1986

The cultural diffusion of hockey in Montreal, 1890-1910.

Michel Vigneault

University of Windsor

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THE CULTURAL DIFFUSION OF HOCKEY

IN MONTREAL, 1890-1910

by

© Michel Vigneault

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies through the Faculty of Human Kinetics in Partial Fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Human Kinetics at the University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

1985
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ABSTRACT

THE CULTURAL DIFFUSION OF HOCKEY

IN MONTREAL, 1890-1910

by

Michel Vigneault

University of Windsor, 1985

This research deals with the factors underlying the involvement of French Canadians in hockey between 1890 and 1910. With the help of the theory of cultural diffusion, as defined by Kuhn (1964), Murdock (1971); and Rogers (1971), it is possible to study how this sport was diffused from Anglophone to Francophone groups of Montréal.

Two newspapers were mainly used for this research, the Montreal Daily Star and La Presse. From these primary sources, it was possible to find the line-ups of teams and leagues that played in Montréal at this period. Also, the ice rinks used by these teams were drawn from the newspapers. Thus, the study of the diffusion of hockey was done by the contacts between the players and teams, and also by the wards where hockey was played.

La Presse was also studied for its vocabulary of hockey terms. This showed the evolution of gallicization of hockey, a sport that had a majority of English players.

When French Canadians became a threat to the English supremacy in hockey, a French-Canadian resistance appeared towards Anglophones. In order to understand this situation,
Watson's resistance factors (1973) were used for this purpose.

Three specific periods marked Francophone evolution in hockey. Between 1890 and 1897, a few Francophones were playing hockey. They learned to play from watching Irishmen who studied in the same schools. From 1898, a few French-Canadian teams competed in English leagues. It was then the start of the experimentation of organized hockey by Francophones. After many difficulties between French and English Canadians in organized leagues, Francophones decided to reorganize their teams in 1908. In 1910, a new team, the Montréal Canadien, started to play in a professional league.

Therefore, the theory of cultural diffusion allows a better understanding of the process by which the French Canadians came to play hockey at the turn of the century.
DEDICATION

À ma famille ...
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I like to thank all these people for their help during the research and the writing: mon frère François, Père Cossette, s. j., Brian Donovan, Pierre Dugal, Marc-André Chénard, Bob Mackenzie, and Dr. Yvan Lamonde.

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INTRODUCTION

Although little more than one hundred years ago it was played by a very small proportion of Canada's people, hockey has long been considered by millions of Canadians as our national sport. This sport's origins are still discussed by sport historians and many studies on sports have focussed on hockey. However, little research, if any, has reviewed the interaction between Anglophones and Francophones in this sport. While the focus of this paper is on the beginning of Francophone hockey in Montréal, it seems important also to understand this beginning in studying relationships between the two majority groups of Montréal. It will thus be required to use the cultural diffusion concept to explain these relationships and how hockey has been accepted by the Montréal Francophone community.

Modern hockey began in 1875, when it was played for the first time on an ice rink, the Victoria skating-rink of Montréal, instead of lakes and rivers on which shinny, another type of hockey, was being practiced. The first rules were determined in 1880 by three McGill University students. Some of these rules are still in effect today. The game was divided into two halves of thirty minutes each. Each team had seven players on the ice and no changes were allowed. The defense positions were: goalie, point and cover-point; the offensive line comprised rover, center, and two wings. The rover position has disappeared today.
The play was completely different from what we know today: a fact which makes research on hockey easier, as will be seen later.

During the period between 1875 and 1890 we find mostly the Anglophone elite playing hockey; Francophones played very little before 1890. Between 1890 and 1895, we observe a small increase in the number of French-speaking people practicing hockey. After 1895, two French-Canadian teams attempt to reach the top-rank of Montréal and Canadian scene. Finally, in 1910, the most important hockey dynasty was born: the Montréal Canadien. This study reviews hockey in Montréal between 1890 and 1910, more specifically between the effective beginning of Francophone participation and their involvement in professional hockey.

Montréal is central to this research since it is where modern hockey originated and where we find a strong concentration of the two main linguistic groups of Canada. The theory of cultural diffusion will therefore be applied to the field of hockey. However, Montréal changed during the period examined, as will be explained later in this introduction. The city limits of March 1910 are used since the research ends at that stage. However, the influence of Westmount and Outremont cities were such that they were included in this review.

CULTURAL DIFFUSION

This study on hockey in Montréal will include the teams, leagues, players, and skating rinks. Such are the
basic data used in the review of hockey diffusion. The newspapers will also be reviewed in order to get a better understanding of this development.

The theory of cultural diffusion is explained by Kuhn (1963), Murdock (1971) and Rogers (1971). Kuhn determines diffusion as being: "... a merging of cultural content of two or more societies by cultural communication, but without merger of the societies." 2 Murdock explains with more details the steps toward cultural diffusion. 3 He says diffusion is one of the four possible innovations which are the first steps of the cultural change; the three other types of innovation are invention, tentation, and variance. Invention is the creation of something completely new. Tentation is an improvisation or an accidental creation. Variance is the slow development of some items included into the culture. Diffusion is a loan from another culture while the three others are innovations arising from inside the culture. Once created, innovation must be subject to three steps before being completely accepted by the cultural receptive segment, otherwise it will remain marginal. These steps are: social acceptance, selective elimination and, finally, integration into the culture. In his definition, Kuhn mentions cultural communication. Rogers details this process. 4 (See Figure I)

The source is the Anglophone elite, the unique group that plays hockey. The message is the sport of hockey with bodily contacts as channel of communication. The recep-
FIGURE I
ROGERS' COMMUNICATION MODEL OF DIFFUSION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Message</th>
<th>Channel</th>
<th>Receiver</th>
<th>Effects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anglophone</td>
<td>Hockey</td>
<td>Physical</td>
<td>Francophone</td>
<td>Acceptance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elites</td>
<td></td>
<td>Contacts</td>
<td>Elites</td>
<td>Rejection</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

tive segment is the French community which will or will not accept such innovation: that is hockey. It will be easier to describe physical contact as a medium, since we look for line-ups and clubs; it will then be possible to consider those body contacts as other media of communication, where information has now disappeared. Rogers suggests also that diffusion is made between power elites of both communities involved in the process. (See Figure II) The receptive elite acts as a filter. He also gives the reason:

Power elites act as gatekeepers to prevent restructuring innovations from entering a social system, while favoring functioning innovations that do not immediately threaten to change the system's structure.

This explains why hockey would be played by the Montréal Francophone elite, which included the Catholic clergy plus the middle and lower bourgeoisie: businessmen, doctors, lawyers, notaries, journalists, etc. 6

After innovation passes the first step, it must go through three further steps. When it is refused, we say then that there is resistance. Rogers states that resistance results, first of all, from the receptive community elite. This resistance may, then, happen at any stage. According to Watson, such resistance can be explained by many factors. 7 The conformity to norms factor may not comply with those of the innovation and may therefore result in its rejection. Systematic and cultural coherence may be affected by the new element and create an opposition
FIGURE II
ROGERS' DIFFUSION MODEL

towards it. The sacrosanct concerns every subject with a religious connotation within the receiving community. The rejection of others, more specifically when they live side-by-side, is another factor. The hierarchy may also be influenced by innovation. Relative wealth or poverty of a community may influence the acceptance or refusal of the innovation. Communication within the receiving community may be the source of opposition towards an innovation.

According to Watson, the final factor is the nature of the innovation. The simpler the innovation is, the more easily will it be accepted. These factors will help to explain the resistance, if any, from the Montréal Francophone society. Such resistance could be only partial because, as we know, hockey has been accepted everywhere in Canada.

Cultural diffusion is defined as a process by which an element of a culture is communicated to another culture. But what is a culture? Levasseur defines it as: "C'est la manière collective d'être, de penser, d'agir, de communiquer, de partager des individus et des groupes dans leur vie quotidienne." 8 Culture is then a product of the relationship between people living together and who are sharing the same values. It changes with the evolution of the society that creates it. For Williams, culture is "... a whole social process." 9 It is the meanings, values, and the whole way of life of a society. This is why for this thesis I consider that there are two societies, because each has its own culture. They are different from one another from many reasons. Firstly, the origin of people is
different. Secondly, the language is also different. These two reasons alone are enough to explain the cultural differences between the two groups. As well, within each society, there are some differences. It is possible to talk about subcultures that form a part of the culture. An individual can be part of many subcultures, but all are related to the main culture. For example, there is the elite's subculture which is different from the worker's. There may also be a regional subculture which is different from that of another region. Culture is also transmitted from generation to generation by a learning process.\textsuperscript{10}

Thus, culture, an important element of a society, is always changing as the society changes. Diffusion is then a manner by which a culture and its society are changing.

Cultural diffusion is not, then, a process easily explainable. It is, however, one of the ways to see how hockey has been accepted by Montréal Francophones and how they learned to play that new sport.

\textbf{METHODOLOGY}

Since the literature is very limited on this topic, the review of newspapers published between 1890 and 1910 becomes of paramount importance. During those twenty years, there were many newspapers, but few covered the whole period. We had to select a newspaper of each language to avoid information which could be biased against the other linguistic group. Therefore, \textit{La Presse} and \textit{The Montreal Daily Star} (later specified as the \textit{Star}) were
selected as first sources. La Patrie and The Gazette were used only for the years 1890, 1900, and 1910 in order to review whether the information picked up from the first two papers was complete. La Vérité, a Québec City newspaper, was also examined for the years 1890, 1900, and 1910. This highly social paper provided a view which was quite different from the other four large circulation popular newspapers.

The two primary sources were used for the study of teams playing in Montréal during the seasons of 1890, 1895, 1900, 1905, and 1910. Therefore, the line-ups of all teams with players 15 years-old and above who played in Montréal, Outremont, and Westmount, were extracted from the newspapers. Once these names were identified, I had to determine if they were English or French. This problem was solved through the use of the 1921 and 1931 Census. The mother language was mentioned for the first time in those two census. It was determined, in 1921 and in 1931, that 99.4% of people with a French origin family name used French language as mother language; the same applied for 94% of those with British names, who were speaking English.

It is then possible to reach a .01 level of reliability for French names, and .05 level for English names. Therefore, if a player had a French name, it is 99% certain that he spoke French, and the same likelihood applies to players with English names. However, some names (such as Martin) created problems in that they could be either French or
English. Of a 3200 name list, only thirty names are problematic, which confirms the .01 level.

Also, I had to identify all the rinks used by each team and locate those rinks. That was quite difficult because the newspapers rarely identified their exact location, and they took for granted that readers knew the rink. This is further data which helps to explain hockey diffusion more specifically as far as geography is concerned. Moreover, it is quite interesting to know what teams used each rink.

To learn the type of coverage by both newspapers and to compare them with some events, for the month of January of each year during the period covered, La Presse and the Star were reviewed. In some cases, I had to go beyond the limit of January and read December or February issues to get a more precise idea on what was happening in hockey in Montréal.

La Presse was used to review hockey terminology used by sport writers. This was done for every January. This helped to see the development of hockey terms and to get another point of view on hockey diffusion. The shift from English terms to French terms may be related to the speed of diffusion and may even illustrate some resistance. These terms have been divided into four categories: equipment, techniques, positions, and terms which structure the game. This will help to give a better view of the French implementation of hockey during this period.
Once all players had been found, as well as executives who were associated with one or the other of the Montréal hockey teams in 1890, 1895, 1900, 1905, and 1910, they were classified. To do this, the names were put into the computer. Information for nine variables was collected for each player; these were: name, language spoken, position in the team, team, league, type of team, season, residence, and occupation. The last two variables were difficult to find, which explains their limited number of mentions, despite that they are both important. There are seven categories under type of team: competition, business or industrial, school, military, church, non-competitive independent team, and non-competitive regional team. The SAS computer program was used to derive the statistics. For those interested, the listing of names included 3929 data comprising more than 3200 names, many players being part of more than one team at the same time. I discover 268 teams and 32 leagues.

The research of teams and leagues will help to explain the process of diffusion through contacts established within those organizations. Then, the newspapers will help to show how this diffusion developed. Finally, through the location of rinks, hockey diffusion may also be reviewed geographically. However much the diffusion is considered by means of body contacts, these elements will be very helpful to give a better understanding of this process.
HYPOTHESES

From all this, it is possible to develop some working hypotheses. Only two have been selected, because they show the direction of the research undertaken. The first assumption reads as follows: among Francophones, the elites were first to start to play hockey in Montréal. This assumption comes from Rogers' model, according to which diffusion develops between the elites of the communities involved. The term elites means those who are part of the upper and middle classes and who have some economic and political power. We find company owners, businessmen, professionals, priests, and even college and university students. It is from this group that the first French hockey players would come from. The second hypothesis is: a French-Canadian resistance arised towards Anglophones when the diffusion of hockey was complete. This assumption has two levels. Firstly, it is applied to organization of teams and leagues when Francophones left the English organizations. Secondly, it could happen in the creation of a French vocabulary to protect French culture from a potential assimilation. This second hypothesis applies more specifically to the stage where hockey has been accepted socially. These hypotheses will help in providing better direction for the work. Some specific goals will be then set up.

