won by a score of 24-4. Garnet Sixsmith of Pittsburgh scored eleven times against the hapless Toronto team.<sup>61</sup> Earlier in that month, Pittsburgh had stopped over in Niagara Falls,

---

<sup>55</sup>Mining Gazette, Oct 26/05, n. pag.

<sup>56</sup>Sault Star, Dec 28/05, n. pag.

<sup>57</sup>Soo Evening News, Dec 26/06, n. pag.

<sup>58</sup>Soo Evening News, Feb 18/-7, n. pag.

<sup>59</sup>*ibid.*, Feb 21/07, n. pag.

<sup>60</sup>*ibid.*, Mar 5/07, n. pag.

<sup>61</sup>Pittsburgh Gazette, Feb 11/06, n. pag.

New York, returning from I.H.L. games in Michigan, and had played the Ontario Power Company team, winning 7-6 in front of twelve hundred spectators.<sup>62</sup>

The Copper Country teams also engaged in various exhibition games, the most important being a trip to Manitoba, late into the 1905-06 season. Both Calumet and Houghton were to play against each other; the Daily Mining Gazette reported that "this trip [was] being used as a means of educating the Canadians to an appreciation of professional hockey."<sup>63</sup> Matches were arranged for Winnipeg's Auditorium rink, and attempts were made to play the Rat Portage team there.<sup>64</sup> However, the C.A.A.U. refused to allow Rat Portage or the Kenora Thistles to play the Portage Lakes;<sup>65</sup> therefore, the two games were to involve only Calumet and Houghton, who were hoping to "introduce professional hockey in Canada."<sup>66</sup>

Despite the efforts of the teams to make Manitoba hockey fans aware of the nuances of professional hockey, by the following season the games were thought to be a decided failure. According to one source:

One thing that gave professional hockey a set back here was the visit last winter to Winnipeg of the Calumet and Houghton teams for exhibition games. The copper country players put up very punk exhibitions of the game. There was nothing in the nature of the contest to their play. They worked like a team practice. . . the people who saw the first game were disgusted and the attendance at the second was about thirty.<sup>67</sup>

---

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., Feb 5/06, n. pag.

<sup>63</sup>Mining Gazette, Mar 14/06, n. pag.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., Mar 16/06, n. pag.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., Mar 18/06, n. pag.

<sup>66</sup>Copper Country, Mar 14/06, n. pag.

<sup>67</sup>Mining Gazette, Mar 12/07, n. pag.

Unfortunately for the League, this direct attempt to improve the reputation of professional hockey may have in fact made opinions of the I.H.L. worse, following the completion of the series.

Exhibition games were also scheduled in I.H.L. towns against other local clubs. The matches served three purposes: to allow the I.H.L. teams some practice, usually shortly before the beginning of the I.H.L. season; to give other teams and leagues exposure, thereby increasing the popularity of the sport; and to possibly generate some additional revenue for the clubs, as was the case with all exhibition games. An example of a game against a local team occurred shortly before the 1904-05 season, between Calumet, and a local team, the Crescent Hockey Club.<sup>68</sup>

#### Stanley Cup Challenges

While no team from the I.H.L. was able to arrange matches for the Stanley Cup, efforts were made during the final years of League operations to challenge the current Cup holders in Canada. In February, 1906, plans were made by I.H.L. members to form an I.H.L. all-star team, and challenge the winner of the Stanley Cup, at the conclusion of the season.<sup>69</sup> This notion was not followed through by the I.H.L., but ideas of Stanley Cup play again emerged as the 1905-06 season came to a close. The Portage Lakes and the Michigan Soo were in a close race to win the League championship, and it was anticipated that the two teams would finish the season tied. It was then suggested that a play-off be held to determine the best team in professional hockey, and that the winner of the two teams meet the Dominion's top team, to determine the hockey championship of the world.<sup>70</sup> However, for reasons that will be discussed in Chapter 5, no team would play the eventual I.H.L. champions, the Portage Lakes Hockey Club.

---

<sup>68</sup>Copper Country, Dec 14/04, n. pag.

<sup>69</sup>Mining Gazette, Feb 20/06, n. pag.

<sup>70</sup>Ibid., Mar 8/06, n. pag.

As the 1906-07 season concluded, reports began to appear again in local newspapers, suggesting that the I.H.L. champion challenge for the Stanley Cup. Fortunately for the Canadian teams, they did not need to find an excuse for not competing against the Portage Lakes, as P.D. Ross, trustee for the Stanley Cup, announced in February of 1907 that the Stanley Cup could be competed for by Canadian teams only. Following the announcement, the Daily Mining Gazette reported that "there is a possibility of the Canadian Soo sending in a challenge for the famous piece of silverware."<sup>71</sup> It is unfortunate that teams of the I.H.L. were unable to compete for the Stanley Cup, as comparisons between the American professional teams, and the best alleged amateur teams in Canada are made more difficult when considering that the teams were never able to compete directly against one another.

However, the information gathered for the purpose of this study would indicate that the I.H.L. teams would probably defeat the Canadian amateur teams, as many of the top players had come to the I.H.L. to play professionally. This was also evidenced by the impact made by former I.H.L. players, such as "Hod" Stuart and "Riley" Hern, upon their return to Canada to play.

#### Referees

The most consistent, and perhaps most damaging problem that the I.H.L. encountered was with the refereeing of League games. Almost from the commencement of operations, complaints about the level of officiating began, and for the remainder of the League's existence, attempts were made by the Executive to remedy this problem. While many of the problems were attributed to the incompetence of the men assigned to referee, the inability of League management to produce a solution for the problem was equally important.

---

<sup>71</sup>Mining Gazette, Feb 16/07, n. pag.

It should be noted that in hockey, during this time period, disputes regarding the refereeing of matches were frequent in most leagues, at all levels of play. Mott attributed this to the granting of an unspecified, and usually insufficient degree of authority to game officials.<sup>72</sup> Mott further explains that excessive arguing and quarrelling during matches was commonplace in games played at the time of the I.H.L.'s operations.<sup>73</sup> Despite the apparent lack of authority given to referees, many, including "Hod" Stuart, realized the importance of having competent officials during games:

No matter how fast the teams, the exhibition given depends almost entirely on the referee. If he is capable and maintains perfect control of the players so that all the men on the ice have perfect confidence in him they will play their best game and fast, clean, scientific hockey will result, but if all or any of the players feel that he does not know his business, or is likely to be unfair, it is difficult to tell what kind of exhibition the people who have paid their money will be called upon to witness.<sup>74</sup>

Unfortunately for the spectators of I.H.L. games, the latter type of game described by Stuart was common during League matches.

#### Administrative Problems

In December of 1904, as the opening of the I.H.L.'s inaugural season approached, anticipation in the I.H.L. towns was great for the high-calibre of play that the talented players signed by team managers could offer. However, the same care and determination in obtaining the services of the best hockey players was not repeated when referees were selected to work I.H.L. games.

The 1904-05 I.H.L. season featured twenty different referees, who officiated in sixty League games that year. Because there were five teams, there was only a maximum of two games that could be possibly played at once; the League could therefore have relied on the services of only two or three referees. While many of the complaints about the level of

---

<sup>72</sup>Mott, 6.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid.

<sup>74</sup>Soo Evening News, Dec 26/06, n. pag.



officiating were justified, management did not find suitable replacements for those officials deemed incompetent; otherwise, not as many would have been used during the season. An even greater example of managerial incompetence is evidenced when it is revealed that half of those referees who worked in 1904-05 League games also played on I.H.L. teams that season.

An example of the incompetent efforts of the League executive occurred with the designation of William "Cooney" Shields as an official League referee. Shields had been serving as a substitute player with Houghton, owing to his lack of physical conditioning. He was released by Houghton, and was appointed as referee shortly thereafter, and assigned to referee all I.H.L. games held outside of Pittsburgh.<sup>75</sup> However, only three days later, Shields was offered a contract to play with Calumet, which he accepted.<sup>76</sup> It is difficult to fathom why the League would allow Shields to sign with another team, after his apparently capable refereeing skills had been acquired by the League. However, even with an affinity for good refereeing, Shields would still be capable of biased officiating, considering that he had played the two previous seasons with the Portage Lakes Hockey Club. Despite this, Shields was considered a qualified referee, further emphasizing the Executive's inability to obtain adequate referees.

The League's refereeing debacle continued through the 1904-05 season, evidenced by Michigan Soo player "Bike" Young refereeing a game between his own team and Calumet, on February 23, 1905. Such situations provided the opportunity for extensive quarrelling over the levels of officiating. In December of 1905, as preparations for the following season were occurring, the Daily Mining Gazette recognized the appalling work that the League had done in its selection of referees; "the games last season in the copper country were at times entirely unsatisfactory simply because men not capable of officiating

---

<sup>75</sup>Mining Gazette, Feb 14/05, n. pag.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid., Feb 17/05, n. pag.

here, were chosen to referee the games."<sup>77</sup> The Sault Ste. Marie Evening News then explained what was required to stop the problem:

The referee question has come to be the most serious with which the International league has to deal. If the league is to remain a solid institution it is imperative the officials will have to deal with the matter in a firm and impartial manner. It is obvious that it will never be satisfactory for an official of one club to appoint the referee for all contests.<sup>78</sup>

Perhaps in response to the reports in the town newspapers, the League acknowledged the problem following the 1904-05 season, and decide to hire two referees, for 1905-06, appointed by the Executive committee, to be stationed in towns named by the President of the I.H.L.<sup>79</sup> The League Executive then decided to try to obtain the services of some of the top referees from the different Canadian Leagues, and offered Fred Waghorne, one of the strictest referees of the O.H.A. a salary of \$125 a month, plus expenses, to come to the U.S. league.<sup>80</sup> Although Waghorne did not accept the offer, the League announced two weeks later that the popular "Chaucer" Elliott, and John P. Mooney of the Canadian Soo, had been named as official League referees.<sup>81</sup>

As the season's opening neared, "Doc" Gibson, who had retired from active play, was also named as an official I.H.L. referee. Gibson was to referee the western I.H.L. team games, and to also accompany the Copper Country teams on several of their road trips.<sup>82</sup> With the appointment of Gibson, he and Elliott would now be recognized as the official League referees, and of all the I.H.L. clubs were satisfied with the appointment of the two men.<sup>83</sup> One day after the Daily Mining Gazette made this announcement, the newspaper

---

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., Dec 3/05, n. pag.

<sup>78</sup>Soo Evening News, Mar 8/05, n. pag.

<sup>79</sup>Copper Country, Oct 25/05, n. pag.

<sup>80</sup>Sault Star, Nov 9/05, n. pag.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid., Nov 23/05, n. pag.

<sup>82</sup>Mining Gazette, Dec 5/05, n. pag.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid., Dec 8/05, n. pag.

explained that originally, Mooney and Gibson were to be the two official referees, but when Elliott had expressed a desire to work for the League, Mooney was dropped. Now, the newspaper further reported, Elliott had refused the appointment, due to the limited funds that the League was offering, and the I.H.L. would be short one referee.<sup>84</sup> However, three days later, Elliott had reportedly agreed to the terms offered by the League, and was leaving for Pittsburgh to commence his duties.<sup>85</sup>

The arrangement seemed to work throughout the season, as Elliott and Gibson refereed the majority of League games. A potential problem could have arisen when players questioned Gibson's allegiance to the Portage Lakes Hockey Club, when he refereed Houghton games, but he was a well-respected individual and no serious problems developed. Only one significant blemish occurred, when Gibson was unable to reach the Duquesne Gardens in time to referee a game between Pittsburgh and the Canadian Soo. In his place, Arthur Sixsmith, who was on the Pittsburgh roster but unable to play due to injury, refereed the match.<sup>86</sup>

Prior to the commencement of 1906-07 season, the League Executive was again concerned with the signing of regular referees. The I.H.L. had used twenty different men during its inaugural season, but had only required four during the 1905-06 season, when "Chaucer" Elliott and "Doc" Gibson had worked the majority of the games. Neither Gibson nor Elliott would be returning; Gibson was accused of being biased towards the copper country teams, and Elliott had returned to Canada and reportedly did not like "the 'bush' teams of the copper country and [was] not liked by any of the teams excepting the Americans".<sup>87</sup>

---

<sup>84</sup>Ibid., Dec 9/05, n. pag.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid., Dec 12/05, n. pag.

<sup>86</sup>Mining Gazette, Jan 12/06, n. pag.

<sup>87</sup>Mining Gazette, Mar 11/06, n. pag.

The solution to the problem of incompetent referees was simple, according to the Daily Mining Gazette, reporting that the League would hire three official referees, who would "have nothing in common with any of the league teams so there [would] be no question of their favoring one of the contesting aggregations".<sup>88</sup>

In contrast to the newspapers's prediction, the League named Walter Forrest and Roy Schooley as official referees for 1906-07.<sup>89</sup> Forrest had played the previous season in Houghton, while Schooley had been an O.H.A. referee who had worked games at the Duquesne Gardens over the past few seasons. One week later, it was announced that Tom Melville had also been named an official referee, and was assigned to games played in Calumet,<sup>90</sup> while "Cooney" Shields was named to work in the games at the two Soos, and to "promote peace and harmony."<sup>91</sup> Reflecting on the continued incompetence of the League Executive, when asked about the referee situation, at the time of the announcement, former League President Ferguson replied that; "I do not believe that it will prove satisfactory. I think that the only way is to have unprejudiced referee[ing] and capable ones from away who can not be accused of having any interest in either team."<sup>92</sup> This was in direct contrast to the recent naming of official League referees, some of whom would have a potential bias toward certain teams.

As could be predicted, problems with the refereeing arose early into the season. In order to remedy the problems, the Executive took affirmative action with regards to the naming of the game officials; "President Fisher states positively that hereafter the league

---

<sup>88</sup>Ibid.

<sup>89</sup>Copper Country, Dec 8/06, n. pag.

<sup>90</sup>Mining Gazette, Dec 16/06, n. pag.

<sup>91</sup>Ibid., Dec 20/06, n. pag.

<sup>92</sup>Soo Evening News, Dec 17/06, n. pag.

games will be refereed by Meinke, Melville, and Schooley, and that teams that do not like the officials can quit."<sup>93</sup> The petulant announcement by Fisher revealed the depth to which the refereeing problem had reached. The reputation of the League was in jeopardy, and "Hod" Stuart recognized the potential damage that the poor officiating could create:

The present system of providing referees cannot give satisfaction to the people, to the players or to the managers . . . such a condition will put a damper on the sport that the International league is in no condition to withstand at the present time.<sup>94</sup>

On the same day Fisher's statement was published in the Sault Star, "Hod" Stuart further challenged the League President's refereeing system. The Michigan Soo team was hosting Pittsburgh, with Herbert Meinke to be assigned as the referee. When Pittsburgh was notified that Meinke would be officiating, the club refused to come onto the ice from the visitor's dressing room. "The Michigan Soo team came on at the call of time, faced off, and shot a goal. The Pittsburgh bunch did not appear, thus forfeiting the game."<sup>95</sup> As discussed in the previous Chapter, the incident resulted in "Hod" Stuart, one of the League's best players, leaving Pittsburgh to play for the Montreal Wanderers.

Shortly after the Michigan Soo-Pittsburgh referee fiasco, the League Executive held a meeting in Houghton to discuss the referee problem,<sup>96</sup> further complicated when Tom Melville resigned as an official League referee, citing health reasons.<sup>97</sup> The League reacted by appointing Joe Stephens as a referee for the remainder of the season.

The lack of impartiality that had apparently been solved through the naming of "Chaucer" Elliott for the 1905-06 season had returned in 1906-07. The League used ten different referees, seven of whom were current or former I.H.L. players. The reason for the

---

<sup>93</sup>Sault Star, Dec 27/06, n. pag.

<sup>94</sup>Soo Evening News, Dec 26/06, n. pag.

<sup>95</sup>Mining Gazette, Dec 28/06, n. pag.

<sup>96</sup>Copper Country, Dec 29/06, n. pag.

<sup>97</sup>Ibid., Jan 5/07.

consistent unavailability of fair referees was explained by James R. Dee. Dee had negotiated to have Dr. Lionel King referee two I.H.L. games in 1904-05. King was a respected referee from Montreal, and was hired to referee two games between Calumet and Houghton in 1905. Dee contended that referees:

. . . do not care to give up their home jobs to come here for a temporary one for two or three months. This is the reason why we have had to rely so much upon local referees to date. We [had] to pay considerable money to get Dr. King and he will only stay for two games.<sup>98</sup>

Players were typically younger men than the referees, who were more established in their careers, and often had families to support. This would explain the lack of interest on the part of reputed referees to come to the I.H.L., whereas the players were more likely to relocate for the purpose of playing hockey. Dee also reported that "most of the referees in Canada are professional men who are engaged in business, who would not find it convenient to come here. . . ."<sup>99</sup> The exception would be "Chaucer" Elliott, who was a professional baseball player, and found it easy to travel for the short hockey season. Elliott was also relatively young for his refereeing profession; he was only twenty-six years of age while working I.H.L. games.

Following the 1904-05 season, in another effort to remedy the referee crisis, the League considered using the two-referee system that had been employed in some of the Canadian leagues. The Daily Mining Gazette considered this practice to be unnecessary:

The double referee system of refereeing has been in vogue in Canada for several years, and has worked entirely satisfactory, but the game as played in many places is considerably rougher than here, and requires two referees to see all plays.<sup>100</sup>

---

<sup>98</sup>Mining Gazette, Jan 19/05, n. pag.

<sup>99</sup>Ibid., Jan 10/05, n. pag.

<sup>100</sup>Mining Gazette, Dec 3/05, n. pag.

The newspaper further reported that the League decided to use only one referee for the 1905-06 season; they would procure a capable official, and then offer him a higher salary.<sup>101</sup>

James R. Dee revealed the actual reason why the League did not wish to use two referees; it was considered to be too expensive. The lack of desire on the part of the League Executive to pay the necessary salaries to entice competent referees from the Canadian leagues resulted in the return to haphazard officiating for the 1906-07 season, following the adequate work accomplished by Elliott and Gibson the previous year. Prior to the commencement of the 1906-07 schedule, the League had announced that its refereeing bill "ran way up"<sup>102</sup> and to reduce it, local referees would be used again.

Perhaps the League could not afford to pay capable referees, or perhaps the Executive did not realize the extent to which poor officiating could affect League operations. Regardless of the reason, the inability of referees to control the games played may have led to the violence that occurred in the ice, or the disputes that tarnished the League's reputation. The tactics of the players, created by poor officiating, had led to the departure of the competent "Chaucer" Elliott; also, the inability of Elliott's successors to adequately work games contributed to "Hod" Stuart's departure to the E.C.H.A. Both men returned to Canada with stories of the incompetence displayed by League management, which helped to damage the reputation of the I.H.L. in Canada.

#### Referee Incompetence

Team management has been blamed for the poor regard in which the League was held in other hockey circles; however, it was the actions of the referees themselves that led to the sorry opinion of I.H.L. play. While the incidents were numerous of incompetent

---

<sup>101</sup>Ibid.

<sup>102</sup>Soo Evening News, Nov 14/06, n. pag.

officiating, a few examples will be given to illustrate the variety of ways by which refereeing infuriated spectators, players, and managers alike.

As was the custom in the sport at the time, players would serve as timekeepers when they were injured or otherwise unable to play in games.<sup>103</sup> Players, or others affiliated directly with a team, would also serve as umpires, assigned to determine if a puck had entered the goal net. This conflict of interest would result in frequent arguments; however, the rules of that period dictated that the decision of the umpire was final, and the umpire could not be overruled by the referee. If a goal was disputed, the goal was not reversed; the goal umpire was instead replaced.<sup>104</sup> Because a poor decision could not be changed, players would become frustrated by certain calls. In a game on December 20, 1906, goalkeeper "Chief" Jones became so incensed at a call by an umpire that he engaged in a spirited argument that almost resulted in the two men exchanging blows.<sup>105</sup> Although incompetent refereeing was common in most leagues at this that time, the behavior of I.H.L. officials provided perhaps the poorest example of how to referee hockey games. The most telling example occurred early in the League's first season. "Baldy" Spittal of Pittsburgh explained an incident that occurred during a game against Calumet, one that was reported in the Sault Ste. Marie Evening News: "a goal was shot, but the puck went only about eight inches inside the posts and the umpire, who had the wrong idea that it was necessary to shoot it to the back of the net in order to count, did not allow it."<sup>106</sup>

---

<sup>103</sup>An example occurred when the injured "Hod" Stuart filled such a capacity in a match between Calumet and the Michigan Soo, held on January 30, 1905; Soo Evening News, Jan 31/05, n. pag.

<sup>104</sup>This occurred during a game between the Michigan Soo and Houghton on January 13, 1906; Mining Gazette, Jan 14/06, n. pag. In another case, a dispute over a call by umpire Winklenmeyer led to his removal, and subsequent replacement, by "Dunc" Taylor, in a game in January of 1905; Mining Gazette, Jan 8/05, n. pag.

<sup>105</sup>Sault Star, Dec 20/06, n. pag.

<sup>106</sup>Soo Evening News, Dec 23/04, n. pag.



Although the poor work done by most game officials can be attributed to bias or inexperience, some actions displayed the referee's inability to control the games. In a game refereed by Houghton player Charles Liffiton, the Canadian Soo visited the Calumet club in mid-January of 1905. Shortly after the game began, Ken Mallen shot a goal that was disallowed. "In the discussion that followed, [Canadian Soo forward Jack] Ward [skated] down the rink and shot the first goal for the Soo without interference. The local boys thought it was a practice shot."<sup>107</sup> Liffiton allowed the goal despite the unpreparedness of the Calumet team. The Calumet team members should have felt confident enough in Liffiton's abilities to referee that they could dispute his officiating at a later time when the game was not still in progress.

Less than two weeks after that game, Joe Booth provided another example of an I.H.L. referee not maintaining control of players, in a game between the Canadian Soo club and the visiting Michigan Soo team. At one point during the game, Booth sent four of the Canadian Soo men off at one time, leaving the local team with only three men on the ice, including the goalkeeper, while the Michigan Soo team still had all seven of its players. The conduct of the players may have necessitated their removal from the ice; however, the referee was considered accountable for the behavior of the players, and he was directly responsible for allowing conditions during the game to reach a point where so many players on one side would merit penalties. The Sault Star was highly critical of the officiating, and claimed that "the game illustrates the necessity for competent league referees, as under the present system, hockey will be eliminated altogether".<sup>108</sup>

With such poor examples of officiating, players soon began over-reacting to certain situations in games. In February of 1905, "Baldy" Spittal took his Pittsburgh team off the ice with two-and-a-half minutes remaining in a game against the Portage Lakes Hockey Club.

---

<sup>107</sup>Mining Gazette, Jan 15/05, n. pag.

<sup>108</sup>Sault Star, Jan 26/05, n. pag.

Spittal was irate at referee Ernie Westcott for not calling a penalty on Houghton player Bruce Stuart. Westcott then awarded the game to the Portage Lakes, as Pittsburgh refused to continue playing.<sup>109</sup>

Although the management determined who was to referee the games scheduled in the I.H.L., it was the responsibility of the referees to competently officiate the matches by displaying a thorough knowledge of the rules, and an impartiality that would not give any one team an unfair advantage. This was obviously not the case in the I.H.L., where the refereeing not only affected the outcomes of games, but also the reputation of the League. While there are a number of reasons that can be attributed to the League's demise and its poor standing in the eyes of many hockey enthusiasts - particularly in Canada - the level of officiating must be considered a significant factor.

#### Inappropriate Behavior

While the League damaged its reputation through the quality of officiating, several other incidents occurred throughout the three I.H.L. seasons that only increased the negative views toward the I.H.L. and professional ice hockey. The behaviors of the players, management, and newspaper reporters were often of an irrational and perplexing nature, and will be examined in this section.

#### Administrative Behavior

As previously discussed, prior to the start of the 1905-06 season, "Hod" Stuart had been banned from playing in the I.H.L., because of his alleged rough tactics in games. However, it became apparent to newspaper reporters that to prevent Stuart from playing, regardless of his guilt in supposed violent activities, was a wrong decision by the League Executive:

---

<sup>109</sup>Mining Gazette, Feb 23/05, n. pag.

The managers decided he played too roughly, and that he made the races certain by winning championships wherever he went. If these charges are true then the managers are guilty of stupid work and that they should be ashamed of. They are supposed to be working for the advancement of the game, but when they go as far as to place a ban on one of the greatest players in the business to keep him out of the league, they do the game irreparable harm. Stuart is a drawing card, that is certain, and despite the claim that he is unnecessarily rough, he is a favorite.<sup>110</sup>

As the season began, Stuart was still not playing for any I.H.L. team. When questioned as to why, Stuart replied that he was not playing because the ban was still in effect. He wished to sign with Pittsburgh, and, should the ban be lifted, could do so, since, according to League policy, his ties with Calumet were severed with the banishment, and he would be free to sign with any team.<sup>111</sup> Thus, the League's own ruling was a detriment to Calumet, because, under normal circumstances, that team would have retained Stuart's rights following the 1904-05 season, when he led Calumet to the League championship.

When the Pittsburgh press became aware of Stuart's intentions to play in that city, the local newspapers increased their attacks on the League management, in order to allow Stuart to play:

The club owners in the west realize it will be a good business move to reinstate Stuart, as he is one of the biggest drawing cards in the business, and it is thought they will not allow their prejudices to get the better of their business acumen.<sup>112</sup>

Despite the ban, Stuart accompanied the Pittsburgh team westward, where games were to be played against the Canadian Soo. Pittsburgh's manager, MacSwiggan, then displayed another instance of the petulant, selfish behavior of the team managers, as he threatened not to play in the game if Stuart was not reinstated by the League. He further explained that he would take his team out of the I.H.L., and would re-organize the W.P.H.L., should his

---

<sup>110</sup>Mining Gazette, Dec 21/05, 2.

<sup>111</sup>Copper Country, Dec 21/05, n. pag.

<sup>112</sup>Pittsburgh Gazette, Dec 25/05, n. pag.

demands not be met.<sup>113</sup> It is not known the extent to which the threat influenced the I.H.L. Executive, but shortly thereafter, the League allowed Stuart to play in I.H.L. matches.

A week later, another incident of equal absurdity occurred, as the returning "Hod" Stuart, and Joe Hall of the Portage Lakes were rumoured to have been excessively aggressive in a recent match. League President A. L. Ferguson then contacted "Doc" Gibson, informing him that Stuart and Hall would not be allowed to play in the game between Pittsburgh and Houghton, to be held on January 8, 1906. While this decision would seem to be sound, it was revealed that Ferguson had based his decision solely on published reports of the games, and had not spoken to anyone connected with the alleged activities. The Copper Country Evening News explained that Ferguson apparently believed that "the players have exhibited homicidal tendencies".<sup>114</sup>

Following the Pittsburgh-Houghton games, the Portage Lakes Hockey Club was scheduled to play against Calumet, whereupon Calumet Manager Thompson claimed that the ban placed on Joe Hall would be upheld on Calumet home ice.<sup>115</sup> The League was having difficulty in administering the ban, and therefore Thompson attempted to enforce it himself. A week later, Thompson further announced that the Houghton club would forfeit the game, should Hall play.<sup>116</sup> The ensuing debate over Hall's eligibility would seem to have been an opportunity for the League Executive to intervene to solve the dispute, which had begun only after the League failed to enforce its own charges. Instead, "President Ferguson of the league [said] that he will not mix in the quarrel and leave it to the two teams to fight it out between themselves".<sup>117</sup> The League Executive had improperly imposed a sanction

---

<sup>113</sup>Ibid., Dec 28/05, n. pag.

<sup>114</sup>Copper Country, Jan 8/06, n. pag.

<sup>115</sup>Ibid., Jan 20/06, n. pag.

<sup>116</sup>Mining Gazette, Jan 28/06, n. pag.

<sup>117</sup>Pittsburgh Gazette, Jan 28/06, n. pag.

towards a player, and then, when the discipline had become the subject of a dispute, refused to mediate an argument that had been created by its own inept attempts to castigate unwanted behavior.

### Player Behavior

The inept actions of the management were, at times, equalled by the behavior of the players during the games. Although referee selection, and the poor work done by those men selected by the Executive, led to frustration and arguments during the games, the players occasionally behaved in a manner that was unfitting for the game during that period. Selected are two incidents to typify the undesirable activities that contributed to the close of League operations.

During the 1904-05 season, Pittsburgh acquired the services of William "Peg" Duval. Duval's actions led to an incident on December 22, 1904, in a game against the Portage Lakes, held at the Amphidrome. The game commenced later than usual, at 8:34 p.m., following an argument between the two teams.<sup>118</sup> Duval arrived at the rink in an intoxicated condition, and was forced to retire after twenty minutes of playing time. With no substitutes being allowed in hockey during this time, Pittsburgh was required to play one man short for the remainder of the game. However, Houghton's Bruce Stuart relented to Pittsburgh's pleas and agreed to drop one of his own players, McMaster, to even up the number of players on the ice.<sup>119</sup>

After losing to Houghton, Pittsburgh traveled to the Michigan Soo for a game on December 23. Unfortunately, the Pittsburgh team was not travelling with any substitute players, and Duval was again not in any condition to play; so as not to play with one less player, Pittsburgh substituted Canadian Soo player Dick O'Leary at the cover point position.

---

<sup>118</sup>Pittsburgh had wanted to start the game at 8:00 p.m., in order to make a 10:15 train out of Houghton.

<sup>119</sup>Mining Gazette, Dec 23/04, n. pag.

O'Leary apparently made little effort to aid his new team, and Pittsburgh lost again, by a score of 9-3.<sup>120</sup>

Unfortunately for Pittsburgh, Duval's behavior did not improve. On December 26, the team was to play at the Canadian Soo, and with "Duval not being in condition to play with Pittsburgh,"<sup>121</sup> the Canadian Soo managers were persuaded to drop a player and the two teams played the entire game with six skaters on each team. The two clubs tied 4-4, as ten minutes of overtime did not determine a winner, and the teams decided to end the game. Dick O'Leary, having played one game in Duval's place in the Michigan Soo game, returned to the Canadian Soo team and scored two of his team's goals, a significantly better effort than he had shown when temporarily recruited for the Pennsylvania team.<sup>122</sup>

Duval did not play the following evening, again at the Canadian Soo, where the local team easily won its first game of the season, beating Pittsburgh 9-4.<sup>123</sup> The Sault Star reported that Duval was "alleged to be absent on account of his thirst. . . ." <sup>124</sup> Duval's performance and abuse of alcohol would not change, and he was released by Pittsburgh later in the season.<sup>125</sup> The actions of players such as Duval would do little to enhance the reputation of the I.H.L. as a high-calibre, well-operated league, in the opinions of those criticizing the League and its operations.

Later in the 1904-05 season, another incident occurred that drew the ire of players, management, and supporters alike. The final games of the 1904-05 season, held between the two Copper Country teams, would also provide an example of the poor sportsmanship that would only aid in the criticism of the professional game. At the conclusion of playing

---

<sup>120</sup>Soo Evening News, Dec 24/04, n. pag.

<sup>121</sup>*Ibid.*, Dec 27/04, n. pag.

<sup>122</sup>Soo Evening News, Dec 27/04, n. pag.

<sup>123</sup>*Ibid.*, Dec 28/04, n. pag.

<sup>124</sup>Sault Star, Dec 29/04, n. pag.

<sup>125</sup>Mining Gazette, Feb 17/05, n. pag.

time during the March 14 game at the Palestra, the Calumet and Houghton teams were tied. Referee "Lal" Earls announced that a short overtime period would be played to determine a winner. The Portage Lakes, citing the brutal tactics that the Calumet team were employing, refused to play the overtime period. Earls had no choice but to award Calumet with the victory.<sup>126</sup>

The following game, held at the Amphidrome, provided another display of the lack of control demonstrated by the referees and management over I.H.L. games. In an effort to reduce the aggressive actions of the two teams, the League decided to implement a two-referee system for the return game. "Lal" Earls was to referee, and would be assisted by Dr. Willson.<sup>127</sup> However, according to the Copper Country Evening News, the two referees were to work together, and although Earls thought that he had absolute power, he was assigned to only call off-side plays, while Willson would call penalties.<sup>128</sup> The players themselves were unsure as to the authority of the two officials, and when Earls called a penalty on Houghton's "Doc" Gibson, the Portage Lakes player refused to leave the ice, claiming that Willson was the only man who could call penalties. When Gibson would not leave, "Hod" Stuart, sensing that a lengthy dispute would arise, took his Calumet team off the ice and returned to the dressing room. After a short time, James R. Dee persuaded his Houghton team to recognize Earl's call, but the Calumet players, having waited for such a long period, had assumed that the match would not continue, and had changed into their regular clothes; some had even already left the Amphidrome.<sup>129</sup> The Calumet players refused to put their equipment back on to continue the game, and so the match ended, with over ten minutes of playing time remaining on the game clock.

---

<sup>126</sup>Ibid., Mar 15/05, n. pag. During the course of the game, many Portage Lakes players had become injured; these injuries were attributed to illegal rough conduct on the part of the Calumet team.

<sup>127</sup>Mining Gazette, Mar 17/05, n. pag.

<sup>128</sup>Copper Country, Mar 17/05, n. pag.

<sup>129</sup>Mining Gazette, Mar 17/05, n. pag.

A number of hockey supporters felt that the activities of the teams in that game would hurt the image of hockey in the Upper Peninsula, and the Copper Country Evening News stated that "in certain quarters the name of hockey suggests bitter words and contempt."<sup>130</sup> James R. Dee, infuriated by the behavior of the players on both teams, feared that such incidents would result in the disbanding of the League:

'People will not stay away from hockey games on account of unintentional rough work or legitimate bodychecking, either will not kill the sport by any means. . . . The sport is more likely to be killed when people pay to see a game of one hour and get but ten minutes.'<sup>131</sup>

Although Dee was referring specifically to the fiasco that occurred between the Portage Lakes and the Calumet team, there were too many other instances that have not been noted, where spectators were unable to watch a complete game due to the improper behavior of the I.H.L.'s players.

#### Newspaper Reporting

One of the most difficult obstacles for the I.H.L. to overcome in its attempts to establish itself as a reputable league was the biased reporting of the newspapers, particularly those in Canada. The most obvious reason for this was that many of the best Canadian players had left for the U.S., and were playing a professional game that had been outlawed in the Dominion. Thus, any incident (and, as shown, there were many) that revealed incompetence, violence, or a poor calibre of play in the I.H.L. was extensively reported in the Canadian press. However, the author must note that there is a tendency for newspapers to report unwanted behavior, because "the antisocial and undesirable aspects and events get the full publicity".<sup>132</sup>

---

<sup>130</sup>Copper Country, Mar 23/05, n. pag.

<sup>131</sup>Mining Gazette, Mar 19/05, n. pag.

<sup>132</sup>Frederick Cozens and Florence Scovil Stumpf, "The Sports Page", in Sport and Society - An Anthology, edited by John T. Talamini and Charles H. Page (Toronto: Little, Brown & Company, 1973), 431.



As the I.H.L. developed a reputation for violence, newspapers were also quick to report any unruly activities. The Houghton Daily Mining Gazette explained that "the players in the big teams of the league realize this and do not try to maim each other or knock each other out, as some of the flash writers would have you think".<sup>133</sup> The "flash writers" were correspondents who lived in the I.H.L. towns, and sent news to Canada to be reported in the newspapers there. Sometimes, information regarding the I.H.L. would be reported in Canada that was based on little factual material. After one such incident, Manager McNamara of Houghton responded that "this correspondent is a little off and there was no authority for such a statement. Flashlight questions of the league games will hurt hockey in this county and all unauthorized statements of this rabid nature should be cut out."<sup>134</sup>

The reasons for the type of reports found in Canadian newspapers, particularly in Toronto, were easily explained; "the Toronto newspapers never liked the International League anyway - possibly because it attracted the top talent of the day".<sup>135</sup> The other reason was that the papers were trying to downplay the success of the International League, which, being professional, was in direct contrast to the many Canadian leagues still trying to maintain amateurism in hockey. Thus, any activity that could be reported that made the professional game seem less desirable would make amateur play a more sagacious decision. The Daily Mining Gazette reported that the efforts of the papers to ruin the reputation of the I.H.L. were working, as the press was "hounding the life out of the managers of the professional clubs and [was] hot after out and out professional players till the game [was] given a fearful black eye across the border".<sup>136</sup>

---

<sup>133</sup>Mining Gazette, Feb 24/06, n. pag.

<sup>134</sup>Mining Gazette, Jan 15/06, n. pag.

<sup>135</sup>MacDougall, "the First Six-Man Hockey" in The Hockey Book. edited by Bill Roche (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1953), 18.

<sup>136</sup>Mining Gazette, Sep 27/07, n. pag.

### Violence in the International Hockey League

While the reports of excessive violence may have been exaggerated in the newspaper reports in Canada, they were not unfounded. For a variety of reasons, including the inability of the referees to control the games, the physical nature of hockey, and the social expectations of sport during this time period, the International League developed into what Coleman considered "probably the roughest league that ever operated."<sup>137</sup>

One aspect to consider prior to the analysis of the degree of violence in the I.H.L. is the different nature of the game at that time. The matches were played at a much slower pace, due to the lack of substitutes, and there were often extended stoppages of play.<sup>138</sup> Players were considerably smaller than those who play professional hockey today; most averaged between 145 and 165 pounds.<sup>139</sup> The play was still quite aggressive, despite the lack of equipment and padding to protect the players. Mott explained the nature of the body-contact during this time period:

However, checking in the early era involved much less high-speed body contact, especially along the boards, than became common in the next few decades. . . . both the rules in force and the virtual absence of upper-body protective equipment dictated that the players of that time would be much less physically aggressive than those who followed them.<sup>140</sup>

Despite Mott's observation, a review of the data collected for this study reveals that there was, of course, body-checking, but most of the flagrant penalties were incurred as a result of violent fouls; acts such as cross-checking, high-sticking, and slashing were commonplace, and an integral part of an I.H.L. player's repertoire.

The local press blamed the inept refereeing for some of the violence, and many townspeople were outspoken towards the aggressive play in some games; "the referee

---

<sup>137</sup>Coleman, 610.

<sup>138</sup>Mott, 3.

<sup>139</sup>Young, 30. Of course, there were several exceptions, including "Doc" Gibson, who weighed well over 200 pounds during his I.H.L. playing days.

<sup>140</sup>Mott, 6.

ought to cut out this rough work. It will certainly kill the game here because people do not want to go down to the Amphidrome to see a man murdered".<sup>141</sup> The Sault Ste. Marie Evening News also recognized the importance of the referee in controlling the violence; however, the newspaper identified the role both the players and spectators held as well:

Whether a game is rough or close depends very much on the referee, who is supposed to impose penalties for any unnecessarily rough play. The players and spectators have much to do with that. The players often try to settle old scores and the spectators too frequently in the excitement cheer for any piece of rough work.<sup>142</sup>

Despite the cries of overly violent behavior during the games, one I.H.L. town newspaper did admit that, "where slashing and body-checking is indulged in to any extent accidents frequently happen. But the element of danger . . . attached to the game makes it a most exhilarating sport to watch."<sup>143</sup> Perhaps the American spectators were more receptive to the violent game of hockey,<sup>144</sup> but when the sport was first introduced in the Copper Country, many spectators had difficulty accepting the level of body-checking used by the Portage Lakes Hockey Club players. The Daily Mining Gazette hinted that this reaction may have been caused by spectators being unaware that body-checking was a legal part of the sport.<sup>145</sup>

### Hockey and "Manly" Sports

During the first decade of the twentieth century, a contradiction developed among those discussing violence in sport; while some chastised the aggressive behavior, many others endorsed the same acts. As Gruneau and Whitson explained, "modern sport has ties

---

<sup>141</sup>Mining Gazette, Jan 15/06, n. pag.

<sup>142</sup>Soo Evening News, Dec 14/04, n. pag.

<sup>143</sup>Copper Country, Mar 2/05, n. pag.

<sup>144</sup>Violent sports are considered popular with most Americans; D. Stanley Eitzen and George H. Sage, Sociology of American Sport, Second Edition (Dubuque: Wm. C. Brown Co. Pub., 1982), 67.

<sup>145</sup>Mining Gazette, Feb 28/03, n. pag.

to a romantic tradition of martial prowess and masculine adventurism that has often fetishized the value of robust physicality over the development of intellect".<sup>146</sup> With the industrialization and urbanization of society, men found it difficult to express their own masculinity. Messner noted that; "with no frontier to conquer, with physical strength becoming less relevant at work. . . it was feared that males were becoming 'soft'".<sup>147</sup> Thus, sport became a means to express masculine or manly qualities, which may explain why, while condemned by many, there were few concerted efforts to abolish the violence in sport.

Hockey was considered manly, which partially explains the many acts of brutality and violence during hockey's formative years, through the years of I.H.L. operations.<sup>148</sup> Mott concurred, observing that "hockey was one of the most praiseworthy and attractive of the manly sports because it tested so many . . . laudable qualities".<sup>149</sup> While society allowed, and, in some cases endorsed, the violent sports of the early twentieth century, the players were often forced to participate unwillingly in such aggressive activities:

Despite the fact that few males truly enjoy hitting and being hit, and that one has to be socialized into participating in much of the violence commonplace in sport, males often view aggression, within the rule-bound structure of sport, as legitimate and 'natural'.<sup>150</sup>

Thus, even before the players had stepped onto the ice to play in I.H.L. games, the expectation of violence may have been great both for the players, and for the spectators who had come to be entertained by both the skilled and aggressive behavior of the athletes.

---

<sup>146</sup>Gruneau and Whitson, 29.

<sup>147</sup>Michael A. Messner, Power at Play - Sports and the Problem of Masculinity. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992), 14.

<sup>148</sup>Metcalfe, Canada Learns to Play, 69.

<sup>149</sup>Mott, 7.

<sup>150</sup>Messner, 67.

The levels of violence present in other team spectator sports should also be considered, prior to condemning the I.H.L. alone for the acts of senseless brutality (see next section) that occurred throughout the I.H.L.'s existence. For example, at the same time of I.H.L. operations, football had developed into such a savage sport that during the 1904 season alone, twenty-one men were killed and over two hundred injured during U.S. college football games.<sup>151</sup> The sport of college football had degenerated to such an extent that Dr. F. R. Oastler, surgeon for the Columbia football team stated; "the players go on the field expecting to be hurt, and are glad if they come off the field with nothing worse than a broken bone".<sup>152</sup> However, upon witnessing the game of hockey, one Boston Post writer reported that hockey was "just as dangerous to life and limb, just as brutal, and played in the same bad spirit as football".<sup>153</sup>

#### Acts of Brutality During I.H.L. Games

Most of the violent incidents that occurred in the I.H.L. were brief, spontaneous, and easily stopped by either the referees or players. However, some episodes were so violent that they required the assistance of outside parties, who felt obliged to intervene. This section will address several such incidents, as well as the effects that they had on those affiliated with the League.

Games continued, oblivious to the violence, as players would become involved in altercations independent from the other skaters. One such incident occurred between Houghton's Bruce Stuart, and Jack Laviolette of the Michigan Soo. The two teams met in February of 1907, and the confrontation between the two men began with a collision along

---

<sup>151</sup>John Hammond Moore, "Football's Ugly Decades 1893-1913", in The American Sporting Experience: A Historical Anthology of Sport in America, edited by Steven A. Riess. (New York: Leisure Press, 1984), 178. President Theodore Roosevelt had threatened to ban the sport unless rule changes were made that decreased the level of violence.

<sup>152</sup>Ibid.

<sup>153</sup>Mining Gazette, Feb 24/06, n. pag.

the rink's boards. Stuart received the most damage from the impact, and, ignoring the continuing game, followed Laviolette back to the Michigan Soo player's position at point. Stuart then knocked Laviolette to the ice, from behind, and placed his stick across his neck, before he could get up from the ice. Laviolette was held in this position, as Stuart placed one knee on each end of his stick, pinning the Michigan player to the ice, until the other players and the referee noticed the battle and pulled Stuart off.<sup>154</sup> Perhaps the most disturbing aspect of this act of violence was the dispassionate manner in which the Houghton Daily Mining Gazette explained Stuart's behavior.<sup>155</sup>

With such activities reported in the press, the I.H.L. soon gained a reputation for its aggressive play. The players were aware of the League's intentions to improve public opinion, which resulted in a unique incident at the Duquesne Gardens. During the 1905-06 season, Pittsburgh hosted the Michigan Soo for a series of games. Pittsburgh player "Hod" Stuart, and the Soo's Paul "Pud" Hamilton, had been battling throughout the first half of one of the games. Perhaps aware of the League's reputation, the two continued their battle off the ice surface, and out of the view of the spectators:

As by an intuitive understanding they both rushed off the ice at half time and made for a dressing room which they entered. Others attempted to follow, but they found the door locked and a terrible commotion going on inside. Puffs, sickening thuds, and noisy tramping around the interior were heard by those at the door, and they could also hear the half smothered curses of the two demons who were inside, fighting for all they were worth. Nothing could attract them from their occupation, and when the bell rang for the second half still were at it hammer and tongs. . . . After another five minutes' delay an attendant at the gardens shouted through the keyhole: 'I am MacSwiggan, the manager of the gardens, and I want you to get in here immediately' All the hockey players knew the manager's reputation and the two fighters became alarmed lest they should be fired from the rink. They immediately stopped scrapping, and when they unlocked the door the crowd saw the two cordially shaking hands and condoling each other for the bruises which, they insinuated, they had received in the game that night.<sup>156</sup>

---

<sup>154</sup>Mining Gazette, Feb 16/07, n. pag.

<sup>155</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>156</sup>Soo Evening News, Jan 30/07, n. pag.

In another game, between the same two teams at the Duquesne Gardens, Pittsburgh's Billy Baird continually assaulted "Pud" Hamilton throughout the match. Despite his reputation, Hamilton did not retaliate against Baird, who was a much smaller player. However, after the game ended, Hamilton exacted revenge on the Pittsburgh player:

Hamilton was the first off the ice and he stood in the passage as the rest of the players filed by. Baird was tardy in leaving the arena, and was the last one off. Just as soon as he got on the boards, Hamilton went straight at him.<sup>157</sup>

The two men engaged in a fist fight, whereupon Baird was almost knocked unconscious. Several other players had to separate them, and Hamilton was forced into his own dressing room. When asked why he waited to battle Baird, Hamilton replied; "you know my reputation is bad here, and I wished to show the . . . crowd that I could hold my temper".<sup>158</sup>

When altercations did occur on the ice, the degree of violence occasionally reached the point where others had to intervene. In one particular game, in February of 1906, Pittsburgh's Lorne Campbell and "Cooney" Shields of the Calumet team engaged in a fight that became so heated that referee Gibson required the assistance of one of the ushers working at the Duquesne Gardens, in order to separate the two combatants.<sup>159</sup> In other cases, local authorities were required to help restore order on the ice. When Pittsburgh played at Houghton, in a game held on January 4, 1906, "Hod" Stuart, playing a typically malicious style, hit Houghton's "Grindy" Forrester, knocking him unconscious. For this action, Stuart was put off for the remainder of the game. As "Hod" skated off the ice, his brother Bruce, who was playing for the opposing team, skated toward "Hod" and mentioned something to him, that could not be overheard. The two brothers then began chasing one another about the ice, until Houghton's Sheriff Beck came onto the ice to save "Hod"

---

<sup>157</sup>Ibid.

<sup>158</sup>Ibid.

<sup>159</sup>Pittsburgh Gazette, Feb 16/06, n. pag.

Stuart. Local peace officers then escorted the Pittsburgh player off the ice.<sup>160</sup> It is unfortunate that conditions on the ice would become so anarchistic that a local Sheriff felt that his assistance would be required to solve a player dispute.

Although the players were ultimately responsible for the violence they displayed during games, the poor officiating in I.H.L. matches could only increase the likelihood of aggression. During one incident, in a game between Calumet and Pittsburgh, in February of 1907, the ineptitude of an umpire led to a violent outburst. As the game at the Duquesne Gardens progressed, Ken Mallen of Calumet had apparently scored for the visitors. McDonald, a Calumet player, was serving as the umpire, and called Mallen's shot a goal. Pittsburgh's goalkeeper, Jack Winchester, enraged at McDonald's ruling, skated behind his goal net, where McDonald was standing, struck the umpire with his fist, and then grabbed his hat and threw it into the crowded seats. Lorne Campbell arrived, also intent on reaching McDonald, but he was restrained by the referee, Roy Schooley. Con Corbeau of Calumet then entered the fray, grabbing Winchester by the throat and pinning him against the boards. Meanwhile, two other opposing players on the ice, Morrison and Gaul, began violently swinging their stick in an effort to injure each other. Order was finally restored after the players had exhausted their energies.<sup>161</sup>

The local newspapers, and the League Executive, did not react with concern about such wanton displays of brutality. Later during the same season as the incident described above, the Houghton Daily Mining Gazette made the following observation about the level of violence during League games: "although the game was a little rough at the beginning of the season before the men got accustomed to their positions on the ice, it has changed and is now played on a thoroughly scientific basis."<sup>162</sup> This failure to recognize the level of

---

<sup>160</sup>Soo Evening News, Jan 5/06, 1.

<sup>161</sup>Soo Evening News, Feb 16/07, n. pag.

<sup>162</sup>Mining Gazette, Feb 24/06, n. pag.



savageness during games had continued from the previous season. The Copper Country Evening News reported that "there were three or four accidents reported during the playing of the game the past winter but considering the strenuous nature of the sport this is not considered heavy."<sup>163</sup>

With games becoming so aggressive, serious injuries to players were inevitable. Oliver Seibert, a former Berlin player who signed with the Canadian Soo, managed to participate in only one I.H.L. game:

When he was getting ready for the only game he appeared in the trainer almost covered him with pads, whereat Oliver indulged a laugh. 'What do you want to put these things on for?' he asked, 'I never play with pads.'

Horace Lewis the trainer, gave Oliver a look out of the corner of his eye and replied; 'You'll find out in a few minutes.'<sup>164</sup>

Once the game commenced, Seibert's wrist was broken by a vicious slash from "Hod" Stuart; "They don't play hockey", continued Oliver. 'They're always laying for each other, and the play is always rough and dirty.'<sup>165</sup>

With stories told by individuals such as Seibert, upon their return to Canada, other players became more wary of choosing to play in the I.H.L., despite the obvious monetary benefits. When "Newsy" Lalonde expressed a desire to join the Canadian Soo team in early 1907, many tried to give Lalonde advice; "friends attempted to dissuade me from trying out for professional hockey. They said the game was too rough for an eighteen-year-old, and that I'd get myself killed."<sup>166</sup> Despite the warnings, Lalonde did decide to report, and was joined by another player, Dick Wilson. In a game at the Palestra, the Calumet club was

---

<sup>163</sup>Copper Country, Mar 27/05, n. pag.

<sup>164</sup>Sault Star, Mar 25/05, n. pag.

<sup>165</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>166</sup>"Newsy" Lalonde, "Two Goofy Goals", in The Hockey Book, edited by Bill Roche. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1953), 21.

hosting the Canadian Soo team, and Lalonde and Wilson had heard how raucous the fans were. The score was tied late in the game, when Wilson scored to put the visitors ahead:

Then, without even a glance at the net after shooting, Wilson surprised everybody by skating straight to the end-boards, jumping over them and clomp-clomping on his skates through the crowd and out an alley leading to the main entrance.<sup>167</sup>

Following the game, Wilson was not in the team dressing room; so, Lalonde sought Wilson out, finding him locked in the men's lavatory; "he raced in there and locked the door - didn't even know he'd scored. I don't think he even cared. He was just happy to have found a hiding place that was comfortable and safe!"<sup>168</sup>

The players adjusted to suit the rough style of play, or were forced to stop playing. In one game, following an ear injury incurred during the previous game, Bruce Stuart of the Portage Lakes Hockey Club wore leather football head-gear, in order to play. Unfortunately, not all players were able to withstand the punishing games. While some continued to play with obvious injuries,<sup>169</sup> others decided to stop competing altogether. One player who chose to leave was Calumet's Ken Mallen. His skill and small stature made him a prime target for opponents, according to the Daily Mining Gazette:

No player has been compelled to bear the gruelling work that Mallen has been subjected to from the very first game of the season. Realizing that he was one of the best and fastest men in the league, it has been the effort of some players to lay him out.

Scarcely a game was played but that several times he had to be carried off the ice in an almost unconscious condition.<sup>170</sup>

If this report in the newspaper was true, it remains a wonder that Mallen did not cease his I.H.L. career much sooner.

---

<sup>167</sup>"Newsy" Lalonde, "Any Old Port in \_\_\_", in The Hockey Book, edited by Bill Roche. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1953), 24.

<sup>168</sup>Ibid., 24-25.

<sup>169</sup>An example occurred when Reddy McMillan played several games for the Michigan Soo, with a broken collarbone; Mining Gazette, Jan 14/06, n. pag.

<sup>170</sup>Mining Gazette, Dec 27/05, n. pag.

The aggression on the ice was so prevalent that it could be considered normal by those watching the games, or living in the I.H.L. communities. In February of 1905, the Houghton Daily Mining Gazette approached a class of local six-grade school children , to obtain their impressions on the sport of hockey. The newspaper found the responses to be humorous, but the student's knowledge of the sport centered on its violent aspects. The following are several responses reported in the press:

Hockey is the most popular game now in the upper peninsula.

The captains of the two teams ["Hod" and Bruce Stuart] are brothers. Every time they come together you can hear sticks crack and sometimes bones.

Mrs. Taylor of East Houghton named the Amphidrome, which means a place where they have fights.<sup>171</sup>

The impressions of the Houghton schoolchildren revealed that the reputation for brutality that the I.H.L. has earned had pervaded many levels of the I.H.L. communities.

#### "Bad" Joe Hall

Several players who competed in I.H.L. games were notorious for their brutal tactics. One such player, Joe Hall, played in 1905-06 for the Portage Lakes Hockey Club. Hall was thought by many to be one of the roughest players in the history of the game; however, it is the author's opinion that his reputation, at least that gained while in the I.H.L., was considerably exaggerated. Coleman explained that "in any discussion of the 'bad' men of hockey the name of Joe Hall is invariably mentioned and not without reason."<sup>172</sup>

Hall first became known as a rough player during his year with the I.H.L., and continued throughout his career, until his death in 1919. However, in analyzing the incident that gained him his poor standing in the League, it was his lack of good sportsmanship, and not his allegedly brutal play, that drew the ire of the League Executive, newspapers, and

---

<sup>171</sup>Mining Gazette, Feb 12/05, n. pag.

<sup>172</sup>Coleman, 598.

spectators. During a game, Hall was given a penalty by referee "Doc" Gibson, and, while serving the penalty, used profane language while in conversation with his Portage Lakes Hockey Club trainer.<sup>173</sup>

Over the next few days, the incident became more and more prominent in the I.H.L. town newspapers. The Sault Ste. Marie Evening News reported that Hall has used unnecessary language while addressing a spectator, and "the village marshall, with his star of authority flashing brilliantly in the lamplight of the Palestra, strode forward to place the belligerent chaser of the puck under arrest."<sup>174</sup> Earlier in his career, Hall had apparently been ejected from a game under similar circumstances, while playing for Winnipeg. The most interesting aspect of the whole situation was that while in other games, players were breaking limbs with vicious stick infractions, and engaging in violent fights, the Sault Ste. Marie Evening News proclaimed that the incidence of Hall's profanity was the first time the I.H.L. games had been the host of "serious trouble".<sup>175</sup>

However, the incident did not end with the marshall escorting Hall from the arena. The I.H.L. was preparing to punish Hall, because "the league, it is understood, will not tolerate for a moment ungentlemanly actions on the part of any of the players."<sup>176</sup> The Daily Mining Gazette further reported on the severity of the incident, as "affidavits are to be secured from several of the spectators of the game. . . .charges against Hall will be that he conducts himself unbecoming a player. Specific mention will be made of the language which he has used in the game last Saturday night."<sup>177</sup> The Calumet team had considered legal action against Hall, but then decided to allow the League to discipline Hall for his heinous

---

<sup>173</sup>Mining Gazette, Dec 23/05, n. pag.

<sup>174</sup>Soo Evening News, Dec 26/05, n. pag.

<sup>175</sup>Ibid.

<sup>176</sup>Copper Country, Dec 27/05, n. pag.

<sup>177</sup>Mining Gazette, Dec 27/05, n. pag.

crime.<sup>178</sup> Hall later returned to play at the Palestra, following an apology to those he had offended.<sup>179</sup> Even though he had only used profane language, he was now thought to be one of the most vicious players in the League. As the season continued, the Portage Lakes Hockey Club travelled to Pittsburgh, for a series at the Duquesne Gardens. The hockey fans in Pittsburgh anxiously awaited the games, anticipating the rough play that Hall would display. However, the Pittsburgh Leader reported that this was not the case:

The crowd anticipated a bloody encounter but was disappointed. Joe Hall had been painted a demon on skates but appeared just the opposite last night. He showed no rowdy proclivities but looked the part of a hockey player.<sup>180</sup>

Obviously, by standards of sportsmanship exhibited by professional athletes today, no action would have been taken toward Hall, had he committed a similar act at a later date. However, the other activities that would be condemned today were a normal part of a rough and manly sport. Thus, Hall should be considered a "bad" player, but only according to the conditions which existed during the years he played, and not those used at later period. The author then contends that Hall should not be considered one of the roughest players in hockey history, as his brutal actions on the ice were often bested by teammates and opponents alike. Following a thorough search of newspapers from that period, there were few incidents where Hall exhibited any acts of aggression that were not exceeded by others. It was only after incidents such as the one explained above that he became known for his off-color play, and the newspapers began creating an image that can be seen as based largely on myth, and on a few untimely remarks to a team trainer.

---

<sup>178</sup>Ibid., Dec 30/05, n. pag.

<sup>179</sup>Ibid., Feb 4/06, n. pag.

<sup>180</sup>Mining Gazette, Mar 4/06, n. pag.

### Spectator Violence

Several times throughout the I.H.L.'s existence, crowds became unruly and affected the players, and even the course of certain games. Typically, a violent game resulted in overly emotional spectators, who sometimes felt obliged to aid their team, or to try to exact revenge on an opponent. Games that contained insignificant acts of brutality usually featured a more subdued audience.<sup>181</sup> While no serious injuries resulted to players, or members of the crowds, several incidents that occurred could have become much more serious, had measures not been taken to stop such behavior.

The actions of the spectators, who were mostly working-class citizens of the I.H.L. communities, could be seen as consistent with the cultural trends explained by Gruneau and Whitson:

The drinking, merrymaking, and sometimes disorderly recreations popular among the emergent urban working class came to be seen as activities that disrupted the daily routine of business by encouraging absenteeism, debt, and insubordination. As a result, governments made play in the streets illegal, heavily regulated tavern locations and hours, and controlled alcohol consumption at public events.<sup>182</sup>

Gruneau and Whitson's description of late nineteenth century working class life seems to reflect the attitudes of the miners working in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, during the early twentieth century. Had the local government attempted to restrict the social interactions of the miners, the hockey games would have become a opportune setting for the pursuit of "disorderly recreation". Unfortunately for the I.H.L. and professional hockey, the behavior of unruly spectators and players was attributed by many, including the O.H.A.'s John Ross Robertson, to professionalism.<sup>183</sup>

---

<sup>181</sup>A report of a game on Dec 21, 1905, between the Michigan Soo and the Canadian Soo, explained that; "the crowd last night was good natured and the game was free fom dirty work. It is to be hoped this feeling wil continue, as the greater the harmony, the greater will be the success of the sport"; Soo Evening News, Dec 22/05, n. pag.

<sup>182</sup>Gruneau and Whitson, 52.

<sup>183</sup>*Ibid.*, 76.

During a game between the Portage Lakes Hockey Club and the Michigan Soo, in January of 1906, a dispute over disallowed goals led to a fight in the crowd,<sup>184</sup> as unfortunately, spectators felt compelled to become involved in the play as well. Later during the 1905-06 season, the Michigan Soo team was hosting Calumet, in a very violent game. The Sault Ste. Marie Evening News reported that; "the contest made the bloodiest foot ball look like parlor croquet in comparison."<sup>185</sup> When an altercation began between Billy Taylor and Con Corbeau, fans rushed onto the ice to join in the fight.<sup>186</sup>

Spectators also found other means to battle with the players. "Hod" Stuart, in reminiscing about a game between the Portage Lakes Hockey Club and the American Soo, informed the Evening News that conditions in the game deteriorated to a point where the players "had the sheriff come on the ice and read the riot act and were obliged to break through the side of the rink to get away without being half killed by the angry crowd that was waiting for them at the door".<sup>187</sup> Fortunately, there were few other incidents that involved the players and the people who had come to watch I.H.L. games. The behavior of the spectators would seem to have been, in part, caused by the behavior of the players, and the inability of the referees to control the game at a point where such activities would not be allowed to develop.

#### A Comparison of I.H.L. and Canadian Hockey league Violence

The purpose of this comparison is not to endorse or condone the actions of the I.H.L. players and spectators, but to acknowledge that the degree of violence in hockey games was similar across many leagues at this time. Metcalfe wrote that complaints of spectator and player violence were common in ice hockey through the first decade of the

---

<sup>184</sup>Mining Gazette, Jan 26/06, n. pag.

<sup>185</sup>Soo Evening News, Mar 6/06, n. pag.

<sup>186</sup>Ibid.

<sup>187</sup>Soo Evening News, Jan 9/07, n. pag.

twentieth century.<sup>188</sup> In most instances, where the subject of excessive violence had arisen, both the I.H.L. and the Canadian leagues would accuse the other of undue aggression.

Shortly after the commencement of the first I.H.L. season, James R. Dee proudly proclaimed in the Daily Mining Gazette: "so far the games have been conducted and refereed fairly well. The people have not seen any real rough hockey here, such as they have in the big games in Canada".<sup>189</sup> The I.H.L. town newspapers were aware of the reputation that the League had gained in Canada, and would be quick to try to dispell such notions in the press:

Single games in the O.H.A. have on several occasions caused more injuries than have been received all season in the International league. But when the real reason of the wild stories told in eastern [Canadian] papers is found it is that they wish to frighten the players throughout Canada so they will not accept offers to play in the big league.<sup>190</sup>

The criticisms of aggressive play continued on both sides of the border throughout the three I.H.L. seasons.

Perhaps the most objective views on the levels of violence displayed by leagues in both countries could be obtained by those who had been affiliated with both amateur and professional hockey. During his season as an I.H.L. referee, "Chaucer" Elliott was asked for his opinion on the local attitudes toward the brutality in I.H.L. hockey. The Sault Star then reported his comments:

The public in the American and Canadian Soo want clean hockey. So do the patrons of Pittsburgh. But in the copper country - Houghton and Calumet - the public sentiment seems to be leaning towards rough-house hockey. This, I think, is brought about by the betting element. However, the club managements want hockey devoid of objectionable features.<sup>191</sup>

---

<sup>188</sup>Metcalfe, Canada Learns to Play, 70.

<sup>189</sup>Mining Gazette, Jan 10/05, n. pag/

<sup>190</sup>Soo Evening News, Feb 1/06, n. pag.

<sup>191</sup>Sault Star, Feb 8/06, n. pag.



Elliott had earlier commented that he felt that the calibre of play was good in the I.H.L., but not as high as that found in the top Canadian leagues. The referee justified his opinion in explaining that, because the players were professionals, they played a rougher style of game. Elliott further explained that he overlooked a great deal of objectionable behavior that he normally would penalize in games in Canada. He explained that if he did call all penalties, "both teams would be on the fence throughout the game".<sup>192</sup>

Despite Elliott's suggestions, "Hod" Stuart felt that the Canadian leagues did not lack the violence of the professional leagues. After leaving the I.H.L. to play for the Montreal Wanderers, Stuart found play in the E.C.H.A. to be brutal:

I played five years in the professional league, and I left because the game was getting too rough and the referees could not handle the matches. I thought I was coming to a much better brand of hockey. Up to Saturday it had been better hockey, but then it was the limit. If men did things like that in other leagues they would be arrested. . . . It's the worst thing in the line of sport that I ever saw.<sup>193</sup>

The lack of consensus over which league featured the most brutal violence suggests that there was little difference between leagues. Spontaneous acts of aggression could occur at any time, in any League, during the games played in the first decade of the twentieth century.

The I.H.L. was considered rough, and not without reason. However, many players who began careers, and were successful in, the I.H.L., later went on to be top performers in other leagues. One such player, Fred Taylor, did so without using the violent tactics prevalent in the game at that time. In recalling his years in Houghton, Taylor claimed that:

[the] league was a wonderful testing and training ground, and I was a far better player for my experience there. It was good, scientific hockey, but robust enough to teach a young player how to take care of himself. . . . After that league, I knew I could handle anybody, anywhere. It was a marvellous maturing process.<sup>194</sup>

---

<sup>192</sup>Sault Star, Dec 28/05, n. pag.

<sup>193</sup>Soo Evening News, Jan 16/07, n. pag.

<sup>194</sup>Whitehead, 52.

Taylor's comment would suggest that the I.H.L. afforded a rough style of hockey, but prepared players for violence that they would continue to meet in other leagues in Canada.

Although violence was a consistent part of hockey during the early twentieth century, the failure of the I.H.L. players, referees, and Executive to control the levels of aggression in games, and the opinions of those involved in the sport, contributed to the short life of the League. On several occasions, lack of control led to the migration, to Canada, of some of the most talented and efficient men to have been affiliated with the I.H.L. Two of the most obvious examples were "Hod" Stuart's signing with the Wanderers, and "Chaucer" Elliott's return to officiating in Canada following his displeasure with refereeing I.H.L. games in 1905-06.

#### Finances

When analyzing the operations of any professional sport organization or league, one of the most critical factors in determining success or failure is finances. Ultimately, the I.H.L.'s ability to generate revenue for the team owners established the League's viability. The author has determined that League finances were affected by a number of conditions: attendance, profits, competition, salaries, and socio-economic influences. All five of these factors will be addressed, in order to determine the financial success of the I.H.L., in all three of its operating years.

#### Attendance

In the review of literature conducted for this study, the author determined that the most common explanation given by sport historians for the demise of the I.H.L. was a lack of adequate attendance. One example of this was Jones, who postulated that the I.H.L. was "abandoned in 1907 because the rinks in the area were not big enough to accommodate sufficient spectators".<sup>195</sup> Other authors also agreed with the statements of sport historians

---

<sup>195</sup>Jones, 267.

such as Jones; Bill Roche claimed that the "the International League did not operate after 1907, mainly because its little rinks could not accommodate enough people to make it pay".<sup>196</sup>

However, while being a factor in the demise of the League, lack of attendance alone cannot be considered the main reason for its failure to continue operations. The Duquesne Gardens in Pittsburgh routinely drew crowds in excess of thirty-five-hundred for I.H.L. games,<sup>197</sup> whereas the Palestra and Amphidrome rinks also enjoyed crowds exceeding three thousand spectators. The seating capacity for the Canadian Soo rink is not known; however, the Ridge Street rink in the Michigan Soo could reportedly hold up to five thousand spectators. This would indicate that the arenas were in fact, capable of holding enough paying customers to support professional hockey, at least at the salary levels that were introduced when the League commenced operations. Changes in salaries will be addressed later in this Chapter.

At times, during the I.H.L. seasons, demand for seats would become so great that for some games, prices of over ten times the original ticket were gained for the best seats.<sup>198</sup> Attendance remained high throughout the first two years of I.H.L. operations, with the exception of the Canadian Soo team. The only instances where attendance would drop dramatically occurred when weather conditions made viewing games too uncomfortable.<sup>199</sup> With the exception of the Duquesne Gardens, with its artificial ice surface, the insides of

---

<sup>196</sup>Bill Roche, "Pro Hockey, Product of the U.S.A.", in The Hockey Book, edited by Bill Roche. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1953), 17.

<sup>197</sup>See Appendix Q for a summary of recorded attendance at I.H.L. games.

<sup>198</sup>In anticipation of a match between Houghton and Calumet, in January of 1905, tickets that sold for one dollar were being exchanged for six dollars, and reports speculated that prices of up to ten dollars were paid for the preferred seats; Mining Gazette, Jan 22/05, n. pag.

<sup>199</sup>An example occurred during a game held in December, 1904, when a crowd of only five hundred attended a game at the Plaestra, where in normal conditions over three thousand would be expected; Mining Gazette, Dec 20/04, n. pag.

arenas were not heated, to allow for ice to stay frozen. When temperatures reached extreme conditions, the arenas would be only slightly warmer than the conditions outside.

However, as the 1906-07 season progressed, attendance at many games began to wane, with the exception of matches held in Pittsburgh. When the season ended, Calumet's future in the League was questioned, as the team was drawing fewer spectators.<sup>200</sup> Even Houghton fans were not supporting the Portage Lakes Hockey club in as large numbers. "The attendance at the games in Houghton was very light. The people up there [seemed] to have grown tired of hockey as they [had] been turning out in small numbers all season."<sup>201</sup>

The only town where the lack of attendance was not questioned was in the Canadian Soo, where that club's dismal playing record warranted poor support. Throughout the 1905-06 season, the lack of competitiveness on the part of the Canadian Soo team had worn on the Canadian spectators; attendance at games had declined. The financial viability of a team in the Canadian Soo was now questionable:

Whatever the outcome of the hockey venture here- and I'm told prospects are good for the club, we are all deeply indebted to the men who were enterprising enough to give us the bang up hockey we have seen here this winter. I'm only afraid we won't see it next season. A good many townspeople have not seen any of the games, and they have no idea what they have missed.<sup>202</sup>

However, newspapers speculated that a winning team would draw large crowds at the Canadian Soo,<sup>203</sup> and, when the teams performance improved in 1906-07, more fans attended games.

Although the I.H.L. enjoyed its highest attendance levels, based on those games that reported the size of crowds, in 1904-05, 1906-07 saw an increase in average attendance from the previous season. However, several teams, particularly Calumet, experienced a

---

<sup>200</sup>Mining Gazette, Mar 14/07, n. pag.

<sup>201</sup>Soo Evening News, Jan 16/07, n. pag.

<sup>202</sup>Sault Star, Feb 23/05, n. pag.

<sup>203</sup>Soo Evening News, Jan 24/06, n. pag.

decided decrease in spectator levels. Despite the lesser crowds in the last two I.H.L. seasons, the arenas could still hold enough spectators to support the teams. In viewing the recorded attendance levels in the five I.H.L. cities, it was the effects of other factors, including poor refereeing, violence, decline in profitability, and an increase in the costs of maintaining operations that had a more profound effect on the cancellation of League operations in the fall of 1907.

### Profits

The profitability of owning an I.H.L. team would be considered meagre, at best. The Houghton Daily Mining Gazette, in explaining the plight of the owners of professional teams, noted that "they are satisfied if the proposition breaks even, for they look upon the matter in the light of public spirited citizens".<sup>204</sup> This would seem likely, as most team ownership groups were high-profile citizens, such as James R. Dee, who were successful in other local business interests. Any activity that improved public sentiment would ultimately profit a civic leader, whether financially, or in terms of community standing.

Only Pittsburgh consistently received high attendance levels at matches. Because gate receipts were split between the teams, games at the Duquesne Gardens were considered to be the League's "big money makers".<sup>205</sup> An example of the money to be earned through a visit to Pittsburgh was given in the Sault Star. Following a three-game series at the Duquesne gardens, the Portage Lakes Hockey Club received \$2600 as their share of the gate. This was a significant sum, considering the team incurred only \$750 in travelling expenses.<sup>206</sup> Unfortunately, the monetary figures given in newspaper reports were usually of a speculative nature; therefore, information on the exact amount gained or lost through I.H.L. affiliation is not known.

---

<sup>204</sup>Mining Gazette, Jan 10/04, n. pag.

<sup>205</sup>Soo Evening News, Nov 14/06, n. pag.

<sup>206</sup>Sault Star, Dec 15/04, n. pag.