MONTREAL, 1891-1911

Before discussing the growth of hockey, it is appro-
priate to give a geographic description of Montréal during those years. In reviewing Figure III, we realize that today's Montréal is quite different from the city of March 1910. In 1890, Montréal covered the area between Atwater Street on the West and Bourbonnière Street on the East; from the St-Laurent River on the South to Mont-Royal Street on the North. Table I shows population by area. We note that new areas are mostly French-speaking and so increase the French population of the city. Francophones were concentrated at the East border of St-Laurent Street, and in Côte-des-Neiges and St-Henri wards in the West. Most of the wards were either English or French, this situation remaining unchanged for 20 years, except for the St-Louis and Laurier wards where the population changed due to the Jewish community which developed between 1901 and 1911. It must be also noted that the St-Henri, Ste-Anne and Ste-Marie wards were composed of the working class, while St-Antoine, St-Laurent, St-Louis and St-Jacques wards, as well as the city of Westmount had upper class citizens. Rapid population increase in several wards did not change the Francophone proportion. The general increase of Montréal could be explained by urbanization and industrialization. Urbanization increased with the annexations of new wards, while industrialization attracts many people from the country who will move into wards where many members of their families were already established.
TABLE I

POPULATION BY WARD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WARD</th>
<th>1891 TOT</th>
<th>1891 %FR</th>
<th>1901 TOT</th>
<th>1901 %FR</th>
<th>1911 TOT</th>
<th>1911 %FR</th>
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<td>CENTRE</td>
<td>675</td>
<td>60.1</td>
<td>1094</td>
<td>77.0</td>
<td>458</td>
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<tr>
<td>COTE-DES-NEIGES</td>
<td>391</td>
<td>95.7</td>
<td>1156</td>
<td>80.3</td>
<td>2444</td>
<td>73.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>DE LORIMIER</td>
<td>816</td>
<td>69.4</td>
<td>1279</td>
<td>88.9</td>
<td>10453</td>
<td>70.5</td>
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<td>EST</td>
<td>3437</td>
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<td>2577</td>
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<td>HOCHELAGA</td>
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<td>OUEST</td>
<td>1007</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>STE-MARIE</td>
<td>34746</td>
<td>82.5</td>
<td>40631</td>
<td>80.8</td>
<td>62521</td>
<td>82.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VILLERAY</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>509</td>
<td>87.0</td>
<td>1164</td>
<td>90.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WESTMOUNT</td>
<td>3076</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>8856</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>14579</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL: 247472  59.7  324030  62.3  460903  60.9
MONTREAL only 225932  59.2  278642  61.6  441504  62.9
PERIODIZATION

As a result of preliminary research, three distinct time periods were identified. These periods parallel various steps in the development of Francophone participation in Montréal hockey. The first chapter illustrates the first step of the diffusion of hockey. The second chapter begins when the Francophones first played in Anglophone leagues in 1898. It ends in 1907 when the Francophones had problems in those leagues. This will be the end of diffusion and the beginning of resistance, which will be part of the second step of the cultural change, social acceptance. The third chapter shows the Francophone change in orientation towards hockey. It was also the beginning of professionalism in Montréal hockey. These periods follow not only the Francophones' evolution in hockey, but also other factors that seem to follow the same dates.

This paper aims to discover how Francophones started to play hockey and what developments led to the creation, within a period of only twenty years, of the Montréal Canadien.
FOOTNOTES


7 Watson, Goodwin, "Resistance to Change", in Zaltman, George, op. cit., p. 126-130.

8 Levasseur, Roger, Loisir et Culture au Québec, Montréal, Boréal Express, 1982, p. 12.


10 Ibid., p. 13.

11 Linteau, Paul-André, et al., op. cit., p. 65.
CHAPTER I.
OBSERVATION, 1890-1897

By 1890, there were a limited number of teams, and few skating rinks were available for hockey. But this sport quickly developed to the stage that it became very popular and French Canadians began to play as teams. Several new teams appeared but, except for a few, they did not remain in operation for a very long time. The same situation prevailed for leagues. This period shows the very slow beginning of hockey for Francophones as well as for Anglophones, although greater numbers of the latter were playing. Even newspapers, which had limited coverage of sport events, began to focus on hockey. Observation of Anglophones, in particular Irishmen, who were playing, illustrates the first step of hockey diffusion.

"Hockey is booming": such are the terms used by the Star to describe the situation of hockey in Montréal between 1890 and 1895.¹ Hockey grew rapidly and quickly eclipsed other sports, such as curling and snowshoeing. After the rules were settled in 1880, hockey slowly began to get organized. In 1886, five teams, of which three were from Montréal, established a league: the Montreal Hockey Club which would adhere to the Montreal Amateur Athletic Association (MAAA), the Victoria and the Dominion which would later become the Crystal. The two other clubs came from Ottawa and Québec City. This league's name was the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association, but would be called by
the French newspapers, "the Old League". In 1887, a Junior League for players 19 years old and younger was organized by these clubs. After 1890, an Intermediate League was established to cater to the growing number of players. It became a minor league league for Senior teams, since CAHA teams owned teams in that league. The average age in the Intermediate League was between 19 and 22 years old. Later, the league became a trial league for clubs trying to gain access to the Old League.

Due to the growing popularity of hockey, Lord Stanley of Preston, Canada's General Governor (1888 to 1893) donated a cup to be held by the champion team of Canada. The MAAA team was the first winner in 1893 when they finished in first place in the CAHA. The first real confrontation for the Stanley Cup took place in 1894, when the MAAA played against Ottawa. In these years, the Stanley Cup was kept by a team until a challenger beat that team. Those challenges were received by the Cup trustees who informed the champion team of such challenges so that the latter might get in touch with the challenger. The Stanley Cup was instrumental in improving hockey's popularity across the country.

In addition to the competitive aspect, hockey had a recreational connotation. In 1891, a league including players from several insurance companies was established and was followed by a league whose players were bank employees. The military regiments set up leagues limited to
officers only. Some leagues, without official structures, were also organized for games scheduled once in a while between their teams. All these teams had a limited number of French players. Another common factor: all players came from the same social group, the dominant upper middle class. As mentioned by Metcalfe: "... sport remained largely British, and was generally played and administrated by the men involved in the commercial life of the city who lived in St-Antoine ward."² If we look closer, it seems that most of the Anglophone players were students living in St-Antoine ward, who would become members of the elite.

At the beginning, some Francophones were playing once in a while, but after 1895 they were numerous enough to organize clubs. They were students of two classical colleges: Mont-St-Louis and Ste-Marie. Both colleges were Roman Catholic and bilingual. They provided classical and commercial courses in French and English, which developed a lot of exchanges between two groups: the French Canadians and the Irishmen. Such contacts were mostly in the area of recreation. For instance, in Ste-Marie College, through a Sport and Game Council, students organized sports under Jesuit supervision.³ (See Figure IV) However, the first mention of hockey at Ste-Marie was in 1886 during the prize ceremonies in June. The journal of the Council advertised the first game in 1891. In 1893, Ste-Marie College challenged Mont-St-Louis College to a hockey match.
FIGURE IV
SPORTS AND GAMES COUNCIL
OF STE-MARIE COLLEGE

CENTRAL COMMITTEE

President
Vice-President
Secretary
Treasurer
Other Members

LACROSSE- HOCKEY

ATHLETICS

GYMNASTICS

BASEBALL

President
Vice-Pres.
Secretary
Treasurer
Captain
The first line-up available was in 1895: William Hingston (son of a Montréal Mayor), Dunstan Gray, William O'Brien, Harry Trihey (future star of the Shamrock team), Lorne Campbell, John Meagher, and D'Arcy McGee (Thomas D'Arcy McGee's nephew). Four students of Ste-Marie - Harry Trihey, Fred Scanlan, Arthur Farrell, and Jack Brennan - were the heart of the Shamrocks who won the Stanley Cup for two years, in 1899 and 1900. With such players, the French Canadians learned to play hockey at Ste-Marie College and Mont-St-Louis College. We find French names on the Ste-Marie roster only in 1896. In September 1896, the English section of Ste-Marie became Loyola College but remained affiliated to Ste-Marie, as shown by the intramural league of 1898-99. The Mont-St-Louis team of 1895 also had Irishmen, although they were much fewer than the French students. Two players of that team would later play for the Shamrocks: Frank Tansey and Louis Belcourt. Belcourt would be with the Shamrocks of the Old League in 1897. The Star wrote of Belcourt:

The defence was the strongest part of the Shamrocks team, and the men did good work. (...) Belcourt was pretty, reliable and Pagnuelo in goal did good work.

A friendship developed between the Roman Catholic Irishmen and the French Canadians which would be maintained for a long time. Such friendship would influence several developments during the two other periods.

These students were a very small proportion of the population at the same age group. In 1911, in the Provin-
ce of Québec, 90% of young people of 15 to 17 years old were in school. In 1897-98, only 1.8% of all students within the Province of Québec were in Classical Colleges. Therefore, this was a select group of the population. In the case of the Ste-Marie College and its English equivalent, Loyola College, we note for 1913-14 that 56.8% of the college's students were between 7 and 14 years old for the French college, while in Loyola, this age group was only 37.7% of all students. The hockey teams were composed of players of 15 years old and over. Since Francophone players were mainly college students, we may state that they belonged to the elite group as did the English players within the community.

In 1895, the first French-Canadian hockey team was established. Le National was set up by Le National Snowshoe Club. National organization had been created in 1894 based upon the MAAA principle. In 1894, a lacrosse team comprising Francophones only was established. It was, then, the forerunner of many other clubs such as Montagnard and Mascotte. The hockey club management was the same as the Thistle team, which never played but was set up in the same year. National was bilingual, with 10 Francophones and 15 Anglophones. This junior club used to play exhibition games on the Mont-St-Louis rink. National declined an invitation to join a Montréal junior league. Instead they played an exhibition game against Junior Victoria. La Presse wrote of the game:
Le National et le Junior Victoria Hockey Club se sont rencontrés hier soir et la bataille s'est terminée par une victoire en faveur du club Canadien-français.

That is all! The Star wrote:

The Young Victoria and Le National Hockey teams played a friendly match last evening on the latter club's rink, Cadieux street. Le National won securing 4 goals to their opponents 1. The match was by no means one sided. The Young Victorias' forwards at times made good rushes but the other team's superior combination play won for them the victory. National had a promising beginning thanks to the Anglophone players and Irishmen who helped to win games.

Hockey games require rinks. In 1890, despite several skating rinks in Montréal, only three were used for hockey: Victoria, Crystal, and Dominion. They were all located in St-Antoine ward. However hockey teams only played on Friday evenings since at other times rinks were open for free skating. McGill University had its own rink, but its junior team played at the Victoria rink. In 1895, more than 10 rinks were available for hockey, which shows the development of hockey in Montréal. In addition to the St-Antoine ward's rinks, Ste-Anne had three rinks, of which two were part of the railway companies' properties. The Beaver belonged to the Canadian Pacific Railway while the Riverside was located on the Grand Trunk Railway property. In St-Laurent ward, the Insurance and Bank Leagues as well as the Wanderers of the Independent League played on Prince-Arthur rink on Duluth street. The other Independent League's clubs and the Western League played on the White Star rink.
FIGURE V
ICE RINKS, 1890-1895

CRYSTAL
MONTREAL
ST. LOUIS

VICTORIA

SHERBROOKE

McGILL

ST. LAWRENCE

BEAVER

RIVERSIDE
owned by the White Star club of the Western League. It
was located on the corner of Notre-Dame and Pulford streets.
The Mont-St-Louis rink was the only one to be located in
a French ward, close to downtown area where hockey was
played in Montréal. Hockey was beginning to be played a
little further away from downtown, but it was still in
Anglophone wards. The Old League teams continued to use
the Victoria rink, where Francophones, except for students,
did not have the opportunity to see much hockey. However,
there was an opportunity with the Prince-Arthur rink loca-
ted closer to French wards.

There were very few Francophones playing hockey.
Through the help of Irish students in classical colleges,
they got a basic knowledge of hockey. In 1890, there was
only one Francophone in 89 players, and 35 of 562 in 1895.
Out of the 35 Francophones, ten played with schools and
fifteen were members of independent teams, teams not affi-
liated to an organized league. Two French players were
members of the Hollies of the Independent League. A total
of eight Francophones played in a league, while the 27
others played exhibition games, at all levels. Therefore,
French Canadians were getting involved in hockey, but they
were still outnumbered by Anglophones. 11

NEWSPAPERS

The newspapers used for this work were different from
one another during this first period. The same situation
applies to the other newspapers used. A description of
each is required to illustrate the differences.

The Star, established in 1869, was a newspaper representing British imperialism, since its owner-founder, Hugh Graham, was Lord Atholstan. This newspaper was known to support the Conservative Party's ideology and showed some contempt towards the French-Canadian people. The Gazette, established in 1785 by Fleury Mesplet, was bilingual at the beginning. As of 1824, this newspaper was published in English only. The White family became The Gazette owner in 1870 and the paper, at that time, specialized in local news. Much like the Star, The Gazette shared the Conservative Party's viewpoint, although to a lesser degree.

La Presse was read by the working classes, mainly between 1889 and 1904. Established by Tréflé Berthiaume in 1884, this newspaper supported the Liberal Party's ideology and, therefore, the Hon. Wilfrid Laurier when he was Prime Minister. La Patrie also shared the Liberal ideology, since it was bought by Israel Tarte, a member of the Liberal Party, in 1897. Established in 1879, this newspaper specialized in general news and news features. In Québec City, the newspaper La Vérité was established in 1881 by Jules-Paul Tardivel to fight the Liberal Party. This newspaper, therefore, shared the Conservative ideology and ultra-montanism. This newspaper was entirely dedicated to the political scene with no comments on sport, nor any sport news.
Thus, both main sources have opposite ideologies as will be shown throughout this thesis. The other two newspapers were very similar to the two first. However, each wanted to differ from the others. *La Vérité* had no interest for the purpose of this work, but it shows another ideology which was developing in Québec at this time.

In 1890, the *Star* had a weekly chronicle on sports. Hockey was far behind curling and snowshoeing, two very popular winter sports at the end of the 19th century. As of 1892, the *Star* dedicated daily a full page to sports. Hockey came second after curling. It was only in 1895 that hockey surpassed curling in the *Star* sport section. In the case of *La Presse*, we had to wait until 1893 to read the first news on hockey. And then there were only three mentions in January. Before 1895, horse races on ice and snowshoeing had the largest coverage in *La Presse*. In 1895, hockey became the sport that had the most coverage by this French newspaper. However, the *Star* was the first to report on French hockey players. In addition to Lavigne who played for the Maples in 1890, there were three other Francophones with the Yacamees in 1894. In 1895, both newspapers published a lot of news on hockey. *La Presse* was coming closer to the *Star* in 1896 with the same type of news, but the *Star* largely got away from its competitor in 1897, more specifically with the coverage of the Shamrocks' player, Louis Belcourt. *La Presse* did not report any news on him in its reports of that team. It is probable that
La Presse only published press releases because many short news items were strangely similar to those issued in the Star. Although La Presse had covered hockey on a regular basis since 1895, this newspaper trailed far behind its English competitor.