Near the conclusion of the 1904-05 season, the Sault Star reported on the profitability of the I.H.L. clubs. According to that report, Houghton and Calumet had both profited during the first year of League operations. The Michigan Soo was in debt, albeit slightly, whereas the Canadian Soo was approximately \$1500 "in the red".<sup>207</sup> Calumet manager Thompson then revealed that the Calumet team had, after expenses, a sum of two thousand dollars remaining. The expenses incurred were three thousand dollars in salaries, and one thousand dollars for transportation, supplies, and skates. Two games remained for the club, which anticipated a net of twelve hundred dollars, bringing the copper country team's profits to a total of thirty-two hundred dollars for the 1904-05 season.<sup>208</sup>

During the 1905-06 season, a similar pattern of profit and loss had emerged for the League teams. The Copper Country Evening News reported that:

The present International league is not an unqualified success. The long railroad jump to Pittsburgh is eating up the profits, and most of the teams in the league are having a hard time to pay expenses, especially since five teams do not allow a good schedule to be arranged.<sup>209</sup>

In early February, the Canadian Soo team began having serious financial difficulties, and the team ceased operations. However, the team did manage to pay the salaries of the players through to the point of its demise; the club's owners suffered the financial burden.<sup>210</sup> The team had lost one thousand dollars before it disbanded, so each member of the ownership committee incurred a seventy-five dollar setback. In doing so, the club was able to pay off all of its outstanding debts.<sup>211</sup>

---

<sup>207</sup>Sault Star, Mar 9/05, n. pag.

<sup>208</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>209</sup>Copper Country, Feb 6/06, n. pag. It is interesting that while some believed the Pittsburgh games to be a boon to finances, others considered the trip a detriment. The financial information provided the previous season by the Sault Star would indicate that the games held there were indeed profitable for both competing teams. In addition, teams would need to make only one trip to Pennsylvania during the season, and would be able to play there three times.

<sup>210</sup>Soo Evening News, Feb 12/06, n. pag.

<sup>211</sup>Sault Star, Feb 15/06, n. pag.

Despite the financial woes of the Canadian Soo team, the remaining four I.H.L. clubs enjoyed moderate success as the 1905-06 season concluded. Calumet claimed to have turned a profit,<sup>212</sup> and League President Ferguson reported that:

The season has been satisfactory, more so than last year. Had the Canadian Soo been able to stick through the season with a good team, every team in the league would have made money. Outside of the Canadian Soo nobody lost anything, some of the teams coming out a trifle ahead of the game.<sup>213</sup>

As long as the teams were not losing money through the venture, I.H.L. operations were sure to continue, as the owners realized the impact a professional hockey team had on their respective communities.

In the fall of 1906, the uncertainty of the Canadian Soo's inclusion in League affairs led to some speculation in the newspapers. Michigan Soo owner A.L. Ferguson was considering assisting the Canadian Soo financially, as the Michigan Soo team would probably lose money without the presence of the Canadian team. Few expenses were incurred in traveling to the Canadian Soo, and attendance peaked at the Ridge Street rink when the two clubs met.<sup>214</sup> Fortunately, the Canadian Soo did decide to return, and played a full season in the I.H.L. in 1906-07.

Despite the return to five clubs, attendance had decreased for several clubs during games in the 1906-07 season, at the same time that players began demanding higher salaries in many of the towns. The future of the League, at least in certain towns, became questionable, including in the once-profitable Calumet community:

---

<sup>212</sup>Mining Gazette, Mar 14/06, n. pag.

<sup>213</sup>Soo Evening News, Mar 15/06, n. pag.

<sup>214</sup>Sault Star, Sep 20/06, n. pag.

It is infrequent that hockey has been a paying proposition in Calumet, the profits, when by some good fortune there happening to be any, coming from the skating after the games. The extra amount of salaries this year would probably wipe out even this profit and run up a deficit and it can hardly be expected that the owners are going to dig down in their pockets, as they have done a number of times in baseball, in order to provide sport for an uncertain number in Calumet.<sup>215</sup>

The Canadian Soo team, despite an improved performance in games, and over six thousand dollars in total receipts, had still lost six hundred dollars during the 1906-07 season. With the advent of higher salaries, decreased attendance, and other factors to be discussed, the League would not be able to continue beyond the 1906-07 season.

#### Competition For Spectators

The small size of four of the I.H.L. towns - Calumet, Houghton, the Michigan Soo and the Canadian Soo - meant that other social events or diversions would often compete directly with the I.H.L. games. During one game in Calumet, in January of 1906, only seven hundred spectators attended a game between Calumet and Pittsburgh at the Palestra. The reason for the sparse attendance, according to the Daily Mining Gazette, was "an attraction at the Calumet theatre".<sup>216</sup> One year later, the same reason was cited for poor attendance at the Palestra; there were too many other attractions now available to the public.<sup>217</sup>

The League had attempted to schedule its games to avoid conflict with other events, but some overlapping was inevitable. A game between Houghton and Calumet had been set for January 21, 1905, to be held at the Palestra, but the League wished to move the date. The Daily Mining Gazette explained the Executive's reasoning; "the original date, January 21, is on a Saturday night and also on a mine pay day night and this will mean that if the game is played on that date a great many people who would otherwise take it in would be

---

<sup>215</sup>Calumet News, Nov 5/07, n. pag.

<sup>216</sup>Mining Gazette, Jan 25/06, n. pag.

<sup>217</sup>Ibid., Jan 23/07, n. pag.



compelled by business reasons to stay away."<sup>218</sup> The game could not be moved to the day before, as it would then conflict with a local theatre performance.<sup>219</sup>

Only Pittsburgh, with its large population, afforded enough spectators who would not be wanting to attend other events. As the other four towns developed, and offered more social amenities, the I.H.L. teams would continue to suffer.

### Socio-Economic Trends

Other factors, beyond the control of the League, its players, spectators, and administrators, also had a direct impact on the operations of the League. While the I.H.L. continued to function in its five locales, changes were occurring in each area that would have a detrimental affect on the League's ability to continue operating. All five cities relied heavily on natural resources for employment, and, in 1907, there were significant levels of economic decline evident in all areas.

Pittsburgh was considered an established industrial city, relying on coal, iron, and glass to support its economy.<sup>220</sup> By 1900, the city had a population in excess of 450,000, which had increased to 534,000 by 1910.<sup>221</sup> Unfortunately, a depression arrived in the city in 1907, that lasted through 1909.<sup>222</sup> While the effect a depression may have had on the ice hockey venture there cannot be ascertained, many working-class spectators would be greatly affected by any depression that involved the industries that employed them.

In the Michigan and Canadian Soos, professional hockey disappeared in 1907, along with a growing real estate market that crashed in the same year:

---

<sup>218</sup>Mining Gazette, Jan 8/05, n. pag.

<sup>219</sup>Ibid.

<sup>220</sup>Francis G. Couvares, The Remaking of Pittsburgh - Class and Culture in an Industrializing City 1877-1919. (Albany: The State University of New York Press, 1984), 9.

<sup>221</sup>Ibid., 81.

<sup>222</sup>Ibid., 94.

The International Hockey league dropped out of existence almost as quickly as did the Soo boom, which disappeared in a night after a most exciting day in real estate trading. What caused the slump in the boom has not been as yet satisfactorily figured out. . . .<sup>223</sup>

The Canadian economy, as a whole, had also, despite unprecedented growth between 1900 and 1912, suffered a brief downturn in 1907.<sup>224</sup>

The Copper Country also endured financial depression, commencing with a slump in copper stocks that began in 1907.<sup>225</sup> The Calumet and Hecla Company, which had enjoyed its biggest dividends in 1899,<sup>226</sup> had slowly decreased in profitability, greatly affecting the spectators at I.H.L. games there, the majority of whom were employed in mining ventures. The town of Calumet, with a population of 4,668 in 1900, featured a decline in population through the first decade of the twentieth century.<sup>227</sup> Houghton, too, was not exempt from fiscal decline. Maki reported that "the mining of copper in the vicinity of Houghton did not reach the development and lasting growth as other mines in the Copper Country. . . ."<sup>228</sup>

As shown, all five I.H.L. communities suffered comparatively significant financial difficulties in 1907 that coincided with the demise of the I.H.L. While this phenomenon cannot fully explain the failure of the League to resume play, had the League continued to operate in 1907-08, the effects of the economic downturns discussed above may have had a significant effect on spectators being able to afford to attend games. These instances of economic decline, along with the other factors discussed in this chapter, provide a better perception of the reasons for the League's success, or lack thereof.

---

<sup>223</sup>Sault Star, Nov 14/07, n. pag.

<sup>224</sup>Ramsay Cook, "The Triumph and Trials of Materialism (1900-1945)" in The Illustrated History of Canada. (Toronto: Lester and Orpen Dennys Limited, 1987), 379.

<sup>225</sup>Sault Star, Nov 14/07, n. pag.

<sup>226</sup>Turner, 66.

<sup>227</sup>*Ibid.*, 106. In 1910, the population was 4,211; it later dropped to 2,390, by 1920.

<sup>228</sup>Maki, 46.

### Player Salaries

Perhaps the most common reason, given in local newspapers, for the disbanding of the I.H.L. was the exorbitant salary demands of the I.H.L. players. For reasons that will be discussed in Chapter 5, a significant increase in salary demands was witnessed in the fall of 1907, as the I.H.L. attempted to resume operations for its fourth season.

When the I.H.L. began operations in 1904, players were offered salaries of approximately fifteen to forty dollars per week, with the exception being some of the better-known players, such as "Hod" Stuart. However, these higher-priced players also fulfilled additional roles with the club, for example, with ownership in some cases being unfamiliar with organizing players, the better players were responsible for assembling the clubs' rosters. Stuart also acted as manager for the Palestra arena when he was with Calumet. With a twelve-week and twenty-four game schedule, players were paid on either a weekly or a per-game basis. In the instance of "Hod" Stuart, a salary would be given.

However, as players came and went, and additional players were needed during the season to fill rosters, higher salaries were paid to certain players. Fred Taylor was paid four hundred dollars to finish the 1905-06 season with the Portage lakes Hockey Club;<sup>229</sup> he would play only six I.H.L. games that season. James R. Dee recognized the potential inflation of players' salaries, and, prior to the 1905-06 season, had said; "if the league cannot re-engage last year's men at the present salary limit they must find new men or quit the business."<sup>230</sup>

As the financial stability of the League came into doubt, due in part to the disbanding of the Canadian Soo team, players became wary of management. Prior to a game

---

<sup>229</sup>Whitehead, 39.

<sup>230</sup>Mining Gazette, Oct 22/05, n. pag.

held late in the 1905-06 season, Pittsburgh players refused to play until they had been paid, and in advance, for an upcoming match.<sup>231</sup>

Despite precautions by players and management, salaries continued to spiral upward, particularly in instances where a player's services were required on short notice. In February of 1907, Pittsburgh paid Rowley Young two hundred dollars to play in a single three-game series against Calumet.<sup>232</sup> While Calumet had paid three thousand dollars for player salaries in 1904-05, by 1906-07, teams such as Houghton were spending up to five thousand dollars to fill rosters.<sup>233</sup> Another reason for the increase in salaries was the threat of players signing on with other clubs. When Marty Walsh of the Canadian Soo team broke a bone in his leg, the Canadian Soo kept him on payroll for over two months, until certain that he could not play the remainder of the season, they released him from his contract.<sup>234</sup>

By the fall of 1907, players who now had an option of playing professionally in Canada began asking I.H.L. managers for much larger contracts. In the Michigan Soo, almost all of the players requested fifty dollars-per-week. "From past experience the management knew it would prove a losing scheme to pay any such money."<sup>235</sup> The Sault Star partially attributed the salary demands of the Copper Country players to the treatment and success of the teams there in 1904-05:

The price of championships proved most disappointing to monied men in both places. Hockey players received more admiration and extravagant attention than a Senator. With this unnecessary display the players became unmanageable and dictated for ridiculous salaries and liberties.<sup>236</sup>

---

<sup>231</sup>Mining Gazette, Mar 4/06, n. pag. The League, in an effort to control the salaries, had instituted a salary limit for that season.

<sup>232</sup>Mining Gazette, Feb 20/07, n. pag.

<sup>233</sup>Whitehead, 52.

<sup>234</sup>Sault Star, Mar 7/07, n. pag.

<sup>235</sup>Sault Star, Nov 14/07, 1.

<sup>236</sup>Sault Star, Nov 14/07, 1.

However, the high salaries paid in the smaller towns such as the Soos and the Copper Country were easily explained, according to Gruneau and Whitson:

To overcome their disadvantaged position in the recruitment of players, small-town teams with big ambitions found they had to offer higher salaries than the big-city teams. This put immense strain on the resources of the local businessmen and professionals who generally ran small-town clubs, and it invited the participation of mining tycoons and local industrialists as patrons, sponsors, and, ultimately, owners.<sup>237</sup>

Houghton had been a small town with big ambitions, but for the reasons discussed in this chapter, professional hockey could not continue. Meanwhile, mining interests in Canada had created some profitable small towns there, who were now eager to see top-level hockey games:

It was mining money, principally earned from copper and iron ore, that had lured so many good hockey players to [the] United States; but before long it was profits from silver and cobalt that outbid Houghton . . . and induced the tourists to go home. It was an era in which money talked louder than words, and in northern Ontario gamblers were rampant.<sup>238</sup>

The consensus that emerged from the I.H.L. managers, in the fall of 1907, was that no more money could be given.

Murdock and Ferguson of the Michigan Soo wired President Kemp in November of 1907, explaining that they were unable to obtain players for reasonable rates. The Calumet News reported that "this has been the situation all over the League but the magnates have been hoping against hope that the players would come down a few notches in their demands."<sup>239</sup> The newspaper then estimated that if hockey operations were to continue in 1907-08, up to two thousand dollars a month would be needed to pay for salaries alone.<sup>240</sup>

Team managers and newspapers were almost unanimous in their condemnation of player demands, which threatened to dissolve the League. McNamara of Houghton claimed

---

<sup>237</sup>Gruneau and Whitson, 87.

<sup>238</sup>Foster Hewitt, Hockey Night in Canada. (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1953), 34.

<sup>239</sup>Calumet News, Nov 5/07, n. pag.

<sup>240</sup>*Ibid*. This was almost double the salaries paid to the 1904-05 League champions.

salaries could not be paid, unless more teams were able to enter the League,<sup>241</sup> while the Sault Star also blamed the exorbitant salary demands.<sup>242</sup>

Players now had the opportunity to play professionally in Canada - whether openly or covertly - and no longer had to travel to the United States to make hockey their means of livelihood. The U.S. teams then had to offer higher salaries, which they could not, due to the factors discussed in this chapter. While players, fans, newspapers, and administrators alike had castigated the I.H.L. during its operations, due to inconsistencies in refereeing, excessive violence, and poor management, it was, ultimately, the salary demands of the players, influenced by the problems described above that led to the demise of the I.H.L.

---

<sup>241</sup>Mining Gazette, Nov 8/07, n. pag.

<sup>242</sup>Sault Star, Nov 14/07, n. pag.

## CHAPTER V

### INTER-LEAGUE RIVALRY AND TRENDS IN PROFESSIONALISM IN ICE HOCKEY

#### Inter-league Rivalries and Influences

Although the activities of the I.H.L. players, managers, and spectators directly affected the League, the interaction between the I.H.L. and the Canadian amateur hockey associations also had a profound influence on the ability of the U.S. league to continue operations. This chapter will address the rivalries and relationships between these leagues, and the ways through which views of professionalism in the sport of hockey changed through the first decade of the twentieth century.

#### The Western Pennsylvania Hockey League

Despite disbanding prior to the formation of the I.H.L., the W.P.H.L. had an important effect on the development of professional ice hockey in the United States. Pittsburgh would be the first city to entice Canadian hockey players to America to play the sport, and the W.P.H.L. was considered to be the first semi-professional hockey league; team managers found high-paying work for the hockey players, and also provided minimal monetary compensation for participating in the four-team league.

Pittsburgh became familiar with the sport of ice hockey, through several visits from the Queen's University hockey team. Shortly thereafter, players from Kingston, Ottawa, and Montreal came to the city to play at the Duquesne Gardens.<sup>1</sup> Enough players were acquired to form the W.P.H.L., consisting of four teams - The Bankers, Victorias, Pittsburgh Athletic Club, and Keystones - playing games through the early years of the twentieth century. All

---

<sup>1</sup>Fitsell, Captains, Colonels & Kings, 108.

matches were scheduled for play at the Duquesne Gardens, Pittsburgh's own artificial ice arena.

During this time, one player to arrive in Pittsburgh was "Hod" Stuart, who joined former teammate Arthur Sixsmith with the Bankers club.<sup>2</sup> Many others, some of whom had been barred from playing Canadian amateur hockey due to accusations of professionalism, came from central Canada to make the W.P.H.L. a highly-competitive league.

However, after the Portage Lakes Hockey Club began paying for players to come to the Copper Country, several of the best players in the W.P.H.L. left Pittsburgh to play for more money in Houghton. Others travelled to the Michigan Soo, a team that was also considered a professional team, although salaries did not reach amounts promised by the Portage Lakes Hockey Club managers.

The signing of players by the Houghton team was in apparent disregard for a pact that the Copper Country team and the four Pennsylvania teams had agreed upon; the W.P.H.L. managers accused Houghton's Charles Webb of tampering with W.P.H.L. players.<sup>3</sup> Despite the alleged agreement between the teams, "Riley" Hern, "Hod" Stuart, "Cooney" Shields, and Bruce Stuart, all significant attractions in the W.P.H.L., left Pittsburgh for the higher salaries in Houghton.

The W.P.H.L. continued operations in 1903-04, despite the loss of key players, but the calibre of league play had diminished, and when talk of the I.H.L. began, Pittsburgh expressed a keen interest in becoming involved. Pittsburgh had lost the U.S. championships to the Portage Lakes Hockey Club for the second year in a row, and, according to the Pittsburgh Sunday Telegraph, "the championship was taken from this city by former players of the local league, who were most anxious to bring about such a state of affairs. . . . The

---

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 117.

<sup>3</sup>Globe and Mail, Dec 8/03, n. pag.



reason these stars left was that the management of Houghton offered more than the local managers would pay."<sup>4</sup>

Another reason for the desire of Pittsburgh hockey enthusiasts to form a larger professional league was the excessive violence present in W.P.H.L. games in 1903-04. The Houghton Daily Mining Gazette explained that "the rivalry for the Pittsburgh pennant [was] so bitter that it [was] a common occurrence to see the players in a scrap on the Pittsburgh ice."<sup>5</sup> Other newspapers reported that W.P.H.L. spectators were disgusted with the brutality of the matches at the Duquesne Gardens. The Pittsburgh Dispatch claimed that "professionalism is in a bad way at the Garden, and it would not be a surprise to see a complete revolution in things with the first of the year."<sup>6</sup>

A return to amateur or semi-professional hockey did not occur, as the Dispatch had hinted, for, the W.P.H.L. disbanded the following winter and Pittsburgh entered one team into the newly-formed I.H.L. Many players, familiar with W.P.H.L. play, signed with new teams; with the Pennsylvania league disbanding to enter one club into the I.H.L., the Canadian players with semi-professional experience were able to sign with the new professional League.

The advent of the I.H.L. did not please all hockey enthusiasts in Pittsburgh; many wished to see more games, as was provided by the former four-team W.P.H.L. The departure of key players to the Copper Country in the earlier years still drew the ire of Pittsburgh fans, and one local report out of Pittsburgh had this impression of I.H.L. play:

---

<sup>4</sup>Mining Gazette, Mar 29/04, n. pag.

<sup>5</sup>Mining Gazette, Dec 30/03, 2.

<sup>6</sup>Globe and Mail, Dec 22/03, n. pag.

Hockey has deteriorated to an amazing extent in Pittsburgh in the last two years. . . . Three years ago all the crack hockey players were on the teams in Pittsburgh, and the league was a huge success, each game taxing the capacity of Duquesne garden to accommodate the crowds. . . . This winning combination was broken up and the players were permitted to go elsewhere, with the result that hockey has not been popular since. The cream of the players went to Michigan, where they are playing on the teams at Houghton and Calumet.<sup>7</sup>

Hockey games were held far less frequently in Pittsburgh, as the I.H.L. team played only twelve games there annually. Each of the four opposing teams would make only one visit during the season, for a three-game series. Thus, fans in Pittsburgh were only able to see four sets of games per season, whereas in the W.P.H.L., all games were held at the Gardens.

Whether or not statements of the deleterious effects of the I.H.L. on Pittsburgh hockey were true, the W.P.H.L. did have a significant effect on the development of professional ice hockey, and the I.H.L. The W.P.H.L. carried out the same practices as the professional league that followed; however, the lower salaries given to players meant that the W.P.H.L. was considered semi-professional. When the Portage Lakes and Michigan Soo hockey clubs chose to become professional in 1903, players were acquired from the W.P.H.L. The Michigan teams used the same means by which Pittsburgh managers had acquired players from Canada in the past; the newer clubs simply offered more money to entice players from Canada, and from the Pennsylvania league. The W.P.H.L. ceased operations only after the I.H.L.'s formation became inevitable; perhaps the Pittsburgh managers sensed that the new league would decimate the W.P.H.L. rosters, and therefore chose to join with one good team, rather than subject the Pittsburgh fans to a lower-calibre of hockey.

#### The Ontario Hockey Association

The interactions between the O.H.A. and the I.H.L., between 1904 and 1907, were frequent and consistent. Often the actions of one league would greatly influence the other;

---

<sup>7</sup>Copper Country, Jan 17/05, n. pag.

in some instances behavior would be conducted solely for the purpose of adversely affecting the opposing organization.

The O.H.A. was formed in 1890, following the advice of Rt. Hon. Sir Frederick Arthur Stanley, who persuaded officials of the major Toronto hockey teams that an organization that involved clubs from the entire province would benefit the game in Ontario.<sup>8</sup> Stanley's father, who was the Governor General, then agreed to be the patron of the then-named Hockey Association of Ontario.<sup>9</sup> The new association would be run by its own elected executive committee - a select few men who had total control of the hockey affairs in the province. Metcalfe explained that, "in effect it was a case of the elite running its own exclusive club".<sup>10</sup>

The executive committee then wrote a set of playing rules, and created a number of association by-laws. Teams were required to pay a two-dollar entrance fee, and annual dues of three dollars.<sup>11</sup> The Association consisted of senior-league games only, until 1892, when a junior category was created,<sup>12</sup> and as the organization grew larger, the executive incorporated the Association in 1896.<sup>13</sup> By 1904, the O.H.A. had grown to include ninety-seven teams, and was one of the most powerful hockey organizations in Canada.<sup>14</sup>

In December of 1897, John Ross Robertson, a Toronto businessman who owned the Evening Telegram newspaper, joined the O.H.A.'s executive.<sup>15</sup> Two years later, at the

---

<sup>8</sup>Young, 11.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., 12.

<sup>10</sup>Metcalfe, "Power", 6.

<sup>11</sup>Young, 16.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., 31.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., 33-34.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., 84.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., 45.

O.H.A.'s tenth annual meeting, Robertson was named association president.<sup>16</sup> W.A. Hewitt, who eventually served as the O.H.A.'s Secretary, said this in praise of Robertson:

Mr Robertson was a remarkable man. He was eloquent, influential, sincere, convincing; a first-class executive and a great philanthropist. He had many interests. The Telegram, the Hospital for Sick Children, the British Empire, the Orange Order, historical landmarks, and amateur sport were all of intimate concern.<sup>17</sup>

It would be Robertson's interest in amateur sport that greatly influenced the O.H.A., and ultimately the I.H.L. As Scott Young explained in 100 Years of Dropping the Puck: A History of the O.H.A., Robertson's feelings towards professionalism guided his decisions as President of the O.H.A.; "judging solely by his performance as the O.H.A.'s first and greatest strongman, he might have been attracted originally by its implacable anti-professionalism."<sup>18</sup>

The O.H.A. was very strict in its interpretations of the amateur code. Young considered the O.H.A.'s anti-professionalism stance to be the most severe ever applied.<sup>19</sup> The Association then crusaded against the perceived threat of professionalism, not only in Ontario, but anywhere else hockey was played, or could be played professionally. "It was the threat of professionalism and the protection of amateurism that lay at the heart of the O.H.A. and was the foundation of its power."<sup>20</sup>

The Attempts of the O.H.A. to Discipline Professionals As discussed in Chapter 2, early incidents of professionalism in ice hockey developed as local athletes began playing for teams in other towns. Soon, a variety of different means were used to induce players onto teams, including secret payments to players on so-called amateur clubs. The O.H.A., in an

---

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., 47.

<sup>17</sup>Hewitt, Down the Stretch, 185.

<sup>18</sup>Young, 46.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., 37.

<sup>20</sup>Metcalfe, "Power", 7.

PLATE XVI



John Ross Robertson - O.H.A. President, 1899-1905 (Hockey Hall of Fame)

effort to uphold its amateur ideals, tried to thwart such practices by punishing teams and players within its Ontario jurisdiction, and by applying sanctions against those players and clubs outside of the O.H.A.'s direct control. In many instances, the players who were accused, and found guilty of professionalism, later played in the W.P.H.L., or the I.H.L.

As John Ross Robertson, and the rest of the O.H.A.'s Executive, slowly tried to stop the professional practices in the sport, they attempted to punish athletes in other sports. In 1902, the Executive banned all baseball players from playing in the O.H.A.; baseball was considered a professional sport, and the O.H.A. reasoned that if one were to play baseball, one would be a professional. Therefore, a player who pursued baseball in the summer months was not welcome in the O.H.A. in the winter, even if that player did not receive remuneration to play hockey. Jack Marks, with the Belleville Hockey Club, had played baseball for the Toronto Cadets and Kingston Ponies baseball teams. When Marks played for Belleville in a victory over the Marlboros Hockey club, the O.H.A. ordered the game to be replayed.<sup>21</sup>

In another example of the attempts to control professionalism in sport, Robertson banned all lacrosse players from O.H.A. play. He was convinced that the professional scandals in the National Amateur Lacrosse Union and the Canadian Lacrosse Association were not treated severely enough by those associations; therefore, he sought to punish the professionals by not allowing them to play hockey in Ontario.<sup>22</sup> This decision would have a dramatic effect on many men who played lacrosse during the summer months. The Houghton Daily Mining Gazette reported on the O.H.A.'s ruling, stating that; "the O.H.A. has refused to allow lacrosse players who were members of the senior series teams to engage in hockey this winter, thus debarring several of the fastest men in the country, from the sport in Canada. Brantford, in particular, being a heavy sufferer."<sup>23</sup>

---

<sup>21</sup>Young, 57. However, Belleville refused to play the game.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., 50.

<sup>23</sup>Mining Gazette, Nov 24/04.

Once a player had been barred from playing, in some cases for simply being an alleged professional lacrosse player, one of the few options to continue a high-level hockey career was to travel to play in the U.S. "Doc" Gibson had been suspended by the O.H.A. while in Berlin in 1898. He soon left Canada, to attend school in Detroit, and he subsequently organized the Portage Lakes Hockey Club. In the case of the Berlin club, many players, dissatisfied with the treatment of the O.H.A., left for the U.S. A few years after Gibson's departure, the Berlin club would consist of an almost completely different roster. In the fall of 1902, the Berlin team sent a photograph of its players to the O.H.A., in order to prove that there were no "ringers" on the roster; the Daily Mining Gazette then reported that "the team will be a new one, as most of last year's players have better positions in the States, and are playing with the Portage Lakes club of Houghton, Mich."<sup>24</sup>

Several prominent players, who later starred in the I.H.L., had been punished by the O.H.A. in earlier seasons, including "Grindy" Forrester, of Waterloo. In 1898, Waterloo was disqualified from the O.H.A. championships, against a team from Listowel; he had apparently played professional lacrosse in Warton, and had competed in speed-skating race for cash prizes.<sup>25</sup> "Riley" Hern had also departed from the O.H.A. under suspension. While playing for the London team in the O.H.A., Hern had been paid to play in a game against Tavistock. All players and officers of the London team were subsequently declared professionals by the O.H.A. executive.<sup>26</sup>

Other O.H.A. teams were disciplined by the Association Executive for violating rules created to detect professional practices, such as receiving remuneration, or relocating in other towns for the purpose of playing hockey. In 1903, Belleville again drew the ire of the

---

<sup>24</sup>Mining Gazette, Nov 21/02, n. pag.

<sup>25</sup>Young, 43-44.

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*, 49-50.

O.H.A., as one of the club's players, "Reddy" McMillan, had not been a resident of Belleville prior to the October 1 deadline. The O.H.A. had earlier ruled him eligible to play; however, McMillan was suspended after the Executive was informed that he had boasted to someone that Belleville had offered him fifteen dollars per week to play.<sup>27</sup>

Thus, the O.H.A. attempted to keep professionalism out its organization, and even tried to punish athletes playing professionally in other leagues, and in other sports, by refusing to allow them to play hockey in Ontario. Unfortunately, the power gained by the Association was not always put to good use, as members of the Executive tried to acquire crack players for teams in their own cities. An example of this hypocritical practice occurred with the banishment of Fred Taylor in 1904. In October of 1903, O.H.A. Secretary W. A. Hewitt contacted Taylor, who was from Listowel, and invited Taylor to come to Toronto to play for the Marlboros team.<sup>28</sup> However, Taylor wished to remain in Listowel, and Hewitt, angered by Taylor's decision, threatened that if Taylor did not play for the Toronto club, he would not be able to play anywhere in the O.H.A.<sup>29</sup> Taylor should have been considered a professional, had he played for either Ontario team; however, he was only punished after he spurned Hewitt's offer and reported to another team.

The following season, Taylor travelled to Thessalon, to play for that town's hockey club. Hewitt fulfilled his threat, and the O.H.A. refused to allow Taylor to play.<sup>30</sup> Taylor subsequently did not play for the entire 1904-05 season. Hewitt's actions only reinforced claims that all teams were not amateur, as Taylor would have had to relocate to Toronto to play. However, when he tried to do so, to play in Thessalon, he was considered a professional, under the rules of the O.H.A.

---

<sup>27</sup>Young, 58-59.

<sup>28</sup>Whitehead, 31.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., 32.

<sup>30</sup>Soo Evening News, Jan 3/05, n. pag.



Attempts to Thwart Professional Clubs As professionalism spread through many of the amateur ranks of the Canadian amateur leagues, efforts to stop the paying of players became more of a concern for organizations such as the O.H.A. Teams were now allegedly paying players, and often entire clubs needed to be disciplined, in order to uphold the amateur ideals supported by the Association's Executive. Players who had been banned from playing hockey in Ontario now found positions with teams in Pittsburgh, Houghton, and the Michigan Soo. However, the O.H.A. did not have jurisdiction over these teams, and, in an effort to stop the teams from playing, the Executive tried to eliminate the competition of the U.S. clubs. The Executive accomplished this by threatening to ban any team that considered playing any of the alleged American professional teams.

Then, in 1904, the O.H.A. adopted even more stringent rules to stop the spread of professionalism, and developed "a system of residence rules, certification and amateur cards which effectively restricted access to O.H.A. hockey to specific groups".<sup>31</sup> The American teams were then barred from competition against any O.H.A. teams, and players who had played south of the border could under no circumstances return to Canada to play.<sup>32</sup>

This action had a significant effect on the Algonquin Hockey Club, formed in 1903 in the Canadian Soo. The distance between the Canadian Soo and its competitors in the O.H.A. was far greater than that to the banned clubs of Houghton and the Michigan Soo. The Canadian Soo had, in the past, played exhibitions with those clubs, but would risk expulsion from the O.H.A. now for playing them. Despite the distances the club would have to travel to compete, the Canadian Soo decided to enter a team into the O.H.A. for the 1903-04 season.<sup>33</sup>

---

<sup>31</sup>Metcalfe, "Power", 9.

<sup>32</sup>Mining Gazette, Nov 24/04, n. pag.

<sup>33</sup>Sault Star, Dec 10/03, n. pag.

However, as discussed in Chapter 3, the team decided to engage in exhibition matches with both the Michigan Soo team, and the Portage Lakes Hockey Club. Some of the Algonquin Hockey Club's players, sensing that their careers in the O.H.A. would be over if they competed against the banned U.S. clubs, left the team.<sup>34</sup> With the loss of several key players, the Globe and Mail determined that the Canadian Soo team would not be talented enough to provide competition for the professional teams.<sup>35</sup>

The Algonquins, frustrated by the O.H.A.'s attempts to stop the club's operations, then challenged the O.H.A. to prove that it was an amateur association, as claimed by J. Ross Robertson,<sup>36</sup> but received no response. The O.H.A. Executive hoped to stop the professional team in the Canadian Soo, and the Association's efforts seemed to be effective. With the departure of several key Algonquin players, due to fears of being charged with professionalism, the O.H.A. Executive anticipated that the team would disband.<sup>37</sup> The loss of players meant that the Algonquins would not be competitive enough for the American teams, the only opposition for the Algonquins following their O.H.A. ban. The Globe and Mail happily anticipated the team's demise:

It can just about be said that there will be no more hockey in the Canadian Soo this winter, and that the Algonquin Hockey Club, which sprang into existence like a mushroom in the night, will soon end a career which, in addition to being short, has also been inglorious. . . . if any more [games] should be arranged they will be mere farces between the American Soo and Houghton teams as return games. . . . the Algonquins now find themselves out of the O.H.A., and also out of the class to which Houghton and the American Soo belong. . . .<sup>38</sup>

---

<sup>34</sup>"Bucky" Freeman, "Rocket" Power, and "Billy" Scott all left the Canadian Soo team; Globe and Mail, Jan 16/04, n. pag.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid.

<sup>36</sup>Mining Gazette, Dec 11/04, n. pag.

<sup>37</sup>Some players felt that the professional game would not survive; therefore, should they play professionally, their careers would be over if they were refused reinstatement into the O.H.A.

<sup>38</sup>Globe and Mail, Jan 16/04, n. pag.

The O.H.A. had taken an altruistic view of the plight of the Algonquin Hockey Club; Robertson felt that the Canadian Soo had been lured into professionalism by the American teams, and only understood the consequences of their actions after it was too late:

The club at the Canadian Soo allowed itself to be drawn into the net, by playing exhibition games against these subsidized teams, knowing that the penalty for the offense was suspension from the O.H.A. The Canadian players regretted the step soon after having taken it.<sup>39</sup>

The Algonquins now had no other choice but to try to acquire more talented players and pursue games against the other professionalized clubs, who were much more talented and featured some of the best players in hockey at that time.

The Michigan Soo team was considered professional because, by 1903, many of its players consisted of former Houghton and Pittsburgh men.<sup>40</sup> The Michigan Soo denied this allegation, claiming that a team "so strictly amateur will [be] organized and trained that the O.H.A. can find no fault with it. . . games [will] be played with the Canadian Soo and other teams in the O.H.A. without injuring their standing in the organization."<sup>41</sup> Despite such claims, in December of 1903, the O.H.A. ruled that its teams could not compete against the Michigan Soo club, or would risk being professionalized.<sup>42</sup> The ban did not worry the management of the Michigan team, as only games against the Canadian Soo would be affected,<sup>43</sup> and it seemed as though the Canadian team would forego its O.H.A. eligibility in favor of competition with the American clubs.

In spite of the risks faced by opposing clubs, the Michigan Soo did manage to arrange exhibition games against Ontario teams in 1903-04. The Toronto Varsity travelled to

---

<sup>39</sup>Copper Country, Dec 12/04, n. pag.

<sup>40</sup>Sault Star, Dec 17/03, n. pag.

<sup>41</sup>Mining Gazette, Nov 10/03, n. pag.

<sup>42</sup>Globe and Mail, Dec 7/03, n. pag.

<sup>43</sup>Mining Gazette, Dec 19/03, n. pag.

Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan to play, despite being banned by the O.H.A. as a result.<sup>44</sup> The Globe and Mail questioned the decision of the Varsity team; "the wisdom of visiting the Sault under such circumstances is doubtful, and the result may be serious damage to Varsity's prospects for a game with any O.H.A. team for the city championship."<sup>45</sup> The newspaper further anticipated that the Toronto team would have trouble arranging games in the future. Because of this, the Varsity then considered travelling to Pittsburgh to play the W.P.H.L. teams.<sup>46</sup>

Despite the Varsity's presence in Ontario, the O.H.A. did not control that club completely, as, being a university team, the Varsity served under the jurisdiction of the C.I.A.U. Because the Varsity had not received any monetary compensation for the Michigan Soo games, other than expenses, the team had not violated any collegiate rules, and could continue to play in intercollegiate matches.<sup>47</sup> However, some university teams, including Queen's, refused to play the Varsity, as Queen's would be unable to compete with O.H.A. teams should they play a team under O.H.A. ban.<sup>48</sup>

For this reason, the O.H.A. could still exert control over a team that was not even in its Association. The O.H.A. Executive was confident of its ability to exact the discipline that it determined was required for the professional teams, and even claimed credit for circumstances that could not be adequately attributed to O.H.A. actions. When the W.P.H.L. disbanded in the fall of 1904, and Pittsburgh entered a single club into the I.H.L., John Ross Robertson claimed that the O.H.A. was responsible for this apparent blow to professionalism in that city:

---

<sup>44</sup>Globe and Mail, Jan 4/04, n. pag.

<sup>45</sup>*Ibid.*, Jan 1/04, n. pag.

<sup>46</sup>*Ibid.*, Jan 12/04, n. pag.

<sup>47</sup>Young, 53-54.

<sup>48</sup>Globe and Mail, Jan 5/04, n. pag.

Another point of remark is that Pittsburgh apparently has had all it wants in supporting four professional teams, and have about decided to have but one. Perhaps the action of this association in refusing permission to any Ontario team to play there was directly responsible for this change. Some say so.<sup>49</sup>

Perhaps Robertson failed to recall that the W.P.H.L. was in operation at this time, and the organization of league games meant that exhibitions against Ontario clubs would be sporadic, and only supplementing the full schedule of games at the Duquesne Gardens.

The Portage Lakes Hockey Club also felt the impact of the O.H.A. practices, although perhaps not to the extent to which the O.H.A. had hoped. Not able to compete against O.H.A. teams, Houghton's team could only play against a limited number of competitors, including the Michigan Soo, the Canadian Soo Algonquins, and the Pittsburgh teams. Other matches were arranged against U.S. clubs, but the poor quality of the teams from St. Paul and St. Louis provided limited competition for the Portage Lakes Hockey Club. Still, Houghton management tried to entice teams from Ontario to play; the Globe and Mail reported that "they are now with an offer of a nice trip, with all expenses paid, to any intermediate team that would like to view the beauties of the mining town."<sup>50</sup>

With sanctions against teams and players competing against professionalized clubs, the O.H.A. disciplined referees who were needed in the U.S. In January of 1904, the Toronto Telegram reported that:

. . . referee Roy D. Schooley of the O.H.A., student at Osgoode Hall, at present stationed at Massey, Ont., is likely to be disciplined at this afternoon's meeting of the O.H.A. sub-committee, for refereeing professional hockey games at the Soo and at Houghton.<sup>51</sup>

Schooley was banned from the O.H.A., but, according to the Houghton Daily Mining Gazette, the suspension did not trouble him:

---

<sup>49</sup>Copper Country, Dec 12/04, n. pag.

<sup>50</sup>Globe and Mail, Dec 31/03, n. pag.

<sup>51</sup>Mining Gazette, Jan 9/04, n. pag.

He told the Mining Gazette that he had no regret in the matter as the O.H.A. is an organization for which he has no regard and one whose favor he does not care for. Mr. Schooley's suspension by the O.H.A. does not affect his high standing as a referee in Canada and the other associations still recognize him as an eligible referee.<sup>52</sup>

The O.H.A.'s efforts resulted in Schooley eventually becoming an official W.P.H.L. referee, and he later officiated matches played in the I.H.L.

The Executive had made concerted efforts to stop the professional teams, by limiting the competition that could be provided for them, and threatening the livelihood of the banned clubs. The Toronto Globe and Mail determined that the power of the O.H.A. was enough to result in the dissolution of any team that warranted suspension. When the Varsity and Algonquin teams were suspended, the newspaper announced that the future of both clubs was bleak:

The O.H.A. has placed the Varsity and Algonquin hockey teams under the ban, and of course now, since an unexpected step has been taken by the only hockey organization in existence, all that is left for these teams, which have incurred the displeasure of the autocrats, is to step down and out. Good-bye, Varsity; Good-bye, Algonquins. Peace be with you.<sup>53</sup>

However, both clubs would continue to play, despite the efforts of the O.H.A., and the views of certain newspapers.

While the O.H.A. had not forced the professionalized teams to disband, its Executive had limited the opposing clubs to a point where exhibition games were difficult to organize. The only solution was to organize a league that could feature a regular schedule of matches, and could generate enough funds to pay for the expense of running a professional team. The result was the formation of the I.H.L., a league that was created, in part, from the efforts of the O.H.A. to fight professionalism. The result may have increased problems for the Association, as with the creation of a professional league, even more of the top players in Ontario would be tempted to leave amateur hockey for the money promised in the U.S. towns.

---

<sup>52</sup>Mining Gazette, Jan 31/04, n. pag.

<sup>53</sup>Globe and Mail, Jan 12/04, n. pag.

The War Against the I.H.L. and Professionalism. Following the formation of the I.H.L., the O.H.A., anticipating the problems that would be created by the new league, began plans to disrupt professional operations. The O.H.A. became preoccupied with thwarting the outright professional League; however, several events occurred that resulted in the I.H.L. revealing hidden professionalism in the Association. Metcalfe explained, the I.H.L. and professionalism posed a threat to the O.H.A., the likes of which the Executive had not encountered in the past:

While the migration of players between different amateur associations caused problems it did not significantly erode the power of the O.H.A. within its own jurisdiction. It was the growth of professional hockey that posed the greatest threat to the O.H.A.<sup>54</sup>

Shortly before the I.H.L. commenced operations, John Ross Robertson announced an aggressive stance toward the new professional league:

For self preservation, the stand of the Ontario Hockey Association against the professionalism of Pittsburgh, Houghton, Calumet and the Soo must be uncompromisingly antagonistic. There can be no half measures. Any player who figures on any of these teams must be banished from Ontario Hockey.

"Reddy" McMillan, who had already been banned from the O.H.A., decided to play professionally in the I.H.L., simply because he felt that he had no other playing option.<sup>55</sup> However, many players used the new league as a means of extracting more inducements from the so-called amateur teams of the O.H.A., proving that the Association was not as purely amateur as its Executive claimed, or believed. The managers of the I.H.L. teams became immediately aware of this fact, as they tried to sign Canadian players from Ontario, and, according to the Sault Ste. Marie Evening News:

---

<sup>54</sup>Metcalfe "Power", 12.

<sup>55</sup>Mining Gazette, Nov 24/04, n. pag.

In looking for players the league clubs are meeting with considerable competition on the part of the Ontario Hockey Association teams and it is quite evident that the latter are not all being conducted on the basis of amateurism that is claimed for them. There is little doubt about the first class players throughout the province receiving rewards for their services. Though not always openly it is done in various ways, the principal one being that of providing positions with salaries much above what would be received by an ordinary employee unable to handle a hockey stick. The question arises as to whether honest professionalism or dishonest amateurism is preferable.<sup>56</sup>

The Copper Country Evening News also recognized the plight of the I.H.L. managers, and the hypocrisy of O.H.A. practices and policies:

Yet the wise ones say the difference between the practices of the two organizations is a difference in name only, and not a difference in principle. The players in both organizations nominally hold positions outside of their hockey playing which yield them livelihoods.<sup>57</sup>

As the O.H.A. made concerted efforts to disrupt I.H.L. operations, complaints arose regarding the Association's ability to govern its own subordinates. The Hamilton Herald also accused the O.H.A. of trying to discipline professional activities in the northern Ontario towns, while ignoring some unscrupulous practices by Toronto teams.<sup>58</sup>

The I.H.L., in retaliation against the sanctions posed by the O.H.A. Executive, then forced the Association to recognize and address acts of professionalism within its own ranks. Two incidents occurred during the 1904-05 season that compelled the O.H.A. to discipline its own players, for professional activities that were proven by the teams of the I.H.L. Both involved players from the O.H.A., who upon signing with I.H.L. clubs, reneged on their professional contracts and decided to play in the O.H.A.; the players were rumored to have signed for more money with their amateur teams.

E. J. Schaefer had played with Barrie in 1903, but had arrived in Midland the following winter, to play for the O.H.A. team located in that town. However, Schaefer negotiated with the Canadian Soo team, of the I.H.L., and expressed a desire to play

---

<sup>56</sup>Soo Evening News, Oct 29/04, n. pag.

<sup>57</sup>Copper Country, Dec 12/04, n. pag.

<sup>58</sup>Soo Evening News, Dec 17/04, n. pag.



professionally for the 1904-05 season. To prove his intentions, Schaefer signed a contract with Canadian Soo management, and was sent sixty dollars in advance money.<sup>59</sup> Schaefer then gave a receipt to the I.H.L. team, but later refused to report, demanding a higher salary. The Soo club contacted Midland, and threatened to report the dealings of Schaefer and the O.H.A. club to the O.H.A. Executive, unless Schaefer was released and allowed to play for the Canadian Soo. Schaefer was under contract, in violation of the O.H.A.'s rules.

The Daily Mining Gazette reported that:

it is unusual for an amateur club to keep players under contract as Schaefer intimated in the letter was the case for him. . . . it is understood that the reason that he cannot leave Midland is that he is there threatened with prosecution for accepting money under false pretenses.<sup>60</sup>

According to the Toronto Telegram, G. S. Cowie, a representative of the Canadian Soo team, travelled to Midland to meet Schaefer. With him, Cowie brought Schaefer's contract, and intended on returning to the Soo with the former Barrie player. Upon arriving at the train station, Cowie was confronted by an angry delegation of men:

He [claimed] that when he informed them that he had Schaefer's contract in his pocket they asked him to let them see it, and when he flashed it he says Whitcroft tore it up. The pieces, however, were gathered together, and the O.H.A. will have the interesting document.<sup>61</sup>

Although Schaefer returned the sixty dollar advance, the Canadian Soo forwarded the contract, pasted together, to the O.H.A., along with two letters from Schaefer.<sup>62</sup>

Robertson, with the incriminating evidence too obvious to avoid, suspended Schaefer for the remainder of the 1904-05 season.<sup>63</sup>

---

<sup>59</sup>Mining Gazette, Dec 11/04, n. pag. The money was apparently to be given to the management of the Midland team, to repay the club for the money that team had advanced Schaefer to get him from Barrie. If true, the Midland club would be guilty of paying players.

<sup>60</sup>Mining Gazette, Dec 11/04, n. pag.

<sup>61</sup>Sault Star, Dec 22/04, 1.

<sup>62</sup>*Ibid.* The contract called for Schaefer to be paid twenty-two dollars per week.

<sup>63</sup>Mining Gazette, Jan 6/05, n. pag. Schaefer would eventually play for the Canadian Soo, in the I.H.L., during the 1906-07 season.

Robertson and the O.H.A. were forced to suspend Schaefer, as the Canadian Soo club had provided irrefutable evidence that Schaefer had signed a professional playing contract. However, the Association ignored the suspicious activities of the Midland team. Midland claimed to have no knowledge of the signing, although Schaefer required sixty dollars from the Canadian Soo to repay an advance that had been given him by the O.H.A. team. The Daily Mining Gazette also reported evidence that Midland management was guilty of deliberate professional practices; As I.H.L. teams looked for players before the start of the 1904-05 season, one player explained that while he was from Montreal, he had gone to Midland to play for the season. This would be in direct conflict with the O.H.A.'s residency rules, and was an indication that Midland had a number of players who had come to that town solely for the purpose of playing hockey.<sup>64</sup>

In another situation, the I.H.L. forced the O.H.A. to discipline its own players, and revealed the professional conduct of some of the O.H.A. teams. In the fall of 1904, the Canadian Soo team also sought the services of two members of the Smith's Falls Hockey Club of the O.H.A. Garfield McDonald and Herman Hummell both signed contracts to play professionally in the I.H.L., and then, according to the Montreal Star, "thinking that contracts to play hockey were not as binding as other ordinary business contracts . . . refused to play,"<sup>65</sup> and joined the O.H.A. team. Unlike the case of Schaefer, the Canadian Soo decided not to pursue the matter with the O.H.A. Executive, even though the Daily Mining Gazette reported that "no one there doubts but that McDonald, and perhaps Hummell as well, used his contract with the Soo as a lever to obtain a higher salary at Smith's Falls, where the club is O.H.A. amateur."<sup>66</sup>

---

<sup>64</sup>Mining Gazette, Dec 21/04, n. pag.

<sup>65</sup>Copper Country, Jan 9/05, n. pag.

<sup>66</sup>Mining Gazette, Dec 21/04, n. pag.

With the Canadian Soo resigned to the loss of the two players to Smith's Falls, the management of the O.H.A. team then ridiculed the I.H.L. and the Canadian Soo team, claiming superiority in retaining the players:

The signing of Hummell and McDonald by the Soo was brought up at a former meeting of the O.H.A. executive and several unkind things said about the local club which at the time had not taken action before the association. The Soo called the bluff and sent in the evidence with the result that the two players are now out and Smith's Falls is probably wishing that it kept quiet.<sup>67</sup>

The Canadian Soo club was not interested in punishing the Smith's Falls club, by forcing the O.H.A. to recognize that one of its own teams was professional, until the management there slighted the Canadian Soo team. The Soo managers then forwarded all documents regarding the signing of both players, resulting in the suspension of Hummell and McDonald by the Association Executive.<sup>68</sup>

The Sault Ste. Marie Evening News then reported that "the suspension of these two players is a nice little lesson for some of those who are knocking the Soo because of its having proclaimed its professionalism in an honest way."<sup>69</sup> However, Smith's Falls had not learned their lesson, as J.A. Washburn, part of that team's management, then claimed that although Hummell and McDonald might not be able to play for Smith's Falls, they certainly would not play for the Canadian Soo. The Montreal Star considered Washburn's statement proof that the O.H.A. team had some control over the movement of its players, which was in direct violation of the Executive's amateur principles. The Star then explained that "the Soo team does not claim to be the only professional organization in Ontario, but it does believe it is the only one brave enough to be honest about it."<sup>70</sup>

---

<sup>67</sup>Mining Gazette, Jan 6/05, n. pag.

<sup>68</sup>Copper Country, Jan 9/05, n. pag.

<sup>69</sup>Mining Gazette, Jan 6/05, n. pag.

<sup>70</sup>Copper Country, Jan 9/05, n. pag.

Thus, the efforts of the O.H.A. to regulate amateur hockey had affected the operations of the professional league, and had also revealed the hypocrisies of its own operations. Professionalism had crept in to all areas of its teams, and future actions would further influence hockey, in both professional and amateur capacities.

Maintaining the Power of the Association With the operations of the I.H.L. demonstrating that professional ice hockey was viable, and with the trend toward professionalism in the amateur Canadian teams and leagues - including its own - the O.H.A. faced a turning point in its organizational philosophy. The Executive realized that, although professional ice hockey would eventually become prevalent in Canadian leagues, the O.H.A. could continue to control hockey, both professional and amateur, if the Association could maintain control over the players in Ontario who would eventually become professionals. Thus, realizing its teams could not compete with the talented professional clubs that were to come, the O.H.A. could maintain its power base by controlling the access of players into the professional leagues. "As long as there was no system of by-passing the O.H.A. [the Association] maintained this power".<sup>71</sup>

In the fall of 1905, as professionalism gained a further hold on several of the alleged amateur leagues in Canada, the O.H.A. succumbed to pressure by changing its rules, allowing amateurs to play with professional teams, provided that the amateurs did not receive monetary compensation for competing.<sup>72</sup> Another significant change occurred in that year, when John Ross Robertson announced that he would not stand for re-election as President of the O.H.A.; he was succeeded by D.L. Darroch of Collingwood.<sup>73</sup>

In spite of the overwhelming evidence that professional hockey was soon to be prominent in Canadian leagues, and the efforts by other leagues to persuade the O.H.A. to

---

<sup>71</sup>Metcalfe, "Power", 18.

<sup>72</sup>Sault Star, Oct 19/05, n. pag.

<sup>73</sup>Young, 72, 73.

become professional,<sup>74</sup> the O.H.A. still tried to adhere to its amateur principles. However, as Young explained, "the job of staying amateur and still keeping the best players was soon to be beyond the O.H.A. Professionalism continued to be punished for decades thereafter, but every year many of the best players moved to the pros".<sup>75</sup>

Thus, the O.H.A. has assumed a different role in ice hockey in eastern Canada. The Association had managed to maintain its amateur ideals, and a strong control over hockey players in Ontario. The only power lost, if it could be described as such, was the loss of many of the best players to the professional leagues.

#### The Eastern Canada Amateur Hockey Association

Although the O.H.A. had a profound effect on I.H.L. operations, the activities of the E.C.H.A. between 1904 and 1907 may have contributed more significantly to the demise of the I.H.L., in the fall of 1907. This league was one of the first in Canada to openly acknowledge the use of professional players, and the most influential team was the Montreal Wanderers, which won the Stanley Cup in the spring of 1907. The activities that led to the acceptance of professionalism in the E.C.A.H.A. will be addressed, and the effects of such occurrences on the I.H.L. will be noted.

In December of 1904, the Montreal Wanderers were refused admittance into the C.A.H.L., due to charges of professionalism.<sup>76</sup> These charges were not unfounded; the team had travelled to Houghton the previous season to challenge the Portage Lakes Hockey Club. Consequently, the team became members of the E.C.A.H.A., playing against teams from Ontario and Quebec.

Despite claims to the contrary, the E.C.A.H.A. was considered a professional league by many hockey enthusiasts during this time period, due to the frequent movement of

---

<sup>74</sup>Ibid., 81.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., 98.

<sup>76</sup>Mining Gazette, Dec 4/04, n. pag.

players to other cities, and accusations of inducements to league players. Finally, in the fall of 1906, more concrete accusations of professionalism in that league arose, as Frank Grierson, President of the Canadian Civil Service Amateur Association, made strong allegations of the existence of professionals in both the Federal and Eastern hockey leagues, and the Quebec Rugby Union. Even though this association did not have direct jurisdiction over the leagues it accused, Grierson stated that all players, and their teams should be suspended; "he realized that there were men in those clubs who were not guilty, but he wanted to get rid of 'scum'".<sup>77</sup> Grierson then listed the names of players, and inferred that he had proof that three men received over three hundred dollars each for playing hockey. He also claimed that two teams divided four or five thousand dollars between their players.<sup>78</sup>

Two days after these allegations were reported, as discussions of the professional practices of Canadian amateur sports teams continued in the newspapers, the Toronto Star claimed that the Ottawa team of the E.C.A.H.A. had been professional for several seasons:

The Ottawa Stanley Cup Holders have been paying salaries or making valuable presents of money and other gifts to their good players for years and these men are now known as 'hidden professionals' and are ranked as professionals by the amateur organizations of Canada at the present time.<sup>79</sup>

Harvey Pulford, Frank McGee, Alf Smith, Arthur Moore, and H. Westwick were all accused of professionalism, and, in response to the allegations, Frank Stark of the C.A.A.U. planned to set up a committee to investigate the charges. The Star then concluded that the investigation "will professionalize the eastern bunch and they will now surely have a professional hockey league in Eastern Canada".<sup>80</sup>

Rather than address the investigation by the C.A.A.U., the E.C.A.H.A. then organized a meeting, and decided to allow amateurs and professionals to play together in

---

<sup>77</sup>Mining Gazette, Nov 1/06, n. pag.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid.

<sup>79</sup>Mining Gazette, Nov 3/06, n. pag.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid.

the league, without the amateurs losing their status. The league considered the C.A.A.U. to be meddlesome, and not cognizant of the situation prevalent in hockey in Canada:

Mr. McGee said that it was now felt, after the experience of last year, that the hockey league was strong enough to act on its own initiative and conduct its own business, while the C.A.A.U. had not shown a proper grasp of the problems before the hockey players of the country.<sup>81</sup>

Thus, avoiding the risk of potential discipline by the C.A.A.U., the E.C.H.A. revised its eligibility rules. It then presented a resolution, proposed by the accused Ottawa club and seconded by the Montreal club, that the C.A.H.L. was entirely independent of the C.A.A.U., and could arrange its own matters.<sup>82</sup> The reason for this move was then given; "the public wanted good sport and winning teams, and if they were to be furnished with the kind of playing they demanded it was found necessary to pay men to do the work. . . . The resolution was adopted in unanimity".<sup>83</sup>

With the acceptance of professionals in the E.C.H.A., players who had performed in the I.H.L. could now return to Canada to resume professional hockey careers. Managers of the Canadian clubs then began offering the I.H.L. men money to return to Canada, driving salaries higher as management found it more difficult to sign players. To combat the escalating salaries, Pittsburgh's I.H.L. team apparently reached an agreement with the Montreal Wanderers to share players. When "Hod" Stuart left for Montreal after being suspended from Pittsburgh, the Sault Ste. Marie Evening News reported that Stuart's departure was "in accordance with a compact between Pittsburgh and the Montreal Wanderers to exchange players where necessary in order that one may win the International league pennant and the other the Stanley Cup".<sup>84</sup> However, with Stuart's actions, which led

---

<sup>81</sup>Copper Country, Nov 14/06, n. pag.

<sup>82</sup>Ibid.

<sup>83</sup>Soo Evening News, Nov 14/06, n. pag

<sup>84</sup>Soo Evening News, Dec 31/06, n. pag.

to his release by Pittsburgh, the agreement was apparently dissolved by the Pittsburgh club.<sup>85</sup>

The Wanderers had acquired several key I.H.L. players through the 1906-07 season, including Stuart and "Riley" Hern. Shortly after Stuart left for the Wanderers, he was joined in the E.C.H.A. by former Pittsburgh teammate, Billy Baird. The Pittsburgh Sun reported that Baird's departure was highly unexpected:

In grabbing the golden bait of the Canucks, Baird left the Pittsburgh team on even shorter notice than Stuart. The crack point remained with the local players until nearly 7 o'clock in the evening of the first game at Calumet, but when the time for play arrived Baird was missing, and it was soon learned that he had signed up with the Ottawas.<sup>86</sup>

However, as the 1906-07 season continued, few of the other E.C.H.A. teams had signed many professional players, with the exception of Montreal; the club there had acquired many players at a professional level. The Wanderers soon emerged as a contender for the Stanley Cup, but it was then reported that the team might be encountering significant financial problems, as the Copper Country Evening News explained:

It looks as though there is an opportunity for the much touted Wanderers and others of the Eastern Canada Hockey Association to wind up their season with a series of lawsuits and many of the managers may be up to the proposition of paying players' salaries according to contract when no playing has been done. . . . At the annual meeting of the association, permission was given all the clubs to play with and against professionals. It now appears that the only club to make much of this new arrangement was the Wanderers, the management of this club making contracts with a number of professionals who effectively strengthened their team.<sup>87</sup>

As the Wanderers became a far better club, the other managers reneged on their professional stance, and tried to debar Montreal. The Copper Country Evening News then claimed that if the team was to be suspended, it would have no opponents, yet would still have to pay the remaining amounts of the players' salaries, though no games had been

---

<sup>85</sup>Copper Country, Jan 10/07, n. pag.

<sup>86</sup>Soo Evening News, Feb 4/07, n. pag.

<sup>87</sup>Copper Country, Jan 11/07, n. pag.



played. The Wanderers reacted by announcing that its management would sue the other clubs, even though the other clubs, with the exception of the Shamrocks, had no corporate body to enact legal action upon.<sup>88</sup>

However, the Wanderers completed the season, as scheduled, and, with the aid of former I.H.L. players, won the Stanley Cup in 1907. The club proved that, with the addition of professionals, the most talented and successful teams could be organized by ignoring the traditional amateur ideals for a more commercial, spectator-oriented approach to operations. While the E.C.H.A. and its teams directly affected the I.H.L. only in player transactions, the Wanderers proved that professional hockey could be successful in Canada. This led to the advent of more professional teams and leagues in the fall of 1907, which competed for I.H.L. players. By then, the I.H.L. managers could not outbid the Canadian teams, which led to the disbanding of the first professional ice hockey league.

#### Changes in Professionalism in Hockey in Canada

As evidenced by the discussed incidents in Canadian amateur hockey, throughout the first few years of the twentieth century, sport, particularly commercial or spectator sport, began to take on meanings and forms different from what the amateur associations had hoped or desired. During the three years of I.H.L. operations, hockey changed dramatically, in terms of the development and acceptance of open professionalism in the sport. This trend did not occur immediately, or spontaneously; professionalism gradually became a part of high-level ice hockey played in Canada.

#### Commercialism in Spectator Sport and Perceived American Influences

By 1900, hockey had developed into a popular sport, both watched and participated in by many Canadians during the winter months.<sup>89</sup> Hockey associations had been formed,

---

<sup>88</sup>Ibid.

<sup>89</sup>Canadians were most interested in team games, during this period; Syd F. Wise, "Sport and Class Values in Old Ontario and Quebec", in His Own Man, edited by W.H.Heick and Roger Graham (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1974), 105.

some for the purpose of organizing championships,<sup>90</sup> and, as discussed in Chapter 2, professionalism would become a part of most sports that featured large paying crowds.<sup>91</sup>

The professionalism that developed in sports such as lacrosse, baseball, and hockey was in direct contrast to the organizers of the associations, who tried to eradicate non-amateur practices, at least those which resulted in payments to players. Thus, the amateur supporters began to blame many other undesirable qualities of sport on the professional element, including excessive violence and gambling. However, as Gruneau and Whitson contended, "links between money, alcohol, male culture, sports, and the tavern were formed very early in Canada's sporting history",<sup>92</sup> and Cosentino noted that gambling was prevalent in the early sporting clubs.<sup>93</sup> Kidd and Macfarlane made a more accurate observation when they considered that, rather than a consequence of professionalism, gambling was a factor in the development of professional hockey; "between the betting and the paying of admissions, a lot of money changed hands inside the arenas, and it was only a matter of time before hockey players would demand to be paid".<sup>94</sup>

While the gambling, increased crowds, and availability of funds, aided in the formation of professional clubs in team spectator sport, it was civic pride, and the demand for better teams that ultimately led to the appearance of professional players:

When a local favorite went forward to challenge an individual or team in another town or city, and especially if that town or city was perceived as an economic or political rival, the contest was inevitably followed with great interest.<sup>95</sup>

---

<sup>90</sup>The C.A.A.A. had been formed for this purpose; *Ibid.*, 100.

<sup>91</sup>Cox, "History of Sport", 469.

<sup>92</sup>Gruneau and Whitson, 57.

<sup>93</sup>Cosentino, 24.

<sup>94</sup>Kidd and Macfarlane, 102.

<sup>95</sup>Gruneau and Whitson, 68-69.

Spectators soon became so involved in contests that entire communities felt embodied in the competing teams.<sup>96</sup> Before the onset of professionalism, teams would be comprised of family, friends, or other town acquaintances. It was easy to cheer for the local club, as the character of the town could actually be displayed in the behavior or play of the athletes, who were residents.<sup>97</sup>

The advent of rinks, playing fields, and parks enabled more fans to witness the athletic exploits of their fellow residents; soon "a sense of community identification with particular teams or entertainers could be purchased with a portion of one's wages".<sup>98</sup> However, more emphasis was placed on the outcome of games, and players began to arrive in communities to play for local clubs. Gruneau and Whitson explained that the emergence of professionalism was inevitable:

A longstanding taste for spectacle in popular culture, a desire for competitive teams in communities that lacked the population and resources of the major cities, the articulation of individual and collective identities in sporting competition, and the impulse towards civic boosterism in a competitive market society: all of these elements combined to create markets for professional hockey.<sup>99</sup>

Therefore, using the means described in Chapter 2, teams and managers began assembling rosters with players from different towns, and began devising ways to compensate the athletes for playing.

Perhaps the first to recognize the potential that spectator sports, including hockey, held for generating revenue, were the owners of the town's sporting facilities. Kidd and Macfarlane explained that the early rink owners were the first entrepreneurs in ice hockey; facility managers would charge a significant percentage of the gate for the staging of

---

<sup>96</sup>Mott, 9.

<sup>97</sup>Gruneau and Whitson, 67.

<sup>98</sup>Ibid., 61.

<sup>99</sup>Ibid., 69.

amateur hockey games.<sup>100</sup> Kidd and Macfarlane further noted that these owners were, in fact, exploiting a sport that had been organized, in part, for reasons of community loyalty, in order to derive a profit.<sup>101</sup> However, as Gruneau and Whitson report, the facility owners had only recognized a potential market that existed;<sup>102</sup> the facilities were privately owned and needed some source of financial support.

By the 1900s, due to the presence of gate receipts, and the increased popularity of the sport, professionalism had begun to appear in Canadian amateur hockey. As Foster Hewitt explained:

Professional hockey was spreading with the speed of a false rumor. Civic pride was demanding great teams, regardless of how they were assembled. Rink owners were learning not only that hockey was profitable but also that all-star teams made more money than ordinary ones.<sup>103</sup>

Meanwhile, in the United States, a professional league had been created for many of the same reasons hidden professionalism had emerged in Canada. The difference, however, was that there were not enough local players available to fill the rosters of the I.H.L.; thus, it was necessary for I.H.L. managers to pay Canadian players to join local clubs. The Portage Lakes Hockey Club, which had relied on local players through its first few years of existence - albeit transplanted Canadians with hockey experience - began paying for higher priced talent, as the local spectators demanded a better team. Later, the I.H.L. was formed, although the only significant difference between the U.S. professionals and the Canadian amateurs was that the U.S. teams could not deny that the Canadian players, relocating in the I.H.L. towns, were receiving remuneration.

---

<sup>100</sup>Kidd and Macfarlane, 106.

<sup>101</sup>Ibid.

<sup>102</sup>Gruneau and Whitson, 63.

<sup>103</sup>Hewitt, Hockey Night in Canada, 32-33.

### Amateur Hockey Organizations and Hidden Professionalism

As the amateur hockey organizations, particularly the O.H.A., adopted even more stringent rules to punish professionals, more evidence emerged to indicate that professionalism existed in all the major amateur leagues operating in eastern Canada. One reason for the restrictive policy was the social backgrounds of the leagues' executives. The leaders and operators of the hockey associations could be seen as "profoundly paternalistic and conservative".<sup>104</sup> Jones noted this attitude, and reported that "in Canada, professionalism was strongly resisted by all of the administrative associations. . . ."<sup>105</sup> This was because of the social backgrounds of those in charge of the associations, which were vastly different from the social origins of many of the league players.

The amateur associations responded to the threat of professionalism by creating more inflexible disciplinary measures when addressing accused professionals. As Metcalfe explained in discussing the reaction of the O.H.A. to the professionals, "liberal voices which supported a more flexible approach to the question of professionalism lost out to the 'hard-line' approach adopted by the ultra-conservatives".<sup>106</sup> In 1904, the O.H.A. instituted a rule dictating that professionals never be allowed reinstatement into the O.H.A.<sup>107</sup>

"However, even though the accusations of professionalism were rampant, most of the well-established teams and associations - especially those seeking the Stanley Cup - were able to avoid disqualification or suspension."<sup>108</sup> Newspapers, following the I.H.L. managers in their quest to obtain hockey players, were often puzzled at the behavior of players who refused to accept salaries to play in the I.H.L., and who chose to remain amateurs in leagues such as the O.H.A. One instance, in January of 1905, involved Joe Hall

---

<sup>104</sup>Gruneau and Whitson, 23.

<sup>105</sup>Jones, 256.

<sup>106</sup>Metcalfe, "Power", 8.

<sup>107</sup>Young, 52.

<sup>108</sup>Gruneau and Whitson, 74.

of Brandon declining an offer of one hundred dollars per month to play for the Portage Lakes Hockey Club. The Ottawa Free Press noted that "one hundred beans per month is pretty fair for hockey, but when one can get the coin and remain amateur. . . what's the odds?"<sup>109</sup>

The I.H.L. managers grew weary of the alleged amateurs who declined to play in the professional league. It was also rumored that several players from Canada had made allegations to their clubs that they had received large offers to play in the U.S., for the purpose of exacting more generous benefits for playing amateur games. In one instance, a player named Hannah claimed that he had been offered a large contract to play for Calumet. However, "Hod" Stuart, who acquired players for the Calumet team, and had made no such offer, wrote to the Montreal Star, refuting Hannah's claims. "Stuart [said] he never wrote to Hannah and intimates that a good many players in the east are using such means to boost their own salaries."<sup>110</sup>

The I.H.L. had a profound effect on the operations of the amateur leagues in Canada. Gruneau and Whitson noted that, "in the wake of the formation of the International League, the two major Canadian senior leagues, the Federal Hockey League, and Eastern Canadian Hockey Association became increasingly (but not openly) professional."<sup>111</sup> Thus, Canadian hockey fans were told that professional hockey was an evil that had taken some of Canada's best players away to America; yet the games they watched in Canada featured many athletes who were receiving some form of compensation for playing hockey.

#### Amateurism in Senior Canadian Hockey

By 1905, newspapers in Canada had generally agreed that the amateur clubs were, in fact, paying their players. The reason for the attempts by associations to remain amateur, while the players themselves sought remuneration, can be, as noted above, partly attributed

---

<sup>109</sup>Soo Evening News, Jan 3/05, n. pag.

<sup>110</sup>Soo Evening News, Dec 28/04, n. pag.

<sup>111</sup>Gruneau and Whitson, 75.

to the contrast in social status between the athletes and the social elite who operated the amateur associations:

Most often, these definitions were negotiated by a narrow circle of men from the dominant classes in major economic and political centres of Western industrial societies in the late nineteenth century. More notably, these groups often struggled to articulate their own interests and values as if they were completely synonymous with universal interests and values.<sup>112</sup>

While organizations resisted the trends toward professionalism, the players and teams themselves realized that if they were to continue assembling competitive teams, payments to players were a necessity. This would explain the apparent hypocritical stance of the amateur associations, such as the O.H.A., who were criticized by the press for ignoring obvious examples of professionalism within their organizations.

As Lansley explained, "Canada was still very closely allied to Britain and British ideals [of amateurism in sport], but an ever-increasing influence on Canadian society was being exerted by the United States".<sup>113</sup> Close sporting ties between Canada and the U.S. had begun, shortly after Confederation, and increased during the twentieth century. Thus, in Canada, a dilemma would be created in amateur hockey; the more wealthy, socially powerful executives of the associations would be upholding the elite ideals of amateurism, while most of the players and spectators were more likely to endorse the professional game.<sup>114</sup>

The players and teams had joined associations such as the O.H.A. simply because those organizations controlled access to competition; the participants did not necessarily support or agree with the policies and ideals held by the league executives:

---

<sup>112</sup>Gruneau and Whitson, 45.

<sup>113</sup>Lansley, 21.

<sup>114</sup>Ibid.

New teams and clubs across the country sought the sponsorship of the existing amateur associations because they wanted recognition, access to rules and know-how, and quality competition. But these teams weren't always interested in the ideological baggage that accompanied such sponsorship, especially when they thought that the 'pure' amateurism gave an unfair advantage to affluent clubs or to teams located in big cities.<sup>115</sup>

Players and teams, particularly in the smaller towns, began secret payments to players to allow clubs to compete against the stronger teams in the large urban centres. Despite the moral or legal impact of the actions of the players and teams, according to the rules of the league and association executives, many small towns were more concerned with the competitive success of the local team than with adhering to amateur principles.

Soon, hidden professionalism was rampant in amateur hockey; the amateur associations, realizing that complete control over economic activities could not be achieved, altered their policies to accommodate the trend toward professionalism. This is evidenced by the changes within organizations such as the O.H.A.; "hockey's battle for simon-pure amateurism pretty much prevailed in [Robertson's] day, but the seeds of defeat were in sight, if anyone was looking ahead."<sup>116</sup>

#### Professionalism During the I.H.L.'s Operating Years

Between 1904 and 1907, attitudes toward playing professional hockey in Canada became more universally accepted by players, managers, associations, and the newspaper writers of eastern Canada. Many were frustrated by the actions of the players and clubs of the amateur associations, and the failure of the associations to adequately regulate aberrant behavior; the acceptance of professional hockey in Canada was soon considered an eventuality that could not be avoided.

---

<sup>115</sup>Gruneau and Whitson, 70.

<sup>116</sup>Young, 50.



### Hypocrisy in Canadian Amateur Hockey

As more teams and players were revealed to be professionals in the amateur hockey associations in Canada, hockey supporters in Canada became more agitated by the affairs affecting their sport. In many instances, players were obvious professionals, yet the amateur associations would only take action against teams if irrefutable evidence had been provided by other sources, such as I.H.L. clubs, which revealed the activities of certain players. Eventually, the Canadian press grew weary of the activities in Canadian hockey, and began to admire the straightforward approach to operations that were taken by the declared professional teams. Thus, accepting the alleged Canadian professionals outright came to be seen as a means of solving the problems plaguing Canadian amateur hockey.