As La Presse news items were quite short, I had trouble in understanding several hockey terms. As far as technique is concerned, I found few mentions in English only. Such terms were: "whitewash", "lift", "offside", and "foul". The positions were mentioned with the same frequency in English or in French. The "gardeur de goal" (goaltender) was also the "goal", as the "arrière-garde" (rearguard) was the "défense", and the "forwards" were also the "avant-garde". There were also the "referee" and the two "umpires" (goal judges). The equipment included: the "rond", the "patinoir" or the "rink"; and the "puck" which had to be entered into the "goal" or between the "poteaux" (posts). The nets would be used only after 1900. The goals scored were known as "parties gagnées" (games won). A "partie", "joute", "match", or "lutte" (game, match) lasted two "demi-heures" (halfhours) of 30 minutes each. So the term "partie" (game) had two meanings: a goal or a game, which makes the reading of such articles quite difficult. Finally, a match involved two "teams" or "clubs de hockey" or even "Hockey Clubs". There were more English than French terms at the end of the 19th century, although some efforts were already being undertaken
to implement French in that new sport.

*La Presse* had a lot to do to catch the *Star* as far as hockey coverage was concerned and even sport in general, because there was not a full page of sport in the French newspaper. This paper's sport writer did not report very many hockey news items, which seems to show a very sharp dominance of Anglophone in hockey. The situation would change in 1898, as we will see in the next chapter.

CONCLUSION

This period, ending in 1897, is the real beginning of French hockey in Montréal. This happened in 1895 when some teams included Francophone players, such as the Mont-St-Louis College, National, and the Ste-Marie College teams. Before that date, Francophones were only playing on an individual basis, going back to 1890 when there was only one French player.

Hockey's popularity boomed not only among Francophones but also among Anglophones. Between 1890 and 1895, the number of teams playing in Montréal increased rapidly: 11, 23, 19, 28, 46, and 58 teams.¹⁸ This rapid increase helped to stimulate Francophone interest in hockey. Additionally, there were more hockey rinks in areas where there were more French people than were in the St-Antoine ward. Therefore, the rinks in Ste-Anne, St-Laurent, and St-Louis wards increased the opportunities for French Canadians to play hockey.

However, hockey diffusion occurred mainly through the
students. At least one third of the French players in 1895 were of school age and were students in Montréal classical colleges. Irishmen were also students, and many points were in common with French Canadians. First of all, they were Roman Catholic and they were considered to be on the same economic level as French Canadians. However, Irishmen played several sports with other Anglophones such as lacrosse, a sport in which the Shamrocks had had a team since 1868. Following the merger with the Crystals in 1895, the Shamrocks were member of the Old League in 1896. Irishmen had their own hockey team from 1895, at the same time as Francophones began to play hockey. Therefore, the diffusion of hockey first developed between the Irishmen and French Canadians. The Anglo-Saxons had nothing to do with this process, which would create many problems in future years between Francophones and Anglophones in hockey.

La Presse was another means of diffusion because there were regular reports on hockey as of 1895; that is the same time when we see a significant number of French players in that sport. However, hockey was still dominated by the Anglophones as shown by the terms used by French sport writers, who did not try to implement French language terms. The Louis Belcourt example of 1897 seems to prove that La Presse journalists did not follow that much hockey but that they limited themselves to publishing the press releases they received. Therefore, hockey remained a new
sport known only to a few people.

This sport, as nearly all others, was practiced by very few people who were part of their respective elites. Hockey was not entirely diffused among Francophones, but the situation would change in the very near future.
FOOTNOTES

1Star, January 19, 1893


3The following is taken from Le Journal du Grand Conseil des Sports et des Jeux of Ste-Marie College, that is in the Jesuits’ Archives directed by Père Cossette.

4Star, January 25, 1897.

5Québec, Annuaire Statistique du Québec, 1915, Québec, E. E. Cinq-Mars Imprimeur de Sa Majesté le Roi, 1915, p. 298-299.

6Ibid., p. 276.

7Ibid., p. 308.


9La Presse, 25 Janvier 1895.

10Star, January 25, 1895.

11See Appendix A for all statistics from 1890 to 1910.


13Ibid., vol. 1, p. 4-6.


16Ibid., vol. 3, p. 40.

17Star, January 29, 1894.


The author has found all the teams that played in Montréal during these years from the newspapers; while for this thesis, only the teams with players of 15 years old and above were taken, this explains the difference between 1890 and 1891.
CHAPTER II

EXPERIMENTATION, 1898-1907

Before 1898, Francophones watched more than they played. They were mainly youths who had learned the game and who experimented with it in school. These same youths were now older and ready to compete with Anglophones in their own field: that is in the junior, intermediate and senior leagues. This would lead to a negative conclusion in 1907 because the Anglophones would not accept the principle that Francophones might be as good as or even better than themselves. However, Irishmen would always be there to help the Francophones.

This period began in 1898 when the first hockey team comprised solely of French players was affiliated to an English league. The team called Montagnard played in the District Junior Hockey League. Like the National, this team’s name came from the snowshoeing club which had organized the hockey team. It would begin a struggle between those two teams during the overall period covered in this chapter. This developed in several stages: ownership of the best French-Canadian players, popularity among the French society of Montréal, and which team would be the first to compete for the Stanley Cup. These goals were possible through only one thing: success. Success would be a determining factor for each team’s survival.

In addition to Montagnard, the District Junior League included teams from St-Lambert and Pointe-St-Charles (PAAA).
La Presse helped to popularise the Montagnard. After its first game, La Presse wrote: "La joute a été intéressante mais les Montagnards se sont montrés trop forts pour leurs adversaires qui ont été défait par un score de 3 à 2."

On another game, La Presse wrote the following:

Le Montagnard et le PAAA se sont rencontrés samedi soir au patinoir de Montagnard dans une joute de la District Junior Hockey League. La lutte a été des plus intéressante car les deux équipes ont fait des efforts inouïs pour l'emporter l'un sur l'autre. Le Montagnard a peut-être mis un peu plus de vigueur dans ses attaques que le PAAA car la lutte s'est faite plutôt sur le terrain de ce dernier. Cependant, malgré cela, les Montagnards ont été défait par un score de 1 à 0. Cela seul doit dire suffisamment toute l'animation qu'il y a eu dans la joute.

Montagnard became quite popular through La Presse, which exaggerated a little, and due to the success achieved in that league.

Such success got results in 1899 when Montagnard expanded to two teams, one junior and one intermediate. National also took advantage of Montagnard's success and played several exhibition games, after two years of inactivity. However, Montagnard remained the only club to play in a league. The intermediate team played in the City Hockey League with Canadian Pacific Telegraphers, Maisonneuve and Richmond. Following the success of 1898, and with the maturing of players, Montagnard succeeded in getting close to the ultimate goal, which was to compete for the Stanley Cup. An important step during that season was a game against the Shamrocks. The latter was to win
the Stanley Cup against the Victorias in March 1899. La Presse publicized the match in such terms:

Comme les Canadiens-français commencent à prendre le goût du hockey, une grande occasion leur sera offerte demain soir de voir une belle partie entre les futurs champions de 1899, les Shamrocks, et la première équipe du Montagnard.

(...) Certainement que notre club canadien n’est pas aussi fort, mais tout de même, nous sommes en mesure d’assurer qu’il opposera une forte résistance. Sa division des forwards, composée du capitaine Conrad, Laflamme, Proulx et McCallum, son arrière-garde de Nesbitt, John et Frank Stephen, ancien joueur du Shamrock, avec Carlebois, gardien de buts, est certainement une très forte équipe.

Montagnard was therefore a team with a line-up composed half of French players and half of Irishmen. Frank Stephen was the only regular Irishman with Montagnard. Others were invited for that match only. Shamrocks won the game 7 to 4:

Of course the Shamrocks won, that was expected, but then the Montagnard boys worked hard and did some nice work against their senior opponents. It was a good practice for the Shamrocks, and will assist in their preparation for Quebec on Saturday night.

Therefore, French Canadians were improving as hockey players.

The success of 1899 was not repeated in 1900 when no French teams were in a league. National tried to gain entrance into the Intermediate League of the CAHA. However, three other anglophone teams, PAAA, Westmount, and Trois-Rivières Laviolette were also applying for membership. The league management stated at the beginning of the meeting that two teams could be admitted but only one could be from Montréal. Laviolette was admitted, and then came
the decision to take a Montréal team. After a negative vote for the PAAA, it was National's turn. The vote was divided as follows: for, Shamrocks and Sherbrooke; against, MAAA, Victorias, and McGill. Westmount was then admitted in the Intermediate League. The French newspapers did not readily accept the vote. La Patrie wrote:

Ils ont même ajouté l'insulte à l'injure, après avoir rejeté l'application de notre club, en admettant dans leurs rangs le jeune club Westmount, qui n'est après tout qu'une recrue déguisée de la MAAA.

This newspaper made the suggestion that National played against Shamrocks for the Stanley Cup. It suggested also that Louis Hurtubise and Hector Dalbec not play for the Intermediate Shamrocks. La Presse did not understand why two-thirds of Montréal's population was so easily rejected. It wrote:

Il est à espérer que les représentants de ces clubs qui ont refusé d'admettre le National dans la ligue reconnaîtront qu'ils ont fait une grosse erreur en agissant ainsi. On peut dire en effet en toute assurance que si notre association canadienne-française eut un club de hockey, dans la ligue intermédiaire, l'assistance aux parties aurait augmenté dans des proportions extraordinaires.

The Francophones were not entirely excluded from that league, because a few were playing with the Shamrocks. In fact, four Francophones were playing for Shamrocks II. Besides Hurtubise and Dalbec, Paul Laflamme and Proulx, all from Montagnard, were with the Irish team. So, because of this team, Francophones were at least playing in the Intermediate League.
Montagnard and National were playing only exhibition games. One of these games involved Montagnard and Shamrocks II. This last team played without its four French-Canadian players. In addition to these four players, Montagnard lined up Raoul Bonin, who played for MAAA senior, and J. Bélanger from McGill. Bonin was the only French player in the Old League. He was born in Ottawa but studied at Ste-Marie College where he learned to play in 1896. La Presse wrote about him:

Bonin, qui est un novice et qui a fait ses débuts dans la vieille ligue, il y a une semaine, promet de devenir l'un des plus forts joueurs de la ligue, et samedi, son jeu a été admiré par tous les experts.

All of them, except Bélanger, were students at Laval University of Montréal (today University of Montréal) and they formed a team to play against Laval University of Québec City. One of the Québec players also studied at Ste-Marie College. It was the same players that we found in the first chapter.

The University students were less in number than were those from classical colleges. In Quebec, in 1897-98, only 0.7% of all students were at University. 8 These 21-24 years old represented only 1.04% of the people of the same age, so only a few were still at school at that age. 9 About half of the college students went to University. That is very representative of the players found during these years. It is then a select group, and it demonstrates another instance where the hockey players,
both French and English, would become the future elites of Montréal.

It is more obvious in the case of Francophones, because half of the players were students in 1900. Even if there were more players than in 1895 (35 to 123 in 1900), there were few French teams: only four. Eleven teams were bilingual; that is, they had two or more French players in the line-up. There were French players in only two teams that played in a league. One of these teams was Shamrocks II. The other was McGill I, which was also in the Intermediate League. Francophones preferred then to play exhibition games. It seems they were not ready to organize themselves because there was a lack of players. Only seven Francophones played in a league while the 116 others, including the students, played exhibition matches. Nevertheless, Francophones represented 23% of all players in the Montréal area, an increase of 17% compared to 1895. That is a lot, but doubtlessly the lack of organization prevented others from playing.

Changes started in 1901 when National and Montagnard were accepted in the Intermediate League. The PAAA was also admitted and, with McGill, these four teams formed a section of this league. Another Montréal section included AAA, Victorias, Shamrocks, and Westmount. A third section included Québec, Sherbrooke, and Trois-Rivières. Each section played games within its own section. Francophones had come closer to their goal to play in the Old
League as a team.

The first game of the season involved both French-Canadian teams. Montagnard won the game by a score of 4-0. At the end of the season, Montagnard finished in first place followed by, in order, McGill, National, and PAAA. As far as popularity was concerned, National began with some problems because the line-up included an English player: 'Nous aimerions beaucoup voir Le National avoir une équipe composée entièrement de Canadiens-français. La chose est facilement possible.'

Since Montagnard was so successful and popular, National disappeared in 1902. Montagnard had too many players while National did not have enough to make a team. This success led the league directors to offer the job of President of the Intermediate League to Mr. A. Robert, the Montagnard director. He declined the invitation without any explanations; it could have been helpful that he accepted as will be seen later. The league reduced the number of teams from twelve to eight. Montagnard was playing against PAAA, Trois-Rivières and Ottawa Aberdeens. The other section included the same teams as 1901. The CAHL was suddenly opening the door to the intermediate teams. Thus, the Intermediate champion team had the opportunity to play against the last place senior team, the winner being accepted without question in the Old League.

In the Junior League of the CAHL, problems occurred when the PAAA II and Shamrocks III were rejected. They
then invited Montagnard II to join with them and organize the Montreal Junior League. Three other teams joined the league: Heather, Crystal and St-Lawrence. Once again, French Canadians played hockey with the help of Irishmen.

Still in 1902, the Senior Shamrocks changed most of their line-up. Harry Trihey, the captain of the team which won the Stanley Cup twice, was now the President of the club. All the new players had been playing in the Intermediate League in 1901. Two of these players, Louis Hurtubise and Théophile Viau were also playing for Montagnard. After their first game with the Shamrocks I, the Star wrote:

Viau, who played his first game with the Shamrocks, put up a great article in the way of blocking the Ottawas, although he did not show much proficiency as a lifter or a skater. (...) (Hurtubise) is fast and dashing player but was not in the best of condition and tired before the end of the game. He was well watched after it was seen what kind of a game he could play, and was given the sandwich on every possible occasion by the Ottawa forward men.  

"La Presse" said:

Hurtubise et Viau, les deux joueurs du Montagnard, faisaient merveille. Le premier sur la division d'attaque se faisait remarquer par ses courses hardies et son adresse étonnante. (...) Viau, sur la défense, justifia pleinement la confiance qu'on avait placée en lui. Non seulement il excellait à débarrasser le terrain, à écarter le danger, mais il sut tenir ses adversaires en échec et il les repoussa souvent d'un solide coup d'épaule.  

However, both were also playing with Montagnard, which resulted in some problems for the Shamrocks, more specifically for Trihey. Viau and Hurtubise wanted to help their French-Canadian team to join the Old League while
maintaining their affiliation in that league. It is not surprising to discover that these two French Canadians had been students at Ste-Marie College, where Trihey had been before them.

Montagnard did not get the opportunity to graduate to the CAHL in 1903. On the contrary, Montagnard withdrew from the Intermediate League. Ottawa Aberdeens finished in first place of their division and applied to join the Old League. Since the Silver Seven, the Stanley Cup champions from Ottawa, were already in the League, the Aberdeens were refused. Because of that decision, PAAA and Montagnard quitted the Intermediate League. The French-Canadian team gave the following explanation:

Le club de hockey Le Montagnard ne fera pas partie cette saison de la ligue intermédiaire car comme nous l'expliquait M. Christin, le gérant du Montagnard, il est absolument inutile d'appartenir à un corps où il ne saurait y avoir de l'avancement. Les Aberdeens, champions de la ligue intermédiaire, qui avaient demandés (sic) à être admis dans la vieille ligue, ont été laissés à la porte et il en sera toujours ainsi. Alors, à quoi bon faire partie d'une ligue qui occasionne des dépenses? A quoi bon former des joueurs pour se les faire enlever par les clubs de la vieille ligue? Ce sont là des griefs amers que nous a exposés M. Christin.

Therefore, the dream of the Old League was put away for later.

Montagnard's disappearance from hockey had a significant influence on Francophone hockey. National was not reorganized yet. This prevented Francophones from playing. In fact, for the 1903 season, we found only five French-Canadian players. Viau and Hurtubise were still with
Shamrocks. A player from Loyola College, Armand Chevalier, was with Victoria junior. In another junior league, there was a young player from Sault-Ste-Marie, Ontario, Didier Pitre, later to become a star with the Montréal Canadien, who played for the Stirlings. Also, with Overlands, there was Jack Laviolette, who became the first captain of the Montréal Canadien. He was living in Valleyfield, but played in Montréal.

The next season, French Canadiens were back in organized hockey. In 1904, a new league was formed, the Federal League, comprised of four teams: Cornwall, Wanderers, Ottawa Capitals, and National. The 1903 Montagnard problems helped the National cause. This league established also an intermediate league involving four Montréal teams: Wanderers II, National II, Stirlings, and St-Lawrence. This league was obviously of lower quality than the CAHL. Wanderers were original founders of the league. They had been members of the Independent League in 1895. In the near future, they would be the Stanley Cup champions when they joined the CAHL. In 1910, they would organize a lacrosse team with Irishmen and French Canadians. Wanderers had a majority of Irish players, which explains the presence of National in this league.

This 1904 season marked also refereeing problems. Most of the referees were active players for other teams of the same league, or they were former players. Often, two or three days before the game, the two teams tried to
agree upon the selection of a referee. This selection was often a last-minute decision. Here is an example of what happened during a match involving National and Capitals at Ottawa:

Le referee Tom Hodge (Wanderer), bien qu'anime, nous n'en doutons pas, des meilleurs sentiments, ne donna pas au National toute la justice qu'il etait en droit d'esperer. Prevost fut mis hors du jeu (punition) trois fois et sur ce nombre deux fois sans raison.

For the first time, Francophones began to criticize referees, who were all Anglophones. But Anglophones also criticized the referees, which is an indication of the situation. Sport was now much more competitive. Before 1910, Francophones would not often act as referees in games. They refereed in games between French teams, but in no games at the Senior or Intermediate levels. However, they often acted as umpires, or "goal judges." This situation may be explained in several ways. French Canadians were newcomers in this sport, so their knowledge of hockey was deemed inadequate. Also, many of them did not speak English, which was definitely a handicap. Therefore, although French Canadians got to higher levels of hockey, their skills were not yet recognized.

In 1905, their skills began to be recognized when National was unexpectedly admitted into the CAHL. Finally, the French Canadians were in the Old League. After only three games, National had to quit the league. Everything began when their star, Didier Pitre, left after two games to join a professional organization in the International
League with the American team of Sault-Ste-Marie.

Didier Pitre, joueur de crosse et joueur de hockey du National, a cédé aux offres alléchantes faites par le club du Sault-Ste-Marie et est parti hier soir pour ce dernier endroit. Il va rejoindre son ami Jack Laviolette, qui fait partie du même club. Pitre entre dans la catégorie des athlètes professionnels et ne pourra plus jouer au Canada, à moins d'une révolution dans le monde sportif. C'est là une rude perte pour le National.

There had been professional hockey in the U.S for a year through the International League which included Sault-Ste-Marie (Ontario), Houghton (Michigan), Calumet (Michigan), and two clubs from Pittsburg (Pennsylvania). Most of the players were Canadians who became later stars in Canadian professional hockey after 1910.

National played only one other game without its star.

The team quit due to financial problems:

Si le club de crosse du National peut se vanter de l'encouragement qu'il reçoit, le club de hockey peut au contraire se plaindre avec raison de l'indifférence du public.

This situation may be explained by the fact that National played its local games in the obsolete Victoria rink which seated only 200 people. The other Montréal CAHL teams shared the Arena, built in 1899, and a seating capacity of 5000. The first season in the CAHL was therefore a disaster for National. However, the CAHL made it possible for them to reapply the next year.

Montagnard was happy with National's problems. This team replaced National in the Federal League. Montagnard did not face the financial problems incurred by National
because it had its own rink, the Stadium, with a seating capacity of 3000. This rink was also used by other teams and leagues which brought in money to the snowshoeing club. Following National's withdrawal, two of its players joined Montagnard. Montagnard took advantage of National.

Laval University students were becoming more involved in hockey. In addition to the University team, there were also teams for some faculties. Thus, there were matches between the Medicine and Law Faculties. In comparing them with the National and Montagnard rosters, we found they were the same players: thus the future French-Canadian elite.

If the teams' executives have not been mentioned much until now, it is simply due to the problem of finding out the executives of each team. Only the years 1895, 1900 and 1905 are significant. In 1890, since there were a limited number of teams, there were few executives. I found as few as 40 names for that year, all of them Anglophone, not a surprising situation. In 1910, newspapers did not mention the election of the team's management as much as during the three other years. Elections were usually held in December, that is before the beginning of the season. Table II shows figures on those managers. It can be noted that Francophones were playing hockey since 1895, but managed their clubs only after 1900. In fact, many times, the French-Canadian executives were the players of the team. Only established clubs like National
### TABLE II

**EXECUTIVES OF TEAMS**

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**EXECUTIVE-PLAYERS:**

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<td>40</td>
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</table>
had executives who were not players. It changed around 1910 when there were fewer player-executives. This means that it was the students who organized their own clubs. In 1900, ten out of fifteen executives were students. This situation changed later, but the same names appeared year after year.

In 1905, there were 1155 players, which is double when compared to 1900 - 534 players. The Francophone proportion had not change - 22% of all players- since 1900, but there were more teams with Francophones. In 1900, there were only fifteen teams with French-Canadian players, while in 1905 we count 39 clubs, 31 being bilingual. The Francophones were playing more in leagues organized by Anglophones: 115 players on 16 teams. Two of these teams were completely French. 141 other Francophone players were on 18 teams without a league, seven teams being completely French. At the school level, there were no bilingual teams, although Mont-St-Louis College was still bilingual. Francophones were now at every level of hockey. In 1905, with 256 players, we may state that hockey was accepted by the Francophones and was played everywhere, in most of the leagues of Montréal, but their number was still low.

The 1906 season had a discrepancy beginning. First of all, the Old League changed its name to the Eastern Canadian Amateur Hockey Association (ECAHA). According to La Presse, the league would include eight teams divided into two sections.16 The Star said that the league would have only six teams for the incoming season.19 The pro-
blem resulted from the acceptance of Wanderers and Ottawa
of the Federal League. The latter replaced the Silver
Seven and would be known as the Senators. The difficulties
came from the fact that National and Westmount were thrown
out without any further discussion. Thus, the promise
made to National to be allowed to return to the Old League
was not respected. National was then invited to join the
Federal League, but the invitation was declined, and Na-
tional limited its activities to exhibition games.

One of these games involved Montagnard. La Presse
promoted the rivalry during the week preceeding the game.
They suggested that the winner would become the best
French-Canadian team. While National won the game by
a score of 6-0, the game was highlighted by rough, un-
sportsmanlike conduct by both teams: "Although (it was)
an exhibition match, both teams were out for blood, and
much rough play was the result." After that victory,
National wanted to play against Sault-Ste-Marie, which
included the French-Canadians stars, Jack Layiolette and
Didier Pitre. The ECAHA was against this because National
would lose its amateur status. This did not bother the
French Canadians since they were not part of the Old Lea-
gue anymore. However, they did not go to Michigan. They
selected instead to play in Chicoutimi against the local
team. Chicoutimi won the game thanks to the outstanding
performance of an 18-year-old goaltender, Georges Vezina,
the future Canadien goalkeeper who would not miss a game
for fifteen years in professional hockey. 23

Two players of National had the opportunity to play in the ECAHA in 1906. Joseph Dostaler, formerly from Ste-Marie College, now a Laval University student, played for the Shamrocks. Georges Maynard, also a student in the Medical Faculty, was the Wanderers' goaltender. The latter became the first Francophone to win the Stanley Cup, because the Wanderers won the Cup at the end of the 1906 season. We note again the relationship between French Canadians and Irishmen.

In 1907, the ECAHA changed its name when the Wanderers declared themselves to be professionals. The Wanderers, winners of the Stanley Cup, brought in professional hockey in Canada. The Old League was now known as the ECHA, the word Amateur was deleted. On the players' list submitted to the league, every team had to identify which players were amateur and which professional. The Old League was then semi-professional because MAAA and Victorias were still amateur. Therefore, the development wished for by La Presse in 1905 had happened quite rapidly. The potential return of Pitre and Laviolette as well as the formation of a French professional team was expected in the near future.

In the meantime, National made another attempt to be admitted to the ECHA. The vote was very close. Three teams were for the return of the French team: Shamrocks, Wanderers, and Ottawa. Three others were against: MAAA,
Victorias, and Québec. It was not the time for Francophones to enter professional hockey. The Star commented on the vote this way:

How many were sincere in their promise to support is difficult to say but it looks very much from the vote as if the matter of keeping the National out had been arranged and agreed upon before the meeting started.

So, the two Irish teams always supported the Francophones while the Anglo-Saxon teams were opposed to having a French team accepted in the Old League. Québec and Ottawa had, therefore, decided on National's future. Although it is difficult to identify the players and executives of these teams, it would be interesting to know why they voted that way.

Montagnard was still in the Federal League, which was still amateur, although it is difficult to prove it. After Wanderers and Capitals had left, three new teams joined: Cornwall, Morrisburg, and Ottawa Victorias. Montagnard announced before the beginning of the season that Pitre and Laviolette would join the team. This was not true since both players were still in Sault-Ste-Marie. But there was an English player on the Montagnard roster, Jack Marshall, who had not played for two years. His last team had been Wanderers and he had played for the Shamrocks before. Montagnard lost only one game during the 1907 season. However, they did not get the league championship. During a game at Ottawa, in late February, the regular time ended in a 6-6 tie:
Comme Vial, du Montagnard, était blessé et in-
capable de jouer plus longtemps, le Montagnard
refusa de continuer la lutte à la fin du temps
réglementaire. Le Montagnard était disposé à
jouer à 6 hommes contre 6, mais le Victoria ne
voulait pas mettre d'hommes de côté. Les visi-
teurs laissèrent alors le patinoir. Là-dessus,
le club local s'alligna et envoya le puck dans
les buts déserts.

Other games won by Montagnard were subject to a contrary
decision by the league. The team decided to quit the
competition:

Après avoir été cruellement dupé maintes fois
par les clubs de nationalités étrangères, le
Montagnard, malgré le déficit qu'accusent ses
livres, était décidé de continuer quand même
la lutte parce qu'il entrevoyait le titre glo-
rieux de champion de la Ligue Fédérale, mais
ces jours derniers, ses adversaires jaloux qui
n'avaient pu vaincre nos athlètes sur la glace
résolurent d'anéantir leurs victoires dans les
assemblées de ligue.
(...)
C'est ainsi que le Montagnard se vit enlever
successivement trois victoires par des protesta-
tations futilles et ridicules qui néanmoins
trouvaient toujours des adeptes.
(...)
Dans ces circonstances-là, il était inutile pour
le Montagnard de continuer à vaincre sur la
glace pour être ensuite vaincu par les magnats
de la ligue, mais il sera toujours glorieux de
pouvoir proclamer bien haut qu'il n'a subit qu'
one seule défaite cette année et encore faut-il
ajouter qu'elle lui fut infligée par un referee
intéressé et non par une équipe de joueurs.
UN JOUEUR

That championship title could have allowed Montagnard the
opportunity to challenge Wanderers for the Stanley Cup.
In fact, this was what the club wanted.

Among the students, Laval University team played its
second annual game against McGill. Most of the players
came from Montagnard and National. The opponents had in
their line-up players such as Frank Patrick, the brother of the star Lester, and Billy Gilmour from the MAAA. The final score was 9–8 for the English University; an excellent boost for the Francophones’ ego.