As discussed previously in this chapter, the attempts by the I.H.L. managers to sign players in Canada had quickly revealed the professional practices of the amateur leagues, as players "used their offers from the [I.H.L. teams] only as levers to obtain money from their home clubs".<sup>117</sup> According to the Montreal Star, players who were not even pursued by I.H.L. clubs would use the professional league as a bargaining tool with their amateur teams; "in some cases, professional league managers first heard of players by their announcements in the outside press that they have received offers to play professional hockey".<sup>118</sup>

With the continuation of such dishonest behavior by alleged amateurs, even supporters of amateur ideals began to respect the professional players for their forthrightness; President Gorman of the C.A.A.U. made this comment on the state of professionalism within the amateur ranks:

There are just as many professionals as there are among the amateurs, and there is no one that I have more respect for than the man who comes out and says he is a professional and plays the game fair. The men I am down on are those who pretend they are amateurs. . . .<sup>119</sup>

---

<sup>117</sup>Soo Evening News, Jan 7/05, n. pag.

<sup>118</sup>Copper Country, Jan 9/05, n. pag.

<sup>119</sup>Mining Gazette, Feb 15/06, n. pag.

Thus, playing professionally became a lesser evil than being a professional in the guise of amateurism.

The press in Canada sensed this change in public perception, and demanded that changes be made to reinstate the integrity that was apparently lacking through the unfair practices in Canadian hockey. The Stratford Daily Herald chastised amateur hockey for its hypocritical stance, and suggested that hockey follow the path of lacrosse, which was already an accepted professional sport:

Why should the national winter game be placed under false pretenses any longer, any more than the national summer game? Hockey has been played for ten years or more in Canada by men paid good salaries to play the game. Yet they are called amateurs, and that private organization, the O.H.A., . . . has been in the habit of making a lot of fuss about it when some unlucky chap was caught with the goods on him. Better to come out boldly as professionals, because that is what most of the big teams in Canada today are, than continue the hypocritical farce.<sup>120</sup>

Thus, professional leagues became desired as a means to correct the practices of hidden professionalism in Canadian amateur hockey. As the Ottawa Free Press explained, "if the 'pro' system [was] brought into effect, or the semi-pro system, the players would be brought under some measure of control."<sup>121</sup>

Eventually, some Canadian players and managers gave serious consideration to the formation of professional teams and leagues. By December of 1906, the onset of professional hockey in Canada had begun:

The reform movement started in the south, in and about Toronto. It seems now to be extending rapidly, and before another year will have passed it is believed that there will be no longer any professional playing under the guise of amateurs.<sup>122</sup>

As the reform movement began during the 1906-07 season, the Houghton Daily Mining Gazette's prediction proved correct; by 1907-08 professional hockey had arrived in Canada.

---

<sup>120</sup>Mining Gazette, Mar 4/06, n. pag.

<sup>121</sup>Soo Evening News, Jan 3/05, n. pag.

<sup>122</sup>Mining Gazette, Dec 15/06, n. pag.

### Resistance to Professionalism

As the 1906-07 hockey season continued, discussion of the advent of professional hockey in Canada increased. The Toronto Telegram reported that "no one can read the daily papers without noticing that hockey is drifting towards professionalism so fast that you can hardly keep up with the current".<sup>123</sup> However, while acknowledging that professional hockey would soon become a reality in Canada, some sports writers did not consider the professional game to be financially viable.

The sports writer of the Houghton Daily Mining Gazette had kept a keen eye on the reactions and reports on hockey in Canadian papers, through the three years of I.H.L. operations. In 1906, that newspaper contended that professionalism was on the verge of acceptance in Canada:

The love for the professional game is still on the rise. Now some of the most prominent papers in Canada are coming out with stories of the present professional teams in the Dominion and are throwing the 'con' into the alleged amateur teams.<sup>124</sup>

During the 1905-06 season, the Houghton paper also anticipated the formation of a professional league in Canada; "Canadian papers are gradually becoming more in favor of professional hockey and it is not at all unlikely that a big professional league . . . will be formed next year."<sup>125</sup>

Although a professional league had yet to appear by the start of the 1906-07 season, a professional team had been formed in Toronto, which engaged in exhibition matches against I.H.L. clubs. Following a visit by the Canadian Soo hockey team to Toronto, the Copper Country Evening News claimed: "the general opinion is that the professional game is the thing for the Dominion."<sup>126</sup> The Houghton Daily Mining Gazette concurred with

---

<sup>123</sup>Copper Country, Feb 4/07, n. pag.

<sup>124</sup>Mining Gazette, Mar 4/06, n. pag. Professional hockey was also considered likely to appear in Manitoba; the Mining Gazette reported that Rat Portage and Winnipeg would likely become professional teams for the 1906-07 season; Mining Gazette, Mar 15/06, n. pag.

<sup>125</sup>Ibid. Feb 11/06, n. pag.

<sup>126</sup>Copper Country, Dec 29/06, n. pag.

the former newspaper's observation; "the Soo team was cheered by the crowd from the start, showing [that] Canadians appreciate the American league's way of going at the game and predicting a bright future for the professional game in the Dominion."<sup>127</sup>

In spite of the formation of the Toronto professional club, and the anticipated acceptance of professional hockey in Canada, newspapers in I.H.L. towns noted that the future of Canadian professionalism relied on the Canadian press to support professional play. In the past, the newspapers of Canada had ridiculed professional hockey, and the Houghton Daily Mining Gazette suggested that the success of a potential Toronto I.H.L. team was dependent upon the endorsement of the team by the press. Toronto was planning to enter a team into the I.H.L., in the fall of 1907:

Toronto, with its new Mutual Street rink and such a competent manager as Milne . . . will be a great acquisition for the league. If the Toronto papers, the Globe and the World, will hang up their little hammers and give the straight forward game a chance in their city it certainly will be more than a success.<sup>128</sup>

In the past, the Toronto Telegram had derided the potential for professional hockey in that city:

In the first place, the teams couldn't get ice, and, in the second if it could, the 60 per cent that goes to the rink and the expenses of bringing teams from such distances as Pittsburgh, the Sault, or Houghton would leave the locals in a hole after every game.<sup>129</sup>

The Telegram also contended that the Toronto professional team would not have enough talented players, as all the better athletes would be signed by the U.S. professional teams; "by the time the International teams get through picking over the material, what is going to be left?"<sup>130</sup>

---

<sup>127</sup>Mining Gazette, Dec 29/06, n. pag.

<sup>128</sup>Mining Gazette, Sep 27/07, n. pag.

<sup>129</sup>Sault Star, Oct 19/05, n. pag.

<sup>130</sup>ibid., Nov 2/05, n. pag.

However, should a professional league be organized, then Canadian teams would not get players that were not acquired for the I.H.L.; the league could bid directly for players that sought to play professionally in both Canada and the United States. Thus, the decision to accept professionalism in Canadian hockey, while influenced by the activities of the I.H.L. players and teams, would also greatly determine the ability of the first professional league to continue operations.

#### Anticipation of Professional Hockey

By the fall of 1907, followers of hockey in Canada seemed to accept the arrival of open professionalism in the sport. One reason for this acceptance, as discussed above, was that professional hockey was a solution to the hidden professionalism that had permeated the amateur leagues. Another reason, which will be discussed later in this Chapter, was the effects that the formation of the first professional league, the I.H.L., had on perceptions of the professional game in Canada. In any case, Canada seemed prepared to condone the paying of athletes to participate in ice hockey.

The influence of amateur ideals on team sports in Canada had changed greatly since Confederation:

the link between professionals and quality in sport was in the process of being evolved. Money was used in other areas of Canadian life in order to recognize one's contribution and in effect serve as a yardstick of one's value. Among some, the feeling was growing that the amateur, since he played his sport for no remuneration, perhaps . . . was not worthy of being remunerated.<sup>131</sup>

Thus, with a greater emphasis being placed on technique and performance in sport, professionals became viewed as better players than amateurs; "professional athletes could then be represented as rational experts rather than amoral cheaters or prostitutes."<sup>132</sup>

---

<sup>131</sup>Cosentino, 205-206.

<sup>132</sup>Gruneau and Whitson, 72.

Spectators began to expect professionals on their clubs, since they would be the best players available.

While professional hockey players were seen to be superior in ability to their amateur counterparts, other reasons were attributed to the higher quality of professional games.

"Chaucer" Elliott supported the professional game, and considered it to be of a better standard than that played by amateurs. However, he did not claim that the athletes were more talented, simply that they put more effort into professional games; "the men go at it with more vim than they do in amateur ranks. The players all know that they must put up the real article to hold their positions, while amateurs are not so particular in many cases. . ."<sup>133</sup>

While amateur rules had been modified, including allowing amateurs to play alongside professionals,<sup>134</sup> the amateur associations would not be able to compete with the emerging entrepreneurs who hoped to profit by organizing Canadian professional hockey teams and league:

. . . by the end of the first decade of the twentieth century the early structures and culture of hockey had begun to change. Increasingly it became the economic rather than moral entrepreneurs who most effectively defined the nature, uses, and meanings of the game. As a result, the hockey that most Canadians came to see as their own throughout much of the twentieth century was strikingly different than the hockey that had developed initially as part of Canada's emergent culture of modernity.<sup>135</sup>

As business-minded citizens ventured into the sport of hockey to financially back hockey teams, the amateur ideals that had guided hockey through its formative years became less prominent. The Toronto Telegram noticed this occurrence, and reported that "the great amateur principles are soon swept aside when it comes down to a straight proposition of dollars and cents".<sup>136</sup>

---

<sup>133</sup>Sault Star, Jan 11/06, n. pag.

<sup>134</sup>Kidd and Macfarlane, 103; Young, 78; Cosentino, 224.

<sup>135</sup>Gruneau and Whitson, 56.

<sup>136</sup>Sault Star, Nov 2/05, n. pag.

However, the very same entrepreneurs who threatened to eliminate the amateur ideals also slowed the progress of professional hockey in Canada. The Toronto Telegram claimed that the greed of the rink owners, who profited from amateur hockey once it became a spectator sport, were unwilling to share the profits made from games with the players:

There is coming a time when Ontario hockey will follow in the footsteps of the C.L.A. There is sure to be professionalism out and out in this province. The grafting instinct is deep rooted in America, and cannot be kept out. What's holding it back at the present moment is. . . the rink owners. . . . When they get their fists out there is not enough left for the players!<sup>137</sup>

Efforts had been made in previous years, prior to the fall of 1907, for more professional teams to organize in Canada. Many organizers included former I.H.L. players, eager to introduce the game in Canada.<sup>138</sup> As the 1907-08 hockey season approached, the I.H.L. was confronted with a clear competitor for players, with the formation of the Ontario Professional Hockey League. This new league was the first avowedly professional circuit in Canada, and signed many professional players before and after the demise of the I.H.L.<sup>139</sup>

#### Professional Ice Hockey in Canada

The fall of 1907 marked the beginning of professional ice hockey in Canada. Although the E.C.H.A. had allowed professionals during the 1906-07 season, and professional teams had been organized in various towns,<sup>140</sup> it was not until the formation of the O.P.H.L. that an outright professional league began operations. Another turning point in

---

<sup>137</sup>Ibid.

<sup>138</sup>As early as 1903-04, when Charles Liffiton tried to organize an all-star team in Montreal to tour U.S. cities, professional clubs were rumored to be forming in Canada; Mining Gazette, Nov 4/03, n. pag.

<sup>139</sup>Young, 82-83.

<sup>140</sup>The Toronto Hockey Club, that city's first professional team, had been formed in December of 1906; Sault Star, Dec 6/06, n. pag.

the future of hockey in Canada occurred in 1908, when professional teams were officially allowed to compete for the Stanley Cup.<sup>141</sup>

Six teams in the E.C.H.A. became professional in 1907, with the Montreal Victorias remaining the lone amateur entry into that league.<sup>142</sup> The O.P.H.L. was joined by the Maritime Professional League,<sup>143</sup> and the Temiskaming Hockey League, formed in 1905, became professional in 1908.<sup>144</sup> There was also discussion, in the fall of 1908, of forming a semi-professional league, with teams playing in the two Soos, Sudbury, North Bay, and the towns of the silver country of Ontario.<sup>145</sup>

However, these early professional leagues, like the I.H.L., lacked financial stability, and many disbanded shortly after their formation. Teams would be constantly moved, or under new management, and Metcalfe stated that the uncertainty of teams would continue until open professionalism was more widely accepted.<sup>146</sup> Cosentino explained that, following the demise of the early professional leagues, managers began operating teams and leagues more efficiently, and no longer allowed players to transfer from team to team as readily.<sup>147</sup> In addition, the amateur teams continued to pay players, and Young claims that, in the O.P.H.L., "that league actually paid its players less than some teams that were avowedly amateur".<sup>148</sup>

---

<sup>141</sup>Jones, 269. This event could also be seen as an admission that professional teams were a significant and integral part of hockey in Canada.

<sup>142</sup>Kidd and Macfarlane, 104.

<sup>143</sup>Ibid., 103.

<sup>144</sup>Metcalfe, Canada Learns to Play, 170.

<sup>145</sup>Sault Star, Nov 28/08, n. pag.

<sup>146</sup>Metcalfe, Canada Learns to Play, 170.

<sup>147</sup>Cosentino, 240-241.

<sup>148</sup>Young, 98.



The financial woes of the early professional leagues were accompanied by many of the same accusations that badgered the I.H.L. Certain characteristics of ice hockey that were considered to be more prevalent in the professional version were directly attributed to the professionalism in the sport. Both professional lacrosse and ice hockey had been charged with containing overly violent and brutal play.<sup>149</sup> Many did not blame the players for the aggression, but rather the managers, who demanded players to win at all or any cost:

The players are told to go out and win, and not so often is it made absolutely plain the methods they should and should not employ. . . . They are paid primarily to win games, and if they adapt questionable tactics the players themselves come into censure and the managements, who quietly wink at their methods while the players can get away with them, but join in with the public in condemning the same actions when there is a popular outcry.<sup>150</sup>

In response to such outcries against excessive violence in the sports of lacrosse and hockey, many spectators suggested a return to a more amateur-oriented game.

However, professional hockey, which was almost fully established in Canada by 1908,<sup>151</sup> would not relinquish control of the top players in the sport to those who desired a return to amateurism. Thus, supporters of hockey, who wanted to uphold amateur ideals in the sport, sought to create an organization that would have an affiliation with the A.A.U. of C. In response to such desires, the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association was formed in 1914, and, according to Gruneau and Whitson, "the organizational and philosophical separation of amateur and professional hockey was complete".<sup>152</sup>

---

<sup>149</sup>B.C. Saturday Sunset, Feb 11/11, n. pag.

<sup>150</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>151</sup>Gruneau and Whitson, 75.

<sup>152</sup>*Ibid.*, 77.

### The International Hockey League and Canadian Professional Hockey

The operations of the International Hockey League, between 1904 and 1907, had a significant effect on the development of professionalism in the sport in Canada. Similarly, the development of professionalism then had a direct effect on the demise of the I.H.L. The following section will address the ways through which the I.H.L. affected trends in professionalism in Canada, and the ways in which these trends determined the future of professional ice hockey in the United States.

### The Influence of American Ideals on Professional Ice Hockey

As discussed briefly in Chapter 3, certain conditions existed in the United States that may have provided a more suitable environment for the development of professional hockey. Canadian hockey enthusiasts then blamed this environment for hockey's transformation into a more commercially-oriented form.

Although the rise of sport in England during the nineteenth century had influenced the American social elite,<sup>153</sup> Benjamin Rader proposes that, in the instance of baseball, "a player-centered ethos had begun to give way to professionalism and a spectator-centered orientation".<sup>154</sup> But "because America lacked entrenched classes, at least to the degree that Britain had them, the amateur attitude would never flourish in practice as it had in the elite-led sports in Britain".<sup>155</sup> Professionalism had arisen early in U.S. sports, and even infiltrated college athletics. The crowds that soon attended collegiate matches began providing large gates, but "charging money at the gate was also considered by some to be an agent of professionalization akin to competing against professionals".<sup>156</sup>

---

<sup>153</sup>Benjamin G. Rader, American Sports: From the Age of Folk Games to the Age of Spectators. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1982), 52.

<sup>154</sup>*Ibid.*, 111.

<sup>155</sup>Ronald A. Smith, Sports and Freedom: The Rise of Big-time College Athletics. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 167.

<sup>156</sup>*Ibid.*, 169.

When compared to Canada, the less profound influence of British sporting ideals in the United States led to different views of what was gained through the sporting experience. Thus, American citizens were more likely to believe that their own actions formed character, rather than reflecting character that had already been determined through socio-economic status.<sup>157</sup> Consequently, viewers and participants of sporting events in the U.S. placed more emphasis on the activities of those involved, and their personal qualities, than on trying to reaffirm social status through gentlemanly play:

The upper-class amateur ideal of participating for the enjoyment of the contest and for no other motive, including financial considerations, could not easily exist in a society whose freedom of opportunity ideology allowed all to seek excellence through ability and hard work.<sup>158</sup>

This fact would become even more pronounced in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, where the citizens were of middle and working-class origins. Cozens and Stumpf explained that, "historically, the amateur rule comes from the cultural setting of the leisure classes of feudal Europe . . . with a disparaging implication that to work for pay is to be a hireling".<sup>159</sup> However, under such a definition, almost the entire population of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan could be considered hirelings; obviously, the British class-oriented ideals encompassing sport would have no bearing on the recreational pursuits of the miners near Houghton. In Pittsburgh, the labor force was industry-oriented, and shared similar views toward sport as those located in the Copper Country:

Workingmen and their neighbors enjoyed a variety of traditional pastimes in addition to theater. Horseracing, boxing, wrestling, cockfighting, and bowling were popular sports. Loosely organized and performed sporadically, they demanded no clear separation between professional and amateur.<sup>160</sup>

---

<sup>157</sup>Donald J. Mrozek, Sport and American Mentality 1880-1910. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983), 226.

<sup>158</sup>Smith, 173-174.

<sup>159</sup>Cozens and Stumpf, "Spectator Sports", 296.

<sup>160</sup>Couvares, 43.

Thus, in areas such as collegiate sports, where professionalism was emerging but where amateur ideals were still allegedly upheld, the solution was similar to that found in Canadian amateur hockey: "claim amateurism to the world while in fact accepting professionalism".<sup>161</sup> However, in areas such as the mining communities of Michigan, there would be no need to pretend to endorse amateur ideals; hence, the trend toward open professionalism in sports in that region. As explained by Kidd and Macfarlane, amateurism "meant little in the frontier mining towns, where working conditions were brutal and where there was no middle class to sustain it".<sup>162</sup> Therefore, the sporting activists of Michigan could then not understand why amateurism was considered to be more virtuous than receiving compensation for participating in a sport. As explained by Smith:

There is simply no evidence that an amateur is more virtuous than a professional. In fact, the reverse may be true, for the amateur at the upper levels of competition often received financial advantage for participation in amateur sport - certainly a hypocritical stance.<sup>163</sup>

Because of the presence of these conditions, professional hockey developed in Houghton, with no criticism by the locals. However, an outcry was soon to be heard in Canada, where not only had an American town begun playing what was considered by many to be a Canadian sport, but also the Portage Lakes Hockey Club had bastardized the sport by making it professional. Gruneau and Whitson identified the reason for such outrage in Canada:

---

<sup>161</sup>Smith, 171.

<sup>162</sup>Kidd and Macfarlane, 102.

<sup>163</sup>Smith, 167.

The upward-striving professionals, clerks, and businessmen most responsible for the early institutional development of sport in Canada may have been conscious of their Canadian identities, but they tended to value the British culture as an exemplary model of disciplined creativity, civility, and propriety. By contrast there were aspects of American culture that were seen to be considerably less than admirable. One might well do business with Americans, even compete against them in the friendly spirit of manly games, but that did not necessarily mean accepting the libertarian sensibilities, unrestrained individualism, and commercialism that seemed to define so much of the American culture.<sup>164</sup>

Because of this, many Canadians were bitter that Americans had taken the game and changed it into something more commercially-driven, which detracted from the alleged reasons why the sport was first played: the love of the sport, fair play, and friendly competition. Thus the Portage Lakes Hockey Club and the I.H.L. were blamed for the undesirable direction that enthusiasts in Canada could foresee for the sport, which eventually resulted in the formation of a profit-oriented, spectator sport led by the National Hockey League, with more American than Canadian cities.

The secondary literature examined for this study offered two contrasting theoretical frameworks concerning the development of professionalism in hockey; one proposed that American influences led to the professionalization of the game, while the other postulated that it was the effects of other factors, such as commercialism, that influenced changes in the sport. The former has been supported by many writers, including Kidd and Macfarlane; in The Death of Hockey, the advent of professionalism was seen as both beneficial and detrimental for the sport of hockey. "On the one hand, it enabled players to become full-time athletes. On the other hand, it gave commercial hockey a decided edge".<sup>165</sup> Thus, according to Kidd and Macfarlane, professionalism in ice hockey was not derived from changes in Canadian sport - as evidenced by the presence of hidden professionalism in Canadian amateur hockey leagues, long before the formation of the Portage Lakes Hockey Club - but

---

<sup>164</sup>Gruneau and Whitson, 64.

<sup>165</sup>Kidd and Macfarlane, 106.

blamed instead on American influences.<sup>166</sup> In 1905, the Toronto Telegram reported that professionalism was inevitable in Canadian hockey, as the "grafting instinct [was] deep rooted in America, and [could not] be kept out".<sup>167</sup> Kidd and Macfarlane further criticized the American influence, when discussing the early years of the National Hockey League; "as with so many of our resources, the sellout of hockey was the inevitable consequence of our proximity to the United States and our cheap faith in free enterprise".<sup>168</sup> Jones concurred, with acknowledgment of the American influence on all professional sports in Canada; "the evidence leads to the hypothesis that the American influence was the main factor in the spread of professionalism into Canadian athletics".<sup>169</sup>

Although the influence of American ideals had a positive impact on the development of professional sport in Canada, the fact that the first incidence of professional hockey occurred in a U.S. town only served to magnify the outrage that many in Canada had for the intrusion of professionalism in hockey, a Canadian game. However, according to Gruneau and Whitson, it was the increase in spectators and the trend towards commercialism in the smaller hockey communities that ultimately led to the development of professionalism in hockey:

. . . it was hockey's ability to dramatize community loyalty that provided much of the foundation for the commercialization of the game. So it seems arbitrary to separate the tradition of 'community hockey' from the tradition of commercial spectacle. It is even more arbitrary to imply that the dominance of the commercial tradition has been due to excessive Americanization.<sup>170</sup>

---

<sup>166</sup>This is interesting, considering that most of the players, and those who helped in the formation of outright professional hockey were Canadian, or Canadians who had subsequently relocated in the U.S.

<sup>167</sup>Sault Star, Nov 2/05, n. pag.

<sup>168</sup>Kidd and Macfarlane, 18-19.

<sup>169</sup>Jones, 442.

<sup>170</sup>Gruneau and Whitson, 27.

It has been shown that the reaction by Canadian hockey enthusiasts to the formation of the Portage Lakes Hockey Club, and the I.H.L., may have been extreme. Because the teams and league were predominantly in U.S. towns, the professionalism so feared in the Canadian amateur leagues could be viewed as being exclusively caused by American ideological influences. While both American influences and the development of commercialism both contributed to the development of the I.H.L. and professional hockey, the data collected for this study suggests that the seeds of professionalism had already been formed many years before hockey arrived in the Copper Country. Thus, it was the increase in spectators, and the advent of commercialism in Canadian sport that directly led to the creation of open professionalism in ice hockey; the I.H.L. perhaps only hastened the advent of professional hockey in Canada.

#### Reactions of Canadian Teams and Associations to I.H.L. Success

While the impact of the I.H.L. on specific leagues and associations has been addressed, more general reactions occurred across many Canadian hockey leagues. This became evident with the departure of many of the top players from the eastern provinces of Canada in the fall of 1904, as athletes signed with the I.H.L. teams. The salaries that were offered were high enough to attract many of the better skaters from other leagues, both in Canada and in the W.P.H.L. The exodus of these players prompted "concerns about the drain of hockey talent to the United States,"<sup>171</sup> and the Canadian public eagerly followed the exploits of the I.H.L. in the Canadian newspapers:

Publicity about the new league was intensive throughout the two countries. It alternated between focussing on the high salaries being paid, a certain amount of incredulity being the result, and the roughness of play. In the context of the times it was probably only natural that these two should be emphasized; a working man could not be a gentleman and therefore could not have proper control of himself. It was only natural that there was rough and 'ungentlemanly conduct'.<sup>172</sup>

---

<sup>171</sup>Gruneau and Whitson, 75.

<sup>172</sup>Cosentino, 226-227.

The I.H.L. had adopted professionalism out of necessity; players were not available locally to fill out team rosters, and so inducements were required to acquire Canadian players. There would be no outcry toward professional practices in the I.H.L. towns; the citizens did not uphold the traditional amateur ideals; they wanted a winning club, and felt no remorse in outbidding others for the rights to talented athletes. This was ideal for professional hockey, since "to achieve excellence, the professional model proved to be far superior to the amateur model".<sup>173</sup>

The demise of amateur leagues in Canada was anticipated, as it became more difficult to deny remunerative practices. The Houghton Daily Mining Gazette reported that "Canadian cities which now look with disfavor upon professional hockey will be looking for men, and amateur hockey in the senior class will be no more".<sup>174</sup> This prediction would prove correct; within a few years, after the I.H.L. commenced operations, professional leagues operated in all parts of Canada.<sup>175</sup>

One other significant impact that the I.H.L. would have upon Canadian hockey occurred with the return of the I.H.L. players to Canadian leagues, following the disbanding of the I.H.L. Many players would sign with the newly-formed O.P.H.L., or move to Manitoba, to play in the M.H.L. The I.H.L., although unable to compete for the Stanley Cup, would leave a distinct imprint on that trophy, as the Stanley Cup-winning team from 1907 through 1916 contained at least one former I.H.L. player on its roster - a substantial feat considering that rosters rarely exceeded ten players, and that the League was defunct for ten seasons by 1916.

The International Hockey League altered hockey in Canada, as it acquired Canadians for its own professional games. The movement of players then led teams and leagues in

---

<sup>173</sup>Smith, 172. This comment was made in regard to U.S. collegiate athletics, but is applicable to the formation of the first professional hockey league.

<sup>174</sup>Daily Mining Gazette, Oct 6/07, n. pag.

<sup>175</sup>Kidd and Macfarlane, 103.



Canada to reassess their amateur policies, resulting in a decided increase in open professionalism in the sport in Canada. Thus, the I.H.L. was, in part, responsible for the changes in the Canadian senior leagues that led to the acceptance of professionalism by many associations for the 1907-08 season.

#### Anti-professional Policy in Canadian Associations

Following the formation of the Portage Lakes Hockey Club and the I.H.L., most Canadian amateur hockey associations, including the O.H.A., adopted a more strict approach to regulating and disciplining professional players. However, these measures to control and dissolve the presence of professionalism actually aided the I.H.L. in certain situations.

In 1904, the hard-line stance taken by the O.H.A. essentially forbade the reinstatement of professional players into Ontario hockey. What the O.H.A.'s Executive failed to realize was that the banished players had no option but to play in the I.H.L. should they want to continue their playing careers. In the fall of 1906, the C.A.A.U. announced that more severe measures would be taken toward professionals in hockey, football and lacrosse. The Houghton Daily Mining Gazette sensed the potential benefits of such a decision, and reported that:

This action, if it should be pushed as much as it might, will prove to be a boon to the International Hockey league which are now looking for good players from now on as it is generally conceded that many of the best players in the so called amateur teams of the big Canadian leagues are professionals.<sup>176</sup>

The Sault Star also recognized the benefits of more stringent Canadian amateur association rules. The topic of accepting professionals had been discussed at a recent meeting of the C.A.A.U., but had been dismissed, much to the satisfaction of the newspaper:

The fact that the Canadian Athletic Union voted down the professional hockey proposition at its meeting in Montreal, will undoubtedly

---

<sup>176</sup>Mining Gazette, Nov 1/06, n. pag.

help out the question of players in the International League, as the prospect of the fast eastern players desiring to stay at home has been lessened.<sup>177</sup>

Thus, should policies in Canada change to make professionalism allowable, the I.H.L. would have far more difficulty in acquiring players to play in the U.S.

#### Professional Hockey in Canada and the Disbanding of the I.H.L.

Between 1904 and 1907, the strong opposition of the amateur leagues and associations in Canada quickly changed, once it became apparent that the professional element in hockey would not disappear, and that the problems created by hidden professionalism outweighed the outright acceptance of remunerative practices in hockey.

Amateurs were secretly provided compensation for forgoing the professional league in the U.S. and remaining in the Canadian leagues. The effects of such practices were clearly noted as I.H.L. managers began acquiring players for the 1906-07 season, and as Canadian reporters sensed the impact the changes would have on the I.H.L.:

The International League cannot get their players to report until they see what inducements can be had from Ottawa and Montreal. The International will get the leavings, and next season will be reduced to an inconsiderable element in the hockey situation.<sup>178</sup>

The Daily Mining Gazette concurred, revealing that "players are being encouraged to remain at home, and greater inducements to come to the States must now be offered".<sup>179</sup> The Sault Ste. Marie Evening News also noticed the lack of players interested in playing in the I.H.L.; "the Canadian puck-chasers, whether high or low degree, are not showing any particular desire to rush over the border this season".<sup>180</sup> In spite of the competition for players, the I.H.L. resumed operations in 1906-07, and, according to the Sault Ste. Marie Evening News, enjoyed a decidedly successful season:

---

<sup>177</sup>Sault Star, Nov 8/06, n. pag.

<sup>178</sup>Soo Evening News, Dec 8/06, n. pag.

<sup>179</sup>Mining Gazette, Oct 6/06, n. pag.

<sup>180</sup>Soo Evening News, Nov 20/06, n. pag.

[The I.H.L. had] the most successful season in the history of the International League from both financial and sporting points of view. . . . it looks as though the league had not only thoroughly established itself but is just about to enter upon a period of remarkable growth.<sup>181</sup>

However, by the fall of 1907, managers of the I.H.L. teams sensed that the financial rewards for organizing the I.H.L. would be limited, as salaries increased due to the demand for professional players in Canada. Michael Kemp, President of the I.H.L., warned the public of the impending problem:

Of course it should be remembered that with professional hockey being encouraged more every year . . . in Canada it is becoming harder for the teams in the States to get good men unless stiff prices are paid. . . . It should be remembered that none of the backers of any of the teams are in the game for the prospects of making any money out of it.<sup>182</sup>

By November, the I.H.L. had decided to postpone operations for the season. The reason given for this decision was that Canadian players could sign with the former amateur teams in Canada for more money than the I.H.L. teams could afford to pay.<sup>183</sup>

The I.H.L. would have been required to pay considerably higher salaries than those offered in Canada; the inconvenience of relocating became an issue, once players realized they could play in their own towns in Canada, and use hockey as a legitimate means of livelihood. The Daily Mining Gazette explained that "Canadians would rather stay at home for the short three months and hold their old positions rather than give them up for the winter's large pay of the International League teams. . . ."<sup>184</sup>

The I.H.L. would not resume operations, as managers could not compete financially with the new Canadian professional teams, and hockey had not been played long enough in

---

<sup>181</sup>Soo Evening News, Mar 18/07, n. pag.

<sup>182</sup>Mining Gazette, Oct 23/07, n. pag.

<sup>183</sup>ibid., Nov 6/07, n. pag.

<sup>184</sup>Mining Gazette, Jan 7/06, n. pag. Players needed other careers, due to the necessarily short hockey season, and the limited funds that could be obtained for playing professionally.

the U.S. to allow for the development of adequately-skilled players in the I.H.L. towns.<sup>185</sup> In addition, mining money, this time from the silver mining regions of Ontario such as Cobalt and Haileybury, began offering exorbitant amounts of money for top players to play in those towns.<sup>186</sup> The I.H.L. would become defunct because, with the acceptance of professionalism in Canadian hockey, other teams in other towns employed the same means that I.H.L. managers had used before to acquire players, only now at wages far higher than the first professional league could afford to offer.

---

<sup>185</sup>Sault Star, Nov 14/07, n. pag.

<sup>186</sup>Fitsell, Captains, Colonels & Kings, 125.

## CHAPTER VI

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of this study was to compile a comprehensive written history of the development and operations of the International Hockey League, from 1904 through the League's demise in 1907. An analysis of the data was undertaken in order to determine the relationships and influences between the I.H.L. and specific individuals, conditions, and leagues. The study was organized into three parts: an examination of background conditions existing in eastern Canada and ice hockey prior to the formation of the I.H.L.; a descriptive narrative of the I.H.L.'s towns, operations, and influential individuals; and an interpretation of selected issues. Using the historical method, the majority of primary-resource information was obtained through the newspapers published in the five I.H.L. towns, during the first decade of the twentieth century. Interpretations and conclusions were then drawn, based upon the data obtained from such sources.

#### Summary

In response to the desires of hockey enthusiasts in several U.S. sites, the International Hockey League was formed, in the fall of 1904, in the towns of Houghton, Calumet, and Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario. All five sites had experienced the Canadian sport of hockey, at varied levels of competition; Houghton had already enjoyed success with the exploits of the first openly-acknowledged professional team, the Portage Lakes Hockey Club, and Pittsburgh had hosted semi-professional hockey at the Duquesne Gardens through the first few years of the twentieth century.

Because hockey had not been organized in the I.H.L. towns for a long enough period to develop talented local athletes, players were acquired from other areas, including the provinces of eastern Canada. In order to encourage experienced players to join the I.H.L., team managers were required to compensate athletes monetarily; this practice was not denied by I.H.L. teams, since, with the exception of the Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario team, none of the League sites were under the jurisdiction of an amateur hockey body. Thus, players who had been accused of playing professionally in Canada - where leagues were exclusively governed by amateur associations - could now receive remuneration openly by playing in the I.H.L.

Despite efforts by the Canadian leagues to retain players and discredit the fledgling professional league, the I.H.L. continued operations for three full seasons, with each team playing twenty-four games, six against each league opponent.<sup>1</sup> The teams experienced varying levels of success and failure, in terms of attendance<sup>2</sup> and competitive success, but, in general, with the exception of Calumet, all teams enjoyed consistent spectator support through the three years of operations.

Several individuals remained influential throughout the I.H.L.'s operative seasons, and served in playing, officiating, or administrative capacities. Perhaps the most noteworthy was Dr. John L. "Doc" Gibson, whose experiences with the sport in Ontario had led to the formation of the Portage Lakes Hockey Club in Houghton, Michigan, shortly after his arrival in that town to pursue a career in dentistry. Gibson would remain affiliated with the I.H.L. through its final season, as a player, manager, and referee. In addition, individuals such as "Hod" Stuart, "Chaucer" Elliott, and James R. Dee, among others, had a profound effect on the League, both in a direct capacity, and in creating or maintaining a reputation for the I.H.L. in Canada.

---

<sup>1</sup>However, the 1905-06 season was shortened, due to the withdrawal of the Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario team.

<sup>2</sup>Appendix Q.

While the I.H.L., out of necessity, commenced the operations of the first professional hockey league, Canadian leagues and associations continued to uphold amateur ideals that had been instituted by the upper and middle-class executives of its associations. In spite of such efforts, "hidden professionalism" or "shamateurism" emerged in Canadian hockey, along with the sport's trends toward a more commercial and spectator-oriented game.

The associations, particularly the powerful Ontario Hockey Association, adopted a militant anti-professional stance towards the encroachment of professionalism, and following the formation of the I.H.L., enacted an even more severe policy towards remunerative practices in hockey. The new U.S.-based league was viewed as a serious threat to the Canadian amateur associations: as a competitor for high-calibre players, and as an example of the merits of open professionalism in the sport.

The I.H.L. also aided in revealing the hypocritical stance of the Canadian amateur leagues; while the associations preached amateur ideals, the players, many of more humble socio-economic origins, were more than willing to accept any inducements to play. This practice became apparent as the I.H.L. attempted to acquire the services of several players, who chose to remain "amateur" because their Canadian teams were paying higher salaries; on several occasions, the I.H.L.'s actions forced the O.H.A. to discipline its own members for accepting money to play hockey.