Elsewhere in the Province of Québec, Francophones were playing hockey, but to a lesser degree. It is surprising to discover that the Québec senior team of the ECHA had no Francophones although the city population was in majority French. Therefore, in order to play hockey at the senior level, Francophones in other areas of the Province had to come to Montréal to play for Montagnard and National. There were a few leagues, such as the Saguenay League including teams from Chicoutimi and Jonquière, but the level of play was low compared to the Montréal leagues. Hockey then was not played to any great extent by Francophones outside of Montréal, this made it impossible for a French provincial league to compete with the ECHA or its Intermediate League.

When Montagnard left the Federal League, and National was not admitted to the ECHA, the Montréal Francophones had no teams at the senior level. Since most of the players were students at Laval University, they still had the chance to play against McGill and other teams.

The expansion of hockey in Montréal between 1900 and 1905 was, in part, due to the increasing number of rinks in the east of the city, in French wards. (see Figure VI) Although most of the rinks were in Anglophone wards of
St-Antoine and Ste-Anne, three rinks attracted Francophone spectators. The Montagnard rink, with a capacity of 3000 seats, became the Stadium in 1903. The second rink was the Ontario rink located in Ste-Marie ward, a working class area from which no players came. In 1905, two leagues played there, the Metropolitan and the Manufacturers'. Other clubs without any affiliation to a league also used that rink for their challenges. The last one was the Prince-Arthur rink, located in the St-Laurent ward, at the boundary between English and French wards. The Arena was the most popular rink, located in Westmount, one block from the existing Forum. The Old League, as well as some industrial and commercial teams and leagues, were playing there. It was also used by some English schools. Except for the old Victoria rink, all other rinks were only used by industrial clubs and leagues, and independent teams. Therefore, out of the fifteen rinks used in 1900 and 1905, only three were in French wards and one was on the boundary of French and English wards. This expansion was an improvement over the first period, but not enough to encourage Francophones to play hockey. The hours at the Stadium and the Ontario, in particular, were available to already established teams and leagues, which limited their use for others to daytime, an impossible time for the working class.

Newspapers

Newspapers devoted more space to hockey in their
sport sections. Senior teams had the greatest coverage, but other teams and levels were also reported. While other sports were covered, hockey was given about three-quarters of the available space. After 1900, the Star dedicated two pages to sports, but La Presse waited until 1910 to do the same. Photography replaced drawing in 1901, but there were no action photos. There was a lot of news from outside Montréal which gave the reader the opportunity to follow the International League, the Ontario League, and leagues in Québec City, Sherbrooke and Trois-Rivières.

La Presse, like the Star, gave more coverage to senior clubs, but French local clubs also had good coverage. The Star gave even coverage to all other teams. However, this paper had a gossip column on hockey. Hockey was quite well reported in both papers. Both published most of the line-ups, the game summaries, and even reports on league and club meetings. This was not investigative news, but it was an improvement compared to the period before 1900. The Old League Montréal clubs were obviously given biased, preferential reporting. La Presse had a reporter in Québec City who often reported on his local team rather than the Montréal team.

In the area of terminology, La Presse had been moving from English to French as early of 1898, when Montagnard was affiliated with a league for the first time. The technical vocabulary improved significantly. Thus, the player "tire" (shoots) on goals with "coups" (hits). The
players were put "hors du jeu" (out of play), "au repos" at rest, or "à la cloture" (to the fence) for penalties. There were still some "offsides". An "attaque" (attack) was also an "élan" (dash), a "course" (run), or a "jeu de combinaison" (combination play). There were no passing play because the forward pass was illegal. For the positions, it was the "gardien de buts" (goals keeper) who played "dans les buts" (in goals). The "défense" was still formed of the "point" and the "cover-point". The "forwards" became "avants", but also "division d'attaque" (attack division). There was a "centre" but no wings yet. The "referee" was still there but was replaced in 1906 by "arbitre". The equipment also changed. The "rond" (ring) became the "patinoir" (rink). The "puck" became the "caoutchouc" in 1900, the "rondelle" in 1906, and the "caoutchouc" in 1907. The "goal" and the "poteaux" (posts) were replaced by "buts" (goals) and "filet" (net). They did not play with a "hockey" but with a "bâton" (stick). The "bande" and "rampe" (fence) appeared in 1905. Finally, the "partie" became "joute" (game), but was also a "rencontre" (meeting). The "club" was more popular than "équipe" (team). "Saison" (season) took over "série" (series). The "score" of the game was still there. The "moitié" (half) became "mi-temps" (half-time) or "demi-heure" (half-hour). The "période" (period) appeared in 1905. The counting of goals was no more with "partie" (game) but with "points". Therefore, Francophones were playing in
French even though certain terms resisted the change. There were a lot of terms for the same thing which sometimes created problems.

CONCLUSION

This period witnessed the end of the cultural diffusion process. An increasing number of French Canadians were playing hockey, which led to the establishment of French and bilingual teams, but no French leagues. In fact, most Francophone players were students, a very small part of the population. A quarter of the French players played for industrial and commercial teams. This percentage is significant, but how many of them studied at a higher degree, at least at the college level? This is difficult to say. However, they were trained personnel of these companies, which put them into the petite bourgeoisie.

For this period, we have mainly followed the activities of National and Montagnard. The reason is easy to understand. Thanks to those two elite clubs, Francophones had the opportunity to play at a high level. The people need stars to follow. Therefore, the success of one or both clubs encouraged Francophones to play the sport. However, the clubs were fighting each other for the supremacy of French hockey, which perhaps retarded the development of hockey among French Canadians. Thus, when a team was losing, the population was not attracted by it as for instance, when National withdrew from the Intermediate
League in 1902 due to a player shortage. These two clubs were recruiting their players from the same place: schools. In fact, both snowshoe clubs drew their members from the bourgeoisie. Even if, in 1905, National had a doctor as a goaltender, he had been playing for a long time at school, and he was approximately 25 years old at that time, which is very young. This explains why there was a limited number of Francophones in junior level; they were playing for their school in intramural leagues. However, many of them played for independent teams and intermediate teams, especially in the Federal League where Montagnard had a team and also with Shamrocks II at the turn of the century. So, the limited number of French players can be explained by the fact that they represented a very small portion of French-Canadian society.

This situation is also explained by the limited number of rinks in French wards. Two rinks, the Stadium and the Ontario, were commercial, while one was the property of a school, the Mont-St-Louis College. Prince-Arthur rink in St-Laurent ward was also commercial, but was located close to Francophones. That made a total of four rinks (out of fifteen) available for the Francophones of Montréal. Thus, there were significant barriers against French Canadians playing hockey in Montréal.

Although hockey was played by a few Francophones, La Presse, as well as La Patrie, publicized hockey and the principal French-Canadian teams: "Tous les amis du
Montagnard devraient se rendre pour encourager les joueurs." 27
In addition to reports, these papers tried to use French terms. Even if some translations to French bring smiles, many of them are still in use today. Therefore, the newspapers had a significant role in encouraging Francophones to play hockey, or at least to support their clubs and to publicize this sport.

The cultural diffusion process was complete. According to Rogers, diffusion is carried on between elites. This was confirmed since college students, and afterward, university students were the first to practice this new sport. They were still playing in 1907 and helped publicize hockey among French Canadians through newspapers which invited them to support Francophone teams. This process expanded outside Montréal because, after 1905, there were French-Canadian teams nearly throughout the Province of Québec. Nevertheless, only the two major Montréal teams were competing with English teams in the fight for supremacy of hockey in Canada. Irishmen introduced hockey techniques to Francophones and supported them in this competition. Starting from 1904, when National was in the Federal League, Francophones were thinking only to play and to win. Once they proved competitive with the premier Anglophone teams, as was the case of Montagnard in 1907, everything was done to put them aside. Therefore, there was no more an elite team after the Montagnard withdrawal. We must wait until 1910 to see another team.
This is how resistance started.

Since hockey was now diffused to French-Canadian society, it had to go through the second step: that is, according to Murdock, social acceptance. It is here that resistance appears. Francophones wanted to play hockey because there were more and more players coming from the elite bourgeoisie. However, Anglophones could not accept the fact that French Canadians might be at their own hockey level. Only Irishmen accepted them and helped them, because they were of the same social status. Thus, Francophones became suspicious and, while leaving the senior level, they showed their resistance to Anglophone ruling. This trend became more significant at many levels of society with the creation of "Association Catholique de la Jeunesse Canadienne-française" (ACJC) in 1903 throughout all the classical colleges of the Province of Québec. This resistance was then a repercussion of the new nationalism that started to appear at that time.

This period, 1898-1907, is the one during which the French Canadians had really experimented with hockey at all levels. At the moment they proved they were competitive, Anglophones prevented them from proving themselves. With increasing professionalism, including mostly Irish players, new hopes were created for Francophones.
FOOTNOTES

1. La Presse, 11 janvier 1898.
2. La Presse, 31 janvier 1898.
3. La Presse, 30 janvier 1899.
4. Star, February 1, 1899.
5. La Patrie, 11 décembre 1899.
6. La Presse, 15 janvier 1900.
7. La Presse, 15 janvier 1900.
9. Ibid., p. 298-299.
10. La Presse, 11 janvier 1901.
12. La Presse, 13 janvier 1902.
13. La Presse, 18 décembre 1902.
15. La Presse, 15 janvier 1904.
16. La Presse, 20 janvier 1905.
17. La Presse, 24 janvier 1905.
18. La Presse, 11 décembre 1905.
20. La Presse, 12 décembre 1905.
21. La Presse, 24 janvier 1906.
23. La Presse, 26 février 1906.
25. La Presse, 25 février 1907.
26. La Presse, 8 mars 1907.
27. *La Presse*, 10 janvier 1898.

CHAPTER III
REORGANIZATION, 1908-1910

Although this is a very short period, Montréal hockey, and especially French-Canadian hockey, changed dramatically. Francophones reviewed their strategy following Montagnard's problems in the Federal League in 1907. First of all, there was the acceptance of Laval University at Montréal in the University League. Then, the first French only hockey league was created. Finally, the Old League again accepted a French-Canadian team. This period was then a period of reorganization for the Montréal Francophones.

In December 1907, Montagnard tried once again to be proclaimed champion of the Federal League for the 1907 season. Then, they could play for the Stanley Cup against the Wanderers. As expected, Montagnard was not recognized as champion and the team quit hockey. National was then offered the place left by the Montagnard withdrawal. This team declined the invitation because of a player shortage, because it has not had a team since 1906, and time was too short to organize a new team.

The player shortage could be explained by the acceptance of Laval University into the University League. It joined McGill, Toronto, and Queen's Universities. Laval had two teams, one senior an one intermediate. Most of the players came from the Medical and Law Faculties. Others were from Ecole Polytechnique. Montagnard, when it withdrew from the Federal League, had undoubtedly spon- sored Laval University because the two Montréal Universities
had free access to the Montagnard rink and Montagnard paid for Laval travel expenses. Therefore, the French-Canadian snowshoe club had a significant influence on the decision to accept Laval University into the University League. The decision to help the Laval team had been already taken before the Federal League meeting, because no potential return to that league could have been even considered unless they were recognized as the champion of the 1907 season.

Montagnard had been asked to join a new league:

We had another proposition to join the amateur league, comprising teams from Westmount, Sherbrooke, and Three Rivers, but we did not entertain this proposition as we wanted to get a good team to represent the Laval colors, and if we had another team in the field it would weaken the College seven.

Thus, Laval University would be the new hope for Francophones. Once again, it was the students, the future elites, who were the best players.

Laval played its first match against the University of Toronto, in Toronto. The English University won the game easily by 19 to 1. Toronto won the league championship without experiencing a defeat. Laval finished second followed by McGill and Queen's. Laval was making good progress although, not surprisingly, many players had already worn Montagnard and National uniforms. Joseph Dostaler, the Laval captain and a former National and Montagnard player, commented on this first game as follows:

C'est la première fois qu'une équipe canadienne-française vient jouer à Toronto, comme c'est la première fois qu'elle entre dans une ligue sénior de hockey.
Dostaler made a small error. National had already played in the Old League in 1905 and he had been one of the players. The fact that National had not operated for a long time may support his point.

The ECHL was becoming more professional. While the MAAA and Victorias had kept their amateur status, Shamrocks were now professionals, and Ottawa and Québec were semi-professionals. The International League was in some trouble, so Pitre and Laviolette came back to Montréal where they played for Shamrocks. Thus, the two French-Canadian players decided to continue their careers in Montréal after the bankruptcy of the U.S. teams. Because there were no French teams, these players were welcomed into teams that would accept them, the Irish teams. Hockey in Montréal was divided. The Anglo-Saxons maintained their commitment to the ideology of amateurism, while the Irishmen decided to make money from the teams' profits.

Laviolette, after having quit the Shamrocks in mid-season, was still playing. In the middle of February, he, along with Didier Pitre, organized a team called the Dominions. This team played at Sault-Ste-Marie against the local professionals. The team included Joseph Dostaler, Joseph Cattarinich, future owner of the Montréal Canadien, Ernest Gauthier, Leahy, Howard McNamara, and Noss Chartrand. Laviolette and Pitre explored the potential for a professional team.

Meanwhile, a new trophy was at stake for amateur teams.
Since the Stanley Cup was now for professional teams, it was necessary to introduce a new trophy. Sir Montagu Allan, with the help of William Northey, had decided to give a trophy to compete with the Stanley Cup. This resulted in the Allan Cup. Ottawa Cliff sides were the first winners of the Allan Cup after they beat Montréal Victorias, of the ECHL, in 1908.

The Allan Cup helped to settle the conflict between amateurs and professionals. In 1909, MAAA and Victorias decided to quit the Old League and established a new amateur league, the Inter-Provincial League. Toronto and Ottawa Cliff sides joined this league. Right after the establishment of the league, MAAA threatened to quit and to create another amateur league with Montagnard. MAAA claimed the right to play for the Stanley Cup which was now a professional hockey trophy. Finally, the Canadian Amateur Athletic Union (CAAU) settled the problem by stating that no amateur teams could play against professional teams anymore. The CAAU had been established in 1884 under the name CAAA and had then been controlled by the MAAA. The MAAA would henceforth have to limit itself to playing for the Allan Cup, like any other amateur clubs.