According to newspaper accounts in both Canada and the United States, Canadian hockey enthusiasts became more receptive to professionalism in the game; accepting money to play was deemed more honorable than the deceit of claiming amateurism while receiving remuneration. This trend developed over the middle years of the first decade of the twentieth century, while the I.H.L. continued to maintain operations.

Unfortunately for those affiliated with the I.H.L., the trend toward professionalism in the high-level Canadian leagues resulted in an increased demand for the wage-earning players, who asked for greater compensation to play in the I.H.L. The I.H.L. team owners, who had made little, if any, profits from League operations in the past, could not afford to

pay the higher salaries required to obtain the same calibre of players, and the I.H.L. ceased operations in the fall of 1907.

Although the I.H.L. only operated for three seasons, the League played an integral part in the development of professional ice hockey in North America. While signing many of the best players of the period, the I.H.L. forced Ontario hockey fans and associations to weigh the merits of upholding the amateur ideals of a few select administrators, or accepting professionalism in order to re-establish the high-calibre of play in the Canadian senior leagues.

### Conclusions

In this section, the hypotheses formulated as bases for interpretation and conclusions of the study will be reviewed. Each will be discussed individually, to illustrate the findings of the study.

a) The International Hockey League played an important role in the development of professional hockey in Canada. This was demonstrated by the efforts of the Canadian leagues, which, after first initiating more stringent anti-professional rules in response to the commencement of I.H.L. operations, began to allow remuneration for its players. The first open example of such a practice occurred when "Hod" Stuart and "Riley" Hern returned to Canada in 1906-07 to play for the Montreal Wanderers of the E.C.H.A., a team that freely endorsed payments to its players. Although the I.H.L. should only be considered a partial contributor to the changing trend in professionalism in Canadian hockey during that period, it is evident that the I.H.L. did hasten a re-evaluation of the benefits of maintaining amateurism in the Canadian senior leagues, as those associations were being decimated by the top players leaving to play professionally.



**b) The activities and operations of the I.H.L. and its members reflected and affected attitudes toward professionalism in both Canada and the United States.** The ability of American culture to more openly embrace professionalism in sport enabled the I.H.L. to form apart from the amateur-ruled hockey associations of Canada. While Canadian amateur bodies, closely following the British model of amateurism, had already gained control of the senior leagues in Canada, hockey enthusiasts in the U.S. had no qualms over players being paid to play for local teams. Canadians, morally led by the powerful, upper-class citizens such as those operating the sporting clubs and associations, had been conditioned to resent professionalism in sport; however, in the United States, a culture emerged that endorsed personal accomplishment, regardless of social background. Thus, a sport, that had evolved under the influence of amateurism was able to operate there professionally, in a new and more receptive environment.

Once I.H.L. operations had begun, and players had left the Canadian amateur leagues, it was necessary for attitudes toward professionalism in Canada to be re-evaluated; teams could either profess amateurism and lose their best players without remuneration, or accept professionalism and enjoy the return of some of the best athletes of that period, who had gone to the I.H.L. Therefore, the I.H.L., in part, aided in changing attitudes toward professionalism in Canadian hockey. The study also produced evidence that I.H.L. operations reinforced views of professionalism held by hockey enthusiasts of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan.

**c) The operations and levels of play of the I.H.L. were the direct result of the influence of several important individuals.** Several individuals had profound effects upon the I.H.L.; while some remained affiliated with the League through all three seasons, others, despite the brevity of their involvement, made important, and sometimes harmful, impressions. Those players and administrators who did have an impact on League operations and play have been recognized, and their contributions noted.

There were also several key incidents or events that greatly affected the I.H.L.; the disbanding of the Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario team in 1905-06; the abrupt departure of the outstanding player, "Hod" Stuart, to the Montreal Wanderers in 1906-07; the alleged brutal tactics of players such as Stuart and Joe Hall; and the feuding between players, management, and team owners are just a few of the activities that were critical to successes and failures of the League, in all three years of its operations.

#### Further Conclusions

Following the analysis and interpretation of the data available for the writing of this study, it is also concluded that the Western Pennsylvania Hockey League had a profound effect on the development of professional ice hockey in North America. It was in Pittsburgh that the first semi-professional league began operations; the only aspect that separated the W.P.H.L. from the I.H.L. was the lower salaries offered in the former league, which served to supplement the employment arranged for players. The W.P.H.L., at approximately the same time as the Portage Lakes Hockey Club, began coaxing Canadian players, many of whom had been banned or suspended by leagues such as the O.H.A., to the U.S. to resume their playing careers. When the I.H.L. began operations in 1904, many former W.P.H.L. players stayed with the Pittsburgh club, or joined other I.H.L. teams.

Also, the inabilities of the I.H.L. Executive to acquire the services of suitable referees and officials, and the subsequent poor officiating by those chosen, greatly affected both the calibre and nature of I.H.L. games, and the reputation that the League received in other hockey circles.

In most of the literature examined, the demise of the League has been attributed to a lack of fan support, or of arenas large enough to accommodate a sufficient number of paying spectators; however, there were several other factors that had a more significant effect upon the abilities of the I.H.L. Executive to maintain operations. Had the salary demands of players not grown so rapidly, in response to the creation of professional leagues

in Canada, I.H.L. teams might have been able to continue operations, with spectator support maintained at existing levels. The arenas in the I.H.L. towns could accommodate a reasonable number of fans, and plans for expansion to other U.S. areas included cities that would have provided large population bases, with facilities that could seat large numbers of hockey enthusiasts.

Finally, in reviewing the literature available for this study, it was revealed that there were a number of players, including Lorne Campbell, and William "Lady Bill" Taylor, who, despite their obvious skills, have had little information written regarding their careers. Biographical information was readily available on those players who had been elected to the Hockey Hall of Fame; of those I.H.L. players thus honoured, only a few, such as "Hod" Stuart, played for most of their careers in the U.S. - in relative anonymity, compared to those players of similar calibre who played in the Canadian senior leagues. Thus, a player such as Lorne Campbell, who was perhaps the most dominant I.H.L. athlete in terms of actual skills exhibited, has not received the recognition he deserves for his considerable accomplishments in the game of hockey during this period. If sport history investigators fail to examine all of the relevant sources for a given topic, some significant athletes and events can be overlooked; it is the conclusion of this author that such oversights have occurred in histories dealing with the subject of ice hockey in general, and the I.H.L. in particular.

### Recommendations

#### Recommendations for Further Study

During the course of this investigation, a number of related issues surfaced that warrant further study.

1. The compiled history of hockey during this time period is sporadic; too much research has concentrated solely on the exploits of certain players. More research is needed to reveal interactions between players, teams, and society.

2. The relationships between hockey, sporting culture, and society during this period, while examined briefly in this study, need further analysis. While the I.H.L. partly contributed to the changes in Canadian views toward professionalism in hockey in Canada, a number of other reasons for such changes need to be recognized and explained, according to existing theories developed to explain the social and economic variables of this period.
3. Too much emphasis on hockey history has been placed on the chronology and immediate histories of the Stanley Cup and the National Hockey League; more research is required involving teams and leagues that operated prior to the formation of the N.H.L., or were unable to challenge for the Stanley Cup.
4. Little information is available on the W.P.H.L., and, while that league's significance in the development of professional hockey is now apparent, more research is necessary regarding this pioneer league.
5. Following the review of the primary sources of information collected for this investigation, it has been revealed that much of the information provided in secondary sources, particularly pertaining to the statistical and biographical information on players, is incorrect. The work of others in this area needs to be studied with more scrutiny, and combined with research in areas not already covered by previous studies.
6. Information is not readily available on certain players who exhibited exceptional athletic qualities in the I.H.L., and in other leagues. Should more research be undertaken that provides a greater insight into the abilities of certain players, such as Roy Brown, Lorne Campbell, and William Taylor, it may be revealed that these men deserve election to the Hockey Hall of Fame, along with men of similar calibre who played in more celebrated surroundings during the same time period.

#### Final Recommendation

It is strongly recommended that sport and hockey historians, as well as hockey enthusiasts, recognize the contribution made by the I.H.L. - and by individuals associated with it - to the development of professional ice hockey in North America.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### 1. Books

Betts, John Rickards. "The Technological Revolution and Rise of Sport, 1850-1900", in The American Sporting Experience: A Historical Anthology of Sport in America. Ed. by Steven A. Riess. New York: Leisure Press, 1984.

Biographical Record- Houghton, Baraga, and Marquette Counties, Michigan. Chicago: Biographical Publishing, 1903.

Calumet Centennial Committee. Village of Calumet, Michigan- 1875-1975 Souvenir Centennial Book. N.p.: n.p., 1975.

Carmeny, Donald F. Michigan History Vol. XLIV. Ed. Lewis Beeson. Michigan Historical Commission, 1966.

Coleman, Charles L. The Trail of the Stanley Cup. Vol 1. New York:Kendall Hunt Publ., 1966.

Cook, Ramsay. "The Triumphs and Trials of Materialism (1900-1945)". The Illustrated History of Canada. Toronto: Lester and Orpen Dennys, Limited, 1987.

Cox, Allan, et al. "Sport in Canada," in History of Sport in Canada. 2nd Edition. Ed.s Maxwell Howell and Reet Howell. Toronto: Stipes Publ. Co., 1985.

Couvares, Fancis G. The Remaking of Pittsburgh - Class and Culture in an Industrializing City 1877-1919. Albany: The State University of New York Press, 1984.

Cozens, Frederick, and Florence Scovil Stumpf. "Spectator Sports - The Cement of Democracy", in Sports in American Life. Ed.s Frederick Cozens and Florence Scovil Stumpf. New York: Arno Press, 1976.

Cozens, Frederick W., and Florence Scovil Stumpf. "The Sports Page," in Sport and Society: An Anthology. Ed.s Page and Talamini.. Toronto: Little, Brown and Co., 1973.

Diamond, Dan, ed. National Hockey League Stanley Cup Centennial Book. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1992.

Diamond, Dan, and Joseph Romain. Hockey Hall of Fame: The Official History of the Game and its Greatest Stars. Toronto: Doubleday, 1988.

Durant, John, and Otto Bettman. Pictorial History of American Sport - From Colonial Times to the Present. New York: A.S. Barnes & Co., 1965.

Eitzen, D. Stanley and George H. Sage. Sociology of American Sport, 2nd Edition. Dubuque: Wm. C. Brown Co. Pub., 1982.

- Fitsell, J.W.. Hockey's Captains Colonels & Kings. Erin: Boston Mills Press, 1987.
- Fuller, George N., ed. Historic Michigan. N.p.: National Historical Association, Inc., 1924.
- Gruneau, Richard, and David Whitson. Hockey Night in Canada: Sport, Identities, and Cultural Politics. Toronto: Garamond Press, 1993.
- Hewitt, Foster. Hockey Night in Canada. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1953.
- Hewitt, W.A. Down the Stretch. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1958.
- Howell, Maxwell L., and Nancy Howell,. Sports and Games in Canadian Life. Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1969.
- Howell, Maxwell, and Reet Howell, ed.s. History of Sport in Canada 2nd Edition. Toronto: Stipes Publ. Co., 1985.
- Ickringill, J.S. "Amateur and Professional Sport in Britain at the Turn of the Twentieth Century". Sport, Culture, and Politics. Ed.s J.C. Binfield and John Stevenson. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993.
- Jones, Kevin G. "Sport and Games in Canadian Life, 1900-1920," in History of Sport in Canada. 2nd Edition. Ed.s Maxwell Howell and Reet Howell. Toronto: Stipes Publ. Co., 1985.
- Kidd, Bruce, and John MacFarlane. The Death of Hockey. Toronto: New Press, 1972.
- Lalonde, "Newsy". "Any Old Port in \_\_\_\_". The Hockey Book. Ed. Bill Roche. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1953.
- Lalonde, "Newsy". "Two Goofy Goals". The Hockey Book. Ed. Bill Roche. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1953.
- Luschen, Gunther. "The Interdependence of Sport and Culture". Sport, Culture, and Society. Ed.s John W. Loy, Jr. and Gerald S. Kenyon. Philadelphia: Lea and Febinger, 1981.
- MacDougall, Fraser. "The First Six-Man Hockey," in The Hockey Book. Bill Roche, ed. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1953.
- MacDougall, Fraser. "McClurg Was Versatile" The Hockey Book. Ed. Bill Roche. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1953.
- Maki, Wilbert B. Visions of Houghton, Yesterday and Today. N.p.: n. p., n.d.
- Manchester, Herbert. Four Centuries of Sport in America. New York: Benjamin Blom, 1931.
- McKinley, Michael. Hockey Hall of Fame Legends - The Official Book. Toronto: Penguin Books/Opus Productions, 1993.
- Messner, Michael A. Power at Play - Sports and the Problem of Masculinity. Boston: Beacon Press, 1992.

- Metcalfe, Alan. Canada Learns to Play: The Emergence of Organized Sport, 1807-1914. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987.
- Moore, John Hammond. "Football's Ugly Decades 1893-1913". The American Sporting Experience: A Historical Anthology of Sport in America. Ed. Steven A. Riess. New York: Leisure Press, 1984.
- Mott, Morris. "Inferior Exhibitions, Superior Ceremonies: The Nature and Meaning of the Hockey Games of the Winnipeg Vics, 1890-1903". 5th Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education. Toronto: University Press, 1982.
- Mrozek, Donald J. Sport and American Mentality, 1880-1910. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1983.
- Phillips, Allan. Into the 20th Century: 1900-1910. Toronto: N.S.L. Natural Science of Canada Limited, 1977.
- Rader, Benjamin J. American Sports: From the Age of Folk Games to the Age of Spectators. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1983.
- Redmond, Gerald. "Organized Sport and Leisure in Nineteenth-Century Canada", in Sports in Canada - Historical Readings. Ed. Morris Mott. Toronto: Copp Clark Pittman, 1989.
- Rice, John W. "A Record Hard to Beat". National Hockey Guide 1933-34. New York: National Hockey Guide Co., 1933.
- Roche, Bill. "Pro Hockey, Product of the U.S.A." The Hockey Book Ed. Bill Roche. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1953.
- Roxborough, Henry. One Hundred Not Out. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1966.
- Sadler, William A., jr. "Competition Out of Bounds: Sports and American Life", in Sport in the Sociocultural Process. Ed. by Marie Hart. Dubuque: Wm. C. Brown, Co, Pub., 1978.
- Shergold, Peter R. "The Growth of American Spectator Sport: A Technological Perspective". Sport in History. Ed.s Richard Cashman and Michael McKernan. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1979.
- Smith, Helen. Echoes of Hockey. Poem obtained from the Hockey Hall of Fame. N.p.: n.p., 1975.
- Smith, Ronald A. Sports and Freedom: The Rise of Big-Time College Athletics. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Turner, Arthur W. Calumet Copper and People: History of a Michigan Mining Community, 1864-1970. Chicago: n.p., 1974.
- Waite, Peter. "Between Three Oceans: Challenges of a Continental Destiny (1840-1900)". The Illustrated History of Canada. Toronto: Lester and Orpen Dennys, Limited, 1987.
- Whitehead, Eric. Cyclone Taylor- A Hockey Legend. Toronto: Doubleday Canada Limited, 1977.

Wise, S.F. and Douglas Fisher. Canada's Sporting Heroes. Don Mills: General Publishing Company Limited, 1974.

Wise, Syd F. "Sport and Class Values in Old Ontario and Quebec". His Own Man. Ed.s W.H. Heick and Roger Graham. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1974.

Young, Scott. 100 Years of Dropping the Puck- A History of the O.H.A. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, Inc., 1989.

## 2. Articles in Periodicals

Adams, Rene E.. "Historic Houghton". Hockey Pictorial (March 1961). Ed. Ed Fitkin. New York: Hockey Illustrated Ltd, 1961.

Adams, Rene E.. "The Oldest Living Pro" Hockey Pictorial (March 1961). Ed. Ed Fitkin. New York: Hockey Illustrated Ltd, 1961.

Metcalfe, Alan. "Power: A Case Study of the Ontario Hockey Association, 1890-1936". Journal of Sport History, 19, No. 1, Spring, 1992.

Morrow, Don. "A Case Study in Amateur Conflict: The Athletic War in Canada, 1906-08". British Journal of Sports History, 3, No. 2, Sept. 1986. London: Frank Cass, 1986.

Nixon, Howard L. II. "Growing up with Hockey in Canada". International Review of Sport Sociology. Warsaw: Polish Scientific Publishers, 1976.

## 3. Newspapers

B.C. Saturday Sunset, Vancouver, British Columbia, 1911.

The Calumet News, Calumet, Michigan, 1907.

The Copper Country Evening News, Calumet, Michigan, 1904-1908.

The Evening News, Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, 1904-1908.

The Houghton Daily Mining Gazette, Houghton, Michigan, 1900-1908.

The Ottawa Citizen, Ottawa, Ontario, 1905.

The Toronto Globe and Mail, Toronto, Ontario, 1900-1908.

The Sault Star, Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, 1902-1908.

The Vancouver News-Herald, Vancouver, British Columbia, 1950.

The Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 1905-1906.



#### 4. Unpublished Theses and Papers

Cosentino, Frank. "A History of the Concept of Professionalism in Canadian Sport." Ph.D. Thesis, University of Alberta 1973.

Cox, Allan. "A History of Sports in Canada, 1868-1900" Ph.D. thesis, University of Alberta, 1969.

Davis, Jeff, et al. "Evolution of Equipment". Unpublished paper. Toronto: Hockey Hall of Fame, 1991.

Hoyles, Hugh. "The History and Development of Ice Hockey". Unpublished paper, University of Alberta, 1968.

Jobling, Ian. "Sport in Nineteenth Century Canada: The Effects of Technological Change on its Development" u of a, 1970

Jones, Kevin. "Sport in Canada, 1900-1920". Ph.D. thesis, University of Alberta, 1970

Lansley, Keith. "The Amateur Athletic Union of Canada and Changing Concepts of Amateurism." Ph.D. thesis, University of Alberta, 1971.

Metcalf, Allan. "Working Class 'Free Time': Its Development and Limitations" Master's thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1968.

#### 5. Miscellaneous Sources

Fitsell, J.W. (Bill). "Tribute to Dr. J.L.(Jack) Gibson". Annual Induction Dinner, Hockey Hall of Fame. August 26, 1976.

Gagnon, Earl J. (Gazette Association Editor, Houghton, Michigan). Personal Letter, September 16, 1976.

"Hero of Early Sports Era Will Be Long Remembered". Photocopy obtained from the Hockey Hall of Fame, Saturday, March 21, 1951.

I.H.L. Game Program and Score Card - Michigan Soo vs. Calumet, Feb. 24-25, 1905. N.p.: n.p., 1905.

"John L. (Doc) Gibson.". Unpublished biography, Toronto: Hockey Hall of Fame, n.d.

Player Biographies- Hockey Hall of Fame and Museum Unpublished biographies. Toronto, Ontario.

Proulx, Roger J. Letter to Clarence Campbell, 10 June, 1975.

Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps. Chadwyck-Healey, Inc., 1983.

## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A

### THE RULES OF HOCKEY - AS WRITTEN BY ARTHUR FARRELL, SHAMROCK HOCKEY CLUB, 1899

**Sec. 1** - A team shall be composed of seven players

**Sec. 2** - The game shall be commenced and renewed by a face in the center of the rink. The rink must be at least 112 feet by 58 feet. Goals shall be six feet wide and four feet high. The goals shall be placed at least ten feet from the end of the rink.

**Sec. 3** - Two half hours, with an intermission of ten minutes between, will be the time allowed for matches, but no stops of more than fifteen minutes will be allowed. In case of a tie after playing the two specified half hours, play will continue until one side scores a goal, unless otherwise agreed upon between the captains before the match. Goals shall be changed after each half hour.

**Sec. 4** - No change of players shall be made after a match has commenced, except for reasons of accidents or injury during the game.

**Sec. 5** - Should any player be injured during the first half of the match and compelled to leave the ice, his side shall be allowed to put on a spare man from the reserve to equalize the teams; should any player be injured during the second half of the match, the captain of the opposing team shall have the option of dropping a player to equalize the teams or allow his opponents to put on a man from the reserve. In the event of any dispute between the captains as to the injured player's fitness to continue the game, the matter shall at once be decided by the referee.

**Sec. 6** - Should a game be temporarily stopped by the infringement of any of the rules, the captain of the opposite team may claim that the puck be taken back and that a face take place where it was last played from before such an infringement occurred.

**Sec. 7** - When a player touches the puck, any one of the same side, who at such moment of touching is nearer the opponent's goal-line, is out of play and may not touch the puck himself, or in any way whatever prevent any other player from doing so, until the puck has been played. A player shall always be on his own side of the puck.

**Sec. 8** - The puck may be stopped but not carried or knocked on, by any part of the body, nor shall any player close his hand on, or carry the puck to the ice in his hand. No player shall raise his stick above the shoulder, except in lifting the puck. Charging from behind, tripping, collaring, kicking or shinning shall not be allowed, and for any infringement of these rules, the referee may rule the offending player off the ice for that match, or for such portion of actual playing time as he may see fit.

**Sec. 9** - When the puck goes off the ice or a foul occurs behind the goals it shall be taken by the referee to five yards at right angles from the goal line and there faced. When the puck goes off the ice at the sides it shall be taken by the referee to five yards at right angles from the boundary line and there faced.

**Sec. 10** - The goal keeper must not during play, lie, kneel, or sit upon the ice, but must maintain a standing position.

**Sec. 11** - A goal shall be scored when the puck shall have passed between the goal posts from in front below an imaginary line across the top of the posts.

**Sec. 12** - Hockey sticks shall not be more than three inches wide at any point.

**Sec. 13** - The puck must be made of vulcanized rubber, one inch thick all through and three inches in diameter.

**Sec. 14** - The captains of the contesting teams shall agree upon a referee and two umpires (one to be stationed behind each goal), which positions shall not be changed during a match, and two timekeepers. In the event of the captains failing to agree on umpires and timekeepers the referee shall appoint the same.

**Sec. 15** - All disputes during the match shall be decided by the referee, and he shall have full control of all players and officials from commencement to finish of matches, inclusive of stops, and his decision shall be final.

**Sec. 16** - All questions as to goals shall be settled by the umpires and their decisions shall be final.

**Sec. 17** - In the event of any dispute as to the decision of an umpire or timekeeper, the referee shall have the power to remove and replace him.

**Sec. 18** - Any player guilty of using profane or abusive language to any officials or other players shall be liable to be ruled off by the referee, as per section 8.

## APPENDIX B

### THE PORTAGE LAKES HOCKEY CLUB PLAYER, TEAM, AND REFEREE RECORDS, 1903-04

#### Player Records- Portage Lakes Hockey Club, 1903-04

| Player                   | Games Played | Goals |
|--------------------------|--------------|-------|
| Bert Morrison            | 25           | 70    |
| Bruce Stuart             | 25           | 57    |
| William "Cooney" Shields | 25           | 20    |
| "Hod" Stuart             | 25           | 20    |
| Ernie Westcott           | 22           | 17    |
| Dr. John L. "Doc" Gibson | 24           | 11    |
| Fred Westcott            | 3            | 2     |
| Joe Linder               | 2            | 0     |
| Total                    |              | 204*  |

\* Note: The team scored a total of 257 goals against opposing teams during the 1903-04 season. However, only 204 were attributed to specific players. In many instances where goal scorers were not specified, the newspaper accounts usually noted that either Morrison or B. Stuart were responsible for the scoring. This would mean that the goal totals of the players, are actually higher, only they were not credited with the goal in the newspaper account. In the case of Morrison and B. Stuart, the totals may be significantly higher.

#### Goaltending

| Player     | Games | Goals Against | Goals Against Average | Shutouts |
|------------|-------|---------------|-----------------------|----------|
| Riley Hern | 25    | 49            | 1.96                  | 5        |

#### 1903-04 Portage Lakes Hockey Club- Referees

| Referee           | Games |
|-------------------|-------|
| J.H. Booth        | 2     |
| Dr. Harkness      | 1     |
| James P. Mooney   | 1     |
| Roy D. Schooley   | 6     |
| Dr. Percy Willson | 12    |

# 1903-04 Portage Lakes Hockey Club- Game Summaries

| Date      | Arena                                        | Opponent                                | Outcome     | Referee              |
|-----------|----------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|-------------|----------------------|
| Dec 17/03 | Amphidrome<br>(Houghton)                     | St.Paul<br>Victorias                    | 20-0<br>Win | Dr.Percy<br>Willson  |
| Dec 19/03 | Amphidrome<br>(Houghton)                     | St.Paul<br>Victorias                    | 14-1<br>Win | Dr. Percy<br>Willson |
| Dec 25/03 | Amphidrome<br>(Houghton)                     | St.Louis<br>World's Fair<br>Hockey Club | 21-0<br>Win | Dr. Percy<br>Willson |
| Dec 26/03 | Amphidrome<br>(Houghton)                     | St.Louis<br>World's Fair<br>Hockey Club | 24-0<br>Win | Dr. Percy<br>Willson |
| Jan 1/04  | Amphidrome<br>(Houghton)                     | Canadian Soo<br>Algonquins              | 16-1<br>Win | Roy. D.<br>Schooley  |
| Jan 2/04  | Amphidrome<br>(Houghton)                     | Canadian Soo<br>Algonquins              | 7-0<br>Win  | Roy D.<br>Schooley   |
| Jan 13/04 | Amphidrome<br>(Houghton)                     | Michigan Soo<br>Curling Club            | 6-1<br>Win  |                      |
| Jan 14/04 | Amphidrome<br>(Houghton)                     | Michigan Soo<br>Curling Club            | 12-1<br>Win | Dr. Percy<br>Willson |
| Jan 18/04 | Amphidrome<br>(Houghton)                     | Pittsburgh<br>Keystones                 | 9-4<br>Win  | Dr. Percy<br>Willson |
| Jan 19/04 | Amphidrome<br>(Houghton)                     | Pittsburgh<br>Keystones                 | 12-1<br>Win | Dr. Percy<br>Willson |
| Jan 23/04 | Curling Rink<br>(Sault Ste.<br>Marie, Mich.) | Michigan Soo<br>Curling Club            | 6-7<br>Loss | James P.<br>Mooney   |
| Jan 25/04 | Curling Rink<br>(Sault Ste.<br>Marie, Mich.) | Michigan Soo<br>Curling Club            | 4-1<br>Win  | Roy D.<br>Schooley   |
| Jan 28/04 | Amphidrome<br>(Houghton)                     | Pittsburgh<br>Athletic Club             | 11-1<br>Win | Dr. Percy<br>Willson |
| Jan 29/04 | Amphidrome<br>(Houghton)                     | Pittsburgh<br>Athletic Club             | 6-3<br>Win  |                      |
| Feb 4/04  | Amphidrome<br>(Houghton)                     | Pittsburgh<br>Bankers                   | 14-7<br>Win | Dr. Percy<br>Willson |

| Date      | Arena                                        | Opponent                     | Outcome     | Referee              |
|-----------|----------------------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------|----------------------|
| Feb 5/04  | Amphidrome<br>(Houghton)                     | Pittsburgh<br>Bankers        | 14-5<br>Win | Dr.<br>Harkness      |
| Feb 16/04 | Amphidrome<br>(Houghton)                     | Michigan Soo<br>Curling Club | 9-1<br>Win  | J.H.Booth            |
| Feb 17/04 | Amphidrome<br>(Houghton)                     | Michigan Soo<br>Curling Club | 11-1<br>Win | J.H.Booth            |
| Feb 19/04 | Curling Rink<br>(Sault Ste.<br>Marie, Mich.) | Michigan Soo<br>Curling Club | 6-1<br>Win  | Dr. Percy<br>Willson |
| Feb 20/04 | Curling Rink<br>(Sault Ste.<br>Marie, Mich.) | Michigan Soo<br>Curling Rink | 5-1<br>Win  | Dr. Percy<br>Willson |
| Mar 11/04 | Duquesne<br>Gardens                          | Pittsburgh<br>Victorias      | 2-5<br>Loss | Roy. D.<br>Schooley  |
| Mar 12/04 | Duquesne<br>Gardens                          | Pittsburgh<br>Victorias      | 5-1<br>Win  | Roy D.<br>Schooley   |
| Mar 15/04 | Duquesne<br>Gardens                          | Pittsburgh<br>Victorias      | 7-0<br>Win  | Roy D.<br>Schooley   |
| Mar 21/04 | Amphidrome<br>(Houghton)                     | Montreal<br>Wanderers        | 8-4<br>Win  | Dr. Percy<br>Willson |
| Mar 22/04 | Amphidrome<br>(Houghton)                     | Montreal<br>Wanderers        | 9-2<br>Win  |                      |

1903-04 Portage Lakes Hockey Club Team Record:

| Games | Wins | Losses | For | Against |
|-------|------|--------|-----|---------|
| 25    | 23   | 2      | 257 | 49      |

Home Record:

| Games | Wins | Losses | For | Against |
|-------|------|--------|-----|---------|
| 18    | 18   | 0      | 222 | 33      |

Away Record:

| Games | Wins | Losses | For | Against |
|-------|------|--------|-----|---------|
| 7     | 5    | 2      | 35  | 16      |

Goals Per Game: 10.29

Goals Against Per Game: 1.96

Home: 12.33

Away: 5.0

Home: 1.83

Away: 2.29



## APPENDIX C

### INTERNATIONAL HOCKEY LEAGUE LEAGUE RULES - 1904-05

**Section 1.** The season shall be from the first of December to the 15th day of March, both days inclusive.

**Section 2.** The championship shall be decided by a series of games, a schedule of which shall be drawn up by one delegate from each club or company at the annual meeting. The club winning the most matches will be declared champions.

**Section 3.** All championship matches shall be played on rinks arranged for by the home club, subject to the jurisdiction of the league.

**Section 4.** The league shall offer a championship trophy to the winning club, to hold same and be recognized as champions of the league. The trophy shall be delivered to the winning club within ten days after the close of the season.

**Section 5.** Any club holding the championship for three years in succession shall become absolute owners of the trophy.

**Section 6.** Any team making default shall forfeit the right to compete the championship for that season, and be required to pay the opposing team (within ten days), a fine of \$300, unless a previous notice of ten days be given to the opposing team and to the league of such club's intention to default. Such notice must be in writing, and signed by the president and manager of the defaulting club or company. All matches played with defaulting clubs shall count, and previous matches awarded to opposing teams.

**Section 7.** It shall be the duty of the captains of the contesting teams to hand to the referee the names of the players for each match previous to the start, on forms supplied by the secretary of the league.

The referee shall fill in the date of the match, names of contesting clubs, the score at the finish, with the names of umpires and timekeepers the whole duly signed by himself and forwarded to the secretary of the league.

From: The Houghton Daily Mining Gazette, December 15, 1904

## APPENDIX D

### RULES GOVERNING PLAY IN THE INTERNATIONAL HOCKEY LEAGUE - 1904-05

**Section 1.** A team shall be composed of seven players, who shall be bonafide members of the club or company they represent. No player shall be allowed to play in more than one team in the same series during the season except with the consent of the holding club.

**Section 2.** The game shall be commenced and renewed by a face in the center of the rink. Ice surface must be at least 150 feet long by 50 wide. Goals shall be six feet wide and four feet high, and provided with goal nets, such as approved by the league.

Defininition of face: The puck shall be placed by the sticks of two opponents, and the referee then calling "play." The goals shall be placed at least eight feet from the edge of the ice.

**Section 3.** Two half hours, with an intermission of ten minutes between, will be the time allowed for matches, but no stops of more than five minutes will be allowed. A match will be decided by the team winning the greatest number of goals during that time. In case of a tie after playing the specified two half hours, ten minutes shall be allowed. Ends will be changed and play will continue until one side secures a goal, but in no case shall the extra time exceed fifteen minutes. In the event of no deciding goal being scored by either team, the referee shall declare the match a draw, the game shall be played out the following night or the next open date, unless otherwise agreed to by the managers of the two teams. All matches must be started at the advertised time, and if for any reason there be more than fifteen minutes delay in the commencement of a match, the club at fault shall pay to the league, as a penalty, the sum of \$25.00, unless good reason be given for said delay. The referee is to see that this rule is observed, and to notify the league within two days should any breach of it occur.

**Section 4.** No change of players shall be made after a match is commenced except for reasons of accidents or injury during the game.

**Section 5.** Should any player be injured during the first half of the match and compelled to leave the ice, his side shall be allowed to put on a spare man from the reserve to equalize the team. Should any player be injured during the second half of the match, the captain of the opposing team shall have the option of dropping a player to equalize the team, or allow the opponent to put on a man from the reserve. In the event of any dispute between the captains as to the injured player's fitness to continue the game, the matter shall at once be decided by the referee.

**Section 6.** Should the game be temporarily stopped by the infringement of any of the rules, the captain of the opposite team may claim that puck be taken back and face take place where it was last played before such infringement occurred.

**Section 7.** When a player hits the puck, anyone on the same side. who at such moment of hitting is nearer the opponent's goal line is out of play, and may not touch the puck himself or in any way prevent any other player from doing so, until the puck has been played. A player must always be on his own side of the puck.

**Section 8.** The puck may be stopped, but not carried or knocked on by any part of the body, nor shall any player close his hand on or carry the puck to the ice in his hand. No player shall raise his stick above the shoulder except in lifting the puck. Charging from behind, cross checking, tripping, collaring, kicking, clubbing or slashing shall not be allowed, and for

any infringement of these rules, the referee may rule the offending player off the ice for that match or for such portion of actual playing time as he may see fit. Should any player be ruled off the ice for time more than once during a match, the referee shall penalize him for each succeeding offense not less than twice the period of time penalized for his preceeding offense.

Section 9. When the puck goes off the ice or a foul occurs behind the goals, it should be taken by the referee to five yards at right angles from the goal line and there faced. When the puck goes off the ice at the sides, it shall be taken by the referee to five yards at right angles from the boundary line abnd there faced.

Section 10. The goal keeper must not during play. lie, kneel or sit upon the ice, but must maintain a standing position. For infringement of this section the referee shall have the authority to rule the offending player off the ice for that match or for such portion of actual playing time as he may see fit.

Section 11. Goal shall be scored when the puck shall have passed between the goal posts from in front below an imaginary line across the tops of the posts.

Section 12. Hockey sticks shall not be more than three inches wide at any point.

Section 13. The puck must be made of rubber, one inch thick all through and three inches in diameter. The Spalding hockey puck, the official puck of the league, must be used in all matches, the home club to furnish the referee with a puck previous to the match.

Section 14. All disputes during the match shall be decided by the referee, and he shall have full control of all players and officials from commencement to finish of matches, inclusive of stops and his decisions shall be final.

Section 15. All questions as to goals shall be settled by the umpires and their decisions shall be final.

Section 16. In the event of any dispute as to the decision of an umpire or timekeeper, the referee shall have the power to remove and replace him.

Section 17. Any player guilty of using profane or abusive language to any spectator, officials or other players shall be liable to be rule off by the referee, as per Section VIII.

Section 18. Any claims or contentions regarding the plays or interpretation of rules shall be made by the captains only.

## APPENDIX E

### INTERNATIONAL HOCKEY LEAGUE OFFICERS, 1904-1907

Elected officers of the International Hockey League, 1904-05 season:

President: A.L. MacSwiggan, Manager, Duquesne Gardens, Pittsburgh

Vice President: A. Ferguson, Manager, Soo Curling Club, Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan

Secretary and Treasurer: James R. Dee, President, Amphidrome Co., Houghton

At the annual meeting at the Michigan Soo, on October 23, 1905 the following officers were elected, for the 1905-06 season:

President: A. Ferguson, Manager, Soo Curling Club, Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan

Vice President: A.L. MacSwiggan, Manager, Duquesne Gardens, Pittsburgh

Secretary and Treasurer: J.C. Boyd, Superintendent, Canadian Soo Ship Canal, Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario<sup>1</sup>

Pittsburgh's MacSwiggan was pressured to take the position of League President by the other team representatives. MacSwiggan viewed this position as honorary and felt that the duties should be passed around to the other members.<sup>2</sup>

The elected officers for the 1906-07 season were:

President: James T. Fisher, Cashier of the State Savings Bank of Laurium. (Calumet)

Vice President: William L. Murdock, Manager of the Northwest Leather Company, Michigan Soo.

Secretary-Treasurer: John T. McNamara, Manager of the Amphidrome, Houghton.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Copper Country, Oct 23/05, n. pag.