The Federal League disappeared in 1909, and was replaced by the Ottawa Valley Hockey League, controlled by J. Ambrose O'Brien of Renfrew. It was a professional league with teams in Renfrew, Ottawa, Smith's Falls, and Cornwall. The ECHL had only four teams, following the departure of MAAA and
Victorias: Ottawa, Québec, Shamrocks, and Wanderers. The ECHL was still the major league.

Jack Laviolette came back with the Shamrocks from the 1909 season. Didier Pitre went to play for Renfrew, after being part of the Edmonton team that played against the Wanderers for the Stanley Cup during Christmas of 1908.

The major innovation for Francophones was the creation of the Ligue des Théâtres de Montréal. This league was created by the theatres for their employees. The English theatres joined the league in 1910. Although newspapers did not mention the league in 1910, it is almost certain it was a league because the teams were playing between themselves only. This league was the first composed exclusively of French teams in Montréal. There were also an increased number of independent teams in 1909 which were not affiliated with any league. These teams played only among themselves and very infrequently against English teams.

At the end of this season, on March 8th 1909, La Presse announced that the Wanderers would play against a team composed of the best French-Canadian players. This game would take place at the new Jubilee rink, in Hochelaga ward. It was played on March 10th. To the astonishment of all, the Francophones came on the ice in the National uniform. The line-up was: Couture in goal, a Laval student, Jack Laviolette, Didier Pitre, Robitaille, Newsy Lalonde from Cornwall, Joseph Dostaler, and Alphonse Jetté.
La Presse wrote of the match:

(Les Wanderers) sont sortis victorieux de la rencontre par un score de 10 à 9, mais les joueurs canadiens ont démontré qu'ils étaient de taille à lutter avec les plus puissants clubs de la ligue professionnelle.

(...) La joute d'hier soir a démontré que la Ligue Professionnelle (sic) ferait une bonne acquisition en admettant l'an prochain le National dans ses rangs.

The Francophones had further prepared the way for their entry into professional hockey.

More news was featured in newspapers during the 1909 season. The Laval University team had been invited by Harvard University in Boston. The McGill team had previously gone there, but the University League results of 1908 had favoured the French team. Harvard won the game by a score of 3-0. This proved that Francophone teams were as good as English teams.

All the foregoing prepared for the last season to be dealt with in this paper.

In 1910, the ECHL again changed its name to the Canadian Hockey Association (CHA). Wanderers decided to quit for a new league. Two new teams were added: All-Montreal and National. Shamrocks, Ottawa and Québec completed the league. National was back in the Old League, this time as a professional team.

Wanderers joined a new league, the National Hockey Association (NHA), that was created by J. Ambrose O'Brien who controlled four of the five teams of this league. The other teams were: Cobalt, Renfrew, Haileybury, and
a French-Canadian team named Canadien. In total, there were five professional teams in Montréal. National was facing a new competitor, and another hunt for players started.

High bids resulted from that hunt. National published its payroll, which showed salaries amounting to $4530 including two players who were not in the team's line-up, Newsy Lalonde and Didier Pitre. They were playing for the Canadien. Pitre was the origin of dispute which ended in court. He was playing lacrosse for National. This club claimed that Pitre was their property. Finally, the court decided that as far as hockey was concerned he belonged to Canadien.

Jack Laviolette used O'Brien's money to enlist players he wanted. He got the best two hockey players of that time, Newsy Lalonde and Didier Pitre. Canadien seemed to have the best team among French-Canadian teams. Its first line-up was: Joseph Cattarinich in goal, Laviolette and Pitre on defense, Newsy Lalonde, Georges "Skinner" Poulin, Edmond Décarie, and Arthur Bernier as forwards. National lined up: Dr. Georges Maynard, Dubeau, Alphonse Jetté, Paré, Edouard Millaire, Rattée, and Edgar Leduc.

At the beginning of the season, the potential merger of the two professional leagues was already in the air. There were too many teams (ten, of which five were located in Montréal) for the number of players available. On January 16th, the NHA absorbed Ottawa and Shamrocks. National
received the Canadian franchise under three conditions:
1- National had to pay Canadien's salaries which amounted
to $6200; 2- It had to pay the debts contracted by O'Brien
for the Canadien; 3- National had to play at the Jubilée
for the following three seasons. The Jubilee rink had
a seating capacity of only 3000, compared to the Arena,
where the CHA teams had been playing, which had 5000 seats.
National had been playing in Maisonneuve, a little further
east from Hochelaga ward. National President, Napoléon
Dorval, declared:

And that after us being the first to take up the
cause of French-Canadian senior hockey at the
request, so to speak, of Mr. Lunny (Shamrocks'
director) and his associates.

So, it was the Shamrocks that had asked National to intro-
duce a team in the CHA. National was the first French-
Canadian team to play in the Old League. But after having
lost many fights to Montagnard, the National lost the war
to a new comer, Canadien. Once again, the Irishmen had
promoted French-Canadian hockey.

A new team joined the University League, Loyola Col-
lege, the English section of Ste-Marie College. Loyola
was then considered powerful enough to play at the Univer-
sity level. There was also a new school league in Montréal.
French schools created their own league, the Ligue Junior
Inter-Collegiale, that included teams from Ecole Polytech-
nique, the Medical Faculty of Laval University, and Mont-
St-Louis College. French students organized a league from
which they were able to pick up the best players from the
Laval University team.

Francophones were playing more hockey than in 1905. In 1910, 314 French Canadians played compared to 256 five years before. They represented 29% of the overall number of Montréal players. More importantly, one fifth of the teams were completely French. The number of bilingual teams had decreased from 1905; this confirms the fact that Francophones had decided to play on their own. With the establishment of French leagues following the National and Montagnard withdrawals from competition in 1907, French Canadians stated that they were ready to set up their own organizations. But, with the fact that Anglo-Saxon teams maintained their amateur status, National was invited by Irishmen to join the Old League where the real competition was.

This return to leagues which were organized by English teams did not yet affect the Francophones. This is because two thirds of the French teams were not in a league. Out of 44 teams that included Francophones, 28 were not in a league. Francophones had therefore quit the competitive sector. Except for the 27 professional French-Canadian players, only twelve others were playing with competitive teams. No one was at the senior amateur level (which excludes the University League), only one in the Intermediate League, and eleven in junior teams. Out of the 307 competitive players, only 39 were Francophones. This means that Francophones left that field of hockey to limit them-
selves to exhibition games. We can see to what extent Montagnard and National affected Montréal French hockey. With their return into professionalism, the trend should have changed for the following years, especially when Canadien played at least three times for the Stanley Cup in the next ten years, and won it in 1915-16.

In 1910, it was still the same players who had played before, even though there were many more French-Canadian players. Out of the 27 French professional players, about two thirds were students. One, Maynard, who played for National, was a doctor. Although professionalism attracted the working class, this class of society did not have the time to practice enough. Players were coming from schools that had good organizations. Although the situation was different, nothing had really changed.

Also, out of the 59 French players whose home was identified, almost half (26) came from St-Jacques ward. In fact, out of the 156 players whose address is known for the 20 years of this research, one third (47) were living in St-Jacques ward. The others were from these wards: St-Antoine, 14; St-Louis, 11; Ste-Anne, 10; St-Denis, 8; De Lorimier, 7; Laurier, 7; Hochelaga, 6; St-Laurent, 5; St-Jean-Baptiste, 4; Westmount, 1. Eight were from elsewhere on Montréal Island; 22 were from other parts of the Province of Québec; five were from Ontario, and one was from Maine. There were no players from the working class wards of St-Henri and Ste-Marie, confirming again the discrimination against that social class. Some players were
from Ste-Anne, another working class ward, but it had a long history in hockey since there were many teams and some rinks as early as 1895. Most of the French-Canadian players were from the central wards of Montréal. Since 1900, many players had been from other wards, and except for St-Jacques, the central wards now provided fewer players than before. Because, in the beginning, hockey rinks were all in the central area, the Francophones in these wards were the first to play. With the expansion towards the east, more Francophones from new wards were playing. Except for Ste-Anne, no other working class wards provided hockey players, confirming again that hockey was limited to the bourgeoisie.

**NEWSPAPERS**

La Presse and the Star favoured the professional leagues to the detriment of amateur leagues. La Presse, as well as La Patrie, supported French-Canadian teams. However, other local clubs had their share of coverage, although it was limited compared to professional teams.

The English newspaper had more articles on French teams than before. The Star wrote quite a long article about Francophones:

For some time it has been the practice to call hockey our national winter sport, but so long as it was not practiced in by one class of our people that forms the dominant element in this province and a very considerable portion of the population of the Dominion. It could not be called national in the true sense of the word. But now, that the French-Canadian youths have taken it up, the constituency of the game had broadened, and hockey has become truly national just as lacrosse
has been for some time. And what adds to the
worth of this is the fact that the French-Can-
dian teams can play the game in a manner that
entitles them to first class company. The alert-
ness and agility characteristic of the race to
which they belong, enable the members of the
French-Canadian teams to make rapid headway in
a sport in which most of their opponents have
had greater experience.  

This newspaper had over the years covered many French teams.

This text seemed to come late. It looked like the only
criterion was to play in the major league. This was not
accomplished before, although National played three games
in 1905 in the Old League before folding for financial
problems. Montagnard played in the Federal League and
should have won the championship in 1907. This article
also forgot that Laval University had been playing in the
University League since 1908. This article represents well
the newspaper in which it was written. French Canadians
were better at hockey, but they had to prove it before it
could be said that hockey was truly Canadian. At least,
Francophones were finally recognized as good hockey players.

La Presse, in addition to its support of French teams,
was itself active in sports. In 1907, the newspaper fi-
nanced the building of a skating rink for primary school
students. This rink was located at Le Plateau School
yard, close to Lafontaine Park. However, hockey was for-
bidden because the rink was limited to skating. Many
children previously had not had the opportunity to learn
skating, which gave them some exercise and the basics to
play hockey later. La Presse had also financed a gymnas-
tics course given by Sergeant Henri Scott since 1905 which had gained success throughout the Province and even in Europe. Thus, La Presse promoted sport in many ways within the Montréal area.

La Presse began to standardize the vocabulary. While the journalists had used many terms for the same item in the earlier period, they used only a few in this one. The following expressions were regularly used. "A la clôture" or "au repos" were used for "punitions" (penalties). The players were doing "coups" (hits) after a "course" (run) or an "élan" (rush) to score. The "jeu de combinaison" (combination play) was less used when "passe" appeared. It was the "gardien des buts" (goals keeper) who was "dans les buts" (in goal). His "défense" was constituted of "point" and "cover-point". In front of them, there was the "division d'attaque" (attack division). It was the "arbitre" (referee) who controlled the game. They were playing with a "rondelle" or a "caoutchouc" (puck). The game was played on the ice of the "patinoir" (rink). The "buts" (goal) were also the "filets" (nets). Finally, a "partie" and a "joute" (game) could be also a "match", a "rencontre", or a "lutte". The "club" replaced the word "équipe" (team). The "mi-temps" (half-time) became the "période". The "score" gave the number of "points" per team. Although it seemed that French was being implemented in hockey, the hockey people were still using English terms. In St-Hyacinthe, a pamphlet giving all the English
terms and their French equivalents was published. It seemed then that, despite all the efforts of La Presse, in particular, since 1898, hockey remained a sport where English was still very strong.

ICE RINKS

As this period is one of reorganization, the rinks were also changing. The Stadium, used up to 1908, was replaced by the Jubilee in Hochelaga ward. There was another movement towards the east. National moved out of the city to play in nearby Maisonneuve. Therefore, there was more hockey in the east of Montréal, with the Ontario rink used by independent and industrial teams. The Prince-Arthur rink changed its name to that of the street it was on, Duluth. Several leagues and teams played there. Francophones had access to four rinks, adding the Mont-St-Louis College rink, and one very near, Duluth rink. Of a total of nine rinks used for hockey in 1910, Francophones were gaining some advantages over Anglophones. This can explain partially why there were more French players. With this number of rinks, there were fewer games played, in comparison with the preceding period. Ste-Anne ward had no rinks in 1910. That left Ste-Marie ward as the only working class ward with an ice rink. However, although the Ontario rink was built in 1900, there were no players from Ste-Marie ward, while there were still some from Ste-Anne ward, although in less number than before. The location of the rinks, and their number, affec-
FIGURE VI
ICE RINKS, 1910
ted the number of players.

Also, there were more rinks elsewhere on Montréal Island. It was possible to play in Bordeaux, Ahuntsic, St-Laurent City, Pointe-Claire, Notre-Dame-de-Grâce, etc. This means there was more hockey being played around Montréal.

CONCLUSION

This three year period is then a transition period. Francophones went from a position of subordination in English leagues to their own autonomy. At first, they were independent when they quit the English leagues. They set up their own organization and leagues, and also independent teams that played among themselves. Once Anglo-Saxon teams had left the Old League because of differing ideology with Irish teams, these latter invited the French-Canadian teams to join them and to become in turn professional. This is how the dynasty of the Montréal Canadien was born. Montagnard vacated their place for Laval University and, by this move, kept the Francophones in amateur hockey, so that they could compete for the top two trophies, the Stanley Cup and the Allan Cup.

Despite the increasing number of French players, hockey was still played only by the elite. It seemed that more players were coming from the lower middle class, but none were coming from the working class. Also, hockey gradually moved into all French wards. Thus, district teams were created, such as Delorimier Tigers, but there
were still few rinks for Francophones.

Therefore, after being refused equality in leagues run by Anglophones, the Francophones began to take a closer look at their option in hockey. This explains the beginning of resistance towards the English dominance. One of the factors Watson used to explain resistance is the rejection of foreigners. Francophones rejected English leagues where they could not be equal. They tried to put in more French terms to remove everything that was English. Finally, this resistance corresponded with the beginning of a new nationalism that was different from the ultra-montanism of the 19th century. This new nationalism began with Henri Bourassa, Lionel Groulx, and the ACJC movement.

This resistance favoured the formation of French-Canadian clubs and fewer bilingual teams. These clubs were, for the most part, not in leagues. However, two French leagues were formed. Although, most of these teams existed for only one or two years, it indicated that Francophones wanted to set up their own organizations. There was suspicion towards Anglophones. Once Irishmen controlled professional hockey, Francophones were welcomed quite easily. This confirms once again the friendship between the two groups. They were quite similar because they had the same religion and were placed on the same social level by the Anglo-Saxons. Only the language was different, but it seems that many directors of these teams were bilingual, which helped communication.
Resistance appeared during social acceptance. It is too bad this research stopped at 1910 because, with the return of Francophones to senior hockey - here professional - it would be interesting to know how hockey developed for the Francophones of Montréal afterward.
FOOTNOTES

1 Star, December 9, 1907.
2 La Presse, 18 janvier 1908.
4 Morrow, Don, "The Powerhouse of Canadian Sport, the Montreal Amateur Athletic Association, Inception to 1909", JSH, vol. 8 no. 3, p. 35.
5 La Presse, 8 mars 1909.
6 La Presse, 11 mars 1909.
7 Star, December 7, 1908.
8 Star, January 28, 1909.
9 Gazette, January 6, 1910.
10 La Patrie, 18 janvier 1910.
12 Star, January 15, 1910.
14 Ibid., p. 90.
15 Guay, Donald, Sport et Société Canadienne au XIXe Siècle, Québec, Université Laval, 1977, p. 71-73.
CONCLUSION - DISCUSSION

The beginning of hockey in Montréal highlights one of the few situations where Francophones participated in sport. It is impossible to review this social phenomenon, the Francophone introduction to hockey, without a theoretical concept. This is why the theory of cultural diffusion was used to provide a better understanding of this process. The following question was asked in order to conduct the work: How did hockey diffusion occur for Francophones of Montréal?

Before answering the question, it is appropriate to summarize the history of Montréal hockey between 1890 and 1910. Before 1890, hockey was limited, as shown by Metcalfe who found only four clubs in 1877, two in 1881, and eighteen in 1887. Because this research was limited to teams with players 15 years old and more, we found only eleven teams in 1890. In all these teams, the players were from the upper-middle class of Anglophone society. There were a few French-Canadian players, but from 1895 their number increased. This corresponded with the publishing of regular news on hockey by La Presse. The first French-Canadian players were students at classical colleges, more specifically from Ste-Marie and Mont-St-Louis Colleges, which provided courses for French Canadians and Roman Catholic Irishmen. These latter were taught in English, so that they were separated from their French colleagues. However, they to share the same recreational yard and the
same rink in winter. It was on these college rinks that French Canadians learned how to play hockey. From 1893, the two colleges faced each other in hockey games. In 1897, the Shamrocks, an Irish team, had a former student from Mont-St-Louis College, Louis Belcourt as a player. He was the first French-Canadian player in the Old League which was established in 1886. The next season, a completely French team joined an English league. This was Montagnard, which joined the Montreal Junior District League. Montagnard was at first a snowshoe club, as was the National created in 1895. These clubs fought for the supremacy of French-Canadian hockey between 1901 and 1907. This started when both teams were in the Intermediate League. Each took a different road, but they faced the same problem of how to be admitted as an equal opponent by English teams. Only the Irish clubs, Shamrocks and Wanderers, supported the French clubs in their quest. In 1908, Laval University at Montréal, which had had a hockey team since 1900, was accepted into the University League. Because of this, even with the departure of Montagnard and National, Francophones could still play senior hockey. In fact, these two clubs had been recruiting their players among students. That is the reason why, during all these 20 years, most of the players came from the bourgeoisie. Professional hockey appeared in Montréal in 1907. This was in opposition to the ideology of amateurism. Therefore, Anglo-Saxon teams left the professionals in 1909, leaving the Irish teams
alone. French teams took the opportunity to join their Irish friends in professional hockey in 1910. Nevertheless, a new war between two French-Canadian teams started again because there were two professional leagues. National, which had returned, had to leave after the merger of both leagues in favour of a new team, the Canadien. It was in this manner that the oldest French-Canadian professional hockey club started. At the same time, Francophones organized teams that were not affiliated to a league because of the problem the two first French-Canadian clubs, Montagnard and National, had faced. They preferred then to organize among themselves, and two French leagues were created.

Francophones moved from an era of observation (1890-1897), where a few Francophones were trying to play hockey, to an era of experimentation (1898-1907). During this last period, many French-Canadian clubs joined English leagues in order to compete. Once some balance had been reached, Angliphones decided to do everything possible to prevent French-Canadian players from improving and to taking the Stanley Cup away from them. That is why the Francophones had a period of reorganization (1908-1910), during which the French Canadians set up their own organizations. When professionalism was well-implanted in Montréal and English teams had left the Irishmen alone at it, then Francophones were invited to join. This was the beginning of a new era for French-Canadian hockey.
Diffusion was defined as a process through which an innovation is transferred from one culture to another. Thus, hockey was created by Anglophone society, particularly its elite. A part of it, the Roman Catholic Irishmen, introduced this sport to the Francophone elite of Montréal through the classical colleges. In reviewing Rogers' communication model, the diffusion medium was defined as personal contacts. This developed in the classical colleges where both communities were studying. Although they did not follow the same courses, they shared the same recreational yard and the same rink. They organized their sport activities together, especially at Ste-Marie College. These students were the future elites of their community, because a limited number of youths was going to college, and fewer to university. Therefore, this confirms the other Rogers' model which explains how the diffusion circulates between two societies, that it moves horizontally between elites. However, this process takes time. For instance, at Ste-Marie College, the first mention of hockey was in 1886, and it was not until ten years later, in 1896, that there were French-Canadian players on the college team. The first Laval University team was formed in 1900, after the students who had learned their hockey at colleges were attending this University. It is impossible, in the light of the information gathered, to state when the diffusion process ended. It is possible it ended around 1905, because by then a significant number
of Francophones were playing in organized hockey. There were also some French teams outside Montréal in 1905, as far away as Chicoutimi.

It is possible then to follow the way that hockey expanded through Montréal society. Hockey was created around 1875 by the Anglophone elite. Irishmen followed quite rapidly. Francophones got into hockey later, when the young Irishmen in the colleges showed them how to play. Italians followed after 1905, when they too were students at these colleges. Only elites played for almost all the period covered, even though there began to be some players from the lower-middle class, such as skilled workers, between 1905 and 1910.

The newspapers also had a significant role in the diffusion of hockey. They were giving more space for sports in their editions. Hockey rapidly became the most popular sport for French newspapers, while the Star, in particular, for a long period, gave more space to curling. These newspapers tried to cover all the teams that played in Montréal. This was made possible by the fact that some teams were playing one evening per week, always the same, which staggered games all over the week, except for Sundays. Beginning in 1898, La Presse tried to translate hockey terms to French. Many translations were not good, but a standardization of the terms used started in 1907. These dates corresponded to the periods used in this thesis to describe the evolution of French-Canadian hockey. There-
fore, we may say that the diffusion of hockey through newspapers finished around 1905 because by then they gave more space to hockey than to other sports in the sport section. It is easy to confirm the first hypothesis, that is that hockey was diffused from the English elite to the French elite. These were not exactly elites, but rather the future elites because they were students, since hockey can be practiced at a competitive level only by young people. There was an intermediate group, however, between the two elites. This group was the Irish elite. They were between the other two groups because they shared the same culture as the Anglo-Saxons, but had the religion as the French Canadians. Throughout the research, they were seen to be acting as intermediaries between the two groups. Nevertheless, Irishmen were not easily accepted by the Anglo-Saxons. They began to play only in 1895 in the Old League, when they merged with the Crystals to become the Shamrocks. It was only in 1905 that Francophones were admitted to the Old League, only to stay in it a very short time. In fact, it was only in 1910 that Francophones played regularly with the Anglophones at the higher level of competition. The Irishmen were in the Old League before 1895, and the Francophones before 1905, but they were not numerous enough to make an homogeneous team. It should be noted that most of the Old League players had played for a high school, college, or university team. They were then part of the elite, even when professionalism appeared
in Montréal.

The second hypothesis is much more difficult to confirm. It says that there was a certain resistance by Francophones towards Anglophones. By reviewing Watson's factors, the most important seems to be the rejection of foreigners. This factor can be considered both ways. First of all, Anglophones did everything possible to keep Francophones out of hockey. This happened in 1903 when Montagnard quit the Intermediate League, since the Old League did not seem to be ready to welcome new members, although the contrary was stated at the beginning of the 1902 season. In 1906, it was national's turn. This team tried to rejoin the Old League, which they had left after some financial problems in 1905. Finally, the Federal League refused to Montagnard the championship it had won in 1907. It seemed then that Anglophones could not conceive that Francophones could compete on an equal footing. It was then that Francophones became professional and joined their Irish friends who were left alone in the Old League after the withdrawal of the two Anglo-Saxon amateur teams. During that period, at the intermediate and junior levels, Francophones also left the Anglophones and created independent teams that played exhibition games between themselves. There was also a decrease of bilingual teams, and the only exception to this trend was the acceptance of Laval University into the University League, while Montagnard quit the Federal League. Thus, Francophones
resisted Anglophone domination after being rejected as competitive equals.

This resistance towards Anglophones began at the same time as the creation of a new nationalism for French Canadians. The ultra-montanism was good only for the 19th century. With the coming of industrialization and urbanization, French Canadians needed a new nationalism to keep their specific characteristics. This nationalism was highlighted by the economic liberalism headed by Henri Bourassa. The Catholic Church was losing some importance due to the social changes of urbanization. Under Chanoine Lionel Groulx's leadership, the Québec classical colleges' students were becoming members of the Association Catholique de la Jeunesse Canadienne-française (ACJC), a movement created in 1903. This association was training youths to keep their traditions as well as their religion. These youths, who would become the future elite, were going to initiate the new nationalism that would be powerful between the 1930's and 1950's. The same youths were practicing hockey and organized their own teams after repeated refusals by Anglophones to accept them on an equal level in competitive hockey. Wade explains as follows the influence of this nationalism on everyday life:

...each year the young men in the classical colleges became more intent upon stressing their Frenchness and their Catholicity; even the infant labour movement developed national syndicates as rivals to the American international unions ... For some the new sense of separation involved merely an effort to maintain the faith and culture of French Canada against "Anglo-
Saxon" encroachment, while freely collaborating with English Canadians in building up a nation of dual culture. For a more narrow-minded group it meant a withdrawal within the shell of an exclusive and isolated French and Catholic province.

Thus, Francophones wanted to become an important part of Canada while keeping their heritage and the traditions that are so cherished. These nationalists were the people who held a certain power: that is the French-Canadian elite.

The students were considered as the future elite, but who were they? According to Linteau et al., the Francophone elite comprised the lower and middle bourgeoisie, while the Anglophone elite comprised the middle and upper bourgeoisie. The difference could be noted through hockey. The higher bourgeoisie was nearly exclusively Anglophone. They held economic power. A typical example was Sir Montagu Allan who was President of six companies in 1912, in addition to being on eighteen other companies' administrative boards. He was also Honorary-President of the Victoria Hockey Club in 1890, and a honorary membre of the Montreal Street Railway team in 1905. Also, he donated the Allan Cup in 1908, the equivalent for amateurs of the Stanley Cup. Linteau et al. describe the middle bourgeoisie in this manner:

Certes, on y trouve un fort contingent d'Anglais et d'Ecossois. On doit s'attendre à y trouver aussi un certain nombre d'Irlandais. Mais on y remarque également une présence significative d'hommes d'affaires canadiens-français, impliqués dans tous les secteurs d'activité économique.
This middle bourgeoisie, Anglophone as well as Francophone, was very active in the following areas: shoe industry, clothing industry, wholesale business, sawmills, printing, finance and real estate.\(^5\) Finally, the lower bourgeoisie comprised small contractors, retailers and the liberal professions, such as doctors, lawyers, notaries, priests, journalists, teachers, and artists. This group, due to its local importance, was acting as intermediary between power and population.\(^6\) Many politicians came from this group because they had some power in towns, villages, and wards and parishes of cities.\(^7\) The first two groups can be related to the dominant class and the third one to the middle class. Therefore, Francophones had less economic power than Anglophones. However, they had the provincial political power, a source of social power. There is an obvious shortage of sources to know which was the group Irishmen were in. It is quite possible, according to Linteau et al.; that, Irish people were at the same level as French Canadians. This could explain the similarities found in hockey. The only advantage Irishmen had over Francophones was the English language, which was their primary language. This explains why they acted as intermediary between Anglophones and Francophones.

To confirm the second hypothesis, we have to use Watson's other factors. Although the rejection of foreigners seems to be the most important factor, the others also have their importance. Therefore, the sacrosanct factor
may explain the fact that Irishmen and French Canadians, who have the same religion, developed friendships between many members of the two communities because they were studying at the same classical colleges ruled by Catholic priests, such as the Ste-Marie College, founded in 1848 by the Jesuits. Thus, it is possible that religion had an important role; how otherwise can one explain that many professional hockey players were Catholic and only a few were Protestant? Another factor is the hierarchy. Francophones had gone through many steps to get to senior hockey. This happened maybe too rapidly for Anglophones who did everything to keep the Francophones out. Anglophones maybe had the intention of keeping themselves dominant in relation to Francophones. Once the Anglophones left the Old League, the Irish teams who were now at the head of the league invited French teams to join them. Hierarchy, then, was a factor which could explain why Anglophones did not accept Francophones in the Old League.

Another of Watson's factor is communication. The language problem had definitely influenced the relationship between Francophones and Anglophones. Because Irishmen had been in classical colleges, they had the opportunity to learn French while other Anglophones were going to fully English schools. Some Francophones had the chance to learn English, but how many of them did? Language is an important element of culture. So, language was a factor important in communication between the two linguistic groups. The
last factor is conformity to norms. Each society has its own standards through which it is ruled. Hockey had perhaps disturbed that harmony, as had other sports. The fact that only people with spare time were practicing hockey did not seem to change the norms. In Anglophone society, only the elites were playing hockey until the end of the 19th century, which represented a social advantage over others. Nobody was shocked by this situation, because the working class had not lost their time to play sport since they did not have the time. This factor does not explain resistance, but it explains quite clearly why it was only the elites who were playing hockey and not the others: because the norms of the French society were not touched. The rest of Watson's factors cannot explain the resistance between the two groups because there is too little information to see them clearly. Thus, the second hypothesis concerning resistance is confirmed partially, but also sufficiently to show the resistance of Francophones after the problems they had had with Anglophones, who might have created a resistance of their own.