<sup>2</sup>Mining Gazette, Oct 26/05, n. pag.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

In 1907, a Chicago meeting was represented by only three cities; Calumet, and the two Soos. Despite the lack of representation, league officers were elected:

President: M.J. Kemp, Calumet.

Vice President: W.L. Murdock, Michigan Soo.

Secretary-Treasurer: M. Laughton, Canadian Soo.

APPENDIX F  
INTERNATIONAL HOCKEY LEAGUE TEAM UNIFORMS

Teams began I.H.L. play in late 1904 using the following color schemes for their respective uniforms:

|              |                                                                        |
|--------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Pittsburgh   | Red and Blue                                                           |
| Canadian Soo | Red and Black                                                          |
| Michigan Soo | Purple and White                                                       |
| Houghton     | Green and White                                                        |
| Calumet      | Pearl Gray and Cardinal (Gray jerseys with red stockings) <sup>4</sup> |

Calumet retained its color scheme for the 1905-06 season,<sup>5</sup> but the Canadian Soo switched team colors to red and white that same season.<sup>6</sup>

Referees wore yellow sweaters during games.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup>Copper Country, Nov 8/04, n. pag.

<sup>5</sup>The team would wear red sweaters, with a broad band of white around the waist, and a wide white collar. The stockings were white, with a deep garnet band; *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, Nov 20/05, n. pag.

<sup>7</sup>Copper Country, Nov 20/05, n. pag.

## APPENDIX G

### INTERNATIONAL HOCKEY LEAGUE ALL-STAR TEAMS 1904-1907

The abilities of many of the I.H.L. players led to the naming of several league all-star teams.

In the spring of 1905 the Soo Evening News had created a contest in which readers of the newspaper could vote on who was deemed to be the best player in the International Hockey League at each of the seven playing positions.<sup>8</sup> The results of the vote were shown throughout the five competing cities:

| <u>Position</u> | <u>Player</u> | <u>Team</u>               |
|-----------------|---------------|---------------------------|
| Goal            | Jones         | Michigan Soo              |
| Point           | Brown         | Canadian Soo              |
| Cover Point     | H. Stuart     | Calumet                   |
| Rover           | Mallen        | Calumet                   |
| Center          | Pitre         | Michigan Soo              |
| Right Wing      | Laviolette    | Michigan Soo              |
| Left Wing       | Sweitzer      | Michigan Soo <sup>9</sup> |

That same year, the Calumet Copper Country evening News reported that fans in that town had decided to vote for their own 'All-American' team for the 1904-05 season:

| <u>Position</u> | <u>Player</u> | <u>Team</u>           |
|-----------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| Goal            | Hern          | Houghton              |
| Point           | Gibson        | Houghton              |
| Cover Point     | H. Stuart     | Calumet               |
| Rover           | Mallen        | Calumet               |
| Center          | Strike        | Calumet               |
| Right Wing      | Laviolette    | Michigan Soo          |
| Left Wing       | Gardner       | Calumet <sup>10</sup> |

Meanwhile, in Pittsburgh, Pat S. Egan, sports editor of the Pittsburgh Times, selected his own all-star team of I.H.L. players:

---

<sup>8</sup>Soo Evening News, Mar 8/05, n. pag.

<sup>9</sup>Copper Country, Mar 21/05, n. pag.

<sup>10</sup>Mining Gazette, Mar 16/05, n. pag.

| <u>Position</u> | <u>Player</u> | <u>Team</u>           |
|-----------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| Goal            | Winchester    | Pittsburgh            |
| Point           | Gibson        | Houghton              |
| Cover Point     | H. Stuart     | Calumet               |
| Forward (Rover) | Mallen        | Calumet               |
| Center          | A. Sixsmith   | Pittsburgh            |
| Right Wing      | Liffiton      | Houghton              |
| Left Wing       | Gardner       | Calumet <sup>11</sup> |

With "Hod" Stuart, at cover point, and Ken Mallen, at rover, the only unanimous choices, the team selections reveal some obvious biases in voting. This can be partially attributed to the schedule allowing for spectators for one team to witness opposing teams only three times during the season; unless fans travelled to other cities to watch games, the only other way a voter could have judged the abilities of a player would be through the accounts of the other games in the newspapers. Another explanation for the lack of consensus, on the selection of the best players in the I.H.L., would be the fact that the League could boast a number of highly skilled players at any of the seven playing positions. Such a depth in the level of talent in the League would result in fans or sports writers selecting those skaters that they had seen play the most frequently, which would explain the apparent bias towards local players on each of the named teams.

For the 1905-06 season, a future Hall of Fame referee "Chaucer" Elliot, who had refereed many games that season, was asked to select his own list of all-star players from the International Hockey league:

| <u>Position</u> | <u>Player</u> | <u>Team</u>                |
|-----------------|---------------|----------------------------|
| Goal            | Jones         | Michigan Soo               |
| Point           | Baird         | Pittsburgh                 |
| Cover Point     | H.Stuart      | Pittsburgh                 |
| Rover           | Campbell      | Pittsburgh                 |
| Center          | B.Stuart      | Houghton                   |
| Right Wing      | Hall          | Houghton                   |
| Left Wing       | Pitre         | Michigan Soo <sup>12</sup> |

In Calumet, hockey enthusiasts had chosen an all-star team even before the 1905-06 season had been completed:

| <u>Position</u> | <u>Player</u> | <u>Team</u>                |
|-----------------|---------------|----------------------------|
| Goal            | Nicholson     | Calumet                    |
| Point           | Shields       | Calumet                    |
| Cover Point     | H.Stuart      | Pittsburgh                 |
| Rover           | F.Taylor      | Houghton                   |
| Center          | B.Stuart      | Houghton                   |
| Right Wing      | Sweitzer      | Michigan Soo               |
| Left Wing       | Laviolette    | Michigan Soo <sup>13</sup> |

---

<sup>11</sup>Mining Gazette, Mar 14/05, n. pag.

<sup>12</sup>Soo Evening News, Mar 22/06, n. pag.



The efforts of the two Stuart brothers were unanimously recognized throughout the league in 1905-06.

The conclusion of the 1906-07 I.H.L. season also meant the traditional naming of all-stars, by different groups from the different I.H.L. cities. Frank Cleveland, sporting editor of the Sault Ste Marie Evening News claimed that local player, Jack Laviolette, was the I.H.L.'s best player, and selected the following all-star team:

| <u>Position</u> | <u>Player</u>   | <u>Team</u>                |
|-----------------|-----------------|----------------------------|
| Goal            | Jack Winchester | Pittsburgh                 |
| Point           | Roy Brown       | Canadian Soo               |
| Cover Point     | Barney Holden   | Houghton                   |
| Rover           | Jack Laviolette | Michigan Soo               |
| Center          | Lorne Campbell  | Pittsburgh                 |
| Right Wing      | Fred Lake       | Houghton                   |
| Left Wing       | Didier Pitre    | Michigan Soo <sup>14</sup> |

---

<sup>13</sup>Copper Country, Feb 21/06, n. pag.

<sup>14</sup>Soo Evening News, Mar 18/07, n. pag.

## APPENDIX H

### INTERNATIONAL HOCKEY LEAGUE TEAM RECORDS 1904-1907

#### International Hockey League Team Records: 1904-05

| Team         | Games | Wins | Losses | Ties            | For     | Against   |
|--------------|-------|------|--------|-----------------|---------|-----------|
| Calumet      | 24    | 18   | 5      | 1 <sup>15</sup> | 131     | 75        |
| Houghton     | 24    | 15   | 7      | 2               | 97 (98) | 82 (81)   |
| Michigan Soo | 24    | 10   | 13     | 1               | 81 (80) | 79        |
| Pittsburgh   | 24    | 8    | 15     | 1               | 83 (82) | 113 (114) |
| Canadian Soo | 24    | 6    | 17     | 1               | 97      | 140 (139) |

League Champions: Calumet

#### International Hockey League Team Records: 1905-06

| Team         | Games | Wins | Losses | For | Against |
|--------------|-------|------|--------|-----|---------|
| Houghton     | 20    | 15   | 5      | 105 | 70      |
| Michigan Soo | 22    | 16   | 6      | 127 | 57      |
| Pittsburgh   | 24    | 15   | 9      | 121 | 85      |
| Calumet      | 21    | 4    | 17     | 48  | 108     |
| Canadian Soo | 15    | 1    | 14     | 57  | 138     |

League Champions: Houghton

The Canadian Soo team disbanded during the season. In the official team standings, each game that was forfeited by the Canadian Soo club was awarded as a 1-0 victory for the opposing club. The games shown are the actual game results, without the forfeited games included.

#### International Hockey League Team Records: 1906-07

| Team         | Games | Wins | Losses | For     | Against   |
|--------------|-------|------|--------|---------|-----------|
| Houghton     | 24    | 16   | 8      | 100     | 102       |
| Canadian Soo | 24    | 13   | 11     | 124     | 123 (124) |
| Pittsburgh   | 25    | 12   | 12     | 94      | 82        |
| Michigan Soo | 24    | 11   | 13     | 103     | 86        |
| Calumet      | 25    | 8    | 16     | 96 (97) | 124       |

League Champions: Houghton

Note: Numbers in Parenthesis reflect variations in newspaper reports for individual games.

---

<sup>15</sup>A 1-1 tie played between Calumet and Houghton was officially awarded to Calumet due to Houghton's refusal to play overtime.

# APPENDIX I

## INTERNATIONAL HOCKEY LEAGUE PLAYER AND TEAM RECORDS, 1904-05

### 1904-05 Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario

| Player                     | Games Played | Goals |
|----------------------------|--------------|-------|
| William "Lady Bill" Taylor | 24           | 33    |
| Charles Collins            | 20           | 16    |
| "Jack" Ward                | 22           | 10    |
| Roy Brown                  | 24           | 9     |
| Frank Clifton              | 14           | 8     |
| "Texas" Gillard            | 18           | 2     |
| "Dick" O'Leary             | 13           | 2     |
| Garnet Sixsmith            | 3            | 2     |
| Findlay                    | 1            | 1     |
| Jim Charles McClurg        | 2            | 0     |
| Charles L. Corbett         | 1            | 0     |
| Oliver Siebert             | 1            | 0     |
| Powell                     | 1            | 0     |

### Goaltending

| Player       | Games | Goals Against | Goals Against Average | Shutouts |
|--------------|-------|---------------|-----------------------|----------|
| Pete Maltman | 24    | 140 (139)     | 5.8                   | 0        |

### Canadian Soo Record for 1904-05:

| Games        | Wins | Losses | Ties | For | Against   |
|--------------|------|--------|------|-----|-----------|
| 24           | 6    | 17     | 1    | 97  | 140 (139) |
| Houghton     | 2    | 4      | 0    | 27  | 32        |
| Michigan Soo | 2    | 4      | 0    | 17  | 29 (28)   |
| Pittsburgh   | 2    | 3      | 1    | 31  | 32        |
| Calumet      | 0    | 6      | 0    | 22  | 47        |
| Home         | 6    | 5      | 1    | 54  | 51        |
| Away         | 0    | 12     | 0    | 43  | 89 (88)   |

14 goals that the team scored were not attributed to any specific player for the 1904-05 season.

1904-05 Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

| Player                     | Games Played | Goals |
|----------------------------|--------------|-------|
| Lorne Campbell             | 24           | 29    |
| Arthur "Sixy" Sixsmith     | 11           | 16    |
| "Eddie" Roberts            | 24           | 10    |
| "Haddo" Black              | 17           | 7     |
| William "Peg" Duval        | 13           | 4     |
| Tom "Rube" Melville        | 6            | 4     |
| Joe McMaster               | 4            | 3     |
| Allan. Kent                | 11           | 3     |
| Charles D. "Baldy" Spittal | 22           | 1     |
| Garnet Sixsmith            | 2            | 1     |
| "Billy" Baird              | 8            | 0     |
| "Dick" O'Leary             | 1            | 0     |
| George McCarron            | 1            | 0     |

Goaltending

| Player          | Games | Goals Against | Goals Against Average | Shutouts |
|-----------------|-------|---------------|-----------------------|----------|
| McKay(MacKay)   | 9     | 53 (54)       | 5.9 (6.0)             | 0        |
| Jack Winchester | 15    | 60            | 4.0                   | 2        |

Pittsburgh Record for 1904-05:

| Games | Wins | Losses | Ties | For     | Against   |
|-------|------|--------|------|---------|-----------|
| 24    | 8    | 15     | 1    | 83 (82) | 113 (114) |

Versus:

|              |   |    |   |         |         |
|--------------|---|----|---|---------|---------|
| Houghton     | 1 | 5  | 0 | 17 (16) | 27 (28) |
| Canadian Soo | 3 | 2  | 1 | 32      | 31      |
| Michigan Soo | 3 | 3  | 0 | 13      | 17      |
| Calumet      | 1 | 5  | 0 | 21      | 38      |
| Home         | 8 | 4  | 0 | 43      | 40      |
| Away         | 0 | 11 | 1 | 40 (39) | 73 (74) |

Numbers in parenthesis are figures that were arrived at due to a discrepancy in the reported score from two different newspaper sources.

5(4) goals that the team scored were not attributed to any specific player for the 1904-05 season

1904-05 Houghton, Michigan

| Player                     | Games Played | Goals |
|----------------------------|--------------|-------|
| Bruce Stuart               | 22           | 33    |
| Fred Lake                  | 24           | 14    |
| Harry Bright               | 8            | 9     |
| Bert Morrison              | 12           | 9     |
| Barney Holden              | 24           | 7     |
| Charles Liffiton           | 14           | 5     |
| William "Cooney" Shields   | 10           | 5     |
| Lorne Campbell             | 4            | 5     |
| Dr.J.L.McD. "Doc" Gibson   | 24           | 2     |
| Joe McMaster               | 1            | 2     |
| C. Ernest "Ernie" Westcott | 3            | 1     |
| Andy Haller                | 1            | 0     |

Goaltending

| Player       | Games | Goals Against | Goals Against Average | Shutouts |
|--------------|-------|---------------|-----------------------|----------|
| "Riley" Hern | 24    | 82(81)        | 3.4                   | 2        |

Houghton Record for 1904-05:

| Games | Wins | Losses | Ties | For     | Against |
|-------|------|--------|------|---------|---------|
| 24    | 15   | 7      | 2*   | 97 (98) | 82 (81) |

**Versus:**

|              |    |   |   |         |         |
|--------------|----|---|---|---------|---------|
| Calumet      | 2  | 3 | 1 | 12      | 23      |
| Michigan Soo | 4  | 1 | 1 | 26      | 15      |
| Canadian Soo | 4  | 2 | 0 | 32      | 27      |
| Pittsburgh   | 5  | 1 | 0 | 27 (28) | 17 (16) |
| Home         | 11 | 1 | 0 | 56 (57) | 30 (29) |
| Away         | 4  | 6 | 2 | 41      | 52      |

\* A tie (1-1) against Calumet was awarded officially to Calumet due to Houghton's refusal to play overtime.

5(6) goals that the team scored were not attributed to any specific player for the 1904-05 season.

1904-05 Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan (Michigan Soo)

| Player             | Games Played | Goals |
|--------------------|--------------|-------|
| Frank Sweitzer     | 20           | 14    |
| Didier Pitre       | 13           | 11    |
| Joe Stephens       | 24           | 10    |
| "Jack" Laviolette  | 24           | 8     |
| "Jigger" Robinson  | 14           | 7     |
| Ted "Eddie" Howell | 24           | 7     |
| "Pud" Hamilton     | 24           | 3     |
| "Bike" Young       | 2            | 0     |
| George McCarron    | 1            | 0     |

Goaltending

| Player           | Games | Goals Against | Goals Against Average | Shutouts |
|------------------|-------|---------------|-----------------------|----------|
| J. "Chief" Jones | 24    | 79            | 3.3                   | 1        |

Michigan Soo Record for 1904-05:

| Games | Wins | Losses | Ties | For     | Against |
|-------|------|--------|------|---------|---------|
| 24    | 10   | 13     | 1    | 81 (80) | 79      |

Versus:

|              |   |    |   |         |    |
|--------------|---|----|---|---------|----|
| Houghton     | 1 | 4  | 1 | 15      | 26 |
| Canadian Soo | 4 | 2  | 0 | 29 (28) | 17 |
| Pittsburgh   | 3 | 3  | 0 | 17      | 13 |
| Calumet      | 2 | 4  | 0 | 20      | 23 |
| Home         | 8 | 3  | 1 | 59 (58) | 32 |
| Away         | 2 | 10 | 0 | 22      | 47 |

21(20) goals that the team scored were not attributed to any specific player for the 1904-05 season.

### 1904-05 Calumet, Michigan

| Player                   | Games Played | Goals |
|--------------------------|--------------|-------|
| Fred Strike              | 24           | 44    |
| Ken Mallen               | 24           | 37    |
| "Hod" Stuart             | 22           | 18    |
| "Jimmy" Gardner          | 23           | 16    |
| Bob Scott                | 15           | 6     |
| "Reddy" McMillan         | 22           | 5     |
| William "Cooney" Shields | 7            | 3     |
| "Lal" Earls              | 6            | 0     |
| McCabe                   | 2            | 0     |
| Sylvester                | 1            | 0     |

### Goaltending

| Player            | Games | Goals Against | Goals Against Average | Shutouts |
|-------------------|-------|---------------|-----------------------|----------|
| "Billy" Nicholson | 24    | 75            | 3.1                   | 1        |

### Calumet Record for 1904-05:

| Games        | Wins | Losses | Ties | For | Against |
|--------------|------|--------|------|-----|---------|
| 24           | 18   | 5      | 1    | 131 | 75      |
| Versus:      |      |        |      |     |         |
| Houghton     | 3    | 2      | 1    | 23  | 12      |
| Canadian Soo | 6    | 0      | 0    | 47  | 22      |
| Michigan Soo | 4    | 2      | 0    | 23  | 20      |
| Pittsburgh   | 5    | 1      | 0    | 38  | 21      |
| Home         | 10   | 1      | 1    | 84  | 40      |
| Away         | 8    | 4      | 0    | 47  | 35      |

A tie (1-1) with Houghton was officially awarded as a victory to Calumet after Houghton refused to play overtime

2 goals that the team scored were unattributed to any specific player for the 1904-05 season

# APPENDIX J

## INTERNATIONAL HOCKEY LEAGUE PLAYER AND TEAM RECORDS, 1905-06

### 1905-06 Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan

| Player                     | Games Played | Goals |
|----------------------------|--------------|-------|
| Didier Pitre               | 22           | 36    |
| "Reddy" McMillan           | 19           | 21    |
| Frank Sweitzer             | 22           | 17    |
| "Jack" Laviolette          | 17           | 15    |
| Paul "Pud" Hamilton        | 19           | 7     |
| William "Lady Bill" Taylor | 4            | 5     |
| McDonald                   | 9            | 5     |
| Ted "Eddie" Howell         | 20           | 3     |

### Goaltending

| Player        | Games | Goals Against | Goals Against Average | Shutouts |
|---------------|-------|---------------|-----------------------|----------|
| "Chief" Jones | 22    | 57            | 2.6                   | 2        |

### Michigan Soo Record for 1905-06:

| Games        | Wins | Losses | Ties | For | Against |
|--------------|------|--------|------|-----|---------|
| 22           | 16   | 6      | 0    | 127 | 57      |
| Versus:      |      |        |      |     |         |
| Houghton     | 3    | 3      | 0    | 25  | 21      |
| Calumet      | 5    | 1      | 0    | 29  | 8       |
| Canadian Soo | 4    | 0      | 0    | 49  | 15      |
| Pittsburgh   | 4    | 2      | 0    | 24  | 13      |
| Home         | 10   | 1      | 0    | 81  | 23      |
| Away         | 6    | 5      | 0    | 46  | 34      |

18 goals that the team scored were not attributed to any specific player for the 1905-06 season.



1905-06 Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

| Player            | Games Played | Goals |
|-------------------|--------------|-------|
| Lorne Campbell    | 24           | 32    |
| Eddie Roberts     | 24           | 15    |
| Arthur Sixsmith   | 18           | 11    |
| J. Kent           | 13           | 10    |
| "Dunc" Taylor     | 3            | 9     |
| "Hod" Stuart      | 20           | 7     |
| Garnet Sixsmith   | 13           | 5     |
| Billy Baird       | 24           | 5     |
| "Jigger" Robinson | 3            | 2     |
| Con Corbeau       | 3            | 1     |
| "Haddo" Black     | 1            | 0     |
| Tom Melville      | 2            | 0     |

Goaltending

| Player          | Games | Goals Against | Goals Against Average | Shutouts |
|-----------------|-------|---------------|-----------------------|----------|
| Jack Winchester | 24    | 85            | 3.54                  | 2        |

Pittsburgh Record for 1905-06:

| Games | Wins | Losses | Ties | For | Against |
|-------|------|--------|------|-----|---------|
| 24    | 15   | 9      | 0    | 121 | 85      |

## Versus:

|              |   |   |   |    |    |
|--------------|---|---|---|----|----|
| Houghton     | 2 | 4 | 0 | 19 | 20 |
| Calumet      | 5 | 1 | 0 | 28 | 15 |
| Michigan Soo | 2 | 4 | 0 | 13 | 24 |
| Canadian Soo | 6 | 0 | 0 | 61 | 26 |
| Home         | 9 | 3 | 0 | 59 | 36 |
| Away         | 6 | 6 | 0 | 62 | 49 |

24 goals not attributed to a specific player

### 1905-06 Houghton, Michigan

| Player             | Games Played | Games |
|--------------------|--------------|-------|
| Joe Hall           | 20           | 33    |
| Fred Lake          | 20           | 25    |
| Bruce Stuart       | 20           | 15    |
| Fred Taylor        | 6            | 11    |
| Barney Holden      | 20           | 9     |
| Harry Bright       | 9            | 7     |
| "Grindy" Forrester | 20           | 4     |
| Walter Forrest     | 5            | 0     |

### Goaltending

| Player       | Games | Goals Against | Goals Against Average | Shutouts |
|--------------|-------|---------------|-----------------------|----------|
| "Riley" Hern | 20    | 70            | 3.5                   | 1        |

### Houghton Record for 1905-06:

| Games        | Wins | Losses | Ties | For | Against |
|--------------|------|--------|------|-----|---------|
| 20           | 15   | 5      | 0    | 105 | 70      |
| Versus:      |      |        |      |     |         |
| Calumet      | 6    | 0      | 0    | 46  | 16      |
| Pittsburgh   | 4    | 2      | 0    | 20  | 19      |
| Michigan Soo | 3    | 3      | 0    | 21  | 25      |
| Canadian Soo | 2    | 0      | 0    | 19  | 10      |
| Home         | 8    | 2      | 0    | 55  | 31      |
| Away         | 7    | 3      | 0    | 50  | 39      |

1 goal was not attributed to a specific player

1905-06 Calumet, Michigan

| Player                   | Games Played | Goals |
|--------------------------|--------------|-------|
| Fred Strike              | 15           | 12    |
| Dr. Robert Scott         | 20           | 10    |
| Edmund Decorie           | 9            | 6     |
| Ken Mallen               | 5            | 4     |
| McDonald                 | 8            | 4     |
| Lorne Campbell           | 1            | 3     |
| James Mallen             | 4            | 3     |
| Jimmy Gardner            | 19           | 3     |
| William "Cooney" Shields | 21           | 2     |
| "Harry" Bellefeuille     | 12           | 1     |
| Larson                   | 1            | 0     |
| "Hod" Stuart             | 1            | 0     |
| Joe Linder               | 1            | 0     |
| E.G. (M.C.) Milne        | 1            | 0     |
| Con Corbeau              | 7            | 0     |

Goaltending

| Player          | Games | Goals Against | Goals Against Average | Shutouts |
|-----------------|-------|---------------|-----------------------|----------|
| Billy Nicholson | 21    | 108           | 5.14                  | 0        |

Calumet Record for 1905-06:

| Games          | Wins | Losses | Ties | For | Against |
|----------------|------|--------|------|-----|---------|
| 21             | 4    | 17     | 0    | 48  | 108     |
| Versus:        |      |        |      |     |         |
| Houghton       | 0    | 6      | 0    | 16  | 45      |
| Pittsburgh     | 1    | 5      | 0    | 15  | 28      |
| Michigan Soo 1 |      | 5      | 0    | 8   | 29      |
| Canadian Soo2  |      | 1      | 0    | 9   | 6       |
| Home           | 4    | 7      | 0    | 36  | 48      |
| Away           | 0    | 10     | 0    | 12  | 60      |

1905-06 Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario

| Player                     | Games Played | Goals |
|----------------------------|--------------|-------|
| Frank Clifton              | 15           | 19    |
| William "Lady Bill" Taylor | 10           | 11    |
| Jack Ward                  | 15           | 11    |
| Edmund Decorie             | 4            | 6     |
| Antoine Rattey             | 15           | 2     |
| Harold McNamara            | 2            | 1     |
| Charles "Baldy" Spittal    | 12           | 1     |
| Cliff Hollingsworth        | 1            | 0     |
| "Haddo" Black              | 2            | 0     |
| J.D. Stewart               | 1            | 0     |
| M.G. Milne                 | 4            | 0     |
| Con Corbeau                | 9            | 0     |

Goaltending

| Player      | Games | Goals Against | Goals Against Average | Shutouts |
|-------------|-------|---------------|-----------------------|----------|
| Darcy Regan | 15    | 138           | 9.2                   | 0        |

Canadian Soo Record for 1905-06:

| Games        | Wins | Losses | Ties | For | Against |
|--------------|------|--------|------|-----|---------|
| 15           | 1    | 14     | 0    | 57  | 138     |
| Versus:      |      |        |      |     |         |
| Houghton     | 0    | 2      | 0    | 10  | 19      |
| Pittsburgh   | 0    | 6      | 0    | 26  | 61      |
| Michigan Soo | 0    | 4      | 0    | 15  | 49      |
| Calumet      | 1    | 2      | 0    | 6   | 9       |
| Home         | 1    | 7      | 0    | 30  | 59      |
| Away         | 0    | 7      | 0    | 27  | 79      |

6 goals were not attributed to any specific player

# APPENDIX K

## INTERNATIONAL HOCKEY LEAGUE TEAM AND PLAYER RECORDS, 1906-07

### 1906-07 Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

| Player         | Games Played | Goals |
|----------------|--------------|-------|
| Lorne Campbell | 24           | 37    |
| Tommy Smith    | 22           | 23    |
| Horace Gaul    | 19           | 10    |
| Eddie Hogan    | 21           | 7     |
| Jimmy Gardiner | 20           | 3     |
| Rowley Young   | 7            | 2     |
| "Hod" Stuart   | 4            | 1     |
| Billy Baird    | 11           | 1     |
| Harry Bright   | 4            | 0     |
| Ross           | 4            | 0     |
| Ernie Liffiton | 9            | 0     |

### Goaltending

| Player          | Games | Goals Against | Goals Against Average | Shutouts |
|-----------------|-------|---------------|-----------------------|----------|
| Jack Winchester | 24    | 82            | 3.42                  | 1        |

### Pittsburgh Record for 1906-07:

| Games        | Wins             | Losses           | Ties | For | Against |
|--------------|------------------|------------------|------|-----|---------|
| 24           | 12 <sup>16</sup> | 12 <sup>17</sup> | 0    | 94  | 82      |
| Versus:      |                  |                  |      |     |         |
| Houghton     | 1                | 5                | 0    | 12  | 20      |
| Calumet      | 5                | 1                | 0    | 37  | 19      |
| Michigan Soo | 3                | 3                | 0    | 16  | 12      |
| Canadian Soo | 3                | 3                | 0    | 29  | 31      |
| Home         | 9                | 4                | 0    | 52  | 26      |
| Away         | 3                | 8                | 0    | 42  | 56      |

10 goals were unattributed

<sup>16</sup>A 2-2 tie at Calumet was replayed at Pittsburgh, resulting in a 9-4 Pittsburgh victory.

<sup>17</sup>A game on December 27 was not played, but was officially awarded to the Michigan Soo, as Pittsburgh refused to play the game.

1906-07 Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan

| Player            | Games Played | Goals |
|-------------------|--------------|-------|
| Jack Ward         | 23           | 34    |
| Frank Sweitzer    | 22           | 26    |
| Didier Pitre      | 23           | 26    |
| "Jack" Laviolette | 19           | 8     |
| "Pud" Hamilton    | 23           | 4     |
| Pete Charlton     | 23           | 2     |
| McNamara          | 4            | 0     |
| Frank Clifton     | 1            | 0     |

Goaltending

| Player      | Games | Goals Against | Goals Against Average | Shutouts |
|-------------|-------|---------------|-----------------------|----------|
| Chief Jones | 23    | 86            | 3.74                  | 0        |

Michigan Soo Record for 1906-07:

| Games        | Wins            | Losses          | Ties | For | Against |
|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|------|-----|---------|
| 24           | 11              | 13              | 0    | 103 | 86      |
| Versus:      |                 |                 |      |     |         |
| Houghton     | 2               | 4 <sup>18</sup> | 0    | 33  | 22      |
| Pittsburgh   | 3 <sup>19</sup> | 3               | 0    | 12  | 16      |
| Calumet      | 3               | 3               | 0    | 28  | 21      |
| Canadian Soo | 3               | 3               | 0    | 30  | 27      |
| Home         | 10              | 2               | 0    | 63  | 30      |
| Away         | 1               | 12              | 0    | 40  | 56      |

3 goals were unattributed

---

<sup>18</sup>Houghton was awarded a victory on December 14, despite the fact that the Michigan Soo was winning the game, due to Michigan Soo's refusal to continue to play due to a referee dispute.

<sup>19</sup>A win was awarded to the Michigan Soo December 27, as Pittsburgh refused to play due to a referee dispute.

1906-07 Houghton, Michigan

| Player                    | Games Played | Goals |
|---------------------------|--------------|-------|
| Fred Lake                 | 23           | 25    |
| Bruce Stuart              | 23           | 17    |
| "Grindy" Forrester        | 22           | 15    |
| Fred Taylor               | 23           | 14    |
| "Goldie" Cochrane         | 17           | 12    |
| Harry Bright              | 4            | 3     |
| Barney Holden             | 20           | 3     |
| Dick Wilson               | 2            | 1     |
| Cliff Hudson              | 1            | 0     |
| Con Corbeau               | 2            | 0     |
| Dr. J.L.McD. "Doc" Gibson | 2            | 0     |
| Harry Brown               | 5            | 0     |
| "Tuff" Bellefeuille       | 2            | 0     |

Goaltending

| Player      | Games | Goals Against | Goals Against Average | Shutouts |
|-------------|-------|---------------|-----------------------|----------|
| Darcy Regan | 24    | 102           | 4.25                  | 2        |

Houghton Record for 1906-07:

| Games | Wins | Losses | Ties | For | Against |
|-------|------|--------|------|-----|---------|
| 24    | 16   | 8      | 0    | 100 | 102     |

Versus:

|              |    |   |   |    |    |
|--------------|----|---|---|----|----|
| Calumet      | 3  | 3 | 0 | 19 | 31 |
| Pittsburgh   | 5  | 1 | 0 | 20 | 12 |
| Michigan Soo | 4  | 2 | 0 | 22 | 23 |
| Canadian Soo | 4  | 2 | 0 | 39 | 26 |
| Home         | 10 | 2 | 0 | 61 | 38 |
| Away         | 6  | 6 | 0 | 39 | 64 |

10 goals unattributed

1906-07 Calumet, Michigan

| Player                   | Games Played | Goals |
|--------------------------|--------------|-------|
| Bert Morrison            | 24           | 28    |
| Ken Mallen               | 11           | 13    |
| Dr. Robert Scott         | 16           | 11    |
| W. Bellefeuille          | 20           | 11    |
| Edmund Decorie           | 18           | 10    |
| William "Cooney" Shields | 20           | 5     |
| McDonald                 | 23           | 5     |
| Con Corbeau              | 13           | 4     |
| "Tuff" Bellefeuille      | 3            | 1     |

Goaltending

| Player          | Games | Goals Against | Goals Against Average | Shutouts |
|-----------------|-------|---------------|-----------------------|----------|
| Billy Nicholson | 25    | 124           | 4.96                  | 3        |

Calumet Record for 1906-07:

| Games | Wins | Losses | Ties | For     | Against |
|-------|------|--------|------|---------|---------|
| 25    | 8    | 16     | 0    | 96 (97) | 124     |

**Versus:**

|              |   |   |   |         |    |
|--------------|---|---|---|---------|----|
| Houghton     | 3 | 3 | 0 | 31      | 19 |
| Pittsburgh   | 1 | 5 | 0 | 19      | 37 |
| Canadian Soo | 1 | 5 | 0 | 25 (26) | 40 |
| Michigan Soo | 3 | 3 | 0 | 21      | 28 |
| Home         | 4 | 7 | 0 | 57 (58) | 63 |
| Away         | 4 | 9 | 0 | 39      | 61 |

8(9) goals unattributed



1906-07 Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario

| Player                     | Games Played | Goals |
|----------------------------|--------------|-------|
| William "Lady Bill" Taylor | 24           | 43    |
| "Newsy" Lalonde            | 18           | 26    |
| John Marks                 | 14           | 12    |
| "Dick" Wilson              | 8            | 9     |
| Roy Brown                  | 22           | 5     |
| Ed. J.Schafer              | 21           | 5     |
| Marty Walsh                | 7            | 4     |
| Henry McRobie              | 24           | 4     |
| Degray                     | 3            | 1     |
| Ouellette                  | 1            | 0     |
| T.Drolet                   | 1            | 0     |
| Harold McNamara            | 3            | 0     |
| George McNamara            | 3            | 0     |

Goaltending

| Player      | Games | Goals Against | Goals Against Average | Shutouts |
|-------------|-------|---------------|-----------------------|----------|
| Hugh Lehman | 24    | 123 (124)     | 5.1 (5.2)             | 0        |

Canadian Soo Record for 1906-07:

| Games | Wins | Losses | Ties | For | Against   |
|-------|------|--------|------|-----|-----------|
| 24    | 13   | 11     | 0    | 124 | 123 (124) |

**Versus:**

|              |    |   |   |    |         |
|--------------|----|---|---|----|---------|
| Houghton     | 2  | 4 | 0 | 26 | 39      |
| Calumet      | 5  | 1 | 0 | 40 | 25 (26) |
| Michigan Soo | 3  | 3 | 0 | 27 | 30      |
| Pittsburgh   | 3  | 3 | 0 | 31 | 29      |
| Home         | 10 | 2 | 0 | 78 | 49      |
| Away         | 3  | 9 | 0 | 46 | 74 (75) |

15 goals were unattributed

# APPENDIX L

## INTERNATIONAL HOCKEY LEAGUE SCORING LEADERS BY YEAR

### 1904-05

| Player                     | Team         | Games | Goals |
|----------------------------|--------------|-------|-------|
| Fred Strike                | Calumet      | 24    | 44    |
| Ken Mallen                 | Calumet      | 24    | 37    |
| Lorne Campbell             | Pittsburgh   | 24    | 29    |
|                            | Houghton     | 4     | 5     |
| Total                      |              | 28    | 34    |
| Bruce Stuart               | Houghton     | 22    | 33    |
| William "Lady Bill" Taylor | Canadian Soo | 24    | 33    |
| "Hod" Stuart               | Calumet      | 22    | 18    |
| Arthur Sixsmith            | Pittsburgh   | 11    | 16    |
| Charles Collins            | Canadian Soo | 20    | 16    |
| Jimmy Gardner              | Calumet      | 23    | 16    |

### 1905-06

|                            |              |    |    |
|----------------------------|--------------|----|----|
| Didier Pitre               | Michigan Soo | 22 | 36 |
| Lorne Campbell             | Pittsburgh   | 24 | 32 |
|                            | Calumet      | 1  | 3  |
| Total                      |              | 25 | 35 |
| Joe Hall                   | Houghton     | 20 | 33 |
| Fred Lake                  | Houghton     | 20 | 25 |
| "Reddy" McMillan           | Michigan Soo | 19 | 21 |
| Frank Clifton              | Canadian Soo | 5  | 19 |
| Frank Sweitzer             | Michigan Soo | 22 | 17 |
| William "Lady Bill" Taylor | Canadian Soo | 10 | 11 |
|                            | Michigan Soo | 4  | 5  |
| Total                      |              | 14 | 16 |
| "Jack" Laviolette          | Michigan Soo | 17 | 15 |
| Bruce Stuart               | Houghton     | 20 | 15 |
| Eddie Roberts              | Pittsburgh   | 24 | 15 |

### 1906-07

|                            |              |    |    |
|----------------------------|--------------|----|----|
| William "Lady Bill" Taylor | Canadian Soo | 24 | 43 |
| Lorne Campbell             | Pittsburgh   | 24 | 37 |
| Jack Ward                  | Michigan Soo | 23 | 34 |
| Bert Morrison              | Calumet      | 24 | 28 |
| "Newsy" Lalonde            | Canadian Soo | 18 | 26 |
| Frank Sweitzer             | Michigan Soo | 22 | 26 |
| Didier Pitre               | Michigan Soo | 23 | 26 |
| Fred Lake                  | Houghton     | 23 | 25 |
| Tommy Smith                | Pittsburgh   | 22 | 23 |
| Bruce Stuart               | Houghton     | 23 | 17 |

# APPENDIX M

## INTERNATIONAL HOCKEY LEAGUE REFEREES

| Referee                  | Season  | Games     |
|--------------------------|---------|-----------|
| Joe Booth                | 1904-05 | 1         |
| James Bourke             | 1904-05 | 1         |
| Harry Bright             | 1906-07 | 1         |
| Roy Brown                | 1904-05 | 1         |
| Pete Charlton            | 1906-07 | 1         |
| Frank Clifton            | 1906-07 | 1         |
| "Lal" Earls              | 1904-05 | 7         |
| Edwin "Chaucer" Elliot   | 1905-06 | 27        |
| Forbes                   | 1906-07 | 1         |
| Walter Forrest           | 1906-07 | 3         |
| Jimmy Gardner            | 1904-05 | 1         |
| Dr.J.L.McD. "Doc" Gibson | 1905-06 | 21        |
| Dr. Hay                  | 1904-05 | 1         |
| Riley Hern               | 1904-05 | 1         |
| H.H.Jack                 | 1904-05 | 8         |
| Dr. Lionel King          | 1904-05 | 2         |
| Charles Liffiton         | 1904-05 | 1         |
| McDonald                 | 1904-05 | 1         |
| Herbert Meinke           | 1904-05 | 4         |
|                          | 1906-07 | <u>2</u>  |
| Total                    |         | 6         |
| Tom Melville             | 1906-07 | 4         |
| Dick O'Leary             | 1904-05 | 1         |
| Parmalee                 | 1904-05 | 1         |
| Roy Schooley             | 1904-05 | 2         |
|                          | 1905-06 | 2         |
|                          | 1906-07 | <u>11</u> |
| Total                    |         | 15        |
| Arthur Sixsmith          | 1905-06 | 1         |
| Dr.Sheppard              | 1904-05 | 4         |
| William "Cooney" Shields | 1904-05 | 9         |
|                          | 1906-07 | <u>4</u>  |
| Total                    |         | 13        |
| Joe Stephens             | 1906-07 | 28        |
| "Dunc" Taylor            | 1906-07 | 1         |
| C.Ernest Westcott        | 1904-05 | 3         |
| Dr.P.H.Willson           | 1904-05 | 4         |
| Bike Young               | 1904-05 | 2         |

# APPENDIX N

## COMPLETE INTERNATIONAL HOCKEY LEAGUE PLAYER RECORDS - 1904-1907

| Player                   | Season  | Team         | Games     | Goals     |
|--------------------------|---------|--------------|-----------|-----------|
| Baird, Billy             | 1904-05 | Pittsburgh   | 8         | 0         |
|                          | 1905-06 |              | 24        | 5         |
|                          | 1906-07 |              | <u>11</u> | <u>1</u>  |
|                          | Total   |              | 43        | 6         |
| Bellefeuille, W. "Harry" | 1905-06 | Calumet      | 12        | 1         |
|                          | 1906-07 |              | <u>20</u> | <u>11</u> |
|                          | Total   |              | 32        | 12        |
| Bellefeuille, "Tuff"     | 1906-07 | Houghton     | 2         | 0         |
|                          |         | Calumet      | <u>3</u>  | <u>1</u>  |
|                          | Total   |              | 5         | 1         |
| Black, "Haddo"           | 1904-05 | Pittsburgh   | 17        | 7         |
|                          | 1905-06 | Canadian Soo | 2         | 0         |
|                          |         | Pittsburgh   | <u>1</u>  | <u>0</u>  |
|                          | Total   |              | 20        | 7         |
| Bright, Harry            | 1904-05 | Houghton     | 8         | 9         |
|                          | 1905-06 |              | 9         | 7         |
|                          | 1906-07 |              | 4         | 3         |
|                          |         | Pittsburgh   | <u>4</u>  | <u>0</u>  |
|                          | Total   |              | 25        | 19        |
| Brown, Harry             | 1906-07 | Houghton     | 5         | 0         |
| Brown, Roy               | 1904-05 | Canadian Soo | 24        | 9         |
|                          | 1906-07 |              | <u>22</u> | <u>5</u>  |
|                          | Total   |              | 46        | 14        |
| Campbell, Lorne          | 1904-05 | Houghton     | 4         | 5         |
|                          |         | Pittsburgh   | 24        | 29        |
|                          | 1905-06 | Pittsburgh   | 24        | 32        |
|                          |         | Calumet      | 1         | 3         |
|                          | 1906-07 | Pittsburgh   | <u>24</u> | <u>37</u> |
|                          | Total   |              | 77        | 106       |
| Charlton, Pete           | 1906-07 | Michigan Soo | 23        | 2         |
| Clifton, Frank           | 1904-05 | Canadian Soo | 13        | 8         |
|                          | 1905-06 |              | 15        | 19        |
|                          | 1906-07 | Michigan Soo | <u>1</u>  | <u>0</u>  |
|                          | Total   |              | 29        | 27        |
| Cochrane, "Goldie"       | 1906-07 | Houghton     | 17        | 12        |
| Collins, Charles         | 1904-05 | Canadian Soo | 20        | 16        |

| Player                  | Season  | Team         | Games     | Goals     |
|-------------------------|---------|--------------|-----------|-----------|
| Corbeau, "Con"          | 1905-06 | Canadian Soo | 9         | 0         |
|                         |         | Pittsburgh   | 3         | 1         |
|                         |         | Calumet      | 7         | 0         |
|                         | 1906-07 | Houghton     | 2         | 0         |
|                         |         | Calumet      | <u>13</u> | <u>4</u>  |
| Total                   |         |              | 34        | 5         |
| Corbett, Charles        | 1904-05 | Canadian Soo | 1         | 0         |
| Decorie, Edmund         | 1905-06 | Canadian Soo | 4         | 6         |
|                         |         | Calumet      | 9         | 6         |
|                         | 1906-07 |              | <u>18</u> | <u>10</u> |
|                         |         |              | 31        | 22        |
| Total                   |         |              |           |           |
| Degray                  | 1906-07 | Canadian Soo | 3         | 1         |
| Drolet, T.              | 1906-07 | Canadian Soo | 1         | 0         |
| Duval, William "Peg"    | 1904-05 | Pittsburgh   | 13        | 4         |
| Earls, "Lal"            | 1904-05 | Calumet      | 6         | 0         |
| Findlay                 | 1904-05 | Canadian Soo | 1         | 1         |
| Forrest, Walter         | 1905-06 | Houghton     | 5         | 0         |
| Forrester, "Grindy"     | 1905-06 | Houghton     | 20        | 4         |
|                         |         |              | <u>22</u> | <u>15</u> |
|                         | 1906-07 |              | 42        | 19        |
| Total                   |         |              |           |           |
| Gardner, Jimmy          | 1904-05 | Calumet      | 23        | 16        |
|                         |         |              | 19        | 3         |
|                         | 1906-07 | Pittsburgh   | <u>20</u> | <u>3</u>  |
|                         |         |              | 62        | 22        |
| Total                   |         |              |           |           |
| Gaul, Horace            | 1906-07 | Pittsburgh   | 19        | 10        |
| Gibson, Dr. J. L. "Doc" | 1904-05 | Houghton     | 24        | 2         |
|                         |         |              | <u>2</u>  | <u>0</u>  |
|                         | 1906-07 |              | 26        | 2         |
| Total                   |         |              |           |           |
| Gillard, "Texas"        | 1904-05 | Canadian Soo | 18        | 2         |
| Hall, Joe               | 1905-06 | Houghton     | 20        | 33        |
| Haller, Andy            | 1904-05 | Houghton     | 1         | 0         |
| Hamilton, Paul "Pud"    | 1904-05 | Michigan Soo | 24        | 3         |
|                         |         |              | 19        | 7         |
|                         | 1906-07 |              | <u>23</u> | <u>4</u>  |
|                         |         |              | 66        | 14        |
| Total                   |         |              |           |           |

| Player                   | Season  | Team         | Games     | Goals     |
|--------------------------|---------|--------------|-----------|-----------|
| Hogan, Eddie             | 1906-07 | Pittsburgh   | 21        | 7         |
| Holden, Barney           | 1904-05 | Houghton     | 24        | 7         |
|                          | 1905-06 |              | 20        | 9         |
|                          | 1906-07 |              | <u>20</u> | <u>3</u>  |
| Total                    |         |              | 64        | 19        |
| Hollingsworth, Cliff     | 1905-06 | Canadian Soo | 1         | 0         |
| Howell, Ted "Eddie"      | 1904-05 | Michigan Soo | 24        | 7         |
|                          | 1905-06 |              | <u>20</u> | <u>3</u>  |
| Total                    |         |              | 44        | 10        |
| Hudson, Cliff            | 1906-07 | Houghton     | 1         | 0         |
| Kent, Allan              | 1904-05 | Pittsburgh   | 11        | 3         |
|                          | 1905-06 |              | <u>13</u> | <u>10</u> |
| Total                    |         |              | 24        | 13        |
| Lake, Fred               | 1904-05 | Houghton     | 24        | 14        |
|                          | 1905-06 |              | 20        | 25        |
|                          | 1906-07 |              | <u>23</u> | <u>25</u> |
| Total                    |         |              | 67        | 64        |
| Lalonde, Edouard "Newsy" | 1906-07 | Canadian Soo | 18        | 26        |
| Larson                   | 1905-06 | Calumet      | 1         | 0         |
| Laviolette, "Jack"       | 1904-05 | Michigan Soo | 24        | 8         |
|                          | 1905-06 |              | 17        | 15        |
|                          | 1906-07 |              | <u>19</u> | <u>8</u>  |
| Total                    |         |              | 60        | 31        |
| Liffiton, Charles        | 1904-05 | Houghton     | 14        | 5         |
| Liffiton, Ernie          | 1906-07 | Pittsburgh   | 9         | 0         |
| Linder, Joe              | 1905-06 | Calumet      | 1         | 0         |
| Mallen, James            | 1905-06 | Calumet      | 4         | 3         |
| Mallen, Ken              | 1904-05 | Calumet      | 24        | 37        |
|                          | 1905-06 |              | 5         | 4         |
|                          | 1906-07 |              | <u>11</u> | <u>13</u> |
|                          |         | Total        | 40        | 54        |
| Marks, John              | 1906-07 | Canadian Soo | 14        | 12        |
| McCabe                   | 1904-05 | Calumet      | 2         | 0         |

| Player               | Season  | Team         | Games     | Goals     |
|----------------------|---------|--------------|-----------|-----------|
| McCarron, George     | 1904-05 | Michigan Soo | 1         | 0         |
|                      |         | Pittsburgh   | <u>1</u>  | <u>0</u>  |
| Total                |         |              | 2         | 0         |
| McClurg, Charles     | 1904-05 | Canadian Soo | 2         | 0         |
| McDonald             | 1905-06 | Michigan Soo | 9         | 5         |
|                      |         | Calumet      | 8         | 4         |
|                      | 1906-07 |              | <u>23</u> | <u>5</u>  |
| Total                |         |              | 40        | 14        |
| McMaster, Joe        | 1904-05 | Houghton     | 1         | 2         |
|                      |         | Pittsburgh   | <u>4</u>  | <u>3</u>  |
| Total                |         |              | 5         | 5         |
| McMillan, "Reddy"    | 1904-05 | Calumet      | 22        | 5         |
|                      | 1905-06 | Michigan Soo | <u>19</u> | <u>21</u> |
| Total                |         |              | 41        | 26        |
| McNamara             | 1906-07 | Michigan Soo | 4         | 0         |
| McNamara, George     | 1906-07 | Canadian Soo | 3         | 0         |
| McNamara, Harold     | 1905-06 | Canadian Soo | 2         | 1         |
|                      | 1906-07 |              | <u>3</u>  | <u>0</u>  |
| Total                |         |              | 5         | 1         |
| McRobie, Henry       | 1906-07 | Canadian Soo | 24        | 4         |
| Melville, Tom "Rube" | 1904-05 | Pittsburgh   | 6         | 4         |
|                      | 1905-06 |              | <u>2</u>  | <u>0</u>  |
| Total                |         |              | 8         | 4         |
| Milne, M.G.          | 1905-06 | Canadian Soo | 4         | 0         |
|                      |         | Calumet      | <u>1</u>  | <u>0</u>  |
| Total                |         |              | 5         | 0         |
| Morrison, Bert       | 1904-05 | Houghton     | 12        | 9         |
|                      | 1906-07 | Calumet      | <u>24</u> | <u>28</u> |
| Total                |         |              | 36        | 37        |
| O'Leary, Dick        | 1904-05 | Pittsburgh   | 1         | 0         |
|                      |         | Canadian Soo | <u>13</u> | <u>2</u>  |
| Total                |         |              | 14        | 2         |
| Oullette             | 1906-07 | Canadian Soo | 1         | 0         |
| Pitre, Didier        | 1904-05 | Michigan Soo | 13        | 11        |
|                      | 1905-06 |              | 22        | 36        |
|                      | 1906-07 |              | <u>23</u> | <u>26</u> |
| Total                |         |              | 58        | 73        |

| Player                    | Season  | Team         | Games     | Goals     |
|---------------------------|---------|--------------|-----------|-----------|
| Powell                    | 1904-05 | Canadian Soo | 1         | 0         |
| Rathey, Antoine           | 1905-06 | Canadian Soo | 15        | 2         |
| Roberts, Eddie            | 1904-05 | Pittsburgh   | 24        | 10        |
|                           | 1905-06 |              | <u>24</u> | <u>15</u> |
| Total                     |         |              | 48        | 25        |
| Robinson, "Jigger"        | 1904-05 | Michigan Soo | 14        | 7         |
|                           | 1905-06 | Pittsburgh   | <u>3</u>  | <u>2</u>  |
| Total                     |         |              | 17        | 9         |
| Ross                      | 1906-07 | Pittsburgh   | 4         | 0         |
| Schafer, Ed. J.           | 1906-07 | Canadian Soo | 21        | 5         |
| Scott, Dr. Robert "Bob"   | 1904-05 | Calumet      | 15        | 6         |
|                           | 1905-06 |              | 20        | 10        |
|                           | 1906-07 |              | <u>16</u> | <u>11</u> |
| Total                     |         |              | 51        | 27        |
| Seibert, Oliver           | 1904-05 | Canadian Soo | 1         | 0         |
| Shields, William "Cooney" | 1904-05 | Calumet      | 7         | 3         |
|                           |         | Houghton     | 10        | 5         |
|                           | 1905-06 | Calumet      | 21        | 2         |
|                           | 1906-07 |              | <u>20</u> | <u>5</u>  |
| Total                     |         |              | 58        | 15        |
| Sixsmith, Arthur "Sixy"   | 1904-05 | Pittsburgh   | 11        | 16        |
|                           | 1905-06 |              | <u>18</u> | <u>11</u> |
| Total                     |         |              | 29        | 27        |
| Sixsmith, Garnet          | 1904-05 | Pittsburgh   | 2         | 1         |
|                           |         | Canadian Soo | 3         | 2         |
|                           | 1905-06 | Pittsburgh   | <u>13</u> | <u>5</u>  |
| Total                     |         |              | 18        | 8         |
| Smith, Tommy              | 1906-07 | Pittsburgh   | 22        | 23        |
| Spittal, Charles "Baldy"  | 1904-05 | Pittsburgh   | 22        | 1         |
|                           | 1905-06 | Canadian Soo | <u>12</u> | <u>1</u>  |
| Total                     |         |              | 34        | 2         |
| Stephens, Joe             | 1904-05 | Michigan Soo | 24        | 10        |
| Stewart, J. D.            | 1905-06 | Canadian Soo | 1         | 0         |
| Strike, Fred              | 1904-05 | Calumet      | 24        | 44        |
|                           | 1905-06 |              | <u>15</u> | <u>12</u> |
| Total                     |         |              | 39        | 56        |



| Player                      | Season  | Team         | Games     | Goals     |
|-----------------------------|---------|--------------|-----------|-----------|
| Stuart, Bruce               | 1904-05 | Houghton     | 22        | 33        |
|                             | 1905-06 |              | 20        | 15        |
|                             | 1906-07 |              | <u>23</u> | <u>17</u> |
|                             | Total   |              | 65        | 65        |
| Stuart, "Hod"               | 1904-05 | Calumet      | 22        | 18        |
|                             | 1905-06 | Pittsburgh   | 20        | 7         |
|                             |         | Calumet      | 1         | 0         |
|                             | 1906-07 | Pittsburgh   | <u>4</u>  | <u>1</u>  |
| Total                       |         |              | 47        | 26        |
| Sweitzer, Frank             | 1904-05 | Michigan Soo | 20        | 14        |
|                             | 1905-06 |              | 22        | 17        |
|                             | 1906-07 |              | <u>22</u> | <u>26</u> |
|                             | Total   |              | 64        | 57        |
| Sylvester                   | 1904-05 | Calumet      | 1         | 0         |
| Taylor, "Dunc"              | 1905-06 | Pittsburgh   | 3         | 9         |
| Taylor, Fred                | 1905-06 | Houghton     | 6         | 11        |
|                             | 1906-07 |              | <u>23</u> | <u>14</u> |
|                             | Total   |              | 29        | 25        |
| Taylor, William "Lady Bill" | 1904-05 | Canadian Soo | 24        | 33        |
|                             | 1905-06 |              | 10        | 11        |
|                             |         | Michigan Soo | 4         | 5         |
|                             | 1906-07 | Canadian Soo | <u>24</u> | <u>43</u> |
| Total                       |         |              | 62        | 92        |
| Walsh, Marty                | 1906-07 | Canadian Soo | 7         | 4         |
| Ward, Jack                  | 1904-05 | Canadian Soo | 22        | 10        |
|                             | 1905-06 |              | 15        | 11        |
|                             | 1906-07 | Michigan Soo | <u>23</u> | <u>34</u> |
| Total                       |         |              | 60        | 55        |
| Westcott, C. Ernest         | 1904-05 | Houghton     | 3         | 1         |
| Wilson, Dick                | 1906-07 | Houghton     | 2         | 1         |
|                             |         | Canadian Soo | <u>8</u>  | <u>9</u>  |
|                             | Total   |              | 10        | 10        |
| Young, "Bike"               | 1904-05 | Michigan Soo | 2         | 0         |
| Young, Rowley               | 1906-07 | Pittsburgh   | 7         | 2         |

## APPENDIX O

### INTERNATIONAL HOCKEY LEAGUE CAREER LEADERS

#### International Hockey League Career Goal Leaders

|                            |     |
|----------------------------|-----|
| Lorne Campbell             | 106 |
| William "Lady Bill" Taylor | 92  |
| Didier Pitre               | 73  |
| Bruce Stuart               | 65  |
| Fred Lake                  | 64  |
| Frank Sweitzer             | 57  |
| Fred Strike                | 56  |
| Jack Ward                  | 55  |
| Ken Mallen                 | 54  |
| Bert Morrison              | 37  |

Note: In many instances there were variations in goal scorers as reported by the various newspaper sources and many goals were never credited to a specific player. The goal totals of each player may be, in fact, significantly higher than those listed.

#### International Hockey League Career Games Played Leaders

|                            |    |
|----------------------------|----|
| Lorne Campbell             | 77 |
| Fred Lake                  | 67 |
| "Pud" Hamilton             | 66 |
| Bruce Stuart               | 65 |
| Barney Holden              | 64 |
| Frank Sweitzer             | 64 |
| William "Lady Bill" Taylor | 62 |
| Jimmy Gardner              | 62 |
| Jack Ward                  | 60 |
| "Jack" Laviolette          | 60 |

## APPENDIX P

### "HOCKEY BY SI PLUNKINS"

The Copper Country Evening News reported on February 20, 1905, of a letter written by a local man, Si Plunkins, describing a recent game between Calumet and Pittsburgh:

I may be a farmer and all that, but I have my own ideas about sport - I was a boy once. And so I went over to the Plaster, I guess that's what they call it, Saturday night and "took in" as city folks say, the game between the Pittsburgh puck pushers and pullers and the Calumet calloused contortionists. It was an interesting game - one of those exhibitions that make you shake with excitement and stand up in your seat, yelling like a wild man. The Pittsburgh aggregation tried to defeat the locals and one man actual broke his wrist in the attempt. My heart jumped right out of my vest pocket for that fellow. All his prospects for the season are ruined for he won't be able to play again for weeks. I shouldn't think he'd want to, nuther. It's no fun breaking your bones to amuse other folks. They say there's money in it though and who is there who wouldn't lay his hand on a big piece of the rock of main chance at the risk of breaking a bone or two?

When I went in and took a seat in the press box I felt lost in that big hay barn. There was a great big sheet of ice, all one piece, extending from one end to the other. Ranged around it were the seats for those who had come to tell the players how to play and what they would do if they were in their places. At each end I noticed two sticks with some mosquito netting stretched between them. I couldn't make up my mind for some time what they wanted of mosquito netting in that Siberia - my feet were so cold that they would freeze snowballs.

I saw a group of fellows on skates across the pond. It struck me at first that they were Injuns, but I found out later that they were the actors. Pretty soon a gong rang and a young man in a yellow sweater dinged a little bell. Say, if I'd have been him I'd have worn mitts. My hands would have frozen before the game started.

Then two fellows stooped over like roosters beginning a fight and compared sticks. I couldn't see any difference in the clubs. They looked about the same size. One of them might have been loaded, but they didn't weigh them. They apparently were satisfied. Just then the little man with the yellow coat tossed a little lump of black stuff between the two men and they began to knock the whay out of it. It got away from them and another player took it. You'd think he had suddenly been taken with insanity. Away he went with it like a dog with a tin can tied to his tail. All the players followed.

I noticed in the meantime that there was a man at each end where the mosquitoes were kept. I thought the skeeters must have frozen to death by that time. The men were dressed for them if they did get out. I was hoping that they wouldn't for I was so cold that I began to think I didn't have very much clothing on. The fellow next to me gave me a pointer that relieved me considerably. He said the men were tending the gold. I supposed that meant the money that was taken in at the door.

It was only a second or two after that when a red hot fight took place right in the netting and I exclaimed to myself: "Here's where we see a bank robbery." The net was tipped over. I didn't see any mosquitoes get away, so I felt that the man next to me had told me the truth. That made me have confidence in him and I asked him some more questions.

You have seen the sun step out from behind a dense cloud, sending down a flood of light? Well, that describes it. The man next to me set me to rights. He said that the black thing was called a puck and that the men were cut in two, that is, divided into teams and each team was trying to get the puck into the other's goal. Then I began to appreciate the game. They batted that ball around there till you'd think there'd be nothing left of it.

Just as a man with a red and black garb, it looked black at night anyway, shot past the place where I was sitting, someone said "Spittal". I spit, but I observed that no one else did. Then someone yelled "Strike", and I thought of the only game of baseball I ever attended. Strike was quite as popular at the ball game I went to as he was Saturday night, and I wondered if he was a son of the old man. I was going to ask him but the first thing I knew he was at the other end of the rink chasing the puck.

After the puck had been batted around for some time, a man named Campbell shot the puck into Calumet's goal. Then they began all over again. The two men compared sticks again. The puck was shot from side to side of the rink and then down toward the other end. While they were in the midst of a scuffle, everyone began to shout "Reddy." I thought they had all been ready for some time, the way they had been going at it. A fellow with red hair started down the field with the puck and bless my soul if he didn't razzle dazzle the whole bunch of opponents. He dodged past the best of them. It made me feel kind of mournful, after all that work, to see the puck just missing going into the goal. The man with the red hair worked so hard for it, too. But I had to admire the goal tender just the same for he was pretty good to stop that shot.

After a lively scrimmage in front of the Pittsburgh goal, the puck took a trip down to the Calumet end. A man named Nicholson guarded the enclosure and I had noticed that he had been doing some pretty good work. Well, he had the puck at his mercy and he took the piece of rubber with him, leaving the goal unguarded. A feminine voice back of me exclaimed "Look at old Nicholson leaving the goal all alone. He makes me sick."

Well, the way I sized up the situation was in this manner. What good would he be in the goal with the puck in front of it and a gang of Smoky City chaps whacking away at it? Nicholson had the goal in his possession, for he had the puck. The Pittsburgh men could all throw their sticks into the goal for all he cared. I admired Nicholson. His apparent desertion of the goal gave the uneasy a start - it created a deeper interest in the game. If he hadn't done that, no one would have had a chance to say what was said. They would probably have said something else. I just put myself in Nicholson's place and came to the conclusion that Nicholson knew his business. Suppose I was trying to keep old Jim, our horse, from getting out of the field by standing at the gate. Do you think I would stand there all day if I got a chance to catch the horse and hold him until I fixed the gate so he couldn't get out? Well, I guess not.

Before I had it all reasoned out, the game had progressed some. Nicholson was back in his goal, but a shot went past him into the netting. No man is perfect. If the players were perfection no one would come to see the game, I figure. It was evident that the "Campbells are coming" for Campbell had scored his second shot. Then a visitor named Baird threw up his hand, saying he was injured. There was a cessation of hostilities and news came from the dressing room that Baird's wrist had been broken.

The accident made it look black for the Smoky City team and to make matters worse a substitute was put in by the name of Black. Playing was resumed, Black getting into the game in good shape. Everyone began shouting "Reddy" at this time. Reddy had the black piece of rubber and his work counted this time. He sent the ball whirling into the goal from halfway down the line. Spittal, who had been there to stop all the rest, wasn't in time. Spittal was there when the next shot was sent in by Hod Stuart, but the puck glanced from his stick and went into the goal. Hod made that puck look like the sixth satellite of Jupiter. You know the astronomers have just discovered it after all these years. Spittal discovered it after it had reached the goal. Some one said "win Chester," and I looked for someone to score. I learned later that Winchester was the excellent goalkeeper's name.

Much apparently depended on Cooney, for I heard the name often coupled with Shields. By the name, I took it that he was the goal tender, but the fellow next to me told me it was Nicholson, so I allowed that I didn't know it all yet. A great shout went up about this time and a woman said that Cooney Shields had sent the puck into the enemy's goal. Then I understood.

The game ended with the figures 6 and 5 in Calumet's favor. Somebody said that Mallen was the life of the game. I asked my new friend if that meant ginger and he said that Mallen was one of the players. Then I made up my mind that Mallen was the swift and clever little man who made two points during the evening and who seemed to be everywhere at the same time. Then I went home. On the way, I fell down and saw stars, hockey sticks and pucks, but forgot half I remembered of the game. It made me sore and I haven't gotten over it yet. If I'm in town when the next game comes off I believe I'll go. Maybe I can give them a few pointers.

# APPENDIX Q

## RECORDED ATTENDANCE AT I.H.L. GAMES

1904-05

| Date      | Team         | Opponent     | Attendance        |
|-----------|--------------|--------------|-------------------|
| Dec 9/04  | Michigan Soo | Canadian Soo | 1500              |
| Dec 16/04 | Pittsburgh   | Houghton     | 3500              |
| Dec 10/04 | Pittsburgh   | Houghton     | 3000              |
| Dec 12/04 | Pittsburgh   | Houghton     | 3500              |
| Dec 14/04 | Calumet      | Houghton     | 3000 (4000)       |
| Dec 17/04 | Houghton     | Calumet      | 3500              |
| Dec 19/04 | Canadian Soo | Michigan Soo | 850               |
| Dec 20/04 | Calumet      | Pittsburgh   | 500 <sup>20</sup> |
| Dec 23/04 | Michigan Soo | Pittsburgh   | 1000              |
| Jan 2/05  | Calumet      | Michigan Soo | 2500              |
| Jan 7/05  | Pittsburgh   | Calumet      | 3500              |
| Jan 13/05 | Houghton     | Canadian Soo | 2000              |
| Jan 14/05 | Calumet      | Canadian Soo | 1000              |
| Jan 20/05 | Michigan Soo | Canadian Soo | 1500              |
| Jan 23/05 | Canadian Soo | Michigan Soo | 2000              |
| Jan 21/05 | Houghton     | Calumet      | 2663              |
| Jan 25/05 | Calumet      | Houghton     | 4000              |
| Feb 1/05  | Canadian Soo | Calumet      | 1200              |
| Feb 6/05  | Calumet      | Michigan Soo | 1000              |
| Feb 7/05  | Calumet      | Michigan Soo | 1000              |
| Feb 9/05  | Houghton     | Michigan Soo | 2000              |
| Feb 10/05 | Pittsburgh   | Canadian Soo | 3500              |
| Mar 14/05 | Calumet      | Houghton     | 3000              |
| Mar 14/05 | Canadian Soo | Michigan Soo | 1000              |
| Mar 15/05 | Michigan Soo | Canadian Soo | 1000              |

1904-05 Average Recorded I.H.L. Attendance: 2129(2169)

1904-05 Average Attendance

| Team         | Average Home Attendance | Average Away Attendance |
|--------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| Calumet      | 2000 (2125)             | 2716                    |
| Canadian Soo | 1263                    | 1750                    |
| Houghton     | 2541                    | 3333 (3500)             |
| Michigan Soo | 1250                    | 1479                    |
| Pittsburgh   | 3400                    | 750                     |

<sup>20</sup>There was reportedly very cold weather conditions in Calumet on the day this game was scheduled.

# 1904-05 Attendance With Local Rivals

| Home Team    | Rival        | Attendance  |
|--------------|--------------|-------------|
| Calumet      | Houghton     | 3333 (3667) |
| Houghton     | Calumet      | 3082        |
| Canadian Soo | Michigan Soo | 1283        |
| Michigan Soo | Canadian Soo | 1333        |

# 1905-06

| Date      | Team         | Opponent     | Attendance |
|-----------|--------------|--------------|------------|
| Dec 11/05 | Calumet      | Canadian Soo | 2000       |
| Dec 12/05 | Pittsburgh   | Michigan Soo | 4000       |
| Dec 12/05 | Calumet      | Canadian Soo | 500        |
| Dec 14/05 | Houghton     | Canadian Soo | 1800       |
| Dec 19/05 | Houghton     | Calumet      | 2000       |
| Dec 21/05 | Canadian Soo | Michigan Soo | 1200       |
| Dec 23/05 | Calumet      | Houghton     | 2500       |
| Dec 26/05 | Michigan Soo | Canadian Soo | 1000       |
| Jan 1/06  | Canadian Soo | Pittsburgh   | 1000       |
| Jan 4/06  | Houghton     | Pittsburgh   | 2000       |
| Jan 5/06  | Houghton     | Pittsburgh   | 1200       |
| Jan 8/06  | Houghton     | Pittsburgh   | 3000       |
| Jan 12/06 | Houghton     | Michigan Soo | 1200       |
| Jan 13/06 | Houghton     | Michigan Soo | 1400       |
| Jan 22/06 | Calumet      | Pittsburgh   | 1000       |
| Jan 24/06 | Calumet      | Pittsburgh   | 700        |
| Jan 26/06 | Calumet      | Pittsburgh   | 600        |
| Jan 29/06 | Michigan Soo | Pittsburgh   | 1000       |
| Jan 31/06 | Michigan Soo | Pittsburgh   | 1000       |
| Feb 6/06  | Houghton     | Calumet      | 1300       |
| Feb 13/06 | Michigan Soo | Houghton     | 2000       |
| Feb 26/06 | Calumet      | Michigan Soo | 400        |
| Feb 27/06 | Calumet      | Michigan Soo | 300        |
| Mar 8/06  | Houghton     | Calumet      | 2000       |
| Mar 10/06 | Calumet      | Houghton     | 2000       |

1905-06 Average Recorded Attendance: 1484(1520)

# 1905-06 Average Attendance

| Team         | Average Home Attendance | Average Away Attendance |
|--------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| Calumet      | 1111 (1211)             | 1767                    |
| Canadian Soo | 1100                    | 1325                    |
| Houghton     | 1767                    | 2167                    |
| Michigan Soo | 1250                    | 1417 (1567)             |
| Pittsburgh   | 4000                    | 1278                    |

# 1905-06 Attendance With Local Rivals

| Home Team    | Rival        | Attendance |
|--------------|--------------|------------|
| Calumet      | Houghton     | 2250       |
| Houghton     | Calumet      | 1767       |
| Canadian Soo | Michigan Soo | 1283       |
| Michigan Soo | Canadian Soo | 1333       |

## 1906-07

| Date      | Team         | Opponent     | Attendance |
|-----------|--------------|--------------|------------|
| Dec 11/06 | Calumet      | Michigan Soo | 1600       |
| Dec 20/06 | Canadian Soo | Michigan Soo | 2000       |
| Dec 29/06 | Calumet      | Houghton     | 2000       |
| Dec 29/06 | Michigan Soo | Pittsburgh   | 800        |
| Jan 4/07  | Houghton     | Pittsburgh   | 1000       |
| Jan 10/07 | Houghton     | Canadian Soo | 2500       |
| Jan 10/07 | Pittsburgh   | Michigan Soo | 3000       |
| Jan 12/07 | Pittsburgh   | Michigan Soo | 3500       |
| Jan 14/07 | Calumet      | Canadian Soo | 1000       |
| Jan 22/07 | Calumet      | Pittsburgh   | 800        |
| Jan 24/07 | Calumet      | Pittsburgh   | 600        |
| Jan 26/07 | Calumet      | Pittsburgh   | 1000       |
| Feb 5/07  | Houghton     | Calumet      | 2000       |
| Feb 8/07  | Calumet      | Houghton     | 1600       |
| Feb 16/07 | Pittsburgh   | Calumet      | 5000       |
| Feb 20/07 | Calumet      | Michigan Soo | 600        |
| Feb 21/07 | Calumet      | Michigan Soo | 300        |
| Feb 23/07 | Houghton     | Michigan Soo | 2700       |
| Feb 28/07 | Houghton     | Michigan Soo | 2000       |
| Mar 1/07  | Calumet      | Canadian Soo | 200        |
| Mar 4/07  | Calumet      | Canadian Soo | 400        |
| Mar 7/07  | Pittsburgh   | Houghton     | 5000       |
| Mar 9/07  | Pittsburgh   | Houghton     | 5500       |
| Mar 14/07 | Calumet      | Houghton     | 600        |
| Mar 15/07 | Houghton     | Calumet      | 2300       |

1906-07 Average Recorded Attendance:1920

## 1906-07 Average Attendance

| Team         | Average Home Attendance | Average Away Attendance |
|--------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| Calumet      | 892                     | 3100                    |
| Canadian Soo | 2000                    | 1025                    |
| Houghton     | 2083                    | 2940                    |
| Michigan Soo | 800                     | 1963                    |
| Pittsburgh   | 4400                    | 840                     |



**1906-07 Attendance With Local Rivals**

| Home Team    | Rival        | Attendance |
|--------------|--------------|------------|
| Calumet      | Houghton     | 1400       |
| Houghton     | Calumet      | 2150       |
| Canadian Soo | Michigan Soo | 2000       |
| Michigan Soo | Canadian Soo | - - -      |

**1904-07 Average Recorded I.H.L. Attendance:1844 (1870)**

**1904-07 Average Attendance:**

| Team         | Average Home Attendance | Average Away Attendance |
|--------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| Calumet      | 1266(1331)              | 2546                    |
| Canadian Soo | 1321                    | 1421                    |
| Houghton     | 2030                    | 2943(3014)              |
| Michigan Soo | 1200                    | 1645                    |
| Pittsburgh   | 3909                    | 1075                    |

**1904-07 Attendance With Local Rivals**

| Home Team    | Opponent     | Attendance |
|--------------|--------------|------------|
| Calumet      | Houghton     | 2338(2463) |
| Houghton     | Calumet      | 2252       |
| Canadian Soo | Michigan Soo | 1386       |
| Michigan Soo | Canadian Soo | 1333       |