It has been demonstrated that hockey was diffused between the two linguistic groups' elites by Irishmen acting as intermediaries. This diffusion can also be perceived as a certain hegemony by the Anglo-Saxon elites. Hegemony is generally defined as a cultural domination of one group over another by assimilation of the dominant group's view by the dominated. Naturally, it is in the
dominant group's interests to rule the others. The Anglophones tried to dominate the French elites within their culture by accepting them in their sports. In the meantime, the Francophones accepted sports but gallicized them. After being put off by Anglophones, the French-Canadian elites might have wanted to resist Anglophones by translating hockey to the French language. They also resisted in organizing their own teams and leagues. A new hegemony was created by the French elite towards the French society. It is difficult to know how efficient it was because, as mentioned above, all the players were drawn mainly from the bourgeoisie, even in 1910. This can be an hypothesis to verify in another study.

This research provided many answers on the beginning of French-Canadian hockey before the establishment of the Montréal Canadien. It was possible to establish a relationship between Francophones and Irishmen, who had several common points. Until 1910, only a select group of people were playing hockey, not everybody. Therefore, diffusion was between Irish and French Canadians, especially in classical colleges. Once Francophones became very good hockey players, Anglophones, mainly Anglo-Saxons, hindered them from continuing their development, which resulted in tensions between both groups. Once the Anglophones had quit the Old League, which was now a professional league, the Francophones were invited to take the place of the Anglo-Saxons by the Irishmen, who remained professionals.
However, it was impossible to get answers to all questions which came out during the research and the analysis.

Here is a list of potential research which can be made based on this thesis, and which can give answers to many other questions.

A first suggestion would be to go further in the time period which has been started here. Since the future elites were of significant importance in 1910, it would be interesting to discover when hockey was played by everyone. Professional hockey had definitely helped to make hockey more popular, especially after the Stanley Cup victory by the Montréal Canadien in 1915-16. Therefore, another period to review would be between 1910 and 1940, that is the end of this research until the beginning of World War II. As the diffusion from one society to another was ended, the diffusion from elites to working classes could be studied in each society.

Montréal is the place where hockey began, in the English community as well as the French community. But what happened elsewhere in Québec? A few Francophones were playing hockey in Québec City around 1900 and in some other places in 1905. But how did this develop? Was it through Anglophones who were playing there, or through Francophones who had first played in Montréal? All these questions represent the second suggestion, which would be to study hockey diffusion throughout the Province of Québec.
Another suggestion would be to study the diffusion in other sports, such as lacrosse and baseball, for Francophones. Most sports in which Francophones had been involved began during the period of the turn of the century. It would be interesting to compare these sports with hockey and to see the differences and similarities between sports. Lacrosse could follow the same evolution as hockey since many hockey players were also lacrosse players. Baseball could show differences since this sport came from the United States and its diffusion should then be different.

Sport have not only been transmitted from the Anglophones to the Francophones, but also to other ethnic groups who came to Canada around 1900. They had begun to practice these sports later than Francophones, as was the case for Italians between 1905 and 1910 in Montréal hockey. Therefore, these researches could originate from the diffusion evolution of each of these ethnic groups. Also, these groups brought in some of their own sports and it could be interesting to discover if a diffusion also happened in reverse.

Finally, it was mentioned that mostly the elite were playing hockey. Many studies have already reviewed relationships between companies via their directors. It could be interesting to discover the relationships via sports and teams in which their directors may have had social contacts and had the opportunity to talk about business between periods or games.
As we can see, there is still a lot to discover on the diffusion theme. It is possible to compare a sport with another, as it is with ethnic groups. These researches could be made at several levels and take different forms, such as an article for a specialized review, a masters degree thesis, or a doctoral dissertation. This thesis could therefore open new avenues to research in sport history, with a special emphasis on French Québec, which is a neglected area in Canadian sport history.
FOOTNOTES


4 Ibid., p. 173.

5 Ibid., p. 463.

6 Ibid., p. 468.

7 Ibid., p. 174.

8 Beaton-Parratt, Catriona, Sport and Hegemony: Windsor, c1895 to c1929, MKH Thesis, University of Windsor, 1984, p. 15.

## APPENDIX A

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* The total of teams is not correct per year because some teams are counted twice, e.g. McGill is in the Intermediate League in 1900 and it is also mentioned in the School statistics.
APPENDIX B

TEAMS AND LEAGUES

1890

Senior League (CAHA): Dominions
MAAA I
Victorias I
Québec

Junior League: Hawthorne
Victorias II
McGill II
MAAA II

Other teams: High School
Maples
McGill I
Montréal ?
Orients
CAHL: Crystals (Shamrocks)
       MAAA I
       Victories I
       Ottawa I
       Quebec I

Intermediate League: MAAA II
       Victories II
       Ottawa II
       Quebec II

Junior League: Victories III
       Hawthorne
       Ottawa Aberdeens
       Ottawa Maples

Independent League: Elms
       Hollies
       Unos
       Wanderers
       St-Lambert

Western League: Comets
       Lornes
       Meteors
       White Stars

Amagalmate Insurance League: Queen's - United
       Imperial - Phoenix
       London and Lancaster - Atlas
       Caledonian - Eastern

Insurance League: Phoenix
       Royal
       Guardian
       North British Mercantile
Mercantile League: James McCready,
James Withman

Ontario-Québec Bank League: Bank of Commerce Toronto
Bank of Montreal

Other Teams: Commerce - Molson Banks
Cree's
Crescent
Abingdon School
Beaver
Canucks I - II
Clinton
Collège Ste-Marie
High School
Lilac
Linotype
MAAA Buffers
MAAA Duffers
McGill I - II
Collège Mont-St-Louis
National
Montreal South
Prince of Wales Rifles
Rovers
Royal Scots
Ste-Anne
St-John's
Shacks
A.H. Sims
Stars
Thistle
Tooke
Tuckers
Unos II
Waverly
Crystals II
1900

CAHL: MAAA I
Shamrocks I
Victorias I
Ottawa I
Québec I

Intermediate League: (Centre) MAAA II
McGill I
Shamrocks II
Victorias II
Westmount I

(East) Trois-Rivières Laviolette
Sherbrooke
Québec Crescent
Québec II

Junior League: (West) (East)
Ottawa II MAAA III
Ottawa Aberdeens Victorias III
Buckingham St-Lambert Hawthorne I
Cedars I
McGill II

Independent Junior League: PAAA
Standard
St-Ann's
Ontario
St-Lawrence

City Suburban League: Outremont
Defiance
Overland
Mont-Royal Rosedale
St-Laurent
Metropolitan League: Cedar II
                      St-Lambert Hawthorne II
                      Stirling
                      Westmount II

Intercollegiate League: McGill
                       Ottawa
                       Toronto
                       Trinity
                       Queen's
                       Royal Military College

Interschool League: Abingdon
                    High School
                    Senior School

Church League: Lilies St-James
              Sherbrooke Methodist
              St-James Methodist
              Trinity YMA

Masonic League: Temple
               Royal-Victoria

Railway League: CPR Montréal
               GTR Montréal
               CPR Ottawa
               CAR Ottawa

Banks League: Bank of Montreal
             British and Dominion
             Québec - Union
             Merchants of Halifax

Other Teams: American Tobbacco
            Arena
            Canadien - Royal
            Carman
Carsley
Caverhill - Kissock
Collège Ste-Marie
Coristine
Dominion Cotton
Gault
Gilbert's Academy
Henney
Hungry Seven
International Business College
Ingersole R.D.
Lindsay N.
Loyola College
Lyman
Minto
Monarchs
Montagnard I - II
Montreal Street Railway I - II
Orients
Packard
Richelieu-Ontario Navigation I - II
T. Robertson
Ste-Ursule
Stars I - II
Stroud Bros.
Stroud Sons
Telegraphers
Université Laval de Montréal
Watson
Wilson
Wykeman
Willis
CAHL:  MAAA I
       Westmount I
       Shamrocks I
       Victorias I
       National I
       Québec I

Intermediate League:  A- MAAA II          B- McGill II
                     Victorias II   Outremont
                     Shamrocks II  National II
                     Westmount II

Junior League:  A- Westmount III          B- Stirling II
               Athenaeum II    YMCA I
               MAAA III        Victorias III
               Loyola

Federal League:  Montagnard I
               Wanderers I
               Ottawa
               Brockville
               Cornwall

Federal Intermediate League:  Wanderers II
                             Stirling I
                             Montagnard II
                             St-Lawrence I
                             Strathcona I
                             Athenaeum I

Federal Junior League:  Strathcona II
                       Wanderers III
                       Gordon's
                       St-Patrick Cadets
Metropolitan League: A- Ontario
    CPR
    Garnet
B- Athenaeum III
    Alert
    Outremont II

Intercollegiate League: McGill I
    Queen’s
    Toronto

Interschool League: High School
    Westmount High School
    Crichton

Interchurch League: Westmount Methodist
    Dominion Square Methodist
    Sherbrooke
    Côte-St-Paul

Hotels League: Windsor
    Queen’s
    Place Viger
    Oxford
    La Corona

Manufacturers League: Canadian Rubber Co.
    United Shoe Machinery
    Montréal Street Railway
    Bell Telephone
    CPR Freight
    CPRAAA

Banks League: A- Bank of Montreal
    Québec - Union - Ottawa
    Merchants - Eastern Townships
    Molson’s Bank
B- Dominion - Royal
    Bank of Toronto
    Sovereign Bank
Hardware League: Caverhill - Learmont
            Frothingham - Workman

Other Teams: Alite-Chalmer-Bullock
            Dale Insurance
            Union Insurance
            Beaver
            Belmont
            Big Six
            C.H. Binks
            Brownie
            Chatelle
            Collège Ste-Marie
            Corticelli
            Emeralds
            Evans-Johnson
            Excelsiors
            Fairbank
            Grand Trunk International
            Hawthorne
            Hemsley
            Journalists
            Leaders
            Liverpool-London and Globe
            Lyman
            Leeming
            Mascotte
            Melville
            Millionnaires
            Collège Mont-St-Louis
            Montagnard III
            Montreal Light Heat and Power
            Montréal 7
            Murphy's
            Ogilvie
            Orient
            Outremont IV
J.W. Peck
Peck Rolling
Perry's
Phoenix
Regents
St-Ann's
St-James
St-Louis I - II
Shortell's Academy
Standard
Stonewall
Sweet Caporal I - II
Sylvans
Telegraphers
Theatre Academy
Théâtre Français
Théâtre Royal
Université Laval de Montréal
Université Laval (Droit)
Université Laval (Médecine)
Pointe-St-Charles Wanderers
Starke
1910

CHA: Shamrocks I
    National I
    All-Montreal I
    Québec
    Ottawa

NHA: Cobalt
     Haileybury
     Renfrew
     Wanderers
     Canadien

NHA (after fusion): Cobalt
     Haileybury
     Renfrew
     Wanderers
     Canadien
     Shamrocks I
     Ottawa

Inter-Provincial League: MAAA I
    Victorias I
    Ottawa Cliffsides
    Toronto

St-Lawrence A. H. A.: Westmount I
    Trois-Rivières
    Sherbrooke
    Grand-Mère

Intermediate League: Victorias II
    MAAA II
    Shamrocks II
    Westmount II
    All-Montreal II

Junior League: McGill III
    MAAA III
    Loyola II
    Victorias III
    Stirling
    Huntingdon
Suburban League: Irish Canadians
Outremont
McGill IV
St-Patrick
Belmont
Canadian Order of Sunshine

City-District League: Maples
Cercle Canadien

YMCA-District Junior League: YMCA
Jerseys
Mont-Royal Rosedale
Fairmount

University League: McGill I
Laval I
Loyola I
Queen's I
Toronto I

University Intermediate League: A- McGill II
Laval II
B- Queen's II
Toronto II

Ligue Junior Intercollegiale: Université Laval (Médecine)
Mont-St-Louis
Ecole Polytechnique

Interschool League: High School -
Lower Canada College
Westmount High School
Commercial League:  Canadian Express
                 CPR Telegraphers
                 Lake of the Wood Milling
                 Lyman
                 Hodgson-Sumner
                 John L. Cassidy
                 Henry Morgan
                 Richelieu-Ontario Navigation

Manufacturers League:  Alite-Chalmer-Bullock
                  Northern Electric
                  CPR
                  Bell Telephone
                  Grand Trunk Motive
                  Montreal Light Heat and Power

Hardware League:  T. Robertson
              Starke - Seybold
              Lewis Bros.
              Fairbank
              Frothingham - Workman
              Caverhill - Learmont

Insurance League:  Royal - Queen
              Liverpool-London and Globe
              Sun Life
              Dale
              Commerce - Union

Banks League:  Québec - Union
              Bank of Montreal
              Imperial Bank
              Royal Bank
              Toronto - B.N.A.
              Molson's Bank
Other Teams: Aiglon Jr.
Astor
Baillargeon Buffet
Baillargeon Express
Bank of Montreal Jr.
J.T. Bell
Britannia
Canada
Canadian Transfert
Cercle Parroissial
Chaput
CP Beaver
Creighton
Delorimier Tigers
Dominions
Etoile II
Fairmount
Jacques-Cartier
Laporte-Martin
McCleary
Meldrums
Melville I - II
Mercury
Mogul
National II
Normandeau
Ranger Rushers
P.S. Ross
Ross Realty
St-Charles
St-Jacques
St-Louis
Shortell's Academy
Skipoona
Sweet Caporal
Theatre Princess
Westmount Crescent
Westmount Tigers
Westmount ?
Montréal ?
